UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

TEACHING ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE
A Study of Novice Teachers' Awareness and Teaching Practices

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

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Englannin kieli
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Englannin kieli on viime vuosikymmenien aikana saavuttanut ainutlaatuisen aseman niin maailmalla kuin Suomessakin. Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, miten englannin nykyinen asema kansainvälisenä kielenä on vaikuttanut englannin opetukseen Suomessa. Tutkielman tavoitetta lähestytään kolmesta eri näkökulmasta, jotka on valittu teoreettisen viitekehyksen pohjalta. Vastauksia haetaan seuraaviin tutkimuskysymyksiin: 1) Minkälaisia englanninkäyttäjien malleja opettajat ovat oppilailleen? 2) Minkälainen rooli kulttuurin opetuksella on suomalaisessa englannin opetuksessa? ja 3) Onko opetuksessa sellaisia opetussisältöjä, jotka käsittelevät englannin nykyistä asemaa kansainvälisenä kielenä, ja jos on, niin millaisia ne ovat?

Tutkielman aineistona on yhdeksän puolistrukturoitua teemahaastattelua. Haastateltavat ovat nuoria englanninopettajia, jotka ovat opettaneet englantia 1–5 vuotta. Haastattelut nauhoitettiin ja litteroitiin, ja tämän jälkeen aineisto analysoitiin aineistolähtöisen sisällönanalyysin keinoin.

Tutkielman tulokset osoittavat, että nuorten opettajien englantiin ovat vaikuttaneet sekä ulkoiset että sisäiset tekijät, kuten heidän oma peruskouluaikansa ja henkilökohtaiset mieltymykset. Opettajien puhuma englanti on joustava yhdistelmä erilaisia aksentteja, kun taas heidän kirjoittamansa englanti tukeutuu johonkin englantia äidinkielenään käyttävien varianteista. Opettajat ovat tietoisia roolistaan englanninkäyttäjinä oppilaiden silmissä, ja se vaikuttaa heidän luokkahuone-englantiinsa. Kulttuurin osalta tulokset osoittavat, että kulttuuri koetaan kieleen liittymättömäksi, erilliseksi asiaksi kielen opetuksessa. Kulttuuria lähestytään usein konkreettisten asioiden kautta ja eri kulttuureita käsitellään yksi kerrallaan. Englannin tunneilla puhutaan ainoastaan niistä kulttuureista, joissa englantia puhutaan äidinkielenä. Tutkielman tulokset osoittavat myös, että englannin tunneilla on hyvin vähän sellaisia opetussisältöjä, jotka käsittelisivät englannin asemaa kansainvälisenä kielenä. Nuoret opettajat esittelevät systemaattisesti englantia äidinkielenään puhuvien variantteja, mutta englantia vieraana kielenä puhuvien kieltä käsitellään vain silloin, jos oppilaat kiinnittävät niihin huomiota. Opettajat ovat kuitenkin tietoisia englannin kielen monimuotoisuudesta ja he haluavat tuoda autenttista kieltä luokkaan.

Tutkielman tuloksista voidaan päätellä, että vaikka oppilaat käyttäisivät englantia enemmän toisten sitä vieraana kielenä puhuvien kanssa, englannin opetus ei välttämättä anna heille tarvittavia valmiuksia sellaiseen kulttuurienväliseen kommunikointiin. Englannin opetukselle Suomessa pitäisi määritellä uudet, selkeämmät ohjeet, niin että opettajien ja oppilaiden ei tarvitsisi kielenkäytössään pyrkiä imitoimaan englantia äidinkielenään käyttävien varianttia. Tämä heijastaisi myös paremmin englannin nykyistä asemaa kansainvälisenä kielenä.

Asiasanat: English as an international language. novice teachers. interview. qualitative analysis. content analysis.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Even though the expression may be blamed for being a cliché, the world has indeed gotten smaller. As technological innovations have ensured real-time communication between people on the opposite sides of the globe and migration has mixed cultural groups into a multicultural patchwork, English has become the language used in tourism, popular culture, academic research and youth culture, to name but a few. Even though Finland may have been perceived as an isolated country on the edge of Northern Europe, these changes in the world have affected language use in Finland, too. English has been the most popular foreign language taught in Finnish schools for over fifty years now, but recently it has started to gain ground in many other domains, too. Changes in language policy have often caused heated discussions, and some people think that the growth of English has happened at the expense of Finnish. Be that as it may, its status cannot be ignored.

English is not the first international language. Latin was once a major international language, and French, Greek, Arabic, Spanish and Russian have also had such a status in the past (Crystal 2003: 8). Today, English is the language most widely taught as a foreign language – in over 100 countries – and in many countries it is emerging as the main foreign language to be taught in schools, often displacing other languages in the process (Crystal 2003: 5). English has not gained its contemporary status during the last decades. It has been a long process, and there have been many reasons for it. Smith (1983a: 20) has stated as early as in the 1980s that as English is used more and more frequently for international purposes, we should teach it as such. Interestingly, English teaching for non-native speakers has not managed to keep up with the development. For instance, Jenkins (2000: 1) has remarked that the contemporary status of English is nothing new. According to her, the only surprising element is that the English language teaching pedagogy has failed to adjust its methodologies to correspond this changed situation, in which the goal of learning is no more to be able to communicate with only native speakers of English, but also to have competence for interaction in intercultural situations in English.

There is no unambiguous definition for *English as an international language* (EIL). In the present study, EIL refers to the use of English as a means of international communication across national and linguistic boundaries. *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) has been another widely used term for this, but since some of the researchers have described ELF as a language between people for none of whom it is their mother tongue, the term EIL is used in the present study to avoid misunderstandings and to indicate that both non-native speakers and native speakers are counted in when thinking about the global use of English.

EIL has not yet become a widely studied subject. Jenkins (2000) has been a pioneer in describing the variety of English in intercultural communication, by examining EIL phonology. Some studies have focused on EIL in the European context in, for instance, Greece (Sifakis and Sougari 2005) and Austria (Seidlhofer 1999). In addition, some studies have examined the status of English in Finland, a study by Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) being one of them. Regardless of these studies, EIL in English teaching has not been examined further. The aim of the present study is to reach some kind of an understanding of whether or not EIL has affected English teaching in Finland, and thus this study attempts to arouse interest in the state of English teaching in Finland. It is important to study whether foreign language education has managed to react to the changes in the world and whether it succeeds in offering pupils the kind of English competence they will need outside classroom.

The quality of the Finnish basic education has been acknowledged in the world, especially due to the success in *PISA* evaluation, and the high quality of the Finnish teacher education has been portrayed as one of the chief reasons for the successful school system. On the other hand, there has been evidence of the deep-rooted educational practices (Modiano 2000: 28). Reforming such traditions can be a very slow process, even if the changes in the contemporary world required revised teaching practices. Novice teachers of English are in the core of introducing new, up-to-date teaching practices and contents in English teaching, because English has had a remarkable status in the Finnish society for their whole lifetime. Newly graduated novice teachers have a long career ahead of them, and even though they already have some set routines for their work, they are also receptive for new teaching practices.

The purpose of this study is to examine novice teachers' awareness of EIL and its effects on their teaching practices. This is a qualitative study and the data consists of nine individual semi-structured interviews. The data is analyzed inductively for its contents. Since EIL is such a vast concept, three angles are chosen to study how the contemporary status of English affects English teaching in Finland. The three angles are chosen on the basis of the factors which have come up in the theoretical framework. The first angle examines novice English teachers as English-speaker models. Since they offer a model of an English-speaker to their pupils, it is not insignificant what kind of models they provide them with. The second angle in the present study focuses on the role of culture in English teaching. Since EIL suggests that English has become de-nationalized, it is important to study whether this has affected the teaching of cultural issues in class. Finally, the third angle studies those teaching practices which address the contemporary status of English as an international language. On the basis of these three angles, the present study seeks for a better understanding of the novice teachers' awareness of EIL and how it shows in their teaching.

In chapter 2, the status of English in the world is studied from various angles. The terminological choices of the study are discussed and previous studies on EIL are examined. Chapter 3 concentrates on the role of English in Finland, focusing especially on its role at school. The selection of methodology and the research questions of the present study are carefully described in chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the findings of the study, and in chapter 6 the findings are discussed further. To conclude, chapter 7 summarizes the contributions of the present study and outlines directions for future study.

2   ENGLISH IN THE WORLD

This chapter considers the role of English in the world, discussing how the language has gained its contemporary status as an international language and what it means in terms of teaching English as a foreign language. The chapter begins with section 2.1 about Kachru's classification of English as a world language and then Graddol's revised version of this decades-old model. In section 2.2 the terminological problems

of ESL and EFL are discussed, and section 2.3 expands this discussion into different terms describing EIL. The reasons which have brought about the current status of English in the world are briefly considered in section 2.4, whereas section 2.5 discusses the role of culture in EIL. Previous studies on EIL will be reviewed in section 2.6. Chapter 2 will be closed with section 2.7 about the norms and models for teaching EIL and section 2.8 about the implications that the current status of English imposes on the teaching of English.

2.1 English as a world language: Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle

To better understand the use of English in different countries, Kachru (1985: 12-17) developed a model in which the speakers of English are divided into three concentric circles (figure 1).
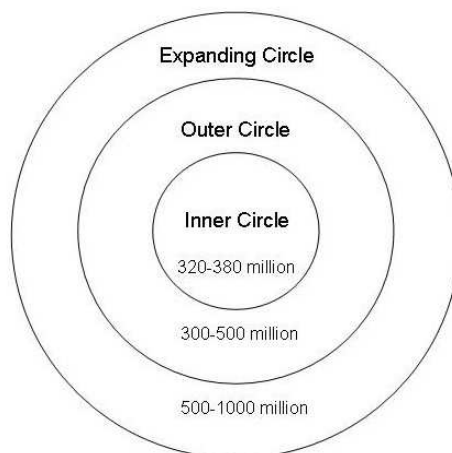
Figure 1. The three circles of English according to Kachru (1985: 12-15) with estimates of numbers of speakers in millions according to Crystal (2003: 61)

In this model the speakers of English have been divided into three groups (Kachru 1985: 12-17; the numbers of speakers updated by Crystal 2003: 61). People in the *Inner Circle* speak English as their mother tongue (L1), and they live in countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. It has been estimated that there would be up to 380 million people in this group, of which about 120 million live outside the United States. The second, the *Outer Circle,* contains people who speak English as a second language (L2, ESL), and these speakers live in countries such as India, Namibia, Kenya and Hong Kong. English is

not necessarily an official language in these countries, but the reason why it has had and still continues to have such a high status is that many of these countries are former British colonies, and therefore English plays a part in the institutions of these nations. This group has been estimated to have 300-500 million English speakers. The third circle, the *Expanding Circle*, is for those who speak English as a foreign language (EFL). Finland, along with most of the rest of the world's population, belongs to this circle. In these countries English does not play any historical or governmental role, but it is nevertheless widely used, for instance, as a business language. The current estimates of the users of English in these countries range from 500 million to one billion.

In this model the three groups have been divided into "norm-providing", "norm-developing" and "norm-dependent" (McKay 2002: 53-54). The Inner Circle has been defined as "norm-providing", which suggests that they provide the norms for standard English, to which non-native speakers (NNSs) of English have to conform. The Outer Circle has been defined as "norm-developing", since innovations in these countries get conventionally established by regular use and are subsequently codified in their own varieties. The Expanding Circle has been referred to as "norm-dependent", because the use of English in these countries relies on the standards set by the native speakers (NSs) in the Inner Circle, and therefore these norms are essentially external.

As mentioned earlier, this model was developed about twenty years ago, and it has been revised since. For instance, Graddol (2000: 10) altered Kachru's original model from concentric circles to overlapping ones (figure 2).
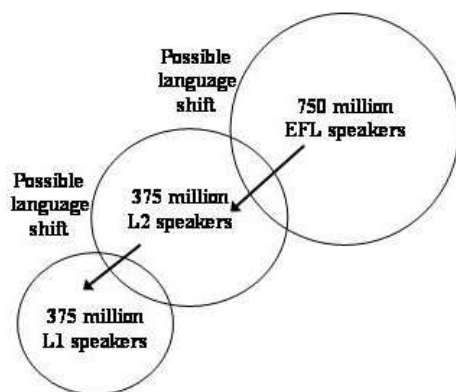

Figure 2. Graddol's model of L1, L2 and EFL speakers (2000: 10)

In this more recent version the circles are no longer within each other, but one upon the other so that the Inner Circle is the smallest and at the bottom, highlighting the point that nowadays the use of English has evolved from those countries and the total number of users of English is smaller in the Inner Circle than in the Outer and Expanding Circles. In the revised model the Expanding Circle is at the top and the biggest of the circles. Graddol (2000: 10) suggested that the three circles overlap, with the "centre of gravity" shifting towards L2 English speakers at the start of the 21st century, and in the next century "those who speak English alongside with other languages will outnumber first-language speakers and, increasingly, will decide the global future of the language". In the original model the Inner Circle was conceived as the utmost source and norm of the English language, whereas in the revised version the Inner Circle is seen as the root from which the other uses of English have evolved. Graddol (2000: 10) explains this change in the way of thinking by stating that the traditional model locates the NSs and the NS countries at the centre of the use of English in global communication, whereas the updated version of the model is the most useful when describing the use of English in the 21st century; since those speakers who use English as a foreign language are outnumbering the native speakers, there is no need to perceive the NSs as the only language models anymore.

2.2 Terminological problems with ESL and EFL

The traditional terms of *English as a second language* (ESL) and *English as a foreign language* (EFL) have been widely used for decades in articles about language learning and teaching. The contemporary situation in which the status of English has become so special in several countries has shaken this clear-cut division, and many scholars are suggesting that these concepts have become inadequate and useless.

Traditionally, ESL has referred to those who speak English as their second language and EFL has referred to people who speak English as a foreign language (see section 2.1). Smith (1983a: 13-20) contended as early as in the beginning of the 1980s that there is no need for such confusing terms as ESL and EFL, which often overlap. Accordingly, they have "not only confused those outside the field of English language teaching but have been a source of awkward explanation for us within the

field" (Smith 1983a: 13). In addition, he remarked that in some places ESL and EFL have negative overtones of cultural superiority with the NS as judge and jury as to what is "right" in English language usage. Kirkpatrick (2007: 27-28) has also argued that the concept *English as a native language* (ENL) suggests that it is innately superior to ESL and EFL varieties, and hence it undervalues other, non-native varieties of English. Crystal (2003: 6) has warned that distinctions such as "second" and "foreign" should not be given too simplistic interpretations; in particular, one should avoid interpreting it as a difference in fluency or ability. He illustrates this by mentioning the very high levels of fluency demonstrated by a wide range of speakers in Scandinavia and the Netherlands, where English has been taught as a foreign language. The Scandinavian-Dutch bloc has actually been characterized as a kind of neutral Anglophone presence, where the competence of English is remarkably high and people can use it with great ease (Graddol et al. 1999: 7-8). Even the native/non-native distinction of speakers can be questioned in some contexts where NNSs become familiar with English from an early age and use it routinely (Swann 1996: 13-14). This can be the case in countries such as India and Singapore.

Despite the difficulties and obscurity in the distinction between ESL and EFL, it might be a helpful classification when one is examining the patterns of English worldwide and the possible language shifts in the future. In many parts of the world there are ongoing shifts in the status of English, and even though they are often undocumented and unquantified, they represent a significant factor in the global future of the language (Graddol 2000: 11). Accordingly, countries where English is a second language at the moment are very likely to face a language shift towards English as a native language, since especially professional and middle class people being bilingual in English are adopting English as the language of the home. Likewise, people who are now using English as a foreign language may start using it as a second language in the future.

2.3 Defining English as an international language (EIL)

When scanning through various sources that discuss the phenomenon of the spread of English and its current status worldwide, it becomes obvious that language

professionals have been and still are using several different terms describing it. Terms such as *English as an international language* (e.g. Jenkins 2000, McKay 2002), *English as a global language* (e.g. Crystal 2003, Gnutzmann 1999), *English as an international auxiliary language* (e.g. Smith 1983b), *English as a lingua franca* (e.g. Seidlhofer 2001), *English as a world language* (e.g. Bailey and Görlach, 1984a), and *World Englishes* (e.g. Melchers and Shaw 2003) are used interchangeably, and it is often difficult to distinguish their meanings from each other. In the present study the term *English as an international language* and its abbreviation *EIL* will be used.

EIL has had two distinctive meanings in previous literature. First of all, it can be qualified as a variety of its own, "an artificial variety, with no particular accent, but related above all to a set of communicative practices designed to make it comprehensible to speakers of all varieties" (Melchers and Shaw 2003: 192-193). In the present study, however, EIL is not seen as a particular variety of English shared by all non-native speakers, especially since this kind of a variety has not been established or officially codified. The present study regards EIL in its second meaning, referring to the use of English as a means of international communication across national and linguistic boundaries (see Jenkins 2006: 160). In this sense, the use of English has diverged from the NS cultures, and it is aiming at cross-cultural communication, valuing all of its varieties and accents.

Because of these two different and confusing meanings, some researchers prefer the term *English as a lingua franca (ELF)* to EIL. ELF has been a widely used term for the situation where English is used as a common language between people who do not share the same mother tongue. For instance, House (1999: 74, emphasis added) defines a lingua franca use as "interactions between members of two or more different linguacultures in English, *for none of whom* English is the mother tongue". Even though the majority of ELF researchers nowadays accept that NSs of English also participate in intercultural communication (Jenkins 2006: 161), the term *English as an international language (EIL)* is used in the present study to avoid misunderstandings and to indicate that both NNSs and NSs are counted in when thinking about the international use of English.

Now that the choice of the term has been dealt with, it is time to consider what it really means and implies. Smith (1976, as quoted by McKay 2002: 11) was one of the pioneers who launched a definition for *international language*, by noting that it is "used by people of different nations to communicate with one another". Crystal's (2003: 3) definition of an international language is that a language achieves a global status when it develops "a special role that is recognized in every country". McKay (2002: 5) expands this definition by stating that English has become "an international language in both a global and a local sense", since it has become a language of wider communication both among individuals from different countries and individuals within one country. In cross-cultural situations where English is used as a shared foreign language, an international language, interactions often take place between people with different levels of English proficiency, whose pronunciation and command of English grammar and lexis are non-standard (Andrews 2007: 162). Seidlhofer (2004: 212) states that in these situations English has taken a life of its own, largely independent of the norms established by the native users of the language.

2.4   Reasons for the spread of English

The review of the many reasons that have contributed to the spread of English offers enough material for an extensive study *per se*, yet it is worthwhile to briefly consider at least some of them in order to look for explanations for why one language has gained such a status in the world and why it is English of all languages. It has been claimed that English is widely used because it is such a flexible language with only a few grammatical endings and a cosmopolitan vocabulary (Melchers and Shaw 2003: 9). Nonetheless, the inherent, superior qualities of English itself can hardly explain the rather quick worldwide expansion of the language. No other language has undergone such a unique expansion since Greek and Roman times (Bailey and Görlach 1984b: 2).

From the late 15th century onwards, English has been taught, though intermittingly, to people for whom it was not their mother tongue, because of trading, commercial interests, the promotion of the British empire, or the everyday survival of migrants

(Jenkins 2000: 5). Crystal (2003: 59) maintains that the contemporary world status that English has is primarily due to two factors: the expansion of the colonial power of Britain in the end of the nineteenth century, and the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power in the twentieth century, and particularly the latter factor continues to explain the world position of English today. When talking about the past, colonialism, speaker migration, and new technology developed in English-speaking countries can be seen as the most important incidents for the initial spread of English (McKay 2002: 16). What are the factors that are fueling the current spread within the existing speech communities, then?

Several reasons for the spread of English today have been listed by a number of scholars (Crystal 2003: 86-122, McKay 2002: 15-18, Graddol 2000: 5-9, 28-54, Rubdy and Saraceni 2006: 5). International organizations use English as their official language, about 80 per cent of the world's electronically stored information is in English, and English dominates the film industry, literature, popular music, trade, diplomacy, sport, science, technology, commerce, international travel and tourism – the list seems endless. One specific reason is the language policies of the countries, and the significant role of English in education. Speaking of the language policies, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999: 19-32) offer a more critical view of the reasons for the spread of English, as they talk about the idea of *Englishization* as one dimension of globalization and localization. They state that language professionals have a special responsibility of considering the causal factors that contemporary global linguistic ecology brings with it. The command of English relates to current power structures, and the privileged position of English has been established through processes of linguistic hierarchization. Therefore those who cannot speak English are usually repressed and the poorest. According to Phillipson (2006: 68), Englishization is integral to globalization and it reflects broader processes of Americanization. By using English Europeans expose themselves to the risk of being anglicized in one's thought, possibly even becoming brainwashed.

These critical arguments can, however, be countered with different points of view. Smith (1983c: 9), for instance, has claimed that as English has truly become de-nationalized, one does not need to become more Western or change one's morals to use English well in international situations. His point is that English is a means of

communicating to the rest of the world one's own identity, culture, politics, religion, and "way of life", not the identity of, for instance, American or British society.

2.5   EIL and culture

As many studies and articles have shown, language and culture are often tightly linked, language shaping culture and vice versa, and that is why cultural learning has to take place as an integral part of language learning. For instance, Byram (1994: 11) has stated that "a thorough understanding of a language can only be gained by understanding the cultural context which has produced it". Thus it is not enough for pupils to master the linguistic patterns of the language. Too often culture is regarded as separate pieces of information conveyed by the language, and cultural awareness becomes an educational objective in itself, separated from language (Kramsch 1993: 8). It has also been pointed out that that too often language learning leads to the encoding of a message rather than to real communication and interaction with another people (Byram 1994: 39). This means that if interlocutors simply encode their own meanings without seeking to understand its relationship to that of the others, there can be no negotiation of shared meanings and understanding of the world. To illustrate this, one could think about proverbs or idioms, which are often strictly culture-bound. If a language user tries to translate an idiom into another language without thinking of the culture-bound meaning that it contains, the interlocutor from another culture may not understand it at all, no matter how flawless language has been used.

Kramsch (1993: 23-24) has pointed out that traditionally the teaching of culture in the language class has taken two main directions. The first one has focused on cultural information, such as statistical information, high culture (literature, music), and the traditions of everyday life. The other direction has developed from cross-cultural psychology and cultural anthropology, giving language learners 'keys' with which they are to interpret phenomena in the target culture and make sense of foreign reality. The problem with these two directions is that they both consider the learner a passive recipient of cultural knowledge. Kramsch suggests a third direction where culture is still seen as facts and meanings, but it is also a place of struggle between

the learners' meanings and those of NSs. Often in cases of smaller languages (e.g. Finnish) and the old nationalistic view of one nation – one language, the link between language and culture can be quite clear. It is, however, very challenging to explore this tight interconnectedness of culture and language in the case of EIL; if English is used as an international language, what is the culture it should be connected with?

Trifonovitch (1981: 214-215) has maintained that as we come into contact with various cultures with the help of English, it is no longer enough to concentrate on the cultures of the English-speaking world only. We should instead develop an awareness of the other cultures and a basic cognitive awareness of our own culture. McKay (2002: 12) solves this problem by stating that as English has become an international language, it has also become de-nationalized – that is to say, its use is no longer linked to NS countries. At the same time, she claims that English has merged or is merging into the culture of the country where it is used. Hence it is not enough to have knowledge about the historically English-speaking cultures, and earlier demands for cultural knowledge have changed into a need for intercultural knowledge. Risager's (2005: viii) distinction between these two is that *cultural* competence involves knowledge, skills and attitudes concerning a specific cultural area such as associated with (one of the) target language countries. By contrast, *intercultural* competence involves knowledge, skills and attitudes at the interface between several cultural areas including pupils' own country and the target language country. Therefore Risager sees the development of intercultural competence as a process which includes the pupils' experiences and competencies from their own cultural backgrounds, and which allows them to reflect on their own cultural assumptions as an integral part of the further development of their skills and knowledge of the world.

In terms of concrete teaching materials in English teaching, McKay (2000: 10) has maintained that they should aim at international target culture instead of NS cultures, and this would be beneficial in many ways. First of all, they could illustrate cross-cultural pragmatics in which NNSs, while using English, draw on their own rules of appropriateness in inter-personal communication. Second of all, the materials could exemplify the manner in which English is being used effectively by NNSs to

communicate with others in international interaction. Thirdly, the pupils would understand that English is used globally by bilingual speakers, who have chosen not to internalize the norms of NS countries, and they have the right to do so.

2.6 Previous studies on teaching EIL

Previous studies on teaching EIL have mostly concentrated on the situation in the Outer Circle countries where English is spoken as a second language, and there is a growing demand for studies concentrating on the circumstances in the Expanding Circle. The reason is that the speakers of English in the Expanding Circle will outnumber those who speak English as a mother tongue, and, as pointed out in section 2.1, they will decide the global future of the language. Hence, it would be important to explore how this group of speakers perceives English. It is particularly important to study the teaching of EIL, since that often modifies the way how speakers view the language, and therefore EFL teachers can have a huge impact on their students' attitudes (e.g. Tsui and Bunton 2000). Currently graduating English teachers may retire as late as in the 2040s, and their pupils may still be in the working life in the 2090s. Therefore it is presumable that the way how contemporary teachers understand and portray EIL can have a strong influence on how the role of EIL will be perceived in our society in the future.

The first major study of interaction in EIL was *"The phonology of English as an international language"* by Jenkins (2000), focusing on EIL phonology. Since then, EIL research has extended into other areas of the language, for instance pragmatics (Andrews 2007: 162, Seidlhofer 2004: 215). In the global context, Matsuda (2003a) studied English teaching in Japan and concluded that teaching has failed to meet the requirements set by the current status of English in the world. The majority of the dialogues in school books are either between Japanese characters and NSs, or exclusively among NSs. Another study by Matsuda (2003b) showed that in addition to curriculum developers and school administrators, Japanese teachers and learners seem to privilege inner circle Englishes. A study by Jenkins (2005) examined NNS teachers' attitudes towards different accents of English and their willingness to incorporate their local L2 accent as the norm, and a study by McKay (2003) focused

on the teaching of EIL in Chile. This study showed that there is a growing demand and support for EIL practices in Chile.

In the European context, Seidlhofer (1999) explored the status and role of NNS teachers in Austria, as they have to reconcile the conflicting demands of global claims and pressures with the local conditions in which they work. This study showed that the majority of English teachers felt that during their studies the main emphasis had been on becoming an effective, near-native communicator rather than becoming an effective foreign language teacher. Furthermore, a clear majority indicated that being a NNS made them feel insecure rather than confident.

Modiano (e.g. 2000) is another pioneer of studying EIL teaching in Europe, by describing the features of Mid-Atlantic English. A survey by Sifakis and Sougari (2005) focused on Greek EFL teachers' attitudes regarding their beliefs about pronunciation and teaching practices. The study examined the possible link between pronunciation teaching, EIL, and the sociocultural identity of NNSs of English, trying to establish the extent to which the teachers were aware of EIL-related matters. Another study by Sifakis (2004) focused on setting specific criteria for the EIL classroom and raising teachers' awareness of what is needed in order to identify and teach EIL classrooms. A study by Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) has looked at the situation in Finland, focusing on the status of English in Finland in general.

A study by Llurda and Huguet (2003) examined the self-perception of NNS EFL teachers in Catalonia. It did not examine specifically the teaching of EIL, but it had similar perspectives on the status of English and its effects on English teaching as the present study has. The study focused on three aspects: language proficiency, teaching views, and the NS-NNS debate. In terms of the present study, there were some interesting findings regarding the role of culture in English teaching. The participants were asked to rate the need to have a good knowledge of British, local (Catalan and Spanish), European and Commonwealth cultures in order to teach English in Catalonia. The results showed that both primary and secondary school teachers regarded British culture as the most important culture to be taught in class. Following it, at great distance, was the appreciation of local culture, and far behind that was European culture. Another interesting finding in the study was that about half of the

primary school teachers and 73 per cent of the secondary school teachers thought that having learned English as a foreign language provided them with a special advantage to teach EFL over NS teachers. According to Llurda and Huguet, this implied an increased awareness and appreciation of their own NNS condition. All in all, the teachers thought that their difficulties with English competence should not be blamed for any teaching problems they may have encountered.

Despite the several studies focusing on NNS teachers of English and cultural contents in English teaching, the teaching and learning of EIL has not yet been studied extensively, and therefore raising more interest towards EIL teaching pedagogy among researchers and scholars is essential.

2.7   Norms and models for teaching EIL

As the previous sections have shown, there is a constant demand for some kind of norms or models of "correct" language when teaching English. For instance, section 2.1 demonstrated how the Inner Circle speakers have been perceived as "norm-providing" whose language use other English speakers should imitate. Swann (1996: 25) has listed some characteristics of "Standard English". It has been described as a prestige variety of English which can be used as a model for education and for language use in public, for instance in the media. It is also a variety that has been codified for dictionaries and grammars. Therefore the forms of Standard English should show little if any variation. Since English had, by the nineteenth century, two centers, Standard English came to exist in two more or less equally valid varieties – British Standard and US Standard (Melchers and Shaw 2003: 31). What are the norms set by NSs, then? When thinking about the concept of *Standard* English and the ownership of it now, the situation becomes more complicated. Roberts (2002) has discussed this controversial topic in his article "Set us free from standard English", and his statement about the issue is the following:

> But when most writers and academics discuss native speakers and the ownership of English they tend to refer not to non-standard varieties but to standard British English or standard American English. Paradoxically, these varieties of English *do not have genuine native speakers in large numbers*, and it has even been maintained that standard Englishes are entirely learned within a scholastic or academic environment. (Roberts 2002, emphasis added.)

Here Roberts has challenged the concept of Standard English, as such a variety does not have real NSs anymore. Richards and Tay (1981: 55) suggested as early as in the 1980s that when considering writing in English, a standard should be set, whereas in matters of pronunciation, stress, rhythm and intonation, a certain standard would not be as important.

In many studies it has in fact been customary to view the linguistic development of a learner on a continuum whose endpoint is a linguistic construct called the 'native speaker', and hence NNS teachers and learners are trying to approximate the NS norm (Kramsch 1993: 9). This imitation was considered essential, particularly when teaching and learning pronunciation, and, in the 20th century, very often with respect to a single prestige accent, *Received Pronunciation* (Jenkins 2000: 5). According to Modiano (2000: 28-30), British English with *RP* pronunciation has been the norm for English teachers in Europe, and this attitude is still with us. Modiano states, however, that there is a movement towards greater acceptance of accents. For instance, there are efforts in BBC to liberalize their broadcasting by employing radio and TV announcers with regional accents.

The debate over NS language teacher versus NNS language teacher when teaching English is closely connected to the concept of Standard English and it heats up every now and then. Widdowson (1994) has argued that NS teachers are disadvantaged in this matter, with regard to their language learning experience. It has also been claimed in other publications that NNSs are in a better position to teach foreign languages that NSs are, because NSs have not experienced the process of learning the language in the same manner as the pupils will (see e.g. Seidlhofer 1999). According to Andrews (2007: 154-155), the benefits of NS and NNS teachers in terms of language proficiency must always be contextualized. First he points out that if learners are being trained mainly in order to communicate with NSs, then NS teachers may possess certain advantages as a language model. However, if the learning goals relate primarily to preparing learners to communicate internationally, using English as a means of interaction with other NNSs of English, then any assets a NS teacher possesses in terms of native proficiency in, for instance, British or American English, become largely irrelevant; effective communication in cross-cultural uses of English is not dependent on conforming to NS norms.

It is presumable that this is often the case in Finland, where nearly every English teacher in basic education has Finnish as their mother tongue, and their pupils are most likely to use English with other NNSs of English. Therefore there is no need to adhere strictly to NS norms, and the character of English as an international language can and should be taken into account. When teaching EIL, it would be important that as pupils are being exposed to the model of English presented by their teacher, they should also have the opportunity to listen to as many varieties of English as possible to sharpen their understanding of the linguistic variety (Trifonovitch 1981: 215). According to Viberg (1989: 90), when a language learner seeks for a model of a foreign language speaker, it is often a conscious choice. In the case of many smaller languages, the only possible model is the teacher, whereas English is such a dominant language that pupils can find possible models everywhere: in the media, among their friends and so on. Especially when using English in informal situations, pupils may actually choose their peers as their models rather than the teacher. On the basis of Viberg's claim, one can conclude that this makes the role of teacher as a model less important in English than in many rarer languages.

Llurda and Huguet (2003: 221) have pointed out that there is no systematic research based on neutral and objective data that looks at the language and teaching skills of NNS teachers in comparison to native ones, but in some papers it has been argued that the traditional dichotomy between native and non-native teachers should be disregarded (see e.g. Cook 1999). Andrews (2007: 162-163) has clarified the scholars' contemporary pedagogical point of view by stating that they are not suggesting that learners should aim to learn a monolithic variety of EIL. He, however, argues that it is both unrealistic and inappropriate to insist on pupils' conforming to the NS norms in the context of international uses of English, where the most important factor is *mutual intelligibility*. This rejection of the NS norms is based on practical pedagogical considerations, but according to Widdowson (2004, as quoted by Andrews 2007: 162-163), it has an ideological function, too, because the conformity to NS norms may be seen as "the authoritarian imposition of socio-cultural values which makes learners subservient and prevents them from appropriating the language as an expression of their own identity". If, as discussed in 2.4, educators perceive English as a language which has become de-nationalized, this problem of NS norm defining speaker's identity is solved.

Kachru (1986: 84-87) has stated that when talking about the norms in the case of NNS of English, researchers imply conformity with a model based on the language used by a segment of NS of English. According to him, the need for such preferred norms stems from pedagogical, attitudinal, and societal reasons, and it can be either indirectly or directly suggested in dictionaries, pedagogical manuals, or models on television. As he has explicitly pointed out, teaching materials and teacher training programs do not generally present a "linguistically tolerant" attitude towards localized non-native varieties, or towards the speakers of varieties considered different from the "standard" ones. Moreover, the majority of EFL teacher training courses persist with syllabuses that assume a NS interlocutor, and this demand is often unnecessary, unrealistic, and, at worst, harmful for preparing teachers to equip their learners with needed skills appropriate to international use of English (Jenkins 2000: 1). Trifonovitch (1981: 211) has also made an important remark by saying that even though English is used as an international language, its speakers are not always international persons. By this he means that the use of English in international contexts may arouse communication breaks and misunderstandings, as people are using English from their own cultural perspective. In addition, listeners' attention may be on the style of English, rather than on the subject which a NNS is trying to communicate (Trifonovitch 1981: 213). This can be very frustrating to those who do not speak English as their mother tongue. Finnish pupils are, however, in a special situation compared to pupils in many other countries, as schools in Finland are using almost exclusively English books published by Finnish publishers (Lähdesmäki 2004: 278). That way the books have been written bearing in mind Finnish pupils and including some elements of Finnish culture in them. Studies have actually shown that the amount of explicit cultural information has decreased in the English books in Finland, and at the same time the texts are concentrating more on themes that interest pupils (Lähdesmäki 2004: 280).

Kirkpatrick (2007: 184-193) suggests that currently one of the two following alternatives tends to be chosen at schools. Either teachers adopt an exonormative NS model, or they adopt an endonormative nativised model. Kachru's (1986: 21) distinction between these two is that an idealized exonormative model refers to a native model for mimicry and teaching, whereas an institutionalized endonormative model provides a local educated variety for language teaching. Kachru remarks,

however, that the division is not always clear-cut, since these two often coexist with a range of variation between the accepted norm and actual language use. According to Kirkpatrick (2007: 184-193), most Outer and probably all Expanding Circle countries have chosen the exonormative NS model, and there are several reasons for this. One reason is that these NS models have prestige and legitimacy, and, most importantly, they have been codified. Kirkpatrick notes that this codification brings with it the acceptance of the codified language variety as a standard, and therefore learning can be tested and evaluated against codified norms and standards. The second reason is that the teaching materials based on such codified models are easily available. A third reason for making this choice seems interesting, as Kirkpatrick claims that by insisting on a NS model, Ministries of Education around the world can claim to be upholding standards and providing pupils with an internationally intelligible variety of English. This claim appears intriguing from the Finnish point of view, because even though British English seems to be the model in EFL teaching, it has not been written down anywhere (see section 3.2).

Countries that are most likely to choose an endonormative model are Outer Circle countries, which already have a socially-acceptable local variety of English (Kirkpatrick 2007: 189). For example, Nigerian English has become the classroom model in Nigeria. Kirkpatrick points out that by choosing the local model, the multilingual competence of the teacher is both recognized and can be exploited in the classroom. This increases teachers' self-confidence and self-esteem, and legitimizes their variety of English. The disadvantage of this option is that these local models are rarely codified and therefore there are no grammars or textbooks. A possible solution could be that a NS model could be used as a *norm* rather than as a model (Kirkpatrick 2007: 191). In Finland no single local variety of English has been codified, and therefore the choice of the best alternative may not be so clear.

2.8   Implications for teaching EIL

The previous sections have defined and explained international English from a very general angle. For teachers of English in Finland, it would be important to have a

look at what it all means in terms of teaching practices and the requirements from the teacher.

Modiano (e.g. 2000) has been one of those who have been insisting that when teaching EIL, separated from ESL or EFL, a special teaching methodology needs to be developed. Hence, it is not beneficial to continue teaching English with the decades-old methods. Modiano (2000: 34) suggests that EIL pupils should be exposed to language use which showcases a wide range of native and non-native Englishes. In his opinion, careful attention should be paid to pointing out features of language which are "core English" and those which are geographically restricted. Moreover, EIL pupils would learn to speak the language without striving for near-native proficiency in a prestige variety (i.e. Inner Circle varieties). Therefore, according to Modiano, pupils would be less concerned with mimicking the accent and culture-specific lexical choices of the "native speaker", and more interested in the importance of clarity in cross-cultural communicative settings. In this sense, Kirkpatrick's suggestion (see section 2.7) of perceiving NS model as a norm rather than as something pupils should try to mimic seems to be in agreement with Modiano's opinions.

How could all this be concretely accomplished in the classroom, then? Modiano (2000: 34) proposes that an understanding of the differences between American English and British English is a good starting point. When looking at the contemporary textbooks and teaching, this has already been executed in Finnish schools: textbooks and tapes feature both of these two varieties, and address their differences in terms of pronunciation, lexicons and spelling. Modiano continues that pupils should learn a great deal about the indigenized varieties and the current situation of global integration. All this, according to him, facilitates the evolution of a *lingua franca* free from the systems of marginalization which are inherent in traditional English language teaching practices. When looking at the teaching materials of English in Finland, smaller varieties often remain unrecognized to a larger extent, and the current, global situation in the world may be covered with talk about the US as a melting pot of different nationalities.

At the moment, it would probably be impossible to try and teach some kind of a hybrid variety of EIL in the classroom, since it has not been standardized yet, apart from Jenkins' (2000) work on EIL phonology. Kirkpatrick (2007: 193) notes also that because of the many varieties of English that NNSs produce, it is very difficult to describe or codify an international variety as such for the EFL classroom. This does not, however, need to force teachers to adhere to the dominant NS varieties only. For this kind of a *lingua franca approach*, Kirkpatrick (2007: 193-195) offers three important components. First of all, pupils need to be alerted of the cases in which linguistic features cause particular problems of mutual intelligibility in cross-cultural communication. Secondly, the curriculum needs to focus on the differences of cultures and the implications of such differences for cross-cultural interaction. Thirdly, pupils should be taught the communicative strategies that aid successful cross-cultural communication, for instance, different linguistic and sociolinguistic norms and a range of repair strategies that might be useful if faced with misunderstandings.

Adopting this sort of a lingua franca approach, the focus and aim of English language teaching would move from the acquisition of the norms associated with a NS model to an intention to acquire linguistic features, cultural information and communicative strategies that will facilitate communication in cross-cultural encounters (Kirkpatrick 2007: 194-196). According to him, this shift would require a number of competencies from the teacher: knowledge of the pupils' mother tongue and the different varieties of English, an understanding of how and why English has gained its current status, and information about the role of English in the community. Furthermore, teachers need an ability to evaluate teaching materials critically, an ability to evaluate the specific needs of their pupils, and an ability to alter teaching on the basis of those needs. Melchers and Shaw (2003: 191-193) have concluded that EIL learners should be able to understand as many accents and varieties as possible and to avoid culturally specific references and behaviors in their own speech and pragmatic behavior, the goal being an effective international communicator who masters cross-cultural communication strategies. It has also been suggested that instead of having different geographical cultures as the target culture of English teaching, teaching materials could focus on more neutral cultural domains, such as the world of science or popular culture (Lähdesmäki 2004: 277).

On the basis of the ideas mentioned above, one could conclude that teaching EIL might not be an impossible mission for English teachers, and it mainly requires just a wider and more tolerant perspective on the English language and its various users. In the next chapter, the most important guides for language teachers, *The Common European Framework of References (CEFR)* and *The National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (NCC)*, will be analyzed in terms of the changing status of English.

3   ENGLISH IN FINLAND

This chapter considers the status and influence of English in Finland. Section 3.1 discusses the overall status of English and the studies that have explored the situation in Finland. Some of the historical events are summed up, too. English in education is discussed in section 3.2. Section 3.3 considers the status and use of English in other domains in Finland, for example in working life and leisure time.

3.1   The status of English in Finland

English has been holding an important status as a foreign language in Finland for decades now, and the reasons for the spread of English in Finland are for the most part the same as everywhere in the globalizing world. The urbanization of the country, internationalization, changes in the business life, migration, effective language education, and new media devices and domains, for instance easy access to internet and interactive communication methods, have all contributed to the current status of English in Finnish society (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 16).

In the 1980s, language courses and student exchange programs became more common in Finland (Birkstedt 2004: 248) and in the 1990s and the 21st century the use of English in Finland has increased in a more and more accelerating pace. English has gained ground as the language of several domains: business, science, education, media, commerce and entertainment. The language skills of Finns are considered to be on a relatively high level compared to, for instance, Southern Europeans. Therefore the use of English in these domains is not often questioned – it is assumed that everyone's English skills are adequate enough. In this respect the

possible language shift from EFL to ESL (see section 2.1) is probably true for many in Finland, especially for younger generations. In the beginning of the 21st century, over 60 % of Finnish adults had at least some English competence (Pahta 2004: 32). It is to be remembered, however, that at the moment the use of English is still marginalizing a certain group of people, i.e. older generations who have not learnt English at school.

The discussion for and against English heats up every now and then in Finland, like in many other countries, too. Some people find it a useful and practical language, others think that it is killing Finnish and making people unequal (Pahta 2004: 42). There has also been quite a lot of discussion about the kind of English that, for instance, politicians and athletes should use. A poignant comment about the shameful "monkey-English" of the Finnish politicians ("*Juopottelu ja apinaenglanti eivät sovi virkatilaisuuksiin*" HS Nov 11, 2008) raised a huge debate in *the Letters to the Editor* of *Helsingin Sanomat* in November 2008 and got a good reply from an English professor in the University of Jyväskylä, reassuring that Finns should allow their Finnish accent to be heard in their English ("*Englanninkielen professori: "Apinaenglanti on loukkaava sana"* HS Nov 15, 2008). These kinds of public discussions reveal that language policies and uses tend to rouse strong feelings.

Language policy and practices have also aroused the interest of scholars. *The Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English (VARIENG)*, is a research unit shared by the University of Helsinki and the University of Jyväskylä, and it investigates the use of English in Finland in different domains with various research projects (http://www.jyu.fi/hum/laitokset/kielet/ varieng/en). One of the domains of the unit is English in classrooms, and the research concentrates on the *use* of English, with English as a global language being an overall theme in all of the studies. In addition, there have been a number of studies exploring the use of English as an international language in Finland. These have, however, mostly concentrated on EIL in the advertising or business communication context. Several studies have investigated *English for Specific Purposes* (ESP) in Finland, yet the teaching of EIL has not aroused interest very much. Similar remark has been made by Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 333, 340-341), as they have pointed out that even though the spread of English has generated debate, there is very little

empirical evidence on how English is taken up and put to use by Finns. Some of the studies in Finland have, however, concentrated on the school domain. A study by Haaranen (2006) focused on the impact of cultural globalization on English textbook series, and Varis and Virén (2005) developed a material package for teaching EIL. In her study, Ranta (2004) investigated the school perspective, by studying the attitudes of 34 non-native English teachers and 108 upper secondary school students towards EIL in Finland. The present study focuses on EIL from the point of view of teachers, studying the goals of teaching, and not so much the specific language use or word choices, apart from the accent or variety chosen by the teacher.

3.2   English in education

In Finland, the status of English is exceptionally strong compared to other foreign languages, and the first foreign language (A1) is usually English. For instance, in 2007 90,9 % of the 3rd graders started English as their first foreign language (The Federation of Foreign Language Teachers in Finland 2009). The situation has not always been like this. As Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 16-21) have summed up, English was already starting to appear in popular culture before the second World War, but it was only after the war that English became the most popular foreign language studied at school, taking over German. Especially in the 1960s, changes in Finnish society led to the boost of English: for example urbanization, popular culture, subtitles and travelling paved the way for the spread of English. In the 1980s, English was still a language that was studied so that Finns would be able to communicate with *foreigners*, but in the 1990s and in the beginning of the 21st century English has become the language used for a whole range of purposes in Finland, not only as the shared language with people from other cultures.

As early as in the 1960s, the importance of teaching English as a foreign language at Finnish schools was justified with the help of its status as a world language and its importance for the culture (Birkstedt 2004: 246). In spite of the growing importance of international interactions in English, the exonormative model of English, derived from standard British or American English, has continued to be the one on which most EFL teaching is based around the world (Andrews 2007: 162), and this has also

been the case in Finland. Many of the previous studies have criticized the fact that the target cultures presented in English books have only included British and American cultures (Lähdesmäki 2004: 274-275). In addition, it has been noticed that textbooks have achieved such an authority that they have started to define what the English language and its learning is and should be. According to Lähdesmäki, some of the researchers in Finland have explicitly pointed out that there are no grounds for including only British and American cultures in the school books of English.

Even though the changes in Finnish society in the past have had a huge impact on the contemporary educational system and its contents, CEFR and NCC are the documents that guide the teachers' work the most, and thus it is important to review what is being said about the teaching of English and the aim of language teaching in them.

3.2.1 Teaching English in *The Common European Framework*

CEFR is the manual which is used to describe achievements of foreign language learners in Europe. It was composed by the Council of Europe, and its main aim is to provide a helpful tool for teaching and assessing languages. CEFR (2002) describes six reference levels, with which teachers and learners across Europe can assess an individual's language proficiency on the basis of the shared framework. Hence, it is possible to compare the language proficiency of people with different cultural backgrounds and different educational systems in European countries. CEFR can provide a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. In Finland, NCC and the most recent school books of foreign languages have been adjusted to meet the aims of CEFR and to apply the six reference levels.

CEFR (2002: 4-5, 43, 103-105) talks about plurilingualism and its effects on the goals of language learning. A plurilingual approach means that as learners' experience of languages in their cultural contexts expands, learners do not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather build a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language

contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. When learners are, for instance, trying to make sense of a text written in a foreign language, they can make use of all the languages they know. According to CEFR, this develops the learners' interculturality, too. Intercultural awareness involves a wider range of cultures than those carried by the learners' L1 and the target language. This perspective has profoundly modified the aim of modern language education. The aim is no longer to achieve "mastery" of two or three languages, with the "ideal native speaker" as the ultimate goal. Instead, learners should strive for a linguistic repertoire in which all linguistic abilities have a place. As clearly stated in CEFR, for instance, the highest level (C2) named "mastery", is

> not intended to imply native-speaker or near native-speaker competence. What is intended is to characterize the degree of precision, appropriateness and ease with the language which typifies the speech of those who have been highly successful learners (CEFR 2002: 36).

Even though the goal of learning is not NS competence, CEFR specifies that learners should be able to interact with NSs (2002: 26-27), and this can be quite confusing for teachers. In regard to designing curricula and writing textbooks, CEFR is not a legal document which authorities are obliged to follow (CEFR 2002: 141). Nevertheless, *the Finnish National Board of Education* has decided to use the reference levels of CEFR as the basis of the evaluation scales of NCC (2004) and this has also prompted textbook writers to exploit CEFR in their work. Textbook writers are expected to make their school books correspond with the core curriculum, and therefore both the curriculum and school books in Finland follow the guidelines of CEFR. What this implies is that the aim of foreign language teaching in Finland is not "the ideal native speaker" and this statement should also appear in the choice of the materials and teaching practices presented at schools.

3.2.2 Teaching English in *The National Core Curriculum*

Since NCC is the most important document that guides the work of a teacher, it is essential to see what it has to say about English teaching and its international character. Cultural learning and internationalism are mentioned on three levels in NCC (2004): in the general guidelines for basic education, in one of the cross-

curricular themes of instruction, and in the section for foreign languages. Next, each of these three levels is explored.

Generally speaking, NCC (2004: 12) states that Finnish culture offers the basis for instruction. Different cultures together with this culture must, however, be valued. Teaching should support the growth of the pupil's own cultural identity and his or her part in the globalizing world. In addition, the pupil should become tolerant towards other cultures and gain intercultural understanding. The endorsement of multiculturalism is one of the underlying values of basic education. NCC (2004: 35-41) has seven cross-curricular themes which should be incorporated into several subjects, and one of them is cultural identity and internationalism. The objective of this theme is to acquire capabilities for cross-cultural interaction and internationalism, having their starting point in the pupil's own cultural identity and background. It would be ideal to embed this curricular theme into English teaching, since the English language is often the tool for acquiring intercultural knowledge and understanding.

The specific goals of language instruction are defined in the curriculum, too. The first foreign language that a pupil starts studying in the third grade in the comprehensive school is called A1, and as mentioned earlier, more than 90 % of 3rd graders choose English as their A1 language. NCC (2004: 138-143) states that the goal of A1 instruction is to accustom pupils to using their language skills and educate them in understanding and valuing how people live in other cultures. Along with language learning, pupils are to start developing their intercultural competence and understanding. NCC states that in grades 7-9 pupils should know the target culture and understand it in relation to their own cultural identity. They are to learn some of the key differences between different varieties of English, know how to communicate and function in the given culture in an appropriate way in everyday situations and become aware of the fact that values are culture-bound. The cultural skills criteria after the ninth grade for a grade of eight define that pupils will "know about the way of life in, and history of, the target language's language region" (NCC 2004: 143). These guidelines are quite vague, because NCC does not define the target culture or the varieties of the language in any way. In addition, it is interesting to notice that NCC addresses the target culture in singular, as if there is only one

target culture. Moreover, it is not defined with whom pupils should be able to communicate in everyday interaction – is it NSs of the target language, other NNSs or possibly speakers with the same cultural background as the pupils?

All in all, NCC does not offer any strict guidelines for choosing the "right" variety of English. The cherishing of the pupil's own cultural background and the appreciation and understanding of the multicultural world are the starting points of education. In addition to NCC, each school in Finland have to have their own curriculum which must be based on NCC but which can also have some school-specific clarifications (NCC 2004: 10). When skimming through several curricula, one can conclude that they mostly repeat the guidelines of NCC. Even though they do have more information on, for instance, the contents of each English course, the target language and culture are very seldom defined. In conclusion, none of the curricula states explicitly the variety of English or the culture linked with English that should be taught at school, and it is not mentioned anywhere that NS would be the model for language learning.

3.3   English in other domains

As the previous chapters have indicated, English is the most commonly used shared language in many different domains, for instance, science, media, higher education, tourism, international business, and diplomacy. This implies that everyone working in those domains will encounter occasions where some competence of English is needed. In fact, surveys in all Nordic countries have shown that there are strong risks of domain loss in local languages, as the use of English is increasing in scholarship and technology, in higher education, the business world and media (Höglin 2002). It has been estimated that two out of three Finns need to use English in their work regularly (Nevalainen 2004: 19). In the working life English competence used to be a requirement only for correspondents and those who had to travel, but nowadays most of the workers, regardless of their education or work status, have to use at least some English at work in Finland (see e.g. Virkkula 2008: 389). The internationalization of companies is also going on in the Finnish business life, and English is gaining more room and status, not only in international businesses, but in all kinds of business

domains and work places. Many Finnish companies, Nokia and Nordea being among them, have actually chosen English as their internal company language (Louhiala-Salminen 2002, Pahta 2004: 37), simply because it is the language which most of the people understand, especially when the company is doing business abroad. Even though English is not necessarily used as the working language on the lower levels of workers in these companies, it is used in reports and other kinds of written communication, and therefore it is influencing everyone in the company (Höglin 2002). Recently, several Finnish companies have also merged with companies from other countries. Many familiar Finnish companies have replaced their Finnish names with English ones, for instance, Metsä-Serla became M-real in 2001 (Pahta 2004: 37). Even those enterprises and companies that are offering services to Finnish-speaking people only are using English words in their advertising. Finns have become accustomed to words such as *center, shop, group, service, system*, *salon* and *team* in the shop signs in their neighborhood (Pahta 2004: 37-38). Professional titles have also undergone quite a big change, as it is more and more common for a Finn to have an English title, such as *sales manager* or *group controller* (Pahta and Nurmi 2004: 133). This can easily be discovered by simply looking at the job advertisements in any Finnish newspapers.

In addition, the sudden and immense development of communications technology has brought about the situation where each worker is responsible for international communication, and the old system of correspondents, interpreters and translators has been drawn to an end (Graddol 2000: 33, Alatalo 2006). Therefore employees are no longer divided into those who deal with national tasks and those who are responsible for international businesses (e.g. Huhta 1999). New working practices like this often change so quickly that the educational systems cannot keep up with them and therefore education does not always teach the skills required by working life. What are the requirements of the working life, then? Previous research has shown that Finnish workers feel that they are actually using Euro-English in their work, not British or American English, and that Finns seem to find the delivery of the message more important than grammatical correctness of it (Nevalainen 2004: 19). This is a surprising finding, because is has been a popular myth that Finns are afraid of making grammatical mistakes when speaking foreign languages, and that is why they do not always dare to say anything at all.

In leisure time activities, the use of language can have a huge importance for young people, and the English-speaking popular culture has been an important factor for the identity of contemporary young generations (Ratia and Suhr 2004: 140). Today's teenagers have been exposed to English music, media, internet and products through their lifetimes, and for them the use of English is often an unquestioned and self-evident fact in many of the domains in their lives. English abbreviations, for instance, are used in text messages, e-mails and chat rooms without extra effort (e.g. Ratia and Surh 2004). The amount of English elements in Finnish advertisements has increased exponentially during the past few years, especially in magazines and TV-shows that are aimed at young people (Hiltunen 2004: 195). These elements are often catchy slogans, suggestions or brand names, which some people regard as poor language while others view it as rich expressional competence (Hiltunen 2004: 198-199). The spread of English in various areas of society has caused a situation where young people's conception of English may notably differ from the view taught at school, as most of them are using English a lot outside school in different domains (Lähdesmäki 2004: 284).

As the various studies have shown, the spread of English is a very complex and heterogeneous phenomenon and it has different manifestations and effects in different domains (Nikula and Leppänen 2008: 423). The challenge of the present study is to examine it from the perspective of novice English teachers.

4   RESEARCH DESIGN

The following sections explain the research procedures of the present study in detail, starting with motivating the study and presenting the research questions. Section 4.2 describes the data and its collection, and section 4.3 introduces the participants of the study. The data processing procedures and the method of analysis are explained in section 4.4.

4.1 Motivating the study and the research questions

The aim of the present study is to examine the awareness of EIL of novice English teachers. In addition, the idea is to investigate how it possibly affects their teaching practices. This aim is approached from three different angles: by studying the teachers as English-speaker models, by studying the role of culture in their teaching, and by studying the nature of EIL contents in their teaching practices.

The aim of the present study arose from observations of the current world-wide status of English. The importance of English has been discussed for decades now in various sources, from academic studies to daily newspapers and everyday conversations, yet the teaching practices of English have seemed to be following those traditions that were developed when English was still one foreign language among others. Keeping its current status in mind, it is not enough to teach it with the same practices that are being used when teaching, for instance, German or French. Furthermore, this issue has not been studied in Finland apart from occasional pro gradu theses, even though the ability to use English in interaction with foreigners is especially important for Finns as Finnish is such a unique small language that cannot be used outside Finland. During the 21st century, there have been a number of studies investigating the impact of English on Finnish and the presence of English in Finnish society, but the studies have not addressed teaching practices.

The perspective through which the present study seeks for an understanding of the topic is *Teacher Language Awareness* (TLA). TLA has been described as "the knowledge that teachers have of the underlying systems of the language that enables them to teach effectively" (Thornbury 1997, as quoted by Andrews 2007: 23). As explained by Andrews (2007), TLA is concerned with subject-matter knowledge and it has a strong effect on the behavior of the teacher and the pedagogical practices that are performed in the classroom. By examining the topic of the present study from the point of view of the teacher, it is possible to get a deeper understanding of the actual teaching practices of English in Finland and the beliefs behind them.

The main interest of the present study is to discover how the special status of EIL is represented in the teaching of English in Finnish schools. This will be approached

from three different angles, which have been chosen on the basis of the theoretical background. The research questions of the present study are:

1) What kind of English-speaker models do teachers provide their pupils with?
2) What is the role of culture when teaching English in Finland?
3) Are there EIL contents in the teaching of English, and if so, what kinds of EIL contents?

The first research question explores whether the teachers are striving for NS-like language use or whether the models they provide their pupils with represent more typical EIL users of English. This provides information on the norms and goals of language learning and the possible appreciation of some varieties of English over others. Even though the research question talks about teachers as *speakers* of English, the focus is on both spoken and written language use of the teachers. The term *speaker*, for instance in *native speaker of English*, refers often to people who use English as their mother tongue, and thus it can cover both spoken and written English. Since the term is widely used in the literature of the field, a decision was made to use it in the present study, too, and not replace it with a more specific term, for instance, a language *user*.

The second research question seeks for an answer to how and what kind of cultural contents are included in English teaching. Does it cover only NS cultures or is some kind of an intercultural perspective included? What is the role of culture when thinking about the international nature of English? In addition, this question provides information on which cultures are being brought up in teaching. The aim of the question is to explore whether pupils are being trained to communicate effectively in English regardless of the cultural background of the partner, in all kinds of cross-cultural encounters. Like the first research question, this one is faced with terminological problems, too. The term *culture* has had various descriptions in previous research. In the present study, it is used both as a term for all kinds of general cultural contents in the teaching, for instance high culture or manners, along with information on specific cultures, such as American culture or Finnish culture.

The third research question investigates whether there are instances in teaching which illustrate the current status of English to the pupils. Furthermore, if the data of the present study consists of such teaching practices, they will be described and summed up. On the basis of these three angles, the main interest of the present study should be covered.

The data of the present study consists of nine semi-structured interviews. The participants of the study were young novice teachers of English with varying teaching experiences. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and the data was analyzed for its contents. The present study can be characterized as *qualitative research,* even though the concept of qualitative research is often somewhat ambiguous. Quantitative and qualitative research methods have traditionally been presented as opposite ends of a continuum, even though they are not antipodes of each other in reality (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000: 21, Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 65-68). According to Seliger and Shohamy (2000: 124), the conclusions in qualitative research are inferred inductively from the patterns in the data and these patterns are grouped into categories. In the present study, this process is done with the help of content analysis (see section 4.4). Rather than generalizations, the aim of the study is to discover the range of opinions and practices and to get a deeper understanding of their roots.

4.2   Data and data collection

The data of the present study was collected using a semi-structured individual interview. This choice was based on several reasons. A semi-structured interview means that each participant will be asked the same set of questions, but their order and exact wordings can vary. Methodologically a semi-structured interview emphasizes the participants' interpretations of the topic and the meanings they attach to it (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 75). The schedule of the interview is designed to match the research questions and the aim of the study, and therefore the questions need to be chosen carefully. Two of the main advantages of a semi-structured interview are its flexibility balanced by structure and the quality of the data obtained with it (Gillham 2005: 70). During a semi-structured interview, the interviewer has

the possibility to repeat questions, correct misunderstandings, clarify wordings and be in constant interaction with the participants (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 73). Therefore the participants have the freedom to express their own ideas about the topic and the interviewer the possibility to rephrase the question and ask clarifying questions or elaborate the topic further. Thus the participants are not bound to the schedule of a structured interview or a questionnaire. In addition, a semi-structured interview allows the interviewer to remove some of the questions or alter their order, if the participant has, for instance, already answered the question. Furthermore, such changes may be needed if the course of conversation has by chance required an altered order from what the interviewer had planned beforehand. This can also be the case if the participant has indicated that he or she cannot answer some of the questions. A questionnaire as a means of data source could have enabled a bigger group of participants, but since the present study is qualitative rather than quantitative by its nature, it was more important to have fewer participants with more profound answers. The topic of the study itself is quite ambiguous and somewhat complex, and therefore it was essential for the researcher to have the opportunity to discuss it personally with each participant. This would not have been possible in using a questionnaire.

The schedule of the interview consisted of five themes, and the schedule can be found in Appendix 1. The first theme covered the participants' background information. These questions dealt with the participants' education, length of work experience, workplaces, and possible other languages taught. The second theme had to do with the participants as English speakers. This theme was started with the participants' own descriptions of English. They were given the opportunity to, for instance, describe the overall status of English nowadays, what English sounds like to them, or in which domains English is used in the world. The aim of these questions was to lead the participants into the theme of the interview and to arouse their thoughts about it. In this way the description of the international nature of English was not given by the interviewer, but the participants had the chance to define it themselves. After this, there were questions that covered the description of English the participants use. They were given a chance to describe the language norms they strive for, the possible reasons for it, the possible impact of Finnish on their English, the goals of developing their English skills at the moment, and the

instances where they use English apart from work. The third theme of the interview dealt with the teaching of English. These questions included the different varieties and accents heard in the classroom and the kind of English that pupils use. The fourth theme discussed cultural contents in English teaching. This was covered by questions concerning those cultures that were examined along with the language, the aspects of culture that were discussed, and the use of visitors in the classroom. The fifth theme had to do with the current status of English both worldwide and in Finland. The participants were asked whether the history, the importance, and the status of English had been discussed in the classroom, and whether the pupils needed motivation for studying English. One question was more philosophical in its nature, as it asked whether the participants felt they were teaching EFL, ESL, ELF, and so on. Even though many of the participants found this question quite challenging, it offered interesting points of view as they started thinking about it out loud. After these five themes, there was the final question that gave the participants the opportunity to express, ask or comment on anything concerning the interview themes, the questions, the situation itself or the study in general. It is important to give the participants this opportunity, and even though one of its functions is simply a "social closure" for the interview, it often provides more valuable material about the topic, too (Gillham 2005: 78-79). This was also the case in the present study, as many of the participants wanted to provide more information about their teaching practices concerning EIL, or to comment on why they found the topic of the study especially important and interesting. This also reasserted the researcher's opinion about the importance of the topic studied.

4.3 Participants

The participants of the present study were not chosen randomly, because instead of generalizations, the aim of the study was to get a deeper understanding of the topic. Therefore it was reasonable to choose participants that could provide the kind of information that was striven for (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000: 58-60). The participants needed to be novice English teachers who would have fresh ideas about the topic and enough experience about the work, and the participants that were chosen had to fulfill these two criteria. In previous research concerning language teacher cognition,

studies have focused on either pre-service teachers, that is teacher trainees, or in-service teachers, that is those who already have completed their training and work in classrooms (Borg 2006). Novice language teachers can be placed in the middle of these two groups, as they already have finished their training but they do not necessarily have a permanent post yet. Borg (2006: 101-106) has also listed previous research comparing novice and expert language teachers, but this kind of comparison is not conducted in the present study.

The present study had nine participants, one male and eight female teachers. Their ages ranged from 25 to 27, hence they were all young novice teachers. Most of them had a Master's degree and they had graduated within three years. A couple of the participants had not yet finished their Master's thesis due to their current work as a teacher, and they were planning to graduate approximately within three months. This is a very common phenomenon among the target group, since many of the graduating English teachers start working before they finish their studies, and therefore their graduation delays. All of the participants had varying work experience as an English teacher, from shorter temporary posts as a substitute teacher to permanent posts, and they had been working as a teacher for one to six years. The work experience of the participants covered most of Finland. Most of them had one or two other languages that they were teaching along with English.

The participants were informed about the main theme of the interview beforehand. The interview questions were not, however, given to them in advance. There are differing opinions about this among researchers. Some think that it is ethically reasonable to let the participants know the topic and the interview questions beforehand and that people are not willing to participate if they do not know what the interview will be about (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 73). Others say that by not providing the actual questions beforehand the participants will give more spontaneous and truthful answers. In addition, providing the questions in advance is often impossible, because many of the questions can and should change as the interview progresses (Patton 2002: 408-410). This is the reason why the questions were not delivered beforehand in the present study. After the interviews, a couple of the participants mentioned that they could have remembered their teaching practices concerning the theme better if they had been given the interview questions

beforehand. That way they could have had more time to think about everything they had done in the classroom during the past few months and years.

4.4 Data processing

The first draft of the interview schedule was composed in December 2008, after which it was revised on the basis of peer-feedback and the theoretical background. A piloting interview was conducted in January 2009. According to Gillham (2005: 25), a piloting interview provides the possibility to ask for comments and feedback from the interviewee and to adjust the interview schedule on the basis of it. In this case, some of the questions were revised on the basis of the feedback. In addition, it gave the opportunity to practice interviewing and to make sure to avoid prompting. After the piloting interview, the participants were sent an e-mail asking for participation in the interview. Apart from one person, all the participants contacted agreed to be interviewed. The interviews were carried out in February and March 2009.

The data of the present study consists of nine interviews. Each interview lasted 35-45 minutes. The interviews were carried out in different places, depending on what the participants preferred. Each interview started with an explanation of the main theme of the interview, and the participants were given information about the recording and the transcribing of the conversation. They were also informed about the protection of anonymity and the use of transcribed parts of the interviews in reporting the results. The participants were instructed that the questions do not measure their proficiency and that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions. They were also informed about the possibility of not answering some questions if they did not want to. The aim of the interview was to explore their opinions and practices regarding English teaching, and that way the participants gave valuable information about what was going on in English classrooms in Finland. This kind of orientation before the actual interview begins is important, even though the information has mostly been delivered already when contacting the participants for the first time (Gillham 2005: 78). The nature of the conversation was quite casual, and at times the interviewer added her own comments in order to create a relaxed atmosphere.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed immediately after each interview. Since all of the participants were Finnish-speaking, the language used was Finnish. This language was chosen because it is usually easier for people to express their ideas freely in their mother tongue. The excerpts of the interviews that were used as examples in chapter 5 were translated from Finnish to English and they can be found in Appendix 3. The translations have the same content as the Finnish extracts, but some of the empty expletives, hesitations and repetitions of syllables have been left out. This has not, however, influenced the content of the excerpts. Each interview has been coded so that it is possible to track down where each excerpt used in the text has been taken from. Each interview has been given a random identification number between 1 and 9. This means that it does not reveal the chronological order of the interviews. In addition, the transcribed interviews have page and line numbers. If, for instance, an excerpt has a number sequence (3,5,22), the excerpt is taken from the third participant's interview, starting on line 22 on page 5. This kind of identification makes it easier to check the wider context of the excerpt if needed, and to make sure that all the examples of a certain category are not taken from the same participant. Since there was only one male participant, all of the participants are referred to as "she" in order to maintain the anonymity of the participants.

The transcription conventions which are used are adapted from Leppänen, Nikula and Kääntä (2008: 430-431). In the transcriptions, short gaps or pauses are indicated with a full stop (*mutta . ei se*). Cut-off sounds or repetitions of syllables are indicated with a line (*mi- mitä*). The symbol (*(xxx)*) stands for unclear speech, and other activities than speech are indicated in brackets (*(laughter)*). Underlining stands for emphasis (*yläkoulussa*) and square brackets with a line inside (*[-]*) indicate an unimportant part in the speech which has been left out of the transcription. The researcher's clarifications are written in square brackets (*[amerikanenglanti]*).

The data of the present study was analyzed for its contents. *Content analysis* may be used to highlight reoccurring trends, patterns or differences within data (Krippendorff 2004: 49). Content analysis can be conducted from three perspectives: on the basis of the theoretical background, on the basis of the data itself, or combining these two (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 107-120). In the present study, the second perspective was applied in the analysis. This kind of an inductive approach

enables the researcher to compile the theoretical background and the data in parallel with each other. This is a very typical feature of qualitative research, where different phases of the study can be run simultaneously, and the data can be gathered even though the theoretical background is not quite ready yet (Tynjälä 1991: 394).

Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 107-120, see also McKay 2006: 57-58) have described the three phases of content analysis. Firstly, the information within the data is reduced by condensing and cutting it into parts. The aim of the study defines which parts of the information should be taken into account. Secondly, the data is clustered by going through the coded utterances and grouping them on the basis of similarities and/or differences. At the same time the data becomes more concentrated, as the individual utterances form more general concepts and subcategories. Thirdly, the data is conceptualized, as the subcategories are combined into broader classifications and concepts. During this process the size of the data reduces but the information it contains becomes more important. In the present study, the analysis of the data followed the process described above. In the first phase the information that the participants' answers contained was reduced into key words and concepts, and in this study these are called *themes*. In the second phase these reduced key words and concepts were grouped on the basis of similarities and reoccurrence and the groups were given a label which described them. In the present study these are called *subcategories*. In the third phase the groups were combined into bigger categories and broader concepts, which are called *main categories* in this study. These categories formed the findings of the present study in chapter 5. Appendix 2 contains tables 1-3 which illustrate the analyzing process of each research question in detail.

According to Dörnyei (2003: 116-117), content analysis has two important advantages. Firstly, content analysis is a convenient way of analyzing answers to open-ended questions, because they do not have precoded response options. Since the data of the present study consists of open-ended questions without precoded response options, content analysis offered a helpful tool to organize the data. With its help, it was possible to form a logical structure into the pool of diverse answers. Secondly, systematic content analysis can help in avoiding the harmful effects of subjectivity on the part of the coder which might otherwise distort the analysis. That way the pool of diverse responses is reduced to a handful of key issues in a reliable

manner. Content analysis, as well as almost every method, is always subjective to some extent. Gillham (2000: 65, as quoted by Dörnyei 2003: 117) has described the difficulty of content analysis by saying that in content analysis there is "a good deal of to-ing and fro-ing and there are almost always some loose ends, unclassifiable elements which have to be reported as such". The most important thing is that the researcher makes the analysis detectable, so that the readers can see the researcher's train of thoughts and with its help decide whether they agree or not with the researcher. From the researcher's point of view, content analysis can be both surprising and frustrating. Surprising in the sense that one cannot know beforehand what the findings might be and what kind of categories will be formed. This can also be challenging, because since the categories are formed fully on the basis of the data, it may be difficult to compare them to the theoretical framework of the study. Both of these aspects were present in the analysis of this study, too.

5   FINDINGS

In the following sections the findings of the present study are reported, together with illustrative extracts from the data. The findings of each research question are introduced in a separate section, and in the beginning of each section a mind map summarizes the findings in a visual form (figures 3-5). The most important words or phrases in the extracts are emphasized with **bold**. Illustrations of the analysis of the data and the formation of the subcategories and main categories can be found in Appendix 2 (tables 1-3). Even though the present study is qualitative in nature, it is interesting to review how many out of the nine participants mentioned each theme. That is why the summaries of the main categories mention in brackets the number of the participants who brought up each theme. The order of the categories reflects the frequency of them, as the main category with the most frequent themes is discussed first. The same argument defines the order of the subcategories and the themes.

5.1   Teacher as a model of an English-speaker

The first research question studied the English teacher as a model of an English-speaker. Even though English teachers in basic education in Finland are almost

always Finns who do not speak English as their mother tongue, they naturally speak English as they teach. Therefore they offer a model of an English-speaker to their pupils. The findings concerning the question formed three main categories: *causes affecting teacher's English*, *characteristics of teacher's English* and *English in the classroom*. Each of these main categories consisted of two subcategories. The analysis of the first research question is illustrated with the mind map (figure 3).
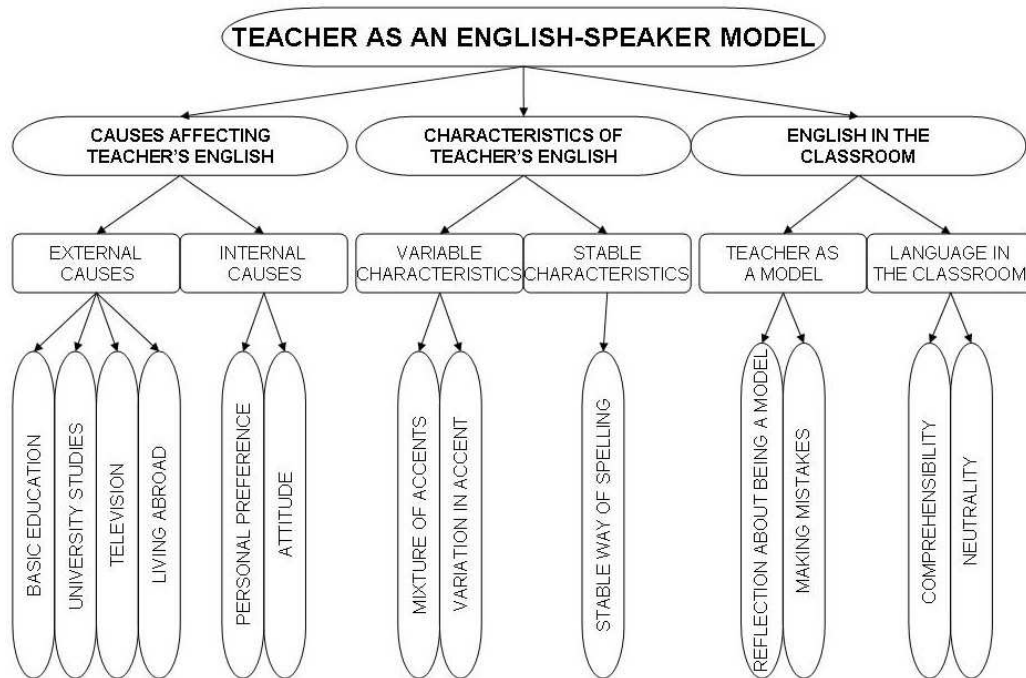
Figure 3. Teacher as an English-speaker model

The first main category, causes affecting teacher's English, consisted of two subcategories, *external causes* and *internal causes*. The two subcategories of the second main category, characteristics of teacher's English, were *variable characteristics* and *stable characteristics*. The third main category, English in the classroom, consisted of two subcategories called *teacher as a model* and *language in the classroom*. The following subsections study these categories with the help of clarifying extracts from the data.

5.1.1 Causes affecting a teacher's English

The findings of the study showed that there are various causes which have affected or which are affecting the English that the novice teachers use. These causes were either *external* or *internal*.

External causes

The external causes that came up in the interviews were causes which came from the outside. This means that the reasons that have influenced a teacher's English were not dependent on the teacher but the environment. English lessons in basic education have had a huge impact on the type of English that the novice teachers use nowadays. This cause is discussed in extract (1):

> *(1) no mitä nyt on <u>harjoteltu</u> just niinkun kuitenkin ääntämistä kun miet-mietitään meidänki se ääntämiskurssi niin kyllähän siinä enemmän . enemmän se kuitenki painottu siihen brittipuolelle ja niinku se **myös koulussa aikanaan sehän nehän oli lähes <u>aina</u> ne luki- lukijat ja muut . tekstien lukijat** niin tota sieltä (9,1,43)*

Since the characters on tapes have had a certain accent, it has also affected the way the participants pronounce English nowadays. English lessons back in their school days have influenced the English of the novice teachers in many other ways, too. Other factors in basic education have been, for instance, the English teacher and the school book. The variety in the school books has been an influential model for spelling, as illustrated in extract (2):

> *(2) varmaan sillon ku ite on käyny kouluja niin **se . on niinku ollu oppikirjoissa se tyyli** [brittienglannin kirjoitustyyli] (7,1,30)*

As most of the texts in school books have been in British English, the novice teacher has adopted British English spelling as her variety in written English.

In addition to basic education, university studies have been an important external cause on the type of English the novice teachers use nowadays. Extract (3) illustrates this:

*(3) ehkä myös **varmaan opinnoissa se oli . oli sitte enemmän . ehkä . opettajilla semmonen tausta** [brittienglannin tausta] siinä sitte taas et varmaan seki muokkaa jollain tapaa että mitä oikeinkirjotusta näkee ja käyttää ja lukee (8,1,43)*

Since most of the professors and teachers in the university studies had been speaking and writing British English, it has affected the novice teachers' way of speaking and writing in English.

Formal teaching of English is not the only factor which has affected the teachers' English. Television seems to play a huge role in determining which variety and accent the novice teachers use. The participant in extract (4) discusses the influence of television:

*(4) mut toisaalta sitte taas ku aattelee sitä että **mä oon aika paljo televisiosta oppinu** niin varmaan puhun puhun myös aika paljo amerikan niinku variantilla koska aika monet sarjat tulee just amerikasta mitä on telkkarista kattonu (1,1,30)*

Accordingly, American English seems to dominate English on television, which had brought features of American English into the language use of the novice teachers. Many participants mentioned that even though they had learned British English at school, television had changed their English more towards the American English variety.

Some of the novice teachers had also stayed abroad in an English-speaking country for a while as an exchange student. Extract (5) introduces the influence which stays abroad have had on the participants' English:

*(5) koska **mä oon ollu sen vuoden vaihto-oppilaana usassa** niin . sielt ehkä jäi vähän sellanen amerikan aksentti [-] vaikeehan sitä oli puhua toisellakaan tavalla ku kaikki muut puhu jollain lailla (3,1,35)*

A year in the United Stated had influenced the participant's English so that she had gotten features of American English in her own language. It is quite natural that the language which everyone else uses around us affects our language.

To sum up, the data of the present study demonstrated four different external causes that have influenced the novice teachers' English. Basic education has had the most important influence (8 participants). More specifically, the factors in basic education have been the school books, the tapes accompanying the books, and the teacher's English. University studies have also changed the way the participants speak and write English, as most of the teachers in the university have had British English background (5 participants). Thirdly, television seems to have affected the teachers' English, and American English has been the most dominant variety on television (4 participants). Finally, longer stays abroad have also influenced the participants' way of speaking and writing in English (3 participants).

Internal causes

The external causes which were mentioned above may have had either conscious or subconscious influence on the novice teachers. This means that the participants may have wanted to imitate the type of English that they had heard at school or on television, or these factors may have influenced their English subconsciously. The data showed that there are, however, also two internal causes which, by contrast, have always been conscious choices of the participants. The first internal cause was personal preference. This means that the novice teachers prefer one variety or accent to the others, and this preference has affected the teachers' own English. Extract (6) illustrates this choice:

> *(6) se varmaan sitte ku on ollu niitä amerikkalaisia kavereita ja mun mielestä* **se on aina kuulostanu hienolta** *että on se ollu tämmönen niinku et ehkä* **halunnu vähän samaistua sitte siihen viiteryhmään** *että on se varmaan mutta osin myös sitte että mm- ollu näitä kavereita ja niitten kans käyttäny sitä kieltä niin sit se on sieltä tullu (5,1,30)*

The participant has consciously chosen to use American English, because she thinks that it sounds wonderful. She has also had American friends and she has wanted to identify with that linguistic group. Other participants explained also that they have such personal preferences for a certain variety or accent over the others, and that is why they have chosen to use them.

Another finding was that in addition to personal preferences, the novice teachers have positive or negative attitudes towards certain varieties, and that has affected their own English. Extract (7) demonstrates negative attitudes of a participant:

*(7) emmä tiedä **mä jotenki koen sen** [brittienglannin] **ehkä . tuntuu hölmöltä sanoa parempana mutta siis näin mä sen ehkä koen** ja mä en . niin . **se on muu- muun muassa maantietellisestiki lähempänä** ja . mä en kaikkea amerikkalaista tai **mä en niin kaikesta amerikkalaisuudesta välitä hirveesti** niin ehkä sekin . on sit siellä taustalla (4,1,31)*

The participant has negative attitudes towards the United States, and that is why she prefers British English to American English. She also explained that since Great Britain is geographically closer to Finland than the United States, she has chosen to use British English. The phrase *it is, among other things, geographically closer* ("se on muun muassa maantieteellisestiki lähempänä") may demonstrate that in addition to geographical factors, Great Britain is also mentally or culturally closer to Finland than the United States, and that is why she feels that American English is somewhat distant to her. Some of the participants also remarked that British English is somehow more polished or elegant than American English, and that is why they want to use it.

To sum up, there were two internal causes that have affected or that are affecting the novice teachers' English. The first one was personal preference, which has made the participants choose one variety of English over the others (7 participants). The other internal cause was negative or positive attitude towards a certain variety which has also affected the choice of variety of the novice teachers (3 participants).

5.1.2 Characteristics of a teacher's English

The data of the present study consisted of several instances where the participants analyzed characteristics of their English. Even though the participants described their English in terms of accent or variety of English, the present study was more interested in the broader characteristics of their language. Instead of simply listing which accent or variety was the most common one, the focus was on whether they use a certain, settled English variety or whether they tend to vary their language use.

Do they give their pupils a model of a fixed variety of English, or do they present features of several varieties? The characteristics mentioned in the data were divided into two subcategories, *variable characteristics* and *stable characteristics*, and these are discussed next.

Variable characteristics

The data contained two repetitive themes which could be described as variable characteristics of the novice teachers' English. The first variable characteristic was mixing of English accents in speech. This aspect is introduced in extract (8):

(8) mä luulen et se [amerikanenglanti] on jääny pikkusen päälle ja nyttemmin yliopistossa ää koska on ollu enemmän brittivaikutteita niin se on ehkä muuttunu vähän siitä [amerikanenglannista] poispäin mutta ei kuitenkaa täysin . eli **ehkä mä puhun jotain niitten sekotusta** *(3,1,38)*

The English accent of the participant has been influenced by both British and American Englishes, because studies at the university have brought British English features into the American English accent which the participant has had before. Therefore the accent at the moment is a mixture of these two. One of the participants described that she has a Canadian English accent, because that accent is described as an intermediate form of British and American English. The participants explained that since they have learned different features of English in different situations, their accent is somewhat mixed.

As the English accent of the novice teachers seems to be a diverse mixture of different accents, they also seem to vary their accent depending on the situation. This variation can be either intentional or unintentional. The participant in extract (9) describes the changes in her accent:

(9) se on semmosta sekalaista että en tiä mitä se oikein on mut se on semmosta jotain . hieman brittiläiseen viittaavaa englantia mut sit **toisaalta jos on niinku tekemisissä vaikka amerikkalaisten kanssa niin sitä hyvin helposti rupee imitoimaan sitä et se muuttuu** *(2,1,35)*

If the participant associates with, say, an American person, she tends to start imitating the American accent and therefore her English changes towards American English, even though her accent is normally more like British English. The other

participants reported also that if they focus on their speech, they can make it sound more like a certain accent. If they speak with a Finnish person in English, their accent may also be somewhat different from interaction with a NS of English. Furthermore, their English may vary depending on the formality of the situation or their role in the situation, and the type of English they use as teachers in the classroom is discussed in section 5.1.3.

In summary, the English of the novice teachers seems to have two strong variable characters. First of all, they do not have a single, settled accent in their speech but they tend to mix features from several NS accents (6 participants). Second of all, they vary their English on the basis of the situation and the interlocutor (6 participants). It is difficult to say whether this happens automatically or intentionally, but it seems to be a common feature of several of the participants.

Stable characteristics

The findings showed only one clearly stable characteristic of the novice teachers' English. This characteristic was a consistent use of a certain NS spelling of English in written language. This aspect is emphasized in extract (10):

> *(10) mä yritän mä just haluisin että **ois niinku silleen selkee** ettei ku sitte voi tulla helposti että kirjotuksessa vois tulla näitä britti ni ni mä oon yritänny vaikka wordi aina alleviivaa ne mun ku mä kirjotan meter enkä metre ja tämmöstä ni **mä yritän pitää sen kuitenki vaikka sen amerikan että ois niinku semmonen yks yhtenevä että ei ois sellanen sekasikiö** (5,1,36)*

The participant wants to use American English spelling consistently in her written language, so that it would not be a *hybrid form* ("sekasikiö"). Other participants described similar objectives of consistency in written language (9 participants). Thus, one can conclude that the novice teachers do this intentionally so that they focus on using the same way of spelling all the time. They also pointed out that the contemporary technology in the form of the word-processing program *Word* helps in this matter, as it has a spell-check where the user can choose the desired way of spelling.

5.1.3 English in the classroom

The third category regarding the first research question was about the type of English that the novice teachers use especially in the classroom. Even though the characteristics of their English were already discussed in section 5.1.2, they seem to change their way of using English while they are teaching. That is why it was treated as a separate category in the present study. This main category consisted of two subcategories, *teacher as a model* and *language in the classroom*, and both of these are examined below.

Teacher as a model

According to the data of the present study, the novice teachers have a strong image of themselves as models of English-speakers in the eyes of their pupils. This image has affected the way they act in the classroom. There were two themes related to this image. The first theme was reflection about being a model. There were several instances in the data which showed that the novice teachers have clearly thought about their role as English-speaker models, and extract (11) presents an example of this kind of reflection:

> *(11) oon mä niinku sanonu niinku että . ku ne kysyy vaikka että . saattaa joskus kysyä et kumpaa pitää käyttää tai kumpaa pitää puhua ni .* **mä oon niinku sanonu et se on ihan niinku oma valinta** *ja sit semmosissa ehkä törmää mä niinku ite mietin jos on jotain sanoja äännetään yhessä et toistakaa mun perässä niin . sitte mulla on niinku semmonen vähä olo et haluuko ne sanoa nyt että water [amerikanenglannin aksentti] vai sanooko ne että water [brittienglannin aksentti] ja silleen että* **välillä mä oon sanonu et älkää tää ei tarkota nyt et teidän on pakko niinku sanoa näin amerikkalaisesti** *ja . mut silti toisaalta* **mun on ite hankala** *olle-* **puhuu jotenki muuten** *ku se on taas mun semmonen niinku oma niin sitte mä oon vaan niinku koittanu että mä puhun ite ihan aika (laughter) vahvasti sitä omaa mut oon antanu vapauden niinku että saa puhua mitä haluaa [-] vaikka itellä on joku semmonen amerikan aksentti ja tommonen niinku suuntautunu vähä niinku amerikkaan niin* **ei se tarkota että mä haluaisin niinku semmosta** *[amerikanenglantia]* **vaan välittää niille** *(5,3,37)*

The participant has been worried that since she has a thick American English accent, her pupils may assume that it is the only model of English that she wants to provide them with. Yet, she says that it would be very difficult for her to change her way of

speaking because of this. That is why she has explained to her pupils that they can choose whichever accent they want to and they do not have to imitate her.

As the previous extract showed, the novice teachers are aware of both their own identity as an English-speaker and their role as an English-speaker model in the classroom. This can be confusing for them, because they do not know which variety they should teach in the classroom. Their way of using English is usually based on the NS models, yet they do not know whether they should use those models in the classroom. Extract (12) describes thoughts about this:

> *(12) **tää on just tää että** <u>**kenen**</u> **englantia me opetetaan** . ja se että et **sit jos opettajilla pitää olla joku tietty aksentti niin** . **et** <u>**miks**</u> **ja kuka sen määrittelee** ja . et siis . tää on <u>hirveen</u> vaikee [-] **sehän on myös vähä niinku identiteettiasia** että . mulla on hyvin auki oikeesti niinku nämä vielä tässä että . että tota tää on sen takia mun mielestä niin mielenkiintonen aihe koska sitä se on hirveen vaikee sanoa [-] **mulla oon kuitenki oma identiteetti sitte siinä kielenkäyttäjänä** (8,2,1)*

If it is expected that teachers should teach one particular variety of English in the classroom, what is the reason for it and who is to decide which variety it should be. The teachers feel that the type of English they use is strongly dependent on their identity as a language-user. If they have to change their way of using English only because they have to act as English-speaker models to their pupils, it also affects their identity. This is why it would be important to study whose English is taught at school, as pointed out in extract (13):

> *(13) mut mä oon ehkä sitä mieltä oon että **mun mielestä ois hirveen hyvä niinku vähän koulu-** . **kouluopetuksessa englanninopetuksessa** <u>**miettiä**</u> **sitä et** <u>**kenen**</u> **englantia siellä opetetaan** . <u>mikä</u> siellä vähän tutkia sitä <u>mikä</u> siellä oikeestaan **onks siellä jollain variantilla sitte semmonen ylivalta et jotain opetetaan** ja . ja pit- **saako se olla niin ja pitäiskö se olla niin** ja . ja siis **mitkä ne arvot et miks joku** <u>**toinen**</u> **englanti on niinku parempaa ku joku toinen englanti** [-] **ei se oo enää silleen kenenkään omaisuus** sillä tavalla et se tässä on just vähä silleen aina miettii että hmm no tätähän nyt varmaan vois hyvinki monella tavalla opettaa ja . että siis on **niitä vaihtoehtoja on niin paljon** . että se on vähä . on mistä valita . ainaki (8,6,52)*

The participant thinks that English does not belong to any certain group of language users anymore, and there is a wide choice of alternatives in terms of English varieties and accents. By studying which varieties are dominant in the classrooms, it would be

possible to start a discussion on whether it is allowed to have such dominance and which are the values behind these decisions. Because of these considerations, the novice teacher feels confused about her choice of English variety in the classroom.

In addition to different kinds of reflections about being language-speaker models to their pupils, the novice teachers seemed to have an interesting view about making mistakes in the classroom, as pointed out in extract (14):

*(14) jos mä vaikka **luokassa opettajana mulle tulis semmonen niin sanottu moka ni se ei olis mun mielestä sillon ihan niin suotavaa** vaikka siis virheiden tekeminen on sallittua ja näin mut **mä en haluais antaa oppilaille väärää mallia** käyttää jotain juttua mutta sitte muuten ni se ei oo mun mielestä millään tavalla vakavaa et kyllä jokainen saa siitä kielestään tavallaan tehä oman näkösensä niin kauan ku tulee ymmärretyks (6,2,4)*

In other words, the novice teacher feels that even though making mistakes when using English is allowed and okay, it is not so allowed for a teacher who is using English in front of pupils. The reason for this is that she does not want to give her pupils a wrong model. Extract (15) provides another example of such way of thinking:

*(15) kyllähän sen [suomenkielen vaikutuksen] kuulee sitte aina ja välillä emmä tiiä huomaako ne oppilaat niinkää mut **ite aina sit särähtää korvaan et voi ei** . **taas ne meni tossa väärin** [-] mutta pakostihan se sieltä ja eihän mun **mä en oo natiivipuhuja niin mä en oo natiivipuhuja (9,2,12)***

Even though the novice teachers seem to accept the influence of Finnish on their English, they may become discouraged if they notice that they have made a mistake in front of their pupils. In addition, the participant seems to think that NSs of English do not make mistakes in, for example, pronunciation.

To sum up, the novice teachers seem to regard themselves as English-speaker models, and this shows in their reflections about it (7 participants). Moreover, they try to avoid making mistakes when using English in the classroom, because they do not want to provide their pupils with a wrong model (3 participants). In their opinion, NSs of English do not make mistakes in their language use, and since they are striving for a NS-like language competency, they should not make mistakes either.

Language in the classroom

In addition to the more general expectations which the novice teachers set to themselves as English-speaker models, the data also showed that there are some specific characteristics of the language which the teachers use in the classroom. Section 5.1.2 discussed some more general characteristics of the language of the participants, but the following two features seem to be typical of their English in the classroom.

First of all, the novice teachers strive for comprehensibility or clarity in their classroom English, as pointed out in extract (16):

> *(16) joskus niinku **opettaessa yrittää silleen puhua selkeemmin** koska kuitenkin amerikan englannissa ehkä vähän se enemmän sekottuu ne äänteet . että se on sitte kans semmonen . semmonen tota niinkun tai ajattelen ainaki että **se on helpompi sitten heidän erottaa ne äänteet** (9,2,1)*

The teachers try to use clearer English in the classroom than they normally do. They, for instance, try to pronounce different phonemes more carefully, so that the pupils could distinguish them more easily. In addition, they have tried to avoid the influence of Finnish as their mother tongue, because speaking English with a Finnish accent might, according to them, be difficult to understand for their pupils. This was also one of the reasons why some of them wanted to sound as much NS-like as possible – it would be easier for pupils to understand them.

Second of all, as some of the novice teachers have tried to imitate NS-like accent so that their pupils would understand them better, some of them have tried to neutralize their accent in order to avoid causing negative connotations or attitudes towards a certain accent. Negative attitudes towards American English are discussed in extract (17):

> *(17) huomaa että jossain niinku **luokassa ei ehkä tai yrittää välttääki että ei puhu niin hirveen leveetä jenkkiä** ja semmosta mut sitte jos on vaikka amerikkalaisten kanssa niin sitä helpommin puhuu sitte enemmän semmosta ja yrittää välttää niinku semmosta suomalaista mutta sitte jos puhuu vaikka suomalaisten kanssa niin **voi niinku vähä yrittää ettei se oo niin semmosta ärsyttävän vahvaa jenkkiä [-] jotain amerikkavastaisia ihmisiä se voi ärsyttää** niinku suomessa vaikka ja kyllä mä sain joskus norssillaki semmosta palautetta*

*[-] että aluks ärsytti leveä jenkkiaksentti mutta sitte siihen tottui että voi kuvitella ku amerikka taas ei välttämättä oo kovin kovassa huudossa ainakaa nyt bushin aikaan ollu . niin **se voi sitte niinku** kär- **kohdistua vähä niinku siihen aksenttiin sitte että niinku se ärsyttää koska ärsyttää vaikka amerikka maana tai amerikkalaiset** (5,1,51)*

The teacher has noticed that she strives for a neutral accent, or a very general American English accent, in order to avoid irritation among the pupils. Strong American English, for example, can irritate those pupils who do not like Americans or the United States as a country. That is why the teacher with a very thick American English accent tries to neutralize her English accent every time she teaches. This has not, however, affected her way of speaking English outside her workplace. Other participants reported also that as they are teaching they strive for a more neutral American or British English accent.

In summary, the novice teachers tend to change their normal way of using English in two ways as they use English in the classroom. They try to make it more comprehensible (5 participants) and they try to neutralize their accent (3 participants). This shows that the teachers can have different identities as English-speakers – one as teachers and one as "normal" English users outside classroom.

5.1.4 Summary of the teacher as a model of an English-speaker

All in all, when describing the novice teachers as English-speaker models, one can find both reasons that have affected their English and characteristics that are common to their English. First of all, there are various reasons behind the variety and accent of English that the novice teachers use. Some of the reasons are external, some of them are internal. Some of them may be conscious choices that the teachers have made because they have wanted to identify with a certain language group or separate themselves from some linguistic or cultural groups. Some of the causes may have been totally subconscious. This may be the case in the situation where, for instance, a young child is starting to study English in elementary school. At an early age children are not necessarily aware of all the different varieties of English, and they start to imitate the English they hear on tapes, on television or in the teacher's

speech. Later on, as the data of the present study have demonstrated, the language learners often become aware of these subconscious causes.

Second of all, the characteristics of the novice teachers' English are both variable and stable. The paradox between spoken English and written English is that as the novice teachers describe their spoken English they use words like *mixture* of different accents, whereas when describing their written English they say that they try to avoid it being a *mixture*. It is interesting to wonder why the novice teachers strive for a consistent use of one way of spelling in written English, even though they do not have such ambitions with their spoken English. Moreover, their models of English are based on NS varieties and they do not seem to describe their English as, for example, Finnish English, which could be seen as an EIL variety.

Third of all, the novice teachers are clearly aware of their role as English-speaker models in the classroom. They try to avoid making mistakes in front of their pupils, and in their English use they strive for comprehensibility and neutrality. Often these changes in their language use are conscious, and even though they do not normally have strict demands for "perfect" English, they seem to have higher expectations for flawless English in the classroom.

5.2   Role of culture in English teaching

The second research question studied the role of culture and cultural contents in English teaching. The findings of the second research question were divided into three main categories: *culture defined from the outside*, *culture defined through concrete components*, and *culture as part of the language*. The analysis is illustrated with the mind map (figure 4).
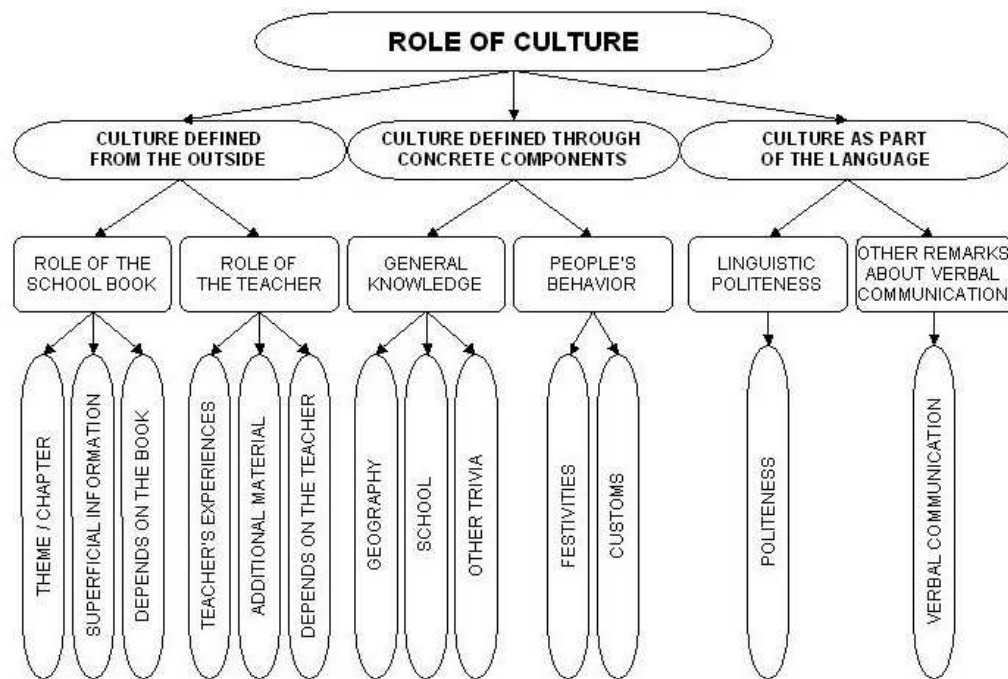
Figure 4. Role of culture when teaching English in Finland

The first main category, culture defined from the outside, consisted of two subcategories: *the role of the school book* and *the role of the teacher*. The second main category, culture defined through concrete components, had two subcategories as well: *general knowledge* and *people's behavior*. The third main category, culture as part of the language, consisted of two subcategories called *linguistic politeness* and *other remarks about verbal communication*. Each of these main categories will be discussed in the following subsections with the help of examples from the data. The fourth subsection reports shortly the findings about the interesting question of whose culture is taught at school. This factor was not a category that came up in the analysis, but since it was discussed with the participants and it is an important question when thinking about the international nature of English nowadays, it should not be left untouched. The fifth subsection expands this into intercultural communication and how it is taken into consideration in English teaching.

5.2.1 Culture defined from the outside

The findings of the study showed that as the novice teachers think about culture in their teaching, they often present it as something that is defined from the outside, either *by the school book* or *by the teacher* him or herself.

Role of the school book

The data of the present study showed that the school book has an important role when teaching cultural contents. Different cultures are usually divided into separate themes or chapters in the books. Extract (18) illustrates this point:

> *(18) no monesti se aina menee vähä silleen **<u>maakohtasesti</u> että noissa kirjoissa saattaa olla se että . että tässä nyt on vaikka viis kappaletta** jostain irlantilaisesta tytöstä kerrotaan ja näin ja sillon siitä sitte otetaan sitä ja sitte taas mennään vaikka amerikkalaisen . jonku tota niin nuoren elämää seuraamaan ja sitte . katotaan sieltä että mitä . mitä siihen liittyy et se menee monesti tällä tavalla niinku yläkoulu tuntuu ainaki että oppimateriaaleissa se on ajateltu sillä tavalla monesti se (8,4,27)*

Different cultures or countries are divided into separate themes, which are scattered in the books, so that different cultures are rarely discussed together. For instance, five chapters tell about the life of an Irish girl, and that way the pupils get to know something about Irish culture. After this the following chapters may tell about American culture by following the life of an American youngster.

Sometimes there may be only one chapter which is supposed to be enough for introducing one culture. This is discussed in extract (19):

> *(19) siinä oli joku just australiaa käsittelevä kappale . se oli just sillä tavalla että joku **australiakin niin se meni tavallaan yhessä kappaleessa** että se oli nyt niinku se vaihtelu siihen normaaliin (7,3,30)*

Cultures are often handled separately and briefly. The participant explained that Australia, for instance, has been discussed in one chapter, and that has brought some variety into the "normal themes", which in this case referred to British and American cultures.

In addition to the small number of chapters on different cultures, the participants felt that cultural components are only something extra, and everything else is more important in the chapters. This is mentioned in extract (20):

(20) siis sitä tulee sillä lailla . monestihan kie- noitten kirjojen kappaleet on laadittu sillä lailla että niissä olis siinä sisällössä jotain kulttuuriin liittyvää et **se tulee siinä niinku tavallaan ohessa** *. mut että must tuntuu et se hirveen monesti jää silleen* **että siitä ei sitte varsinaisesti keskustella** *että keskitytään vaan siihen kappaleeseen ja kappaleen kääntämiseen että se ymmärretään se teksti oikein mut että se* **tekstin sisältö itessään jää vähän heikosti käsiteltyä** *(1,4,4)*

As the data shows, teaching often concentrates more on the language itself, rather than the content of the chapters in the books. It is common for the teacher and the pupils to focus more on translating the chapter and understanding each sentence correctly, and so they do not discuss the information in the chapter so deeply.

Cultural contents were also described as something which is covered only superficially in the school books, as extract (21) reveals:

(21) no oli joku oli joku skotlantijakso ku **käytiin ihan tämmöstä yleistä triviaa et ei nyt mitenkää syvällistä** *et se oli todella semmosta* **pintapuolista kulttuuritietoa** *mutta vähän edes (2,4,8)*

Cultural information in the chapters is often superficial trivia, which does not go deeper into cultural issues. For instance, a chapter about Scotland had provided only very general information about its culture. The participant stated, however, that it is better than nothing.

As the previous points showed, the school book has an important role in defining culture and bringing up cultural issues into language teaching. This point was also made by the novice teachers, as they talked about the role of the school book. Extract (22) illustrates this:

(22) monesti just näissä . ku siirrytään osiosta toiseen niin niissä on sitte semmosia kulttuurijuttuja mut . mut aika paljonhan se just **riippuu tosta . mikä kirjasarja on käytössä** *(9,5,1)*

Cultural content is dependent on the school book used. Especially contemporary school books seem to be quite good in terms of cultural teaching, as discussed in extract (23):

> *(23) jotenki luottaa myös siihen että **aika hyviä jo on oppikirjat** että sitte niissä tulee aika paljo sitä maantuntemusta ja semmosta niinku itessään (5,5,34)*

The novice teachers rely on the contents of the school books. The books nowadays are claimed to have quite a lot of cultural themes and information on different countries, and the participants seemed to be pleased with that.

In summary, the participants explained that cultural components are divided into themes or chapters which cover one culture at a time (6 participants). Different cultures are not discussed together and there are no chapters which would discuss intercultural themes. Secondly, the participants remarked that cultural components are often superficial information or only something extra in the books – culture is not an important subject in itself (6 participants). Thirdly, the themes related to culture often depend on the school books and what the writers have found important (5 participants). The novice teachers seem to rely on the quality of the contemporary books.

Role of the teacher

Even though the school book has a big role in defining cultural teaching, the teacher has an important role in it, too. The novice teachers seem to approach the topic with the help of their own experiences about other cultures, as extract (24) points out:

> *(24) mä oon ite ollu pari kertaa amerikassa niinku vähä pitemmän aikaa niin ni kyllä sitä haluaa niinku vaikka itelläki se on tietenki ihan pieni niinku kuva siitä amerikasta ihan <u>olematon</u> mut silti jotenki niinku voi kuvitella tai itestä on ainaki kiva jos joku kertoo niinku **omia kokemuksia** niin me ollaan katottu vaikka yhessä kuvia ja mä oon niinku niistä kuvista niinku tuonu jotain niinku **mistä mun mielestä tulee se amerikkalainen <u>kulttuuri</u> esiin** ja niinku et ja haluaisin että enemmänki olis että **pitää nyt niinku ruveta vaan matkustamaan** tässä näin kans että et edes jotain niinku . ja huomaa että **oppilaat hirveesti tykkää semmosesta** (5,5,36)*

The novice teacher feels that pupils are excited to hear about her experiences abroad. She has shown them photos that she has taken in the United States, and that way they

have talked about American culture. She would want to travel more, so that she could have personal experience about several cultures.

The stories do not always have to be experienced by the teacher. Even stories about the teacher's relatives or friends will do. This aspect is discussed in extract (25):

> *(25) mä ite tykkään niinku heittää enemmän sellasta että **mun kaveri** siellä tai täällä tai niin edelleen että sellaset jutut yleensä **jää niille paremmin mieleen** (6,4,29)*

Stories about the teacher's friends abroad have also raised the pupils' interest, and they seem to remember those stories better than the ones that the school books report.

In addition to the teachers' experiences, the participants of the study remarked that they should gather lots of additional material about other cultures. This point is made in extract (26):

> *(26) et mulle ainaki on tullu itelle semmonen kuva että **mun pitäis hirveesti hommata semmosta muuta materiaalia semmosta kulttuurimateriaalia** oikein että mä saisin joka kappaleeseen semmosta lisätietoa että mä saisin sitte vielä kerrottua lapsille enemmän siitä . **että mä saisin niille kerrottua sitä muutenki sitä kulttuurijuttua kuin mitä siinä kirjassa tulee** ja että siitä . jo- jotenki käsiteltyä sitä enemmän sitä kulttuuria siellä [-] se on tietenki eri asia . **kuinka syvää se on sitte että jos ei oo minkäänlaisia omia kontakteja** tai näin niin kuinka hyvin ne jää mieleen (8,4,8)*

The participant wants to gather plenty of material about cultural issues in order to be able to teach cultural contents. At the same time, the participant suspects that if cultural teaching is based on materials which are not connected to the teacher's own experiences, pupils may not learn cultural issues so well. In other words, cultural teaching which arises from the teacher's experiences is more meaningful for pupils than cultural materials which are gathered only for teaching purposes. That is why the teacher should have some contacts to other cultures. Similar feelings are discussed in extract (27), in which the need for cultural issues has caused feelings of inadequacy:

> *(27) tuo oli sellanen oikeen **kipukynnys itellä** tai mietti että <u>miten</u> sitä pystyy niinku opettaa sitä kulttuuria niinku että se on niin <u>hirveen</u> laaja ja englannin- englanninkielinen puhuvia maita [-] niitä on hirveen monta että mä niinku*

ikinä mun tuntemus riitä siihen *että mä voisin kertoa jotain niinku täysin jostain intian kulttuurista ja australia ja amerikka ja englannin ja mitä niitä nyt on . et se niinku tuntuu että ihan* **riittämättömyys iskee** *siinä (5,5,22)*

The teacher has felt inadequacy when talking about cultures which she has not visited or experienced herself. The participant described this as a "pain threshold", and she has felt that her knowledge is not enough for introducing different cultures to her pupils.

The findings of the study showed that the novice teachers are aware of their own role in introducing cultural issues to their pupils. Extract (28) illustrates the role of the teacher when teaching cultural contents:

(28) no sanotaanko niin että ää . kirjasarjasta riippuen ää siinä itse kirjassa voi olla aika paljonki semmosia sivuhuomautuksia tai sit niitä voi olla tosi vähän . mutta sit **se on vähän opettajasta riippuvaa se että miten paljo sitte niinku haluaa muuten tarinoida asioita** *(6,4,9)*

Even though the school books present cultural topics, it depends on the teacher how much she wants to bring additional information about different cultures into language teaching. This is also discussed in the extract (29):

(29) totta kai se [kulttuuri] nyt jää vähemmälle kuin se ite kieli . mutta sitte musta tuntuu että **mä ite aina sinne lisäilen jotain kommentteja** *riippuen asiayhteydestä (3,4,19)*

The teacher states that cultural issues are in a minor position compared to the language itself. She, however, likes to add her own comments and stories to bring up more cultural issues than what the school books present.

Interestingly, even though many of the participants pointed out their own role in talking about other cultures, only one participant mentioned pupils' own experiences about other cultures and how those experiences could be used in the classroom. This point is made in extract (30):

(30) ja sitte niinku hyödyntää myös sitä **oppilaitten** <u>**omaa**</u> **tuntemusta** *et sitte taas ne on tuonu ku on ollu ollu [-] matkailu teemana niin ne on tuonu omia kuvia ja sitte joku on saattanu olla vaikka australiassa ja se taas kertoo niinku*

*et **ei sen tarvi olla että <u>mä</u> jaan niille vaan että niinku yhessä opitaan** tavallaan (5,5,42)*

In other words, it is not always the teacher who should be in charge of talking about other cultures, since many pupils have been abroad and they can also teach each other and the teacher.

To sum up, the teacher's role is vital and it can be seen in three different factors. First of all, the novice teachers use their own experiences as examples of other cultures, or they report experiences that their friends have had abroad (5 participants). They have noticed that pupils like to hear about their own experiences and that pupils remember those stories better than the information in the school books. Second of all, the novice teachers feel that they should travel more and gather lots of extra material to be able to please their pupils and answer their questions about other cultures (3 participants). If they have not travelled much, they may feel inadequacy when talking about other cultures and they say that if the stories are not based on their own experiences, the teaching may be quite superficial. Thirdly, it is often the teacher who is in charge of bringing up culture in the classroom (3 participants). The novice teachers feel that they have the responsibility to talk about other cultures and add some extra comments to those cultural themes which the school books present. The experiences that pupils have about other cultures seem to be underutilized, as they are not often used in the classroom.

5.2.2 Culture defined through concrete components

When looking at the data in detail, there were reoccurring themes in terms of concrete components representing culture. These concrete components were divided into two subcategories: *general knowledge* and *people's behavior*, which will be discussed next.

General knowledge

One finding was that when the novice teachers were asked about cultural contents in language teaching, they started describing different topics of general knowledge

about other cultures. Geography, as extract (31) illustrates, is often discussed in the classroom as part of culture:

 (31) ja nyt sitte mä käyn tällä hetkellä läpi . yhdysvaltoja juuri niin niin siinä käyään niinku eri osavaltioita yhdysvalloissa . **niistä tulee niinku maantietoaki . emmä tiä onko maantieto ny kulttuuria** *. no tavallaan . tämmösiä juttuja mulle tulee äkkiseltään mieleen (1,4,16)*

The class had been discussing different states in the United States, and it was easy to go through the geography of the country at the same time. Even though the participants mentioned geography as part of culture, they did have some hesitations about whether it is counted as a cultural issue.

In addition to geography, concrete topics regarding school and studying in other cultures were seen as part of cultural learning. Extract (32) shows how different cultures can be compared in terms of school:

 (32) no just tulee tulee niinku esimerkiks alakoulussa nää et min- et **minkälainen <u>koulu</u> on siellä esimerkiks briteissä ja minkälainen se on suomessa et tulee nää koulupuvut ja kaikki nää erot et mitähän aineita** *ja mitä kaikkee tämmöstä niinku . semmosia kulttuurisia juttuja (2,4,29)*

Information on school in other cultures is often used when the participants want to compare Finland to other cultures, and a school uniform is commonly used as an example of the differences between these cultures. The data showed that this kind of comparison is used especially in the lower grades, since school is a familiar subject even for younger pupils.

Besides geography and school, the novice teachers share information also on other topics when teaching culture in English lessons. For instance, cuisine and living in a certain country are introduced in extract (33):

(33) ja mitä mieleen tulee ku käydään jotain kappaleita läpi jos käydään jotain **asumisasioita tai . ruokailua [-] ja englantilaiset asuvat sellaisissa ja tällaisissa asunnoissa** *ja heillä ei ole tuplaikkunoita tai jotain muuta vastaavaa et se on niinku enemmän sellasta sen tyyppistä (6,4,23)*

Besides living and cuisine, the participants mentioned typical games, the flag of a country, the system of government, and history as good topics for describing other

cultures. All of these are very concrete components in a culture, and they may be easily taught and understood, even for younger pupils. These components can be taken to the classroom as concrete items, or they can be shown on a picture or a map, tasted as a dish or bakery, heard as a song, or played by the pupils themselves, for instance.

To sum up, all kinds of general knowledge or trivia play an important role when the novice teachers are introducing other cultures to their pupils. Geography is a topic which is often discussed together with the chapters about other countries in the school books (4 participants). Information about school and educational systems in different cultures are often used when the teachers want to compare Finland to other countries (3 participants). In addition, the novice teachers mentioned also several miscellaneous topics describing other cultures (5 participants).

People's behavior

The other subcategory concerning culture defined through concrete components was people's behavior, and it consisted of two themes, *festivities* and *customs*. The celebration of different festivities is a way of introducing other cultures in language teaching, as extract (34) shows:

> *(34) aika paljo on nytte sitten . käyty just ihan . tota niin niin . öö no mitä nyt on kaikkea **näitä pyhiä** niitten osalta . **juhlia** sun muita ja sitten **ihan on käyty silleen erikseenkin** (9,4,49)*

Different festivities in other cultures are discussed in the classroom as separate topics. The novice teachers mentioned, for instance, Christmas and Thanksgiving. It is easy to compare the festivities in other cultures to the ones people celebrate in Finland. Even though festivities are not concrete items themselves, they can be addressed by showing pictures of items or customs related to them.

In addition to festivities, cultural groups have also other customs which reflect people's behavior in other cultures. Extract (35) describes other forms of behavior which are discussed in the classroom:

*(35) mä ite koen sen tärkeenä että tuo myös sitä kulttuuria mukaan niinku nimenomaan tavallaan kun puhuu siitä että miten <u>oikeet</u> ihmiset jotka <u>oikeesti</u> tätä kieltä niinku käyttää äidinkielenään ja siellä missä ne asuu niin **ne oikeesti tekee niin ja näin ja oikeesti ne ei huuhtele astioita tiskauksen jälkeen tai jotain** . niin **se on sellasia asioita mitkä niinku ei kuitenkaa vie tunnista hirveesti aikaa mutta ne tekee jotenki paljon niinku autenttisempaa** siitä . kielenopettelusta ja **paljon mielekkäämpää ja mielenkiintosempaa** niille oppilaille . mä mun mielestä se on tosi tärkeetä et **opettaa myös sen kontekstin tavallaan mihin se kieli kuuluu** ei pelkästään se oikee sanasto (6,4,11)*

The novice teacher wants to present information on the everyday practices or rituals of those people who use English as their mother tongue. She feels that it does not take much time to talk about such things, and yet it makes the learning more authentic and interesting for pupils. Therefore it is not enough to teach only the vocabulary, since it is important for the pupils to get to know the context of the language, that is the culture.

To conclude, the concrete components of cultures which had to do with people's behavior seemed to be commonly introduced by the novice teachers. Even though they talk about all kinds of practices that people in other cultures do in their everyday lives (4 participants), festivities appeared to be the most popular custom discussed in the classroom (6 participants). These practices are not necessarily such concrete items as the themes in the first subcategory, general knowledge. These are, however, something that can be easily visualized with the help of good teaching materials.

5.2.3 Culture as part of the language

One finding was that in addition to concrete components of culture and culture as something that is defined from the outside, there are also some components of culture that are seen as part of the language. This was demonstrated in two subcategories, *linguistic politeness* and *other remarks about verbal communication*.

Linguistic politeness

Most of the remarks about verbal communication which were mentioned in the data were connected to linguistic politeness. The novice teachers want their pupils to learn how to express politeness in English, as mentioned in extract (36):

*(36) emmä nyt tiedä lasketaanko tätäkää kulttuuriin mut **nää kaikki kohteliaisuussanat englannissa et kun niit käytetään paljo enemmän niin toki sitä tulee sit verrattua suomeen** et oppilaat sit tiedostaa sen eron että ne tietää et miks jotakin tiettyjä sanoja käytetään ja miks tehdään näin (4,3,29)*

Politeness in communication is often compared to the way how people show politeness in Finnish. The participants remarked that since politeness is more important in English, their pupils should learn how to show it and why it is important. Especially the word *please* is seen as a small, yet significant factor in English, as extract (37) demonstrates:

*(37) **siellä pitää olla aina se please mieluiten** vaikka suomessa sitä ei käytetä mutta **se olis hyvien tapojen mukaista** (7,4,9)*

The reason for this is that there is no such word used in Finnish and the participants want to teach their pupils how to show good manners in English. In other words, the novice teachers want their pupils to learn how to act politely in verbal communication, either by using *please* or some other polite expressions (6 participants).

Other remarks about verbal communication

Even though politeness was by far the most common theme when thinking about verbal communication and culture as part it, the participants did make some other remarks about verbal communication in terms of cultural issues, too. The novice teachers find it difficult to talk about verbal communication, as mentioned in extract (38):

*(38) ne on just tälläsiä erillisiä just jotain vaikka ruokia ja tälläsiä aika konkreettisia asioita että sit **sellasia mitä vois ehkä enemmänki tuoda esille just ylemmillä asteilla on nää kaikki tälläset kuinka tärkeetä on sanoa please ja kaikkee tällästä . <u>kommunikaatioon</u> liittyvää niin sitä vois olla ehkä enemmänki** . että ne on tietysti paljo helpompia sellasia jotain että tämä on nyt tämä lippu ja tämä on nyt tämä ja siellä on kuninkaalliset ja . ne on ehkä jollain tavalla helpompia käsitellä (2,4,16)*

At the moment cultural teaching is mostly concentrated on concrete components, but teachers could also share information about suitable ways of communication in a certain culture, especially in the higher grades. Even though it is easier to talk about

more concrete components, it would also be important to mention such guidelines that have to do with communication. One participant mentioned that culture in school books is more about concrete components and guidelines for a certain situation, whereas the participant would want to bring up broader and more general components of culture.

Guidelines for communication in a certain culture reflect the tight connection between language and culture. This connection is discussed in extract (39):

> (39) *sit mä niinku tajusin että s- että se* **paljo niinku tulee siinä ite kielessä on sitä kulttuuria** *. silleen että . britit sanoo how do you do ja toinen vastaa how do you do niinku ja . ei sen tarvi mitä kuuluu mitä kuuluu ja tai silleen että* **se kulttuuri on niinku sidottu siihen** <u>**kieleen**</u> **tavallaan monissa asioissa** *ja niinku sitä kautta voi kertoa niinku vaikka kulttuurista niinku nää kohteliaisuussäännöt et siellä ei oo kohteliasta mennä sanoo niinku suomalainen vois olla vaikka suorempi ja . niin tavallaan seki tulee vähä niinku siitä kielestä että please sanan käyttö vaikka että . niin niin ehkä seki tommoset asiat niin ne* **se kieli heijastaa sitä kulttuurii** *silleen (5,5,27)*

The novice teacher had noticed that by teaching the language she can also teach culture. That is why cultural teaching does not necessarily have to include separate pieces of information about a culture, because a deeper understanding of the culture can be achieved through the language. All in all, the novice teachers had remarked that teaching communication skills was one way of teaching culture (5 participants). They did not, however, have any clear suggestions for how to do it.

5.2.4 Cultures that are being taught

As the participants were asked about teaching culture in the English lessons, they were also asked about which cultures are being discussed in the classroom. All of their answers were very similar, and extract (40) demonstrates their joint opinion:

> (40) *lähinnä ne on näitten öö britannia ja sitte amerikka et toki niissä pienissä pätkissä kun on muita kulttuureita tai muita noita variantteja tarkasteltu ni voi on voinu olla jotakin pieniä mutta siis se on sit erittäin vähäistä et* **se on keskitytty tohon britteihin ja amerikkaan** *(4,3,24)*

In other words, the variety of cultures where people speak English as their mother tongue focuses mostly on two cultures: American culture and British culture. Moreover, most of the participants thought that cultural teaching is totally or mostly connected to those cultures where English is spoken as a mother tongue, and as extract (41) shows, they do not necessarily question this phenomenon:

> *(41) yleensä joo [natiivikulttuureita] . joo . ei oo **harvemmin on tullu mieleen ees ruveta puhumaan jostain** . öö saksalaisten jostain jutuista et **lähinnä semmosia missä maissa sitä englantia puhutaan** (6,4,20)*

The participant maintains that she has not even thought of talking about any other cultures than those where English is spoken as a mother tongue.

5.2.5 Intercultural communication

Even though the findings showed that cultural teaching is very strongly focused on cultures where English is spoken as a mother tongue, there were a few remarks about the need for intercultural communication skills. The following piece of conversation in extract (42) describes what one participant thinks that cultural teaching is at the moment and what it should be:

> *(42) Interviewer: onko se kulttuurinopetuskin aina niihin natiivikulttuureihin sidottu*
> Participant7: ***on se tähän mennessä ollu .vaikka sen ei pitäis olla*** *mutta tota . kyl se oikeestaan on ollu*
> Interviewer: *no miksi sen ei pitäisi olla*
> Participant7: *no koska . **kumminki se missä pääasiassa sitä englantia käytetään niin tulee olemaan se että ne ei välttämättä oo niitä natiiveja . niin ylipäätänsä se . kulttuurienvälisyys siinä . oli se sitte mikä kulttuuri tahansa** eikä se että mitenkä nyt esimerkiks . briteissä toimitaan tai mitkä tavat siellä on mutta että ylipäätänsä niinku . **jotenki herkistää sille kulttu-kulttuurienväliselle viestinnälle** (7,3,37)*

The participant points out that cultural teaching should not only concentrate on NS cultures, because pupils will more likely use English with other NNSs of English. Similar thoughts are also reported in extract (43):

> *(43) kyllä ne taitaa aika pitkälle olla natiivikulttuureita . että **aika vähän tätä tällästä että mikä se kuitenki se todellisuus on että se on se <u>kansainvälisissä</u> yhteyksissä se kommunikaatio on ei-natiivien kanssa** niin sitä ehkä tulee*

*vähemmän . ehkä se tulee sit jossain niinku harjotusten kautta et saattaa olla just jotain leikitään työhaastattelua tai jotain tälläsiä niin siellä tulee enemmän sit sitä . että **mitkä ne vois olla ne todelliset tilanteet että missä sitä sit käytetään . että se ei välttämättä oo ensimmäisenä se natiivi** (2,4,22)*

In other words, there is very little practice of or discussion about communication with other NNSs of English, even though the reality in international interaction is that people will probably communicate with other NNSs.

These extracts show that there is a difference between the actual practices in the classrooms and the desired practices of the novice teachers. The teachers do not seem to find a way to bring intercultural elements into the classroom, and they find it easier to talk about NS cultures, one at a time. Besides, the range of the cultures where English is spoken as a mother tongue seems to have culminated into two cultures, American culture and British culture. The only occasions where the novice teachers may give their pupils a chance to practice communication with other NNSs of English is when they simulate some real-life situations, such as a job interview.

5.2.6 Summary of the role of culture in English teaching

To conclude, one can state that culture plays a minor role in English teaching and that cultural teaching is focused on British and American cultures. First of all, cultural contents when teaching English in Finland are strongly dependent on which topics the school book address or what the teachers think are important or interesting. This means that cultural themes do not arise from, for instance, the language itself or from the pupils' interests. Culture is defined as something extra, a separate theme of its own, which is therefore discussed separately and not as an integral part of everything that is done in the classroom.

Second of all, the participants seemed to view culture through concrete items or customs that symbolize a certain culture. They provide information on such concrete components for their pupils, and they also think that it is easy to compare such concrete components in other cultures to the ones in Finland. Some of the participants referred to the concrete components as "quiz questions", which means that they are short, unambiguous pieces of information which are easily understood

by the pupils. That may be the reason why they are so commonly used in English teaching.

Thirdly, even though the participants did see culture as part of the language, especially when thinking about expressing politeness in English, culture was more commonly defined through concrete components or by the teacher or the school book than by the language itself.

5.3   EIL contents in English teaching

The third research question studied those teaching practices and contents which somehow illustrate the contemporary status of English as an international language. On the basis of the data, EIL contents were divided into three main categories: *status of English in the world*, *different varieties of English* and *reflection about EIL contents in teaching*. The mind map (figure 5) illustrates the categories which were formed.
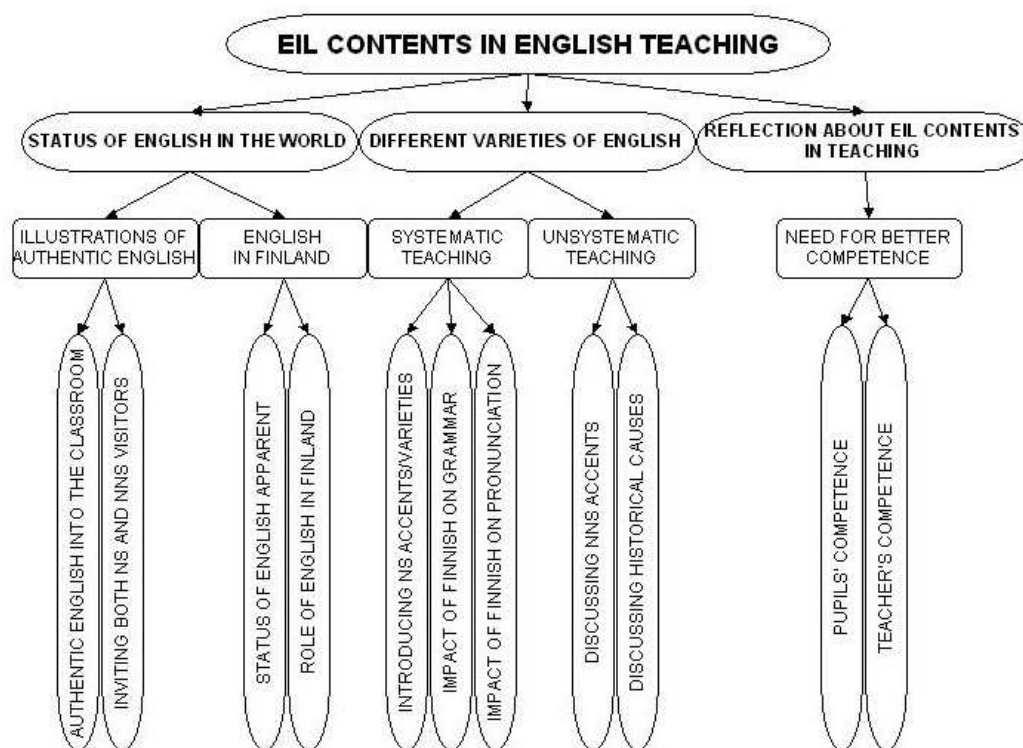

Figure 5. EIL contents in English teaching

The subcategories of the first main category, status of English in the world, were *illustrations of authentic English* and *English in Finland*. The second main category, different varieties of English, had also two subcategories and they were called *systematic teaching* and *unsystematic teaching*. The only subcategory of the third main category, reflection about EIL content in teaching, was the *need for better competence*. Similarly to the first two research questions, the categories of the third research question are discussed in the following subsections with the help of extracts from the data.

5.3.1 Status of English in the world

The findings of the study showed that when the novice teachers try to demonstrate the contemporary status of English as an international language to their pupils, they do it by providing the pupils with *illustrations of authentic English* or by discussing the status of *English in Finland*.

Illustrations of authentic English

The novice teachers think that it is very important to give the pupils possibilities to come to contact with authentic English. Extract (44) demonstrates this opinion:

> *(44) **kyllä mä niinku nään et se on tosi tärkee et se kieli niinku . elävä kieli tulee sinne luokkaan** ei sillä oo väliä niinku että onks se natiivi vai eiks koska se on just siis se lingua franca tavallaan että että ne **että ne oppilaat sais sen kokemuksen jes että tää englanti on hyvä ja tän kautta mä saan tietää ton saksalaisen kulttuurista lisää** että ei siinä oo niinku olennaista se olleenkaa [-] se on hyvä ku **siinä tulee sitä <u>aitoo</u> vuorovaikutusta ja semmosta <u>aitoo</u> kielenkäyttöä** (5,6,13)*

The teacher wants to give the pupils experiences through which they understand that by using English they can get to know more about other cultures. It is not enough to read English texts in the school books or listen to authentic English on audio tapes, because she wants her pupils to get a personal experience of interacting in English. Such authentic experiences for using English are often created with the help of visitors, but the novice teachers use also other kinds of materials with which they can

show their pupils that the English language is not only in the school books or audio tapes but outside the classroom.

When the novice teachers were asked to tell about the visitors they have had in English lessons and who they would like to invite, they explained that it does not matter whether the visitor is a NS or a NNS of English. In extract (45) one participant explains why NNSs are welcome, too:

> (45) **ei sillä mun mielestä oo sillä lailla väliä että onko se natiivi vai ei koska jos sitä englantia käytetään siinä vaan sinä kommunikoinnin välineenä niin samalla laillahan se tulee todeksi niille oppilaille sillon** *että mä nyt käytän tätä englantia johonki muuhunki ku vaan täällä tunnilla tekem- muodostamaan lauseita . että kyllä . kyllä siinä on mun mielestä järkeä silloinki (1,4,36)*

When the pupils get to communicate in English with someone who does not speak Finnish, they understand that English is a means of communication with which they can share thoughts with other people. In such a situation it does not matter whether the interlocutor speaks English or some other language as a mother tongue, as long as they can communicate in English. Even though this was a common opinion among the novice teachers, one of the participants thought that visitors should be mainly NSs of English, as extract (46) reveals:

> (46) **ennemmin justiinsa natiivipuhujia ja tän nimenomaisen kulttuurin edustajia . koska emmä sit nää suurta hyötyä siitä et se olis kuka tahansa muu joka ois tavallaan niinku samassa asemassa ku minä** *mut tulis vaan sit vierailevana tähtenä siihen . et toki sen kulttuurin edustajalla on varmasti paljo enemmän sanottavaa ja . ni* **ehkä näkisin just ennemmin et sen kulttuurin edustaja ja sillon se todennäkösesti olis natiivipuhuja** *(4,3,40)*

She thinks that since she is a NNS of English, there is no point in inviting other NNSs into the classroom. Pupils would get more advantage if they got to talk with NS of English, because they would get to learn something about NS cultures at the same time. Some of the participants mentioned also that the visitors should not speak Finnish as a mother tongue. If the teacher invited a Finnish-speaking person into the classroom to communicate with the pupils in English, the pupils would find this strange and they would not take it as an illustration of authentic communication in English.

In summary, the data included two reoccurring themes which reflected how the novice teachers try to give their pupils authentic illustrations of English. The teachers want to create situations where their pupils get to experience authentic interaction in English (9 participants). The other way of illustrating authentic English is to invite either NSs or NNSs of English to visit their English lessons (8 participants). Both of these themes regard authentic English as something different from the language that school books or other "official" teaching materials offer.

English in Finland

Another subcategory concerning the contemporary status of English in the world was its status in Finland. The data contained two repetitive themes which illustrate the status of English in Finland and how it has affected the novice teachers' teaching practices. The first one is an interesting observation which in fact is not a teaching practice but rather a practice which is *not* required in English lessons, in contrast to other school subjects. This observation is discussed in extract (47):

> *(47) **kukaa ei oo sillä tavalla mua niinku . <u>haastanu</u> että mä oisin joutunu sen niinku . perustelemaan** et kukaan ei oo niinku avoimesti tuonu esiin mielipiteitä että tää on ihan tyhmää miks pitää tätä opiskella . että ei oo sillä tavalla . joutunu . perustelemaan . et **englannissa ei kuitenkaa u- niin usein oo sitä ongelmaa että kaikki jotenki hyväksyy sen että . se on hyödyllinen . jossain määrin vaikka se nyt on osalle sitte vaikeeta** (7,4,36)*

The novice teachers have noticed that pupils find the importance of English very apparent and obvious. The teachers do not need to justify the importance of English, because the pupils have noticed that it is a very useful language, even though it may be difficult for some of them. This makes English very different from all the other foreign languages that are taught in Finnish schools. The novice teachers explained that when they are teaching, for example, Swedish, they have to constantly give reasons for why pupils should learn it.

Another theme which came up in the data is the role of English in Finland and how it is brought up in class. Extract (48) provides an example of how the role of English can be discussed with the help of newspapers:

*(48) me justiinsa tehtiin tässä ku on sanomalehtiviikko niin tälleen että **kateltiin ihan lehtiä että mitä löytyy sieltä tälläsiä ihan englannista peräsin olevia suoraan jota ei oo viittitty kääntää millään tavalla ihan niitähän löyty hirveesti** ja tälleen että mun mielestä oppilaat on niinku tajunnu sen . sen sitte niinkun nykyään että et se on se valtakieli (9,1,11)*

The pupils had skimmed through Finnish newspapers and looked for English expressions which had not been translated into Finnish. In this way the teacher had illustrated the role of English in the Finnish society.

To sum up, there are two themes which illustrate the status of English in Finland in English lessons. The first one is actually a missing practice of the lessons – motivating the pupils. The Finnish pupils take the importance of English for granted and they do not need to be provided with reasons for learning English (7 participants). This observation shows how the English language has become an integral part of Finnish culture. The second theme is the role of English in Finland, which the novice teachers have discussed in lessons with the help of different kinds of materials (3 participants).

5.3.2 Different varieties of English

The data consisted of reoccurring themes about the different varieties of English, and these were divided into *systematic teaching* and *unsystematic teaching*, on the basis of whether the teacher had planned to bring them up in class or whether they were discussed only because the pupils had asked about or commented on them.

Systematic teaching

The novice teachers try to provide information and examples of different accents and varieties of English in the classroom, and this is often a planned part of the curriculum. These are, however, limited into NS language use, as extract (49) shows:

*(49) siellä on brit- briteistä niinku englannin **brittienglannin puhuja sitte on irlannin amerikanenglannin kanadan australian uudenseelannin eteläafrikan nuoria** jotka niinku puhuu et sillä tavalla tulee aika hyvin niinku . nuorille . ilmi se että et se ei oo pelkästään se englanti britannia ja amerikka*

missä sitä puhutaan . ja että tavallaan . niinku . **mun mielestä se on hieno juttu että että ne nuoret oppii sen että ei oo sitä yhtä ainoota oikeeta** *(6,2,47)*

In this case, the accents which have been brought up have been British English, Irish English, American English, Canadian English, Australian English, New Zealand English and South African English. The participant found it very important that the pupils get to hear also other accents besides the two most common ones, British and American English. All of these are NS accents. Other participants pointed out that in addition to a range of accents, the school books present examples of NS varieties of English.

In addition to the novice teachers' systematic teaching of these different NS varieties and accents of English, the school books help in this matter. They provide examples of different varieties and accents. This can sometimes encourage the teacher to start a discussion about different ways of using English, as extract (50) points out:

(50) **ei silleen niinkun oo otettu** *tietty-* **tietosesti hirveesti** *mut aina sitte yleensä kun näissähän on on niitä niinku kappaleita ja* **niissä teksteissä niin** *eri- eri* **aksenteilla lukee niin kyllä mä aina** *yl-* **yleensä otan sit sen esille** *että tunnistatteko mistä o- aksentista on kyse ja mistä sen nimenomaan tunnistaa (9,3,12)*

In other words, the participant does not necessarily talk about different accents or varieties as a separate theme, but she comments on them every time the school book or the tapes used bring them up.

The second theme regarding different varieties and accents of English which is systematically brought up by the novice teachers is the impact of Finnish on grammar. The teachers have spotted mistakes which frequently occur in the pupils' English use and they focus on pointing out those instances. Extract (51) provides an example of this:

(51) monesti sitte jossain sellasissa just että . **jossain rakenteissa vaikka että että <u>tää</u> on niinku nyt se <u>tässä</u> kannattaa vähän olla varovainen** *että hei* **tässä tulee helposti** *. helposti* **tämmönen koska** *suo-* <u>**suomen**</u> **kielessä sanotaan näin niin sitte me ajatellaan** *. ajatellaan niinku* **että englanninkielessäki menis samalla tavalla** *mutta että englanninkielinen ikään kuin ajattelee tässä eri tavalla et sellaset otetaan sitte kyllä . ne tulee .* **mutta toisaalta sehän on sitte ihan semmosta luonnollista että se että mihin mihinkä nykyään sitte pyritään**

. että et mikä se on se koska sitte jos ajatellaan no okei no kyllä australiassa voi näin sanoa tai kirjottaa (8,3,35)

The novice teacher often points out structures which are very different in Finnish and English and in which the pupils may easily make mistakes. At the same time she finds this a confusing topic because of the lack of a defined model or norm for teaching. In other words, even though a certain grammatical structure was wrong in, say, British English, it could be grammatically correct in Australian English. Again, this makes the novice teachers wonder whether they can any longer say that something is said or written wrong in English.

The data provided also a third theme which is systematically brought up by the teachers, and that is the impact of Finnish on pronunciation. The phonemes in Finnish and in English are quite different, and therefore the novice teachers want to pay attention to the pronunciation of their pupils. This remark is illustrated in extract (52):

(52) ääntämisestä on puhetta aika paljonki [suomen vaikutuksesta] ja just niistä eroista niistä et min- *minkä äänteen kans pitää olla tarkkana ku ääntää (6,3,28)*

The teacher tries to make the pupils aware of the impact of Finnish on the pronunciation of English. She points out the most difficult phonemes in English to the pupils and makes them aware of those phonemes where they are most likely to make a mistake. Extract (53) offers another point of view on the impact of Finnish on pronunciation:

(53) kyllähän se [suomen kieli] vaikuttaa paljonki ääntämiseen mutta että onhan paljo ihan semmosia että ihan se ihan perus <u>äänteetki</u> voi olla hyvin hukassa . osalta [-] seki on semmonen että . ei se oo kaikille niin helppoa esimerkiks matkia ihan se semmonen perus matkiminen että matkipas matkikaanpas nyt miten tossa nauhalla . et yläkouluikäiselle voi sanoa että luetaanpas matkitaanpas nyt oikein miten tässä nauhalla tää lukija meni ja kaikki miten sä ääni nousee ja laskee näin . tälläset asiat mutta se että *kuinka hyvin he sitte* op- *onnistuvat sitte siinä niin se on tietenki eri asia (8,3,46)*

It is not always easy for every pupil to try to imitate pronunciation and the prosody that they hear on tapes or in NSs' speech. The teacher can point out the differences between Finnish and English and the possible words where Finnish speakers are

most likely to make an error in pronunciation, but it does not mean that the pupils would learn them. Some pupils find even the basic phonemes difficult, and their ability to learn to imitate them varies a lot.

To sum up, there are three themes related to the different varieties of English which the novice teachers bring out systematically in their teaching. The most common theme is to introduce the range of different NS accents and varieties of English (7 participants). In addition, the novice teachers discuss the impact of Finnish on the English grammar (4 participants) and the impact of Finnish on the pronunciation of English (3 participants).

Unsystematic teaching

Unsystematic EIL contents in English teaching were such practices which were accomplished or discussed in the classroom without systematic planning. The discussion has often started after pupils have commented on or reacted to a NNS accent which they have heard on a tape. Extract (54) illustrates this:

> *(54) on ehkä joskus **tullu jos on ollu joku nauhanpätkä kuunneltu missä on ollu just joku tosi . voimakas aksentti jonku erimaalaisella tyypillä niin sit siitä on saattanu tulla semmosta niinku et oppilaat on vaikka nauranu ku se on puhunu** niitä on huvittanu se . sitte niinku on puhuttu siitä silleen . niinku että ei tässä oo periaatteessa mitään naurettavaa tai silleen että jos . et sa-samalla lailla niitä vois naurattaa ku suomalainen lukis ton kappaleen et se kuulostaa <u>niille</u> niinku oudolta . että . **ehkä silleen oon voinu kysyy että no niinku mikä tässä on huvittavaa** ja silleen [-] jotain tämmöstä huvittuneisuutta tullu tämmösen variantin jälkeen niin siitä on vähän keskusteltu mutta [-] **ei oo ollu mitään semmosta niinku et ihan varta vasten oltais tästä aiheesta keskusteltu** (5,4,44)*

A character on a tape had had a very strong NNS accent, and this had made the pupils laugh. Because of this reaction, the novice teacher had started to discuss different NNS accents of English with the pupils and remarked that their accent of English may likewise amuse other people. Other participants also pointed out that pupils often laugh at NNS accents of English, as discussed in extract (55):

> *(55) ehkä jotain semmosia niinku kommentteja on tullu et **jos on ollu jollain muulla aksentilla että tää kuulostaa hassulta** (1,3,17)*

The pupils have often commented on the accent on tapes, if it has been something else than British English or American English. This shows that pupils are aware of different accents and that they pay attention to them. Pupils may also have strong opinions or stereotypes about other NNS accents and they do not hesitate to bring them out in the classroom. In extract (56) the pupils have commented on the accent of German English speakers:

> (56) *yleensä oppilailla [-]* **on kauheen vahvat mielipiteet että ku saksalaiset ei osaa puhua englantia . ku ne niinku ääntää niin kauheen huonosti sitä että se on ihan hirveen kuulosta** . *et siis siellä sii- siitähän he niinku jotenki saattaa innostua sitte [-] niin ne ne niinku todella ne herättää tuntoja mut niinhän ne on kaikki . kaikki tämmöset niin ne herättää . ja sitte siis just kommentteja tulee et* **sit voi vähän keskustella et onks se nyt kuitenkaa sitte jotenki että** . *tuo on jotenki* <u>*parempi*</u> *puhuja (8,4,10)*

The pupils had said that Germans cannot speak English because their pronunciation sounds so horrible. Such comments have shown to the teacher that different accents arouse feelings and opinions. After such opinions the class had discussed different accents and whether one accent can be judged or valued more than some other accent in English.

In addition to NNS accents, the data showed another theme which is related to the status of English nowadays but which is usually not taught systematically, and that was historical causes for the spread of English and how it has brought about the different NS varieties of English. Extract (57) provides an example of such teaching contents:

> (57) **korkeintaan ehkä joku british empire juttuja** *että miten se et* **et miks se nyt on jossain australiassa on niinkun englantia** *että ehkä jotain sitä kautta (2,4,13)*

The class had discussed the British Empire and how it had spread the English language to many colonies, for instance, to Australia. Other than that, they had not talked about historical facts behind the status of English nowadays. In extract (58) the class had discussed the changes in the English language and the causes for them:

> (58) **joskus jos on vaikka joku kysyny että ope miks tää on niin vaikee tää sana kirjottaa tai jotain . niin sit voi olla että olen käynyt sellasen lyhyen** *että no kun kirjapaino tuli ja . sitte tapahtui tämä vokaalinmuutos ja muuta . et sillä*

*tavalla niinku oon yrittäny selittää niille että et se minkä takia se on niin niinkun se on mut että **aika vähän muuten ollaan sitte pureuduttu siihen kielen historiaan** . et kyllä voi olla että on tullu jossain kohti semmonen jos on joku vanha vanhahtava muoto vaikka englanninkielestä niin sitte on vähän niinku puhuttu muutenki että no oli niillä ennen enemmän taivutuspäätteitä sanoissa ja muuta (6,5,20)*

Again, the discussion about the history of English had started from the pupils' questions about difficult words and why they are written so differently compared to other words, but it had not been an intended theme of the English lesson.

To sum up, the English lessons of the novice teachers have two themes about different varieties of English which are not systematically planned contents of the teaching but which have arisen from the pupils' questions. One of them is the discussion about NNS accents of English, which often amuse pupils or generate strong opinions (7 participants). The second theme is the discussion about historical reasons for the spread of English and for the changes in the language (4 participants).

5.3.3 Reflection about EIL contents in teaching

The third main category regarding EIL contents in teaching was the novice teachers' reflection about it. Even if they had not necessarily performed concrete teaching practices that would have demonstrated the contemporary status of English, they had clearly thought about it. The only subcategory concerning this was the *need for better competence*, either in terms of the pupils' competence or the teacher's competence.

Need for better competence

Even though the data did not provide a very wide scale of different teaching practices or contents in English teaching which would concern EIL, the data showed that the novice teachers' awareness of the topic had risen. Extract (59) provides an example of reflection where the participant wonders how the pupils' English competence may hinder those teaching practices where EIL could be discussed:

*(59) ne on semmosia et se ei vaadi sen kun vaan että opettaja vaikka sanoo että niin muuten amerikkalaiset ääntäis tän sanan näin tai vaikka että niin ja amerikassa tai australiassa tai missä vaan ni on sitte tällänenki sana käytössä tälle ja öö . se ei tavallaan niinku oo oppijoilta pois **sen ei tartte vaatia niiltä yhtää sen enempää sen asian** hallitse- **hallitsemista mut ne jotka** vält- niinku **saattaa olla sillä tasolla et ne haluaa tai kykenee omaksumaan niitä uusia juttuja ni . haluaa tavallaan niille antaa sen mahollisuuden** (6,2,37)*

In other words, some pupils may distinguish and learn different varieties or accents of English more easily, whereas it can be too difficult for some others. Pointing out different ways of using English in teaching materials does not necessarily require extra time or energy and yet it makes the learning more interesting for the pupils. The success in this is, however, always dependent on the pupils' competence. Extract (60) offers another example of the different competencies of the pupils and how it affects teaching practices:

*(60) monet asiat aina hirveesti riippuu siitä ryhmästä et minkälainen se ryhmä on että . **jos jossain ryhmässä on . just hirveesti vaikka . semmosia oppilaita joilla on ihan se niinku se työskentelyn alkaminen ja kaikki on niin vaikeeta niin kyllä sitte siinä se . ihan joku ääntäminen niin ei sitä nyt yhtä paljon voi ottaa** . ottaa sitte ku mutta yks mikä ois sitte että ne oikeesti osais kun sanastossa on ne ääntämisohjeet niin ne osais niitä lukee mun mielestä hirveen hyvä et ihan seiskaluokalta asti . ja todellaki alakoulussakin mutta että että ne niinku oppis lukee niitä **koska huomaa jostain lukiolaisista että ne on ihan hoo moilasina että mitä nää** [ääntämisohjeet] niinku **on että** . että se ääntäminen on sitte että **siinä se on sitte turha puhua että no hei et amerikanenglannissa ja brittienglannissa tää nyt esimerkiks on vähä erilainen** (8,6,42)*

It can seem totally useless to talk about the different accents of English, if pupils do not even understand phonetic alphabets. The pupils may have some general learning disabilities or behavioral problems and those may cause problems in pronouncing even the most general English accents, let alone distinguishing different dialects. As the participant remarked, pronunciation is only one example of the many factors in language competence. Learning disabilities or other problems can be huge obstructs for learning, and teachers are happy if those pupils learn even the very basic things.

Like the pupils' competence, a teacher's competence may hinder the teaching of EIL, too. This remark is made in extract (61):

*(61) ehkä **se tökkää siihen että ei pakosti ite** <u>tunnista</u> **hirveen hyvin** tai että . onhan variantteja niinku et joka maalla oikeestaan saksanenglanti venäjänenglanti [-] niin että et ehkä se on semmosta et **varmaan sitä kuulee mutta ei osaa välttämättä tunnistaa sitte sitä** (5,3,13)*

If the teacher finds it difficult to distinguish different varieties or accents from one another, it is probably very difficult to point them out to pupils. Even though this extract discusses NNS varieties or accents of English, other participants talked about the difficulty in recognizing different NS varieties or accents of English, too. They can tell generic American English and British English apart, but not necessarily even other large NS varieties of English. Besides, both American English and British English consist of a wide range of regional and social dialects – can the novice teachers recognize them?

In extract (62) another novice teacher discusses her own competence of providing EIL practices in the classroom:

*(62) oon mä miettiny [-] että kuinka vähä sellasta kulttuurienvälistä kommunikaatiota niinku huomioidaan että ehkä uus opsi ja ehkä se näkyy uudemmissa kirjoissa sitte enemmän että . ja sitä kautta opetuksessa että . et sellaset on kuitenki yllättävän tärkeitä ja **ne on just sellasia mitkä ei näy niin selvästi ja tosi vaikeita opettaa niin sitä** miet- **oon miettiny et miten niitä sit opettaa ku huomaa että niitä ei välttämättä huomioida missään** . mutta jotka olis kuitenki tosi tärkeitä ja jotka johtaa . jotka aiheuttaa just sitä kitkaa niinku sitte . et ne on harvoin sellasia et voi vitsi mä nyt sanoin sen lift enkä elevatorin (laughter) niin se ei oo se niinku se mihin se kaatuu vaan se saattaa kaatua siihen että jaaha että ei harrasta sitä small talkia ollenkaa tai että tää nyt ei muusta puhukaan ku säästä ja . niin että tälläset niinku ja just kuinka tärkeä on pliis ja kuinka tärkeää voi olla teitittely tai joku tällänen . että niin . **tällästen asioiden opettaminen mietityttää** (2,5,32)*

Even though the teacher thinks that teaching intercultural communication skills would be very important and problems in conversation are more likely to stem from bigger issues than saying *lift* (British English) instead of *elevator* (American English), she does not know how to teach such issues.

In summary, the data showed that even though EIL contents in the classroom are not necessarily everyday practices for the novice teachers, they have thought about the topic and how different factors influence teaching practices. The most common obstacle for EIL contents seems to be pupils' lack of competence (4 participants),

although the novice teachers' competence for EIL teaching practices appears to be sometimes inadequate, too (3 participants).

5.3.4 Summary of the EIL contents in teaching

To sum up, the data did not have a very wide range of such teaching practices that would illustrate EIL to pupils. However, three main categories were formed on the EIL contents in the data.

The first category dealt with the status of English in the world. The novice teachers try to give their pupils illustrations of authentic English, which is seen as something different from the language that official teaching materials offer. They are willing to invite both NSs and NNSs of English into the classroom, so that their pupils would get to communicate in English with other people.

Secondly, they address EIL by introducing different varieties of English in class. They want to give examples of different NS varieties and accents of English, and they do this systematically and according to plan. They also talk about the impact of Finnish as a mother tongue on the grammar and pronunciation of English. Even though they pay attention to the English accents of other NNSs and discuss the historical reasons behind the spread of English, they are not intentional or systematic practices in English lessons.

Finally, even though the contents of the novice teachers' English lessons do not often deal with EIL, they seem to have thought about it quite a lot. They have noticed that their own competence or the pupils' competence may be lacking, and that is why they have found it difficult to talk about all the different varieties of English.

6 DISCUSSION

The aim of the present study was to examine the novice English teachers' awareness of EIL and how it has affected their teaching practices. The aim was approached from three different angles, and the research questions of the present study were

formed accordingly. The first research question studied the novice teachers' role as English-speaker models to their pupils. The second research question examined the role of culture in English teaching, and the third research question focused on those teaching practices which would deal with the international role of English. The data of the present study consisted of nine individual semi-structured interviews. The participants of the study were young novice English teachers, who speak Finnish as their mother tongue and who have been teaching English for one to five years. The findings of the present study have now been reported, and in this chapter they are discussed further, in terms of the knowledge gained through the theoretical background and previous studies on the issue. In addition, implications on English teaching are considered.

The findings regarding the first research question showed different characteristics of the novice teachers' English. Basic education has been very influential in terms of their English, and so have university studies. In basic education, it is often British English which is dominant in the English classroom. This is an alarming observation in terms of EIL. The dominance of one variety or accent may suggest that pupils should also choose this variety in their English use. In fact, the happenings in the past have shown that the dominance of one variety can define how the whole society should use English. This was the case in, for instance, India where British English was unquestionably the variety which everyone was supposed to imitate. If, by contrast, English lessons in basic education provided examples of a wide range of English varieties and accents, pupils would understand the richness of English and the freedom of choice they have. On the other had, pupils should also understand that their choice of English variety may have its implications, because varieties are always subject to attitudinal evaluation. All this cannot, however, be acquired through occasional references to other varieties.

Even though university studies seem to have had similar influence on the novice teachers' language use, it is probably not as critical. At the university stage, students have greater knowledge about English, especially if they study English as their major subject. They are mature enough to make their own conscious choices of their variety of English, and they have often spent some time abroad or interacted with foreigners, which has also shaped their English. Even if most of the professors and teachers at

the university have a British English background, university students are allowed to use other varieties. Pronunciation courses may, however, cause problems for those who use some other varieties, if the lecturer speaks British English. Similar observations of the influence of university studies have been made in a study by Llurda and Huguet (2003). They were surprised by the notion that teachers still mainly identify the use of English with situations involving British NSs, even though English is the most commonly used language in intra-European interactions. They stated, however, that it is no wonder, since the university departments where teachers have been trained still focus almost exclusively on the NSs as the target for language learning and intercultural development.

The impact of television seems to have been strong, too. If the dominant variety in basic education is British English, television seems to be dominated by American English. Even though the present study examined the language use of novice teachers, it is presumable that television has similar effects on pupils, too. Again, it can be harmful if the wide range of English varieties is limited into one in this domain, but there is nothing teachers can do about it. If television, or media in general, truly has such a strong influence on people's English, it would be even more important to provide a diverse image of English at school.

The findings showed also that the novice teachers' personal preference for a certain variety or their negative or positive attitude towards a certain variety, country, culture or language-speaker group has directed their choice of an English variety. This is a natural phenomenon and it does not necessarily suggest that teachers would transfer their own opinions to their pupils, but the possibility for that exists. It is wise to be conscious especially of a possible negative attitude, so that teachers would not let these opinions show in the classroom, at least not on a subconscious level. If teachers express their negative attitude towards, say, a certain language-speaker group, pupils learn that the choice of an English variety reflects the speaker's opinion about certain cultures, whereas EIL aims at a common language free from such emotional judgments.

The findings of the study presented also some variable and stable characteristics of the novice teachers' English. An interesting finding was that even though the

participants describe their spoken English as a mixture of different accents and their accent may change depending on the situation, they try to avoid such a mixture in written English. Again, this is a natural phenomenon in language use, if thinking about, for instance, Finnish. Spoken Finnish is often flexible in terms of grammar and style. By contrast, written Finnish in a more formal situation is good standard Finnish. It is, however, worthwhile to consider these findings from the point of view of pupils. If English teachers always follow the norms of a certain variety in their writing and do not ever write, for instance, colloquialisms or dialectal features, pupils may learn that written English is very inflexible in every situation. When considering this aspect in terms of EIL, written English does not necessarily need to follow the rules of a certain NS variety anymore. A study by Modiano (2000: 31) proved similar findings to the present study. He talks about *Mid-Atlantic English* (MAE) as a variety spoken by contemporary Europeans. According to his findings, Europeans tend to mix features of British and American Englishes. Another typical feature for speakers of MAE is that they vary their English on the basis of the interlocutor. For example, if they are talking with a Brit, they use British English, and when they interact with another NNS, they utilize a mixture of American and British English features which are best suited for cross-cultural communication.

In addition, another meaningful finding focused on the information about English in the classroom. The novice teachers try to avoid making mistakes when they use English with their pupils. They are conscious about being English-speaker models to their pupils, and they have thought about what kinds of demands it sets to their classroom English. Even though their own variety of English is not the only model they want to give their pupils, they find changing it difficult. According to the theoretical framework of the present study (see section 2.8), the suggested solution for this could be introducing a wide repertoire of different varieties with the help of good teaching materials. In this way teachers would not have to be able to imitate different varieties and accents, because pupils would hear and see them on tapes and in school books. The theoretical framework also suggests that teachers who do not speak English as their mother tongue should not try to imitate NSs, because the expectations it causes are too demanding and stressful for them. Therefore teachers should be pleased with their own English, even if their mother tongue had some influence on it. The novice teachers explained also that they tend to make their

English more comprehensible and neutral in the classroom. The positive and negative attitudes towards a certain variety of English were discussed above, and according to those findings one could conclude that neutrality in teachers' English can be seen as a positive characteristic, even though thick NS or NNS accents do not necessarily cause any harm, either. Comprehensibility can help many pupils to learn the different phonemes in English, as long as the teacher's English is understandable. If teachers make their English too simple, it may not resemble the kind of English that pupils are more likely to hear outside the classroom.

In their study, Llurda and Huguet (2003) examined non-native English teachers' self-awareness of their language proficiency. On the basis of their study they have concluded that being a NNS of English may create feelings of insecurity, if the model for language teaching is a NS variety. Such feelings easily create some further tensions and stress to teachers, and that is why it should always be considered. Furthermore, a study by Jenkins (2005) showed that NNS teachers of English reacted positively when they were asked if they wanted to sound more like a NS. Every participant in the study could also recall situations which had affected their orientation to their English accent.

The influence of all of these factors is present in the classroom, because pupils regard their English teachers as English-speaker models. That is why it is not insignificant how teachers use English and what the reasons behind it are. Furthermore, novice teachers seem to strive for NS varieties of English, especially in written language, even though they speak Finnish as their mother tongue. Teachers perceive themselves as language-speaker models in the classroom, and that is why they try to avoid mistakes and they neutralize and clarify their classroom English. On the basis of such language use, the pupils may get the impression that they should also strive for a NS variety and accent of English and that such English is usually flawless and fluent. This may cause too high expectations for both teachers and pupils. Besides, if some of the NS varieties dominate English teaching, it may unavoidably suggest that some of the varieties are valued more than some others, and it can also transfer into an appreciation of some language user groups or cultures over some others. A study by McKay (2003) showed that Chilean English teachers recognize the strengths they have as teachers because of their bilingualism, and their familiarity with the local

cultural context. This is why McKay (2003: 145) has suggested that Chile could provide a good model for teaching EIL in other countries, too.

The second research question examined the role of culture in language teaching. As the theoretical framework of the present study showed, since English has reached the status of an international language, it does not belong only to NS cultures anymore (see section 2.5). The findings of the study showed that even though English has become de-nationalized, cultural teaching in English lessons in Finland still concentrate on NS cultures. Cultural teaching focuses on general knowledge about NS cultures, and cultural learning is usually seen as a separate topic in the classroom, isolated from the language. Matsuda (2003a) has summarized the findings of several studies in his article, and on the basis of them he has stated that in Japanese textbooks of English, characters and cultural topics are based on the English-speaking countries of the Inner Circle. In contrast, a study by McKay (2003) showed that many currently-used textbooks in Chile do not primarily emphasize cultural content from native English-speaking countries.

The findings of the present study showed that different cultures are often defined through details of a certain culture. This is an easy starting point for a discussion about differences between peoples' way of living and thinking. It is probably not, however, enough to make pupils understand that using perfect English does not necessarily ensure that interaction between two persons with different backgrounds would succeed. In addition, it is not enough to discuss the geography or festivities in the United States, because if the pupils use English with a Thai, such information does not help. The solution for this could be bringing up intercultural themes in English teaching. If pupils learned how to take into consideration the effect of different cultural backgrounds on communication style and behavior, they would not need to learn details about every possible culture with which they may become in contact with in the future. It does not have to mean that novice teachers would totally give up cultural issues in their teaching – even NCC demands some cultural teaching about English-speaking cultures, as pointed out in subsection 3.2.2 – but they could try to assimilate it into intercultural or multicultural thinking. The school book has an important role in defining what culture is and how it should be taught. The writers of school books have often chosen to introduce one culture, or country, at a time. The

information about culture is often small details or digression in the books. Kramsch (1993: 8) has made a similar observation of cultural teaching being only separate pieces of information. If cultural issues are discussed in this way in English lessons, it is no wonder if intercultural learning does not seem to take place in classrooms. Pupils cannot learn how to behave in a multicultural situation if their idea of cultural differences is based on only small details about, for instance, the cuisine of a country.

NCC (2004) emphasizes the understanding of the target culture in foreign language teaching, but it has not defined the target culture for each foreign language taught in Finland. If English is considered in its international role, should not the target culture refer to any culture where English is used? School book writers and novice teachers have clearly comprehended NCC so that it covers only those cultures where English is spoken as a mother tongue. Thus, if policy makers want to take the international nature of English into consideration, they should change the guidelines in NCC. While waiting for this to be done, school book writers and English teachers could focus more on the general guidelines for basic education and the cross-curricular themes of instruction which are described in NCC. On the basis of those instructions, teachers could incorporate more intercultural teaching in their English lessons without the fear of acting against NCC. Since one of the general objectives of basic education mentioned in NCC is to acquire capabilities for cross-cultural interaction and internationalism, it would be ideal to embed it into English teaching, because English is often the language through which people communicate in such cross-cultural situations.

Teachers often share their own experiences when cultures are being discussed in the classroom, and pupils seem to enjoy these stories. This can be a good way of introducing cultural differences to them, since it gives them a sense of what other cultures may look like for a foreigner. Especially if teachers told stories about situations where there has been a conflict due to cultural differences, it could familiarize pupils with the possible misunderstandings they may end up in when they communicate with people with different cultural backgrounds. It might also be a good idea to tell about situations in many different countries and with people from all over the world, not only NSs of English.

Another finding regarding culture was that showing politeness when communicating in English is a common theme in English lessons. Again, teachers could take into consideration a broader perspective on showing politeness. Even if pupils knew how to show politeness to a British person and the phrase was filled with the word *please*, the rules for successful communication in English can be totally different if one is talking with, for instance, a Japanese, as the theoretical framework of the present study showed. Pupils might get confused if the person they are communicating with does not look them in the eye or if the person does not shake hands with them. They do not need to become fully informed about the explanations for such behavior, as long as they become aware of the fact that they should not judge other people's behavior from the viewpoint of their of culture. By learning to approach such intercultural situations with an open mind and respect for different ways of living and thinking, pupils would learn how to act in any kind of situations.

The third research question focused on EIL contents in English teaching. Even though the issue was approached from many different angles in the interviews, the information gathered was quite limited. This may suggest that the questions that were asked were not accurate enough for addressing this topic, but it can also imply that there simply is not very much EIL contents in English teaching. The latter explanation could seem more likely, since some of the novice teachers explained that even though they had thought about the contemporary status of English as an international language, they did not know how to incorporate it into their teaching practices. They reflected a raised awareness of the topic in their interviews, but they found it quite difficult to describe or remember such teaching practices which would have illustrated EIL.

Out of the EIL contents that the data *did* present, three main categories were formed. The first category dealt with the status of English in the world, and within this category the most common EIL content was the attempt to bring authentic English into the classroom. The novice teachers want to give their pupils a chance to practice their English skills in communicational situations where they get to use English with either NSs or NNSs of English. In this way pupils would understand that real, authentic English can be something else than the language in teaching materials. This is a very important aim for English teaching. As discussed in the theoretical

framework, official teaching materials often concentrate on the English of NSs, and if that is the only picture that pupils get, they could get surprised when they faced the real world and all the different situations where English is actually used. In his article, Matsuda (2003a) has summarized several Japanese studies, and the findings are quite similar to the present study. Matsuda shows that English is still being taught as an Inner Circle language, based almost exclusively on American or British English, and therefore there are no EIL contents in English lessons in Japan. He suggests that one way of exposing pupils to various Englishes in class is to bring in speakers of multiple varieties. This would show the pupils that being an effective EIL user does not require being a NS. In addition, this would have positive influence on pupils' ability to comprehend different varieties, since they tend to find familiar varieties easier to understand. Matsuda maintains that if face-to-face interactions are impossible, this can also be done with the help of e-mail exchanges, internet projects, or movies with other EIL users. In terms of teaching materials, Matsuda prefers textbooks with more EIL characters and chapters which specifically address the issue of EIL: its history, the current spread, what the future entails, and what role the EIL learners have in the future. This, according to Matsuda, can also help EIL teachers encourage pupils to engage in such discussion and to seek their own voice in English.

Another finding regarding the third research question showed that the novice teachers introduce a wide range of different varieties of English. It is surprising, though, that the NNS varieties of English are only addressed if pupils point them out or make dismissive comments about them. In Jenkins' study (2005), the participants were asked if they would teach their students a pronunciation model of their local L2 accent with EIL adjustments for international intelligibility. The findings showed that even though the English teachers felt that they should support EIL view, some of them found that it would not satisfy their personal goals. Jenkins remarked that even though the teachers claimed to support EIL pronunciation, most nevertheless continued referring to NNS accents as "incorrect" forms rather than EIL varieties, as if they accepted EIL in theory but not in practice. Both the present study and the study by Jenkins may imply that since teachers of English perceive NS varieties of English as the ideal model for their own personal language use, they cannot give up this idealization or goal when they teach English. That is why similar objectives are applied in English teaching. Finding a solution for this can be challenging. It might

not be possible to introduce each NNS variety separately, but teachers could talk about such negative and positive evaluations of NNS varieties of English in a more systematic way. That is how pupils could understand that they should be aware of their own value judgments, and that if it is acceptable to laugh at other NNSs' English, their own English can be laughed at, too. Teachers could also encourage pupils to discuss why and how the mother tongue of a person may affect the way how they speak and write English. This could make pupils more tolerant towards different varieties of English, especially since they are likely to come across a wide range of English varieties outside classroom.

As the novice teachers thought about their teaching practices, they noticed that pupils' lack of English competence or their own lack of competence can be the reason for the very limited amount of EIL contents in their teaching. For them, this observation may function as an awakening to the reality that they could seek more information about the wide range of varieties of English. It could also inspire education planners to understand that maybe the education of English teachers is too limited and it could be expanded to deal with NNSs of English, at least to some extent. Llurda (2004: 318) claims in his article that teachers of EIL should incorporate instructional materials and activities rooted in local as well as international contexts that are relevant to language learners' lives. As suggested by Kirkpatrick (2007: 193-195), EIL contents could be brought into the classrooms with the help of three components. First of all, pupils must be acquainted with common problems of mutual intelligibility in intercultural communication. Secondly, an intercultural approach must be added into the curriculum, and thirdly, pupils must learn the strategies which they can use in intercultural communication. All of these could be implemented in Finnish schools, too. Since NCC is an important guidebook for teachers, emphasizing the value of EIL in the curriculum might work as an effective moving force. Another good encourager for discussing EIL in the classrooms could be adequate teaching materials, since the findings of the present study showed that the school book plays an important role in English teaching.

In short, what are the main implications that can be drawn on the basis of this discussion, then? The first research question showed that the English-speaker models in English teaching are still based on NSs and that teachers would need more specific

guidelines and norms for the type of English they should teach. The third research question revealed an alarming observation that the amount of EIL contents in English teaching is definitely lacking. This situation should be improved by a revised version of NCC which would clearly take into consideration the contemporary status of English as an international language and suggest specific teaching practices for bringing it up in class. Furthermore, the norms for English teaching in Finland should be clearly defined. In terms of cultural contents in English lessons, teaching should be extended to cover a more intercultural perspective, so that pupils would acquire better competence for interacting in international situations in English. In practice, this would mean implementing a specific, up-to-date EIL teaching pedagogy, different from the traditional teaching practices of foreign languages.

7 CONCLUSION

To conclude the present study, the final chapter concentrates on assessing the findings in terms of reliability and validity. They are examined both in terms of data collection method and in terms of data analysis. In addition, the strengths and limitations of the present study are discussed. Finally, suggestions for further study are outlined.

When considering data collection in qualitative research, objectivity may be questionable, since data collection methods often resemble everyday interaction (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 125). The danger in using interview data and asking the participants about their own behavior is that their answers may reflect more what the interviewees think they should say rather than what they actually do (McKay 2006: 51). In other words, an interview as a data gathering method poses a risk for prompting interviewees towards such answers that the researcher expects to hear. Since the inter-subjectivity of all social relations cannot be avoided in a research context, it is important for the researcher to consider the role of it when drawing conclusions (Gillham 2005: 6). In the presents study, the limitations set by the methodological choices were known before the data was gathered and analyzed. Thus it was possible to take such actions which would minimize their effects on the study and its findings. The schedule of the interview was carefully revised and the

interview procedures were practiced before the actual interviews took place. With the help of the piloting interview and feedback from many people, it was possible to avoid prompting the participants towards the expected answers, and instead, to give them a chance to freely speak their mind.

In qualitative research, reliability in data analysis can be assessed and improved through detailed description of the research process (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 142). It is important to describe and write down the development of the researcher's own thinking during the process, because it helps the reader to follow the development in thinking, as well (Kiviniemi 2007: 81). In terms of validity, internal validity can be gained through a careful recording and analyzing of all the data gathered and by presenting it in a fair and unbiased manner, whereas external validity in qualitative research can be gained through a full description of the participants and the context of the research so that readers can determine to what extent the findings might be applicable to other contexts (McKay 2006: 13-14). Furthermore, authentic extracts from the data should be included in the description of the analysis, (Hirsjärvi, Remes and Sajavaara 2009: 233). Thus, the most important factor is providing a detailed description of all the steps the researcher took to carry out the study and when selecting examples to illustrate particular conclusions, to select representative examples from the data rather than unusual or surprising instances. In addition, it is important for the researcher to be aware of his or her own preconceptions of the topic (Gillham 2005: 7). In other words, since the researcher has been personally engaged in the data collection, it can be claimed that the researcher cannot consider the data objectively, and the analysis requires the researcher to make his or her own interpretations of the data. In the process of analyzing interview data, the researcher is inevitably making some kind of interpretive construction of what the interviewees have said and this construction has always some subjectivity in it.

In the present study, the data was analyzed *inductively* for its contents, which ensured that the findings of the study arose entirely from the data, and not from the theoretical framework or the researcher's preconceptions. The analysis of the data was a two-way process. This means that the data was first studied carefully and the categories were formed on the basis of the data. After that the categories were

examined and those parts of the data that did not match the label of the category in which it had first been put were removed. Then the whole data was studied once more and if there were some parts which would match the categories but which had not yet been included in them in the first round, they were now included in the categories. As the data and the categories were studied several times and both ways – bottom-up and top-down – it was possible to strengthen the choices that were made on the basis of the data and to make sure that each extract was in the correct category.

An attempt was made to describe every stage of the data collection and data analysis in detail, so that the reader can assess the choices that have been made during the research process on the basis of the description. When describing the results and drawing conclusions, the solutions have been justified with the help of examples from the data and the different classifications made on the basis of them. The process of analysis and the categories have been carefully described in tables 1-3 in Appendix 2, and the mind maps 1-3 in chapter 5 illustrate the analysis in a visual manner. All of these actions were conducted so that it would be easy for the reader to follow the analysis and to get a good picture of how the findings of the study were arrived at. Even though all the extracts from the data were interesting and it was tempting to describe them all in chapter 5, it was impossible to talk about all of them. That is why an attempt was made to choose those extracts which were the most illustrative in terms of the categories and the opinions of the participants. To get a wider picture of the opinions and a more firm foundation for the categories, the extracts in tables 1-3 are different from those in chapter 5. That way it was possible to provide the reader with further examples. The participants of the study were described as carefully as possible, within the limits of anonymity. Thus it is possible to consider to what extent the findings might be applicable to other contexts. With the help of these choices made, the reader has the possibility to assess the reliability and validity of the present study. In terms of objectivity, it would have been informative if another researcher had analyzed the data of the present study without knowing the findings at which have been arrived here. Comparing those two findings could have shown at least a rough estimate of how well the present study succeeded in terms of objectivity.

In addition to the limitations in the selection of methodology, the topic of the present study posed challenges. Even though the reasons behind the spread of English are quite unarguable and its contemporary status as an international language has been discussed for many years, the concept of EIL itself is a complex, ambiguous topic. Since there is no unambiguous definition of EIL and it has not been described as a certain variety, apart from pronunciation, it is also a very difficult issue to be studied. To tackle these challenges set by the choice of topic, three angles were chosen to approach it. With the help of these specific angles, it was possible to study at least some characteristics of EIL, regardless of its complexity. These angles were chosen on the basis of the theoretical framework, because they seemed to have an important role when dealing with EIL in English teaching. However, since the topic of the present study has not been examined very much in the past, it is difficult to assess its findings and compare them to the findings of previous studies. This is a shame, but it only means that the issue of EIL should be examined further.

The present study succeeded in capturing interesting, new information about the desired angles in the Finnish context. Even though EIL is such a vast concept, it was possible to get a better understanding of it by breaking it up into smaller factors and study them. As the findings of the present study showed, the novice teachers' awareness of EIL has already raised, even though it has not yet notably affected their teaching practices. In that sense the present study can be described as a proactive study which focuses on the present and the future of English teaching in Finland, rather than studying such teaching practices which have dominated English lessons for the past decades. That was also the reason why the target group of the study was novice teachers of English. These teachers will be working for the next thirty or forty years, and if their actions and thoughts behind those actions are studied now, there is still the possibility to change those actions, if it is considered necessary. Teaching practices are an interesting topic to be examined, because there are so many beliefs and traditions behind them. Every teacher's experiences of their own schooldays affect inevitably their way of teaching, and the practices of the school system can be so deep-rooted that it may require a lot of extra effort to change them, even though the world outside the school building is changing. In addition, the findings of the present study may contribute in making English teachers aware of the choices they make in the classroom.

In the future, EIL and its effects on English teaching should definitely be studied further. It would be important to examine whether the teaching of English in the contemporary world requires the codification of a single EIL variety. As shown in the present study, this has not yet been accomplished, apart from EIL pronunciation, and it might be a very demanding task. Another alternative would be to approach EIL by introducing the range of Englishes in the world and appreciating the local variety of English, without the codification of a specific EIL variety. Which one would be the most beneficial – it is difficult to say. That is why the issue should be studied further. In addition, it would be important to study how the status of English has affected English teaching in Finland. The present study approached this by interviewing the teachers themselves. It might be a useful technique to observe English lessons on a systematic way for a longer period of time, since interviews do not necessarily give a full picture of what goes on in the classrooms. As the findings of the present study have shown, novice teachers have feelings of confusion and inadequacy as they try to live up to their own expectations of their English competence and the expectations that the shrinking globe and the increasing international interaction generate. Novice teachers should be supported in their work and English teaching should react to the changes in the world.

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APPENDIX 1: Schedule of the interview

Reetta Seppälä
Pro Gradu -tutkielma
Puolistrukturoitu teemahaastattelu

A. VASTAAJAN TIEDOT

o Koulutuksesi?
o Miten kauan olet työskennellyt opettajana?
o Millä asteilla opetat / olet opettanut englantia?
o Opetatko muita kieliä? Mitä?

B. OPETTAJA ENGLANNINKÄYTTÄJÄNÄ

o Kuvaile englannin kieltä omin sanoin, esim.
    o mikä sen status on nykyään
    o miltä englanti kuulostaa
o Kuvaile englannin kieltäsi
o Käytätkö englantia puhuessasi jotakin tiettyä aksenttia? Mitä? Miksi?
o Millä perusteella olet valinnut juuri tämän aksentin?
o Käytätkö englantia kirjoittaessasi jotakin tiettyä varianttia? Mitä? Miksi?
o Minkä perusteella olet valinnut juuri tämän variantin?
o Onko se ollut tietoinen valinta?
o Kuuluuko suomen kieli mielestäsi puheessasi? Miten suhtaudut siihen? Onko se etu vai haitta? Perustele.
o Haluaisitko kuulostaa enemmän natiivipuhujalta? Kenen? Miksi / miksi ei?
o Onko sinulla tällä hetkellä tavoitteita englannin kielesi kehittämiseksi?
o Kenen kanssa käytät englantia (natiivipuhujien / ei-natiivipuhujien)?
o Minkälaisissa tilanteissa työn ulkopuolella käytät englantia? Suomessa / ulkomailla?

C. ENGLANNIN OPETTAMINEN

o Oletteko puhuneet eri varianteista / aksenteista? Mistä? Miksi
o Mikä variantti on suurimmassa osassa valmiita opetusmateriaaleja?
o Onko opetusmateriaaleissa sellaista ainesta jossa käytetään muitakin kuin britti- tai amerikanenglannin variantteja / aksentteja? Millaista?
o Oletko huomannut oppilaiden pyrkivän kielenkäytössään johonkin tiettyyn aksenttiin/varianttiin? Mihin? Minkä arvelisit olevan tähän syynä?
o Oletko kehottanut oppilaita valitsemaan jonkin tietyn aksentin/variantin? Minkä? Miksi?
o Oletteko tunneilla käsitelleet suomen kielen vaikutusta omaasi ja oppilaiden puheeseen?
o Oletteko käsitelleet muiden kielten vaikutusta englannin aksenttiin tai kielioppiin?
o Minkälaisissa tilanteissa ja kenen kanssa kuvittelet oppilaidesi käyttävän englantia tulevaisuudessa?

D. KULTTUURI KIELEN OPETUKSESSA

o Oletteko käsitelleet kulttuuria englanninkielen yhteydessä? Mitä kulttuureita?
o Mitä asioita ko. kulttuureista? Miksi juuri niitä?
o Oletteko tunneilla käsitelleet kulttuurienvälisiä eroja (esim. suomalainen kulttuuri vs. kohdekulttuuri)
o Onko tunneilla käynyt vierailijoita muista kulttuureista? Mistä?
o Haluaisitko tunneille käymään englannin natiivipuhujia vai ei-natiiveja? Miksi?

E. ENGLANNIN KIELEN ASEMA MAAILMASSA JA SUOMESSA

o Koetko opettavasi englantia vieraana kielenä, toisena kielenä, lingua francana..?
o Onko sinulla sellaisia oppilaita, joille englanti on jo toinen kieli (vaikka se ei olisikaan esim. toinen äidinkieli)?
o Käsitteletkö tunneilla englannin kielen historiaa tai sen nykyasemaa maailmassa?
o Miten olet perustellut englannin kielen tärkeyttä oppilaille?
o Oletteko tunneilla käsitelleet englannin asemaa Suomessa?
o Tiedätkö miten paljon ja missä tilanteissa (domaineissa: vapaa-aika, työ, opiskelu) oppilaasi käyttävät tällä hetkellä englantia koulun ulkopuolella?

o Haluatko vielä sanoa/kysyä/kommentoida jotakin aiheeseen liittyvää?

APPENDIX 2: Illustrations of the analysis of each research question

Table 1. Illustration of the analysis about teachers as English-speaker models

ILLUSTRATION OF THE ANALYSIS – RESEARCH QUESTION 1			
Extracts from the data reading the data, forming a general view of it	**Themes** condensing the information in the data	**Sub-categories** grouping the coded utterances	**Main categories** combining the categories
(63) kyllähän aina koulussa on kuitenki ollu sellasta brittiaksenttia (5,1,29)	Basic education	External causes	Causes affecting teacher's English
(64) no ensinnäki nyt täällä yliopistossa ollessa on jotenki tottunu semmoseen standard english tyyppiseen kielenkäyttöön (6,1,42)	University studies		
(65) mut toisaalta sitten tää teeveesarjojen vaikutus on niin vahva (2,1,34)	Television		
(66) vaikka sillon australiassakin [-] sehän nyt on . australianenglantia mut ei se aksentti tarttunu niin paljoa mutta jotain sanoja tietysti tarttunu (7,1,19)	Living abroad		
(67) se on ehkä se että sitä just pitää nätimpänä omaan korvaan (3,1,48)	Personal preference	Internal causes	
(68) ehkä on voinu tulla myös tämmösenä asenteena että se brittienglanti ois semmosta ns. hienompaa [-] kuningattaren englantia (1,1,46)	Attitude		
(69) se on sit ton britti ja amerikanenglannin välissä vähän koska [-] koulussa ku on enemmän brittienglantii ollu ja sitte taas telkkarista ja muusta on amerikanenglantia omaksunu niin sit se on varmaan jossain siinä välimaastos (4,1,24)	Mixture of accents	Variable characteristics	Characteristics of teacher's English
(70) jos mä vaikka mesessä chattailen jonku kaverin kanssa ni jos se on australiasta tai jenkeistä ni sillon mä puhun eri tavalla ku brittiläisten kavereitten kanssa . eri sanoja käytän silloin (6,1,36)	Variation in accent		
(71) kyl mä käytän sitä brittienglannin oikeinkirjotusta . ku täytyy miettiä jostain sanoista et tuleeks tähän nyt . jok- joku kaks kirjainta vai kirjotanks mä tään yhellä (8,1,40)	Stable way of spelling	Stable characteristics	
(72) sitte etenki ku on enkunopiskelija niin tulee jotenki hirmu paineet että sen pitää kuulostaa hirveen hienolta (7,1,47)	Reflection about being a model	Teacher as a model	English in the classroom
(73) koska mä pyrin olemaan siellä mallina [-] että se kieli ois sitte niinku ymmärrettävää (1,2,4)	Making mistakes		
(74) kun on ollu opettamassa niin on jollaki tavalla siistiny sitä omaa ääntämistään aika paljon niin että oppilaat ymmärtää sen helpommin (6,1,28)	Comprehensi-bility	Language in the classroom	
(75) mä sit kuitenki haluan että mulla on joku yleisamerikkalainen tai yleisbrittiläinen [-] et pystyy vaihtamaan johonki melko neutraaliin . koska tietyt tietyistä aksenteista tulee [-] negatiivisia konnotaatioita vaikka mulle tulis kuinka kaikista positiivisia [-] niin tota kaikille ei välttämättä (2,2,37)	Neutrality		

Table 2. Illustration of the analysis about the role of culture

ILLUSTRATION OF THE ANALYSIS - RESEARCH QUESTION 2			
Extracts from the data	**Themes**	**Sub-categories**	**Main categories**
reading the data, forming a general view of it	condensing the information in the data	grouping the coded utterances	combining the categories
(76) monestihan kie- noitten kirjojen kappaleet on laadittu sillä lailla että niissä olis siinä sisällössä jotain kulttuuriin liittyvää (1,4,4)	Theme / chapter	Role of the school book	Culture defined from the outside
(77) on pieniä pätkiä kyllä hirveen seki on yleensä semmosta pintaraapasua (4,3,16)	Superficial information		
(78) kirjasarjasta riippuen ää siinä itse kirjassa voi olla aika paljonki semmosia sivuhuomautuksia tai sit niitä voi olla tosi vähän (6,4,9)	Depends on the book		
(79) sillon jonku verran kerroin niinku omista kokemuksista sieltä ja siitä koulumaailmasta (7,3,32)	Teacher's experiences	Role of the teacher	
(80) mä oon sitte yrittäny etsiä enemmän tietoa itelleki ja sitte että vois oppilaitten kanssa niitä käydä läpi (9,2,41)	Additional material		
(81) mutta sit se on vähän opettajasta riippuvaa se että miten paljo sitte niinku haluaa muuten tarinoida asioita (6,4,10)	Depends on the teacher		
(82) emmä tiä liittyykö nyt kulttuuriin paikallista maantietoo semmosii (4,3,20)	Geography	General knowledge	Culture defined through concrete components
(83) ihan nyt vaikka jotain tommosia että mitä eroja koulunkäynnissä on ja . mitä siihen liittyy (8,5,13)	School		
(84) että tämä on nyt tämä lippu ja tämä on nyt tämä ja siellä on kuninkaalliset ja (2,4,19)	Other trivia		
(85) ehkä tällänen joku selkee esimerkki on joku joulunvietto (3,4,38)	Festivities	People's behavior	
(86) kyllähän niitä semmosia tapoja ja pieniä asioita (8,4,21)	Customs		
(87) tietysti ne on vähän monesti hienovarasempiaki asioita esimerkiks . no joku ihan kielenkäyttöönki liittyvä asia jotku please sanat tai tälläset (3,4,40)	Politeness	Linguistic politeness	Culture as part of the language
(88) yläkoulun puolella jopa aika useastikin koska opetellaan just sellasia jotain vaikka vuorovaikutustaitoja (3,4,21)	Verbal communication	Other remarks about verbal comm.	

Table 3. Illustration of the analysis about EIL contents in English teaching

ILLUSTRATION OF THE ANALYSIS - RESEARCH QUESTION 3			
Extracts from the data	**Themes**	**Sub-categories**	**Main categories**
reading the data, forming a general view of it	condensing the information in the data	grouping the coded utterances	combining the categories
(89) varmasti antais [-] ajateltavaa niille oppilaille että kun he näkis jonku joka oikeesti käyttää sitä kieltä . että se tulis niille [-] todellisemmaksi se ajatus että sitä kieltä voi käyttää (1,4,31)	Authentic English into the classroom	Illustrations of authentic English	Status of English in the world
(90) se myös lisää [-] ymmärrystä vähä muistaki puhujista koska kuitenki englantia toisena kielenä puhuvia on niin kauheesti (3,4,34)	Inviting both NS and NNS visitors		
(91) enkku on sinänsä vähä kiitollisempi kieli että [-] sitä ei kauheesti tartte perustella [-] ei sitä että miksi englantia opiskellaan et sitä en kyllä oo joutunu kenellekkää sanomaan että miks (1,5,4)	Status of English apparent	English in Finland	
(92) yläkoulun [-] kanssa varmaan ollaan just katottu kai- jotain mainoksia ja kaikkee et missä sitä näkyy [-] sitä englantia (8,6,15)	Role of English in Finland		
(93) oli ihan siis oppikirjan mukaan oli eri varianteista . juttuja [-] ne on ollu britti sitte on ollu amerikan [-] sit yleensä lisäks on ollu australianenglantii mm intianenglantii [-] sit on varmaan [-] eteläamerikan englantii (4,2,20)	Introducing NS accents/varieties	Systematic teaching	Different varieties of English
(94) sanastopuolella ja ilmauksissa [-] verrataan suomen kieleen [-] kieliopissa [-] saatan sanoa niille että tässä on suomenkielessä niin ja näin ja ihan samalla tavalla te voitte sanoo sen englannissa tai nyt ei saa sanoa samalla tavalla ku suomen kielessä (6,3,30)	Impact of Finnish on grammar		
(95) joskus ehkä jossaki sanassa joka niinkun . jotenki silleen että suomalainen vaistomaisesti lausuis sen näin (9,4,35)	Impact of Finnish on pronunciation		
(96) se ei välttämättä oo ollu mikää varsinainen tunnin aihe mut [-] keskustelu on joskus niinku valunu siihen suuntaan joku oppilas on heittäny jonku kommentin . ja sit ollaan puhuttu siitä . on ollu tämmösiä stereotypioita joskus just miten ranskalaiset ääntää esimerkiksi [-] mut ne on ollu semmosia [-] vitsijuttuja siellä tunneilla (6,3,36)	Discussing NNS accents	Unsystematic teaching	
(97) ihan niinku siirtolaisjuttuja ja [-] siirtomaitaki sitte et [-] joskus saattaa olla mutta eihän se nyt mitenkää se liittyy aina sitte jos se liittyy johonkin ja tulee jostain sitte ilmi että hei ope miks miks tuolla puhutaan englantia (8,5,47)	Discussing historical causes		
(98) monesti niinku esim skotl- skotlantilainen vaikka se ois kuinka selkee ja kuinka ärrät pyörähtäs niin ei . mutta sitte eikä niinku yleensä aust- aussikaa aksenttia ei tunnisteta (9,3,20)	Pupils' competence	Need for better competence	Reflection about EIL contents in teaching
(99) mun täytyy myöntää et mä hirveen huonosti niinku tiiän näitä vaikka englannin sisässä olevia eri . et siinä ois kyllä parantamisen varaa (5,3,30)	Teacher's competence		

APPENDIX 3: Extracts translated into English

(1) when we have practiced pronunciation in, for example, our English pronunciation course, it has focused more on British English, and also when I was at school the characters on tapes spoke British English (9,1,43)

(2) probably when I was at school, the school books have had that variety [British English] (7,1,30)

(3) maybe also the teachers in our university studies had such a [British English] background, and the type of writing a person sees and uses and writes affects her language use (8,1,43)

(4) but on the other hand, when you think about the fact that I have learned a lot of English by watching television, I probably also use the American English variety, because many series that I have watched come from America (1,1,30)

(5) since I have spent a year in the United States as an exchange student it taught me American English accent [-] it would have been difficult to talk in a different way than everyone else around me (3,1,35)

(6) since I have had American friends and I have always thought that it [American English] sounds nice, I probably have wanted to identify with that language group, but also because I have had these friends and I have used English with them, I have adopted this kind of language use (5,1,30)

(7) I do not know, I find it [British English] maybe, it feels stupid to say, better but that is how I see it and it is, among other things, geographically closer and I do not really like everything American, so maybe that is one of the reasons, too (4,1,31)

(8) I think that it [American English] has stayed in my language use and now at the university we have had more British English influence, and therefore my English has shifted more away from it [American English] but not totally, so maybe I speak a mixture of those two (3,1,38)

(9) it is a mixture of something, I do not know what, but a little bit like British English but then on the other hand, if I am in contact with, say, Americans, I start to imitate them very easily, so that my language changes (2,1,35)

(10) I try, I would like to be consistent so that, even though it would be easy to write British English features and even though word always underlines it if I write meter instead of metre, I try to write American English so that it would be one consistent variety and not a hybrid form (5,1,36)

(11) when they sometimes may ask that which variety they should use, I have said that it is their own choice, but I come up with this problem when there are words which they pronounce after me and I start wondering whether they would want to say water [American English accent] or water [British English accent] and sometimes I have said that this does not mean that you would have to say it with American English accent but it is difficult for me to say it differently because it is my way of pronouncing, but then I have just tried to say that even though I have a quite thick accent (laugher) you have the freedom to use any accent you like [-] even though I have American English accent and I have somehow orientated myself towards America, it does not mean that it [American English] is the only accent I would want to provide them with (5,3,37)

(12) this is exactly the question that whose English are we teaching, and if teachers should have some certain accent, why should they have it and who is to define it, and this is a very difficult question [-] it is also a matter of identity, which is still a very open issue for me, and that is why I find this a very interesting topic because it is so difficult to answer it [-] because I have my own identity there as a language user (8,2,1)

(13) but I think that it would be very important to study whose English is taught in English lessons in basic education, to think about whose English is taught and does some variety dominate the teaching and if that is the case, is it okay and should it be like that, and what are the values that why one variety

of English is better than some other [-] it is no longer so that English belongs to someone and that is why I sometimes think that it could be taught in many different way because there are so many alternatives where to choose from (8,6,52)

(14) if I was teaching in a classroom and I made a mistake, it would not be so okay, in my opinion, even though making mistakes is allowed but I would not want to provide my pupils with a wrong model, but otherwise I think that making mistakes is okay and everyone gets to make their language look like them as long as others can understand it (6,2,4)

(15) of course you can always hear it [impact of Finnish] and sometimes I do not know whether the pupils notice it but I hear it that oh no, I pronounced them wrong again [-] but it cannot be prevented and since I am not a native speaker, I do not sound like a native speaker (9,2,12)

(16) sometimes as I am teaching I try to speak more clearly because the phonemes in American English are more mixed, and I think that it is then easier for them to distinguish the phonemes (9,2,1)

(17) I have notices that sometimes in the classroom I try not so use such a thick American English accent, but when I am with Americans it is easier to use such accent and then I try to avoid the impact of Finnish, but if I am talking with, say, Finns I may try to avoid such an annoying thick American English accent [-] it may annoy someone who is against everything American in Finland, and at normal school I once got such feedback [-] that first your thick American English accent annoyed me but then I got used to it, and I can imagine that since the United States it not very popular at the moment, especially during Bush, it could have been directed towards the accent so that the American English accent annoys people because the United States as a country or the Americans annoy them (5,1,51)

(18) often different countries are discussed one at a time in school books, so that first there are five chapters about an Irish girl, and after that the chapter follow the life of an American youngster and everything related to that, and that is how it often goes in the teaching materials of the upper levels of comprehensive school (8,4,27)

(19) there was a chapter about Australia, and that is how Australia was discussed in only one chapter, and that was the variety among the normal things (7,3,30)

(20) often the chapters in the school books are constructed so that their contents have something about culture, and that way cultural issues are discussed together with the language, but I feel that such issues are not properly discussed because we focus only on the chapter and translating and understanding the text but the content of the text is discussed very briefly (1,4,4)

(21) there was a chapter about Scotland where we discussed some very general information, nothing very deep, so that it was only very superficial cultural information, but it was better than nothing (2,4,8)

(22) often between two sections in the school books there are some cultural issues, but it is dependent on which school book is in use (9,5,1)

(23) somehow I rely on the quality of contemporary school books, so that there are quite a lot of geography and everything in them (5,5,34)

(24) I have been to America twice for a longer period of time, and even though I have only seen a very small part of America, I could imagine or at least I think that it is nice to hear someone's own experiences, and that is why we have looked at photos and with the help of the photos I have explained things that, in my opinion, portray American culture, and I would like to have more such material, and that is why I have to start traveling, and I have noticed that pupils like such things a lot (5,5,36)

(25) I like to tell about my friends who have been somewhere, and they really remember such stories better (6,4,29)

(26) I have gotten such an impression that I should gather lots of extra materials, such cultural materials, so that I could get some extra information for each chapter, and I could tell pupils more about cultures than what there is in the school books, and that way discuss cultural issues more [-] of course it is another question how deep such discussion is if I do not have any own contacts to other cultures, and how well the pupils remember it (8,4,8)

(27) that was a real pain threshold for me, or I wondered how I could teach culture, because it is such a wide subject and there are so many English-speaking cultures that my knowledge will never be enough for introducing, for instance, Indian culture and Australia and England and so on, so that it made me feel inadequacy (5,5,22)

(28) I could say that, depending on the school book used, the book may have a lot of parentheses or there may be only few of them, but it depends on the teacher how much she wants to tell the pupils about such things (6,4,9)

(29) of course it [culture] has a minor role than the language itself, but I always add my own comments, depending on the context (3,4,19)

(30) and also take advantage of the pupils' experiences so that if the topic has been traveling, they have brought their photos and if someone has visited Australia, s/he has told about it, so that it does not have to be so that I am the one who tells them everything, because we can also learn things together (5,5,42)

(31) and at the moment I am going through the United States and at the same time we discuss the different states in the United States, and that is how geography is discussed, even though I do not know whether geography is part of culture, well in a way it is, such things come to my mind now (1,4,16)

(32) for instance on the lower grades of comprehensive school we discuss what the school is like in Great Britain and what it is like in Finland and then we talk about the school uniforms and all the differences between the school subjects, and such cultural issues (2,4,29)

(33) and what comes to mind when we go through some chapters which deal with living or cuisine [-] and Englishmen live in certain kinds of apartments and they do not have double windows or something like that, so that the discussion is more like that (6,4,23)

(34) we have gone through all the festivities and celebrations and such, and we have also discussed them one by one (9,4,49)

(35) for me it is important to bring up cultural issues, too, so that you talk about people who really speak this language as a mother tongue, where they live, and how they do this and that and how they do not rinse plates after doing the dishes or something, and they are such things which do not take much time but which make the language learning a lot more authentic and a lot more meaningful and interesting for the pupils, I think that it is very important to teach also to context to which the language belongs, and not only the correct vocabulary (6,4,11)

(36) I do not know if this is regarded as part of culture but all of these polite words in English, which are used a lot more, and of course I compare them to Finnish so that the pupils would understand the difference and so that they would know why to use certain words and why it is done in a certain way (4,3,29)

(37) there should always be the word please even though we do not use it in Finnish but it is part of good manners (7,4,9)

(38) they are such separate issues like food and such concrete things, and the issues which could be discussed more on the upper grades are the importance of using the word please and such communicational issues, which could be discussed even more, but of course it is easier to tell about the flag or the royalty of a country, they are somehow easier to bring up (2,4,16)

(39) then I realized that there is a lot of culture in the language, so that the Brits say how do you do and the other answers how do you do, and it does not have to mean how is it going, so that culture is connected to the language in many ways and with the help of the language you can tell about the culture, for instance these guidelines for politeness that it is not polite to say everything straight away there even if it is okay when you are discussing with a Finn, and the use of the word please is also connected to the language, and such things show that the language reflects the culture (5,5,27)

(40) it is mostly about Great Britain and America, of course there are short pieces about other cultures or varieties, too, but only very little, and the focus is on Great Britain and America (4,3,24)

(41) usually yes [native speaker cultures] I have scarcely even thought about saying something about, say, Germans, so that mostly those cultures where English is spoken as a mother tongue (6,4,20)

(42) Interviewer: is cultural teaching always connected to native speaker cultures
Participant7: so far yes, even though it should not be but that is how it has been
Interviewer: why should it not be
Participant7: because English will not necessarily be used with native speakers, and therefore interculturality should be taken into consideration, regardless of the cultural background, and not so much about how to behave in Great Britain, but to somehow teach something about intercultural communication (7,3,37)

(43) I guess they are mainly native speaker cultures, even though the reality is that in international interaction you communicate with non-native speakers, maybe sometimes in some exercises we may practice such skills, if we practice a job interview or something like that, even though the actual situations where they use English may not be about communication with native speakers (2,4,22)

(44) I think that it is very important to bring the actual language into the classroom, it does not matter whether it is a native speaker or not, because that is exactly such lingua franca so that the pupils would get an experience that hey English is good and with the help of it I get to know more about the culture of that German, and therefore it is not essential [-] it is good because it creates genuine interaction and genuine language use (5,6,13)

(45) I do not think it matters whether it is a native speaker or not, because if English is used as a communicational tool, it is a meaningful situation for the pupils that they are using English for something else that just making sentences in class, and that is why it makes sense (1,4,36)

(46) preferably native speakers and people from this particular culture, because I do not see the point in inviting anyone else who is in the same position as I am but who came there just for a visit, of course a person from that particular culture has a lot more to say and that is why I would rather have people from that culture, and therefore it would probably be a person who speaks English as a mother tongue (4,3,40)

(47) no one has ever asked me to give reasons or no one has ever stated opinions that this is stupid why do we have to study this, so I have not been asked to give reasons, in English lessons you do not usually have that problem because everyone has accepted that it is a useful subject to some extent even if it was difficult for some of them (7,4,36)

(48) now that it was newspaper week we looked at newspapers and tried to find instances where there were English expressions which had not been translated in any way, and there were plenty of them, and I think that the pupils have understood it, too, that English is the dominant language nowadays (9,1,11)

(49) there is a British English speaker and Irish, American, Canadian, Australian, South African youngsters who speak, and that way the young people understand that it is not only Great Britain and America where English is spoken, and I think that it is great that the young people learn that there is no one correct variety (6,2,47)

(50) we have not discussed them systematically a lot, but usually there are chapters and texts which are read in different accents and I always point them out and ask whether the pupils recognize the accent and what are the characteristics of that accent (9,3,12)

(51) quite often in syntax I say that you should be careful with this one because you may easily make a mistake, since you say it like this in Finnish and we think that it is the same way in English, but an English person says it in a different way, and that is how we discuss them, but on the other hand it is natural, and I wonder what our goal is nowadays, because then again you might say or write so in Australia (8,3,35)

(52) we talk about it [the impact of Finnish] in terms of pronunciation quite a lot, and especially the differences in phonemes that where we should pay attention to them as we pronounce (6,3,28)

(53) of course it [the Finnish language] affects our pronunciation a lot, but there are some pupils who cannot pronounce even the very basic phonemes [-] it is not so easy for everyone to imitate the voice on the tape if I ask them to imitate how it is said on the tape and the intonation of the voice, it is always a different thing whether they succeed in doing it or not (8,3,46)

(54) sometimes we may have listened to a piece on the tape where there has be a very strong non-native speaker accent and the pupils may have laughed at it and they have found it amusing, and then we have talked about it that there is nothing to laugh at, because someone else might laugh if a Finn read that chapter and they might find it odd, and I may have asked what is so funny in it [-] if there have been such reactions after a variety, we have discussed it but [-] we have not hade an intentional discussion about it (5,4,44)

(55) there have been some comments about a different accent that this sounds funny (1,3,17)

(56) quite often pupils [-] have very strong opinions that Germans cannot speak English because they pronounce it so horribly so that it sounds terrible and they may get somehow excited about it [-] so these things really arouse feelings but everything like that do, and then there are comments which we can discuss that is it really so that that person is a better speaker (8,4,10)

(57) maybe something in terms of the British Empire that why people speak English in Australia (2,4,13)

(58) sometimes, if someone has asked that why it is so difficult to write this word, I have gone through a short version that because printing was created and then there were changes in the vowels and everything, and that is how I have tried to explain them the status of English, but other than that, we have talked very little about the history of the language, sometimes there may be a dated form of a word in English and then we have talked about it and some other things that they used to have several inflections for words and so on (6,5,20)

(59) they are such things that do not require a lot, the teacher can say, for instance, that by the way, Americans would pronounce this like this or that in America and Australia or somewhere else there is another word in use, and it is not away from the pupils, it does not require a better competence of the language but for those who are on a higher level or who are able to acquire new things I want to give that possibility (6,2,37)

(60) many things are dependent on the group, what the group is like, so that if there is a group with many pupils who find the starting of studying and everything very difficult, you cannot deal with pronunciation so much, but since there are instructions for pronunciation in the vocabulary, it would be good if they could read them from the seventh grade onwards and on the lower grades of comprehensive school, too, so that they would learn to read them, because I have noticed in senior high school that they do not have a clue what they are, and in that case there is no point in saying that there are differences between American English and British English (8,6,42)

(61) maybe the problem is that I do not necessarily recognize them myself very well, as a matter of fact, every country has its own variety, German English, Russian English [-] but it is something that you probably hear but you do not necessarily recognize (5,3,13)

(62) I have thought about [-] how rarely intercultural competence is discussed, maybe it shows in the new curriculum and newer school books more and that way also in teaching, but such things are surprisingly important and those are the things which cannot be clearly seen and which are very difficult to be taught, and I have thought that how could I teach them because I have noticed that they

are not necessarily taken into consideration anywhere, but they would be very important and they may cause problems, it is so that if you say lift instead of elevator, it rarely causes problems (laughter) so that it does not cause problems in communication, but the problem may result in not talking small talk or noticing that the other person speaks only about weather, and how important the word please is and how important it is to address the person politely, and teaching such things feels puzzling (2,5,32)

(63) at school it has always been the British English accent (5,1,29)

(64) first of all, here at the university I have gotten used to a kind of standard English language use (6,1,42)

(65) but on the other hand, the influence of television series has been so strong (2,1,34)

(66) even though in Australia [-] it is Australian English but I did not catch the accent so much but maybe some words may have stuck (7,1,19)

(67) maybe that is the one that sounds better in my opinion (3,1,48)

(68) it may have been an attitude that British English is somehow more elegant [-] Queen's English (1,1,46)

(69) it is between British and American English a little bit because [-] at school we have had more British English and then again I have acquired American English from television and elsewhere, so maybe it is somewhere between those two (4,1,24)

(70) for example, if I chat with my friend on messenger and if s/he is from Australia or the United States I speak differently than with friends from Great Britain, I use different words then (6,1,36)

(71) I use British English spelling, if I have to decide whether I write a particular word with two letters or should I write it with one (8,1,40)

(72) especially since I study English, I have huge pressures for sounding really great (7,1,47)

(73) because I try to be a model there [-] so that the language would be comprehensible (1,2,4)

(74) when I have been teaching, I have somehow changed my pronunciation so that it would be easier for the pupils to understand it (6,1,28)

(75) I want to have a general American English or a general British English accent [-] so that I can change it to something quite neutral because certain accents generate [-] negative connotations even if I had positive connotations towards all of them [-] everyone else does not necessarily have them (2,2,37)

(76) often the chapters in the school books have been designed so that their content have something about culture (1,4,4)

(77) there are some short pieces and they are only very superficial information (4,3,16)

(78) depending on the book series, the school book may have quite a lot of such parenthesis or it may have very few of them (6,4,9)

(79) at that time I told them something about my own experiences there and the school environment (7,3,32)

(80) I have tried to search for more information so that I could discuss it with the pupils (9,2,41)

(81) but it depends on the teacher how much s/he wants to tell about such things (6,4,10)

(82) I do not know whether it is part of culture, local geography, such things (4,3,20)

(83) for instance information about the differences in the school system and everything related to it (8,5,13)

(84) this is the flag and this is that and they have the royalty and (2,4,19)

(85) maybe a clear example would be celebrating Christmas (3,4,38)

(86) there are some customs and small things (8,4,21)

(87) of course they are often a bit more subtle issues such as, well something related to language use, such as the word please and such things (3,4,40)

(88) in the upper grades of comprehensive school we often study things like interaction competence (3,4,21)

(89) it would probably [-] give the pupils something to think if they met someone who really uses the language so that the thought would become [-] more real to them that they can use the language (1,4,31)

(90) it also increases [-] understanding about other language users, too, since there are so many people who use English as a second language (3,4,34)

(91) English is a more rewarding language in the sense that [-] it does not have to be reasoned [-] I have not been asked to explain anyone why we study English (1,5,4)

(92) with upper grades of comprehensive school [-] we have probably looked at some advertisements and everything that where there is [-] English (8,6,15)

(93) in the school book there was something about different varieties [-] there have been British English, then American [-] and usually there has also been Australian English Indian English [-] then there has probably been [-] South African English (4,2,20)

(94) in the vocabulary and expressions [-] we compare them to Finnish [-] in the grammar [-] I may tell them that here use say it like this and that in Finnish, and you can say it likewise in English or now you cannot say it in the same way you would say it in Finnish (6,3,30)

(95) sometimes maybe in a word which a Finn would instinctively pronounce it like this (9,4,35)

(96) it has not necessarily been the actual topic of the lesson but [-] sometimes the conversation has started to deal with it, a pupil has made a comment and then we have talked about it, there has sometimes been some stereotypes that how Frenchmen would pronounce it, for instance [-] but they have been such [-] jokes in the lessons (6,3,36)

(97) there have been something about immigration and [-] colonies [-] they may have been discussed but not really, it has always been related to something and it has been brought up that hey teacher why do they speak English there (8,5,47)

(98) often even when the Scottish accent has been very clear and the r sounds very sharp, they have not even recognized the Australian English accent (9,3,20)

(99) I have to admit that I recognize the different varieties of English very poorly, so that I would have to improve my knowledge of it (5,3,30)