ELF IN THE CLASSROOM:

Finnish upper secondary school students' attitudes towards ELF

Master's thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Englannin kielen asema maailmalla on muuttunut merkittävästi viime vuosikymmenten aikana ja se on saavuttanut vahvan aseman kansainvälisenä kielenä. Se toimii myös yhä enenevissä määrin maailmanlaajuisena lingua francana ei-äidinkielisten englannin kielen puhujien välisessä kommunikaatiossa. Englannin kielen roolin muuttumisen myötä, myös englannin kielen opetukseen on vaadittu muutoksia. On ehdotettu, että nykyisen englannin standardi varieteetteja, mm. amerikanenglanti ja brittienglanti, painottavan mallin sijaan, englannin opetuksen tulisi mukailla enemmän lingua franca -englanti (ELF) mallia.

Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli selvittää lukiolaisten asenteita ELF:iä ja sen opettamista kohtaan. Asenteita ELF:iä kohtaan tutkittiin kolmesta näkökulmasta: oppilaiden omat tavoitteet englannin kielen opiskelussa, oppilaiden asennoituminen englannin eri varieteetteihin, sekä heidän suhtautumisensa tyypillisiin kielellisiin ELF rakenteisiin. ELF:n opetuksen osalta, tavoitteena oli selvittää olisivatko oppilaat halukkaita sisällyttämään opetukseen ELF-mallin mukaisia oppisisältöjä. Tutkimus toteutettiin kyselytutkimuksella, joka sisälsi erilaisten väittämien ja suorien kysymysten lisäksi myös avoimia kysymyksiä. Tulokset analysoitiin käyttämällä sekä tilastollista analyysiä että sisällönanalyysiä. Kyselyyn vastasi yhteensä 90 opiskelijaa kolmesta eri lukiosta.

Tutkimuksesta ilmeni, että suuri osa oppilaista yhä suosii ja tavoittelee syntyperäisen englannin puhujan kompetenssia. Tästä huolimatta oppilaat ovat kiinnostuneita myös muista kulttuureista ja englannin varieteeteista ja tiedostavat niiden tärkeyden. Oppilaat myös kaipasivat opetukseen enemmän vaihtelua ja olivat halukkaita sisällyttämään kulttuurinopetukseen tietoa maista, joiden pääkieli ei ole englanti. Oppilaiden suhtautuminen kielen käyttöön ja rakenteisiin on kaksijakoinen sillä toisaalta oppilaat korostavat kommunikaatiota ja heidän mielestään tärkeintä on, että keskustelussa osapuolet ymmärtävät toisiaan virheistä huolimatta. He myös näkivät erilaisten kommunikaatiostrategioiden lisäämisen opetukseen hyödyllisenä. Samaan aikaan oppilaat kuitenkin paheksuivat kielioppivirheitä ja kieliopillisesti virheellisiä ja ELF-rakenteita sisältäviä lauseita pidettiin huonona englantina. Kaiken kaikkiaan, tutkimuksesta kävi ilmi, että oppilaat ovat yhä kiintyneitä englannin standardi varieteetteihin ja erityisesti kielellisesti ELF koetaan alempiarvoisena. Oppilaiden positiiviset asenteet ELF:n muita osa-alueita kohtaan kuitenkin viittaavat siihen, että oppilaiden asenteet ovat hiljalleen siirtymässä pois englannin standardi varieteettien ihannoimisesta ja kohti ELF suuntausta.

Asiasanat – Keywords
English as a Lingua Franca, language attitudes, English teaching, survey

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1   INTRODUCTION

According to Crystal (2000: 3), "over the last hundred years, English has come to be spoken by more people in more places than ever before". Indeed, the estimated number of people speaking English in the world in the beginning of the 21st century was about 1.5 billion and the number of people in frequent contact with the language even higher (Crystal 2003: 67-69). According to rough estimates, English is spoken as a first language by 329 million people, as a second language by 430 million and as a foreign language around 750 million people (Crystal 2003: 67-69). The numbers alone thus speak for the power which the English language has gained in the world, and in different countries, during the past decades. In addition to the increasing number of people learning English, the language has also spread to several domains as English has become the language of media, international business, politics, science and tourism, just to name a few. Thus, English has indeed emerged as the language of the world.

One of the major consequences of the changing role of English has to do with the increasing number of non-native speakers (NNSs) of English, and as the numbers presented above illustrate, today non-native speakers outnumber native speakers (NSs). Consequently, English is increasingly used as a lingua franca, a tool for communication, between people who do not share a common language. Thus, non-native speakers are more likely to interact in English with other non-native speakers than with native speakers. Along with the changed power-relations between the groups of English speakers, the English as a lingua franca (ELF) approach also points to the change in the ownership of the language (McKay 2002, Matsuda 2003: 483). Hence, English should not be considered as a property of its native speakers, who get to decide and dictate how English should be used, but instead belonging to all English speakers. Thus, non-native speakers or learners of English (i.e. users of ELF) no more need to conform to rules and norms set by native speakers. In addition, as English as an international language or as a lingua franca is no longer owned by its native speakers and is therefore de-nationalized and free of cultural influences, the learners of English no longer need to internalize the cultural values of its native speakers either (McKay 2003a: 3).

The new understanding of English as a global language has consequently brought about arguments requesting that the changed status of English should be reflected in English

teaching too (e.g. McKay 2002, Seidlhofer 2004). However, the increased role of ELF around the world has not yet reached English classrooms as both teaching practices and materials still heavily rely on native varieties, which is also the case in Finland. Even though students are more likely to use English in lingua franca situations, English language teaching (ELT) practices still prepare students for interaction with native speakers, and the assumed goal of learning is to achieve a native-like competence (Ranta 2010: 160, McKay 2003a: 5-6). In addition, cultural information provided during English lessons focuses mainly on native varieties, emphasis often on British and American cultures. It is thus reasonable to question whether the goals of current ELT practices are appropriate considering the future needs of the students as the contexts where they will use English are most likely non-native.

Despite the ever growing significance, ELF is still a fairly new field of research. Empirical studies on the linguistic nature of ELF conducted by Jenkins and Seidlhofer in the beginning of the 2000 can be seen as the triggers for the increase in research on ELF (Jenkins et al. 2011). Much of the research has concentrated on examining salient features of ELF and the use of it in different domains (Csizér and Kontra 2012: 2). In terms of English teaching, even though the debate on the appropriate model for English teaching has been ongoing, and arguments both against and for an ELF based teaching approach have been presented, relatively little research has so far been conducted on ELF in English teaching. In addition, as noted by Rubdy and Saraceni (2006: 14), the research and debate on the norms of English teaching particularly fail to consider the opinions of "the real consumers" of English, that is students and teachers, and their voices, when it comes to discussing which model of English should be used in the classroom, are not being heard. More extensive research on students' attitudes to ELF and ELF teaching thus needs to be conducted, to see how their attitudes and views on English have been affected by the changed status of English and consequently to be able to provide them with appropriate teaching.

Thus, in order to receive information on students' position on the debate on the model of English teaching, the present study aims at examining Finnish upper secondary school students' attitudes to both ELF and teaching ELF. More precisely, regarding attitudes to ELF, the study approaches the issue from three angles and aims to explore students' personal learning goals, their attitudes to different varieties of English and their attitudes to the characteristic uses of ELF. In terms of teaching ELF, the goal is to find out if the students would be willing to and consider it more useful to include

elements of ELF into English teaching. The study is mainly quantitative and a questionnaire is used to collect the data. However, open-ended questions are added to the questionnaire to receive a more versatile image of the students' attitudes.

The present study is divided into nine chapters. Following the introduction, chapter 2 outlines the issues related to global English. In addition, the concept of ELF is defined and described in detail and previous studies on features of ELF language use are presented. As the present study is situated in the Finnish context, chapter 3 discusses the role of English in Finland. The chapter first provides a general overview of the status of English in Finland but the emphasis of the chapter is on education. Thus, the aim of the chapter is to discuss the role of English in the Finnish education and the two important documents, the Common European Framework of Reference and the National Core Curriculum, affecting English teaching are presented. Chapter 4 focuses on language attitudes, particularly on different definitions, approaches, and methods used to study language attitudes. Chapter 5 discusses issues related to teaching ELF starting with justifications on why ELF should be chosen as the model of English followed by more concrete models and suggestions on how ELF could be incorporated into English teaching. In addition, previous research, relevant for setting up the present study, on students' attitudes to ELF and teaching ELF is introduced. In chapter 6, the research questions and the methodology used in the present study are explained. Chapter 7 reports the results of the study. The results are further discussed and analyzed in chapter 8. In addition, the chapter points out the possible limitations of the study and sets directions for future research. Chapter 9 summarizes the main findings of the study.

2 ENGLISH IN THE WORLD

This chapter provides an overview of the position of English in the world and describes how the language has received its status as a global language and as a lingua franca of the world. First, in chapter 2.1 Kachru's popular model of the spread of English is discussed followed by a description of Modiano's revised model. Chapter 2.2 explains more thoroughly both the historical and modern reasons behind the spread of English and its route to a global language. Finally, chapter 2.3 outlines the concept of ELF more thoroughly.

2.1   Speakers of English: Kachru's and Modiano's models

Kachru's (1985: 12-17) model of three circles is a popular approach used to describe the spread and the role of English in different countries around the world (see Figure 1). The model comprises three concentric circles: *the inner circle*, *the outer circle and the expanding circle*. The innermost circle, *the inner circle,* covers countries where English is spoken as a native language, such as the USA, Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom. The inner circle speakers have acquired English as their mother tongue, as a first language (L1). *The outer circle* consists of countries where, as a result of colonialism, English has an official status and is spoken as a second language (L2). Countries such as India and Singapore are examples of outer circle countries. The outermost circle, *the expanding circle,* represents the rest of the countries where English is a foreign language (EFL) taught in school, and its importance has been recognized widely but where it has no official status.
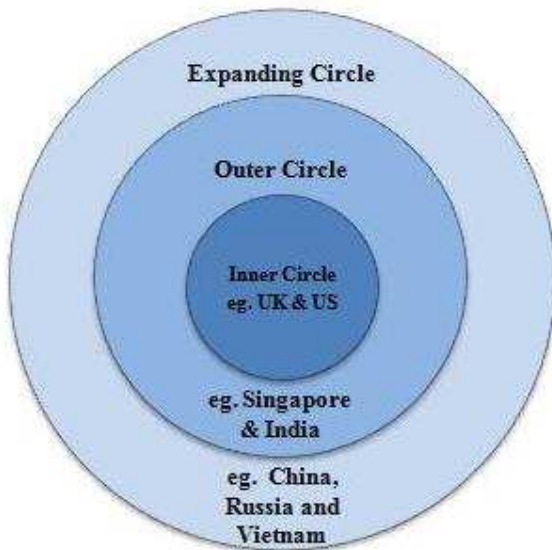
Figure 1. The three circles of English (adapted from Kachru 1985: 16)

Kachru (1985: 16) has additionally defined the inner circle countries as norm providers, since the changes and variation in language use taking place in the inner circle have widely been codified and accepted as standard language use. Similarly, Chomsky (1965, as quoted by Modiano 2009a: 88), has described native speakers as "gatekeepers" of the English language due to their "innate intuition for correct grammar, pronunciation, and lexical use" thus implying that native speakers are in control of the use and possible changes in the English language. The outer circle countries, on the other hand, are

categorized as norm-developers. Kachru (1985) regards outer circle varieties of English nativized and thus the varieties they use and the variation in their language use is considered accepted to the extent that these modifications in language use quickly become stable forms of language. Consequently, the expanding circle countries are considered norm followers, who obey the norms and rules set by the inner and the outer circle countries. Furthermore, according to Chomsky (1965, cited in Modiano 2009a: 88), "when non-native speakers deviate from the norms represented by the 'ideal speaker-hearer,' such structures are categorically defined as performance errors", which again strengthens the notion of native speakers' domination of the norms and structure of the language.

Despite the popularity of Kachru's model, the approach is problematic in relation to how English is used nowadays. Kachru's model of the spread of English is heavily based on geographical and historical events (Jenkins 2009a: 17). As Bruthiaux (2003: 172) simplifies, the concept of the inner circle concerns countries where English speaking populations have existed for a long time, whereas the outer circle countries can be located in areas influenced by the colonial rules. Thus, the model divides the speakers of English into the circles based on geographical location, and assumes that the entire population of a certain country fits into the same category ignoring the variation both in the use and competence of English (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 15). The model therefore neglects to consider the actual language competence of the speakers as also noted by Modiano (2009a: 89). However, as the status of English in several countries is changing, the categorization of English speakers is becoming increasingly difficult (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 4). The lines between L1 and L2 speakers are in most cases fuzzy and it is difficult to determine which category a person belongs to. Similarly, the division between L2 speakers and EFL speakers has become even more unclear, since many English speakers or learners in the expanding circle are, in fact, fluent English speakers or use English on a regular basis (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 4).

Modiano (2009a: 88-91) has further criticized Kachru's model for its incapability of describing the development of English as an international language (EIL, similar to ELF, discussed more in chapter 2.3). He criticizes Kachru's model for it places the native speakers in a central position and gives the impression that they are innately privileged users of English. Consequently, according to Modiano (2009a: 89), one of the weaknesses of the Kachruvian model is that it neglects to consider the language

competence of the speakers and relies on birthright. In the case of ELF, as Modiano (2009a: 89-90) mentions, native speakers' language skills and competence may, in fact, be lacking compared with non-native speakers', who have more experience in coming up with creative and effective ways of using English when communicating with speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In other words, when it comes to cross-cultural communication, non-native speakers of English may be more competent and effective users of English.

In an attempt to better describe the development and the functions of English, Modiano (1999a) developed a centripetal model which represents three centripetal circles of English as an International Language. Instead of categorizing speakers of English based on geography or nativeness, Modiano's model of EIL concentrates on communicative abilities and competence of English speakers, as Figure 2 illustrates.
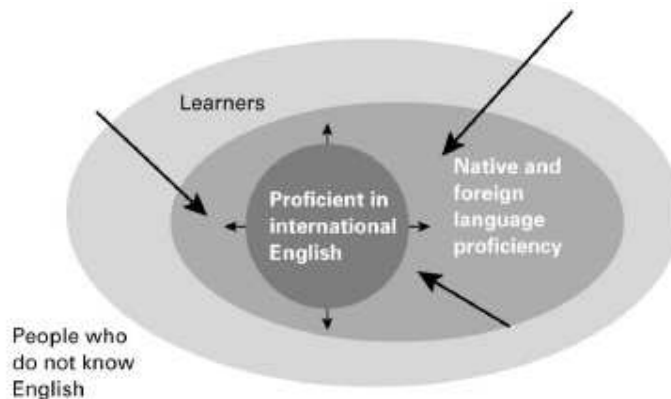
Figure 2. The centripetal circles of international English (adapted from Modiano, 1999a: 25)

The innermost circle of Modiano's (1999a: 25-26) model consists of speakers who are proficient users of EIL, whether they are native or non-native speakers of English. In fact, as the model does not rely on nativeness, geography or birthright, all native speakers of English are not automatically included in this circle. Modiano (2009a: 89-90) emphasizes code-switching and the speakers' ability to adapt their English to different communicative situations, and thus native speakers with strong dialects and little experience in communicating with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds might not be proficient users of EIL. In other words, proficient EIL speakers are able to communicate understandably in international contexts. Moreover, whereas Kachru's model emphasizes the dominance of native speakers, Modiano (1999a: 25) maintains that proficient speakers of EIL, including also non-native

speakers, should be in control of defining and developing the language "as a tool in cross-cultural communication". The second circle of the model includes speakers who have "achieved varying degrees of proficiency in a variety far removed from EIL to require code-switching when communicating internationally" (Modiano 1999a: 26). These varieties include, for example, regional dialects or Creole languages. The third circle covers learners of English and speakers with a low proficiency in English. The outermost circle represents people who do not know English. Opposite to Kachru's model, the movement in Modiano's model is inwards, since it can be assumed that as the need for cross-cultural communication in today's global world increases, for most English speakers the goal is to obtain a proficiency in a variety which is comprehensible and also used by the majority of other English users (Modiano 1999a: 26). Thus, users of English in the outermost circle move to the next circle and ultimately aim to reach the innermost circle.

Modiano's model is not without problems. First, as Jenkins (2009a: 21) points out, defining international English and who is a proficient speaker of international English is difficult. She continues that since a definition and description of EIL (or ELF) does not yet exist, drawing the line between proficient EIL speakers and those with insufficient skills is challenging. Similarly categorizing dialects and accents according to Modiano's model is problematic. As Jenkins (2009a: 21) points out, categorizing accents into internationally comprehensible and incomprehensible, and drawing the line between strong and not-strong dialects is difficult.

Hence, the two popular models discussed above have differing views on describing the spread and use of English in the world. As they both have their advantages and disadvantages the aim of the present study is not to choose either of the models as the main point of reference. Although ideologically the present study corresponds to Modiano's ideas, Kachru's model and terminology are still used and referred to since they perhaps better convey the attitudes people still have towards English speakers and how people still categorize countries in relation to English use. In addition, since most studies and articles used in the present study refer and categorize the spread of English according to Kachru's terminology, it is logical to use the same terms. As we have now discussed the spread of English, next a brief historical overview on how the English language and its use has spread and continues to spread around the world is presented.

2.2　　　　　**The development of English into a global language**

The expansion of the English language during the past decades has been rapid. As Crystal (2003) puts it, in the 1950s the future of the English language was still uncertain and gaining the status as a world language was merely a vague possibility. However, in the beginning of the 21st century English had reached an undeniable status as the world's lingua franca. There are several historical and geographical reasons behind the spread and emergence of global English (Crystal 2003). In understanding the phenomenon of world English it is reasonable to briefly piece together the key steps in its origins.

Despite the drastic expansion that has occurred in the last decades, the initial stages of global English can be placed as far as the fifth century, when the language first arrived to England and gradually replaced the existing Celtic languages (Crystal 2003: 30). Nevertheless, the spread of English at that time was, according to Brutt-Griffler (2002: 113), comparable to any other language that spread regionally. The main factors which then triggered the vast expansion of the language and resulted in English becoming a true global language were the colonial policies of the British Empire, the industrialization of Britain and the leading economic position of the United States (Crystal 2003: 59).

The expansion of the British Empire and the colonial policies implemented, therefore, meant that the English language for the first time spread outside the borders of the country. However, the most significant outcome of the language migration was, according to Brutt-Griffler (2002: 114), the establishment of new English-speaking nations, such as the United States, Canada and Australia.

Industrial revolution initially began in the United Kingdom, and in the 18th century Britain was the leading industrial giant. However, the dominance between the United Kingdom and the United States changed rather quickly and the United States became the leading industrial power by the end of the 19th century (Crystal 2003: 80-81). As the development and the invention of new technologies took place both in Britain and in the United States, the importance of knowing English grew simultaneously. In order to understand the terminology and to be able to communicate and learn more about the new developments, skills in English were needed (McKay 2002: 16). Thus, access to new technology required knowledge of the language.

To summarize the course of English into a worldwide language, Crystal (2003: 120) notes that English

> …has repeatedly found itself in the right place at the right time. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries English was the language of the leading colonial nation – Britain. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was the language of the leader of the industrial revolution – also Britain. In the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth it was the language of the leading economic power – the USA.

The historic, geographic and economic events leading to the expansion of the English language in the previous centuries gave the language a strong position in the world. However, those events do not explain why the language still continues to spread around the world, and most importantly, why it has gained a status as a world language. Crystal (2003: 86-120) mentions several sociocultural reasons which fuel the current spread of the language. First, several international organizations, such as the League of Nations and the European Union, have given English a special role in their proceedings. In some organizations English is an official language and in some it works as a lingua franca. Some international organizations even operate only in English. Second, English is the main language for media. English dominates the majority of movies, pop music and broadcastings to name but a few examples. Third, tourist industry is one factor strengthening the position of English and the United States is the leader in earning and spending in the industry. In addition, since the developments in transportation have enabled people to travel to foreign countries, a need for a common lingua franca has increased. Fourth, communication, particularly electronic, is characterized by its use of English. It is estimated that nearly 80% of all stored electronic information is in English. Finally, in education a strong emphasis is given to English in several countries and it is taught as a first foreign language. In addition, in higher education English is often used as a medium of instruction.

Despite the geographical, historical and sociocultural reasons behind the spread of English, a language can only achieve "a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country" (Crystal 2003: 3). The special role means that the language is used either as a mother tongue, given an official status or chosen as the primary foreign language taught in schools. Currently English is taught in over 100 countries as the preferred first foreign language (Crystal 2003: 5). Another significant aspect of a global language mentioned by Crystal is that it is used more than any other language in the world. In the case of English this statement is certainly true

since at the beginning of the 21st century around 1.5 billion people spoke English leaving Chinese at the second place with 1.1 billion speakers (Crystal 2003: 6).

Brutt-Griffler (2002: 110) has additionally identified features which accompany the development of a global, international, language. "Macroacquisition", as she calls it, is one of the central features of an international language and it indicates that a global language does not spread via speaker migration but instead by people in different countries acquiring, learning the language. Speaker migration was obviously the reason behind the initial spread of English, as also noted by McKay (2003b: 32). However, at present, English spreads by people with a low proficiency in English acquiring it in countries where the language does not have an official status. Smith (1976, as quoted by McKay 2002: 12), who was the first to bring up the definition of an international language, has further described the characteristics of an international language. Firstly, an international language is not dependent on any culture and therefore the learners of an international language do not need to internalize the culture of its native speakers. Secondly, an international language becomes "de-nationalized" and is no longer owned by its native speakers. Thirdly, teaching of a global language should aim at enhancing students' abilities to communicate their culture and ideas to speakers of different languages.

2.3   English as a Lingua Franca

The status of English as a global language is thus evident. The development of English into a worldwide language has accordingly attracted the attention of many researchers particularly during the past few decades. Consequently, the terminology used to describe the spread of English and its changing role and use around the world has varied according to different scholars. Perhaps the most common terms used to describe the unique functions which English serves today are English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and English as an International Language (EIL). Other terms used are, for example, World English, and Global English. The different terms vary slightly in their definitions, however, in many cases they are used as synonyms. EIL and ELF, in particular, have been used rather interchangeably (Jenkins 2009a.)

EIL was first defined by Smith who described international language as a language used in communication between people who do not share a same mother tongue (McKay 2002: 11). Sharifian (2009: 2) emphasizes that EIL is not or does not refer to a single variety of English and as Seidlhofer (2004: 210) points out, it is misleading to use the

abbreviation international English for EIL since it suggests that there is in fact a single codified variety. Sharifian continues that the concept of EIL includes all varieties of English and refers to their use in international communication. McKay (2002: 5) redefined EIL to include interactions both in local and global environments whereas the earlier definitions tended to focus only on international use.

ELF, on the other hand, is most simply defined as a contact language among people who do not share the same first language (Jenkins 2009a: 143). On the website of VOICE (the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) ELF is defined as "an additionally acquired language system which serves as a common means of communication for speakers of different first languages". This definition of ELF does not thus exclude native speakers since the term "additionally acquired", as Jenkins et al. (2011: 283) point out, implies that ELF must be additionally acquired by native speakers as well as non-native speakers. In other words, native speakers are not automatically proficient ELF speakers and they also have to learn how to communicate with speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. A definition by Firth (1996: 240), however, states that ELF is "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication". These two definitions of ELF are thus somewhat contradicting and confusing since Firth's definition of ELF excludes native speakers of English from the equation whereas the one of VOICE's does not. However, according to Jenkins (2009a: 144), even though in most cases, due to the larger number of NNSs of English compared to NSs, ELF interaction occurs between NNSs, most scholars currently accept the broader view on ELF, thus including also NSs. It is important to note, however, that the presence of NSs does not imply that interaction follows native standards and norms but instead the interaction should be based on mutual negotiation and accommodation (Jenkins 2009b: 201).

A significant factor which needs to be remembered when discussing ELF is that, same as EIL, ELF is not a single variety of English, and the aim of ELF research is not to produce and codify a monolithic single variety of ELF (Jenkins 2006a: 161). Jenkins (2012: 490) brings up the element of "online variability" in ELF communication which means that the speakers of ELF from various backgrounds actively accommodate their language depending on the context. In addition, Jenkins (2009b: 201) similarly notes that ELF is affected by local variation. Thus, besides using language forms common for all ELF speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, ELF speakers also

use forms and features which are typical for their own local varieties of English (Jenkins 2009b: 201). Even though the research on ELF focuses on finding systematically and frequently used forms differing from English as a native language (ENL), all speakers of ELF are not assumed to acquire an identical variety of ELF, but instead familiarize themselves with these characteristic features which are important in international communication (Jenkins 2006a: 161). Friedrich and Matsuda (2010: 21-22) conclude that definitions on ELF should not suggest it being merely a variety of English. Instead they argue that ELF should be seen as an "umbrella term" that includes all the functions of English in all contexts and situations.

Thus, terminology on EIL and ELF is somewhat confusing and source-dependent. However, both of the terms ultimately aim at describing the same phenomenon and both maintain that EIL or ELF does not refer to one particular variety or varieties of English but rather adapts to the individual's needs, mother tongue and context. In the present study, the term ELF is chosen due to the fact that current research tends to prefer the term lingua franca, however, research on EIL is also used as reference material.

What is the difference between ELF and EFL then? Jenkins (2006b, 2009a) has defined a set of characteristics which help to understand the differences between the two concepts. EFL is seen to be a part of Modern Foreign Languages according to which the language is used to communicate mainly with native speakers. The Modern Foreign Language paradigm is highly norm-dependent and the standards for language use are naturally dictated by native speakers. Deviation from the norms is thus seen as negative and explained by fossilization and negative transfer or interference of the speaker's L1. Code-mixing and -switching, for example, are considered interference errors. ELF, on the contrary, is a part of World Englishes and thus the 'English' in ELF differs significantly from the 'English' in EFL. Jenkins further emphasizes (2006b: 140) that ELF is not a foreign language the purpose of which is to communicate mainly with native speakers. Instead, ELF adopts a so called *difference perspective* according to which deviation from NS norms is considered variation and not a deficit. Jenkins (2006b: 140) notes that in the World Englishes paradigm "the metaphor becomes one of evolution and contact". Thus, code-mixing and -switching are regarded as natural and creative ways of language use reflecting, for example, the speakers' bilingual identities.

A common misconception of ELF, however, is that it is error accepting and adopts an "anything goes" ideology (Jenkins 2006b: 141) thus ignoring all the rules of language

use. Even though ELF and EFL are two different concepts and should not be mistaken to describe the same phenomenon, as discussed above, ELF has frequently been accused of being a deficient and incomplete form of ENL which "brings the ideal to the gutter" (Jenkins 2009b: 203). The focus of ELF, however, is not to disregard norms altogether but to rather disregard the notion that the norms should be dictated by native varieties and speakers. On the contrary, ELF should be defined by its own speakers and by its own rights (Seidlhofer 2004). Some of the "errors" in ELF, in relation to ENL, should be in fact considered as variants of ELF since research has shown that they are frequently and systematically used by NNSs, and they do not cause problems for understanding (Jenkins 2006b: 141). Moreover, since the main focus of ELF is on communication and intelligibility, as Ranta (2004: 14) points out, it is clear that in order to achieve and maintain mutual understanding some rules and common standards are necessary for ELF as well.

A similarly false take on ELF would be to consider it as an interlanguage or a learner language, the ultimate goal of which is to reach a native competence (Jenkins 2006b). Deviation from ENL norms is therefore seen as a performance error or to result from lack of knowledge. As Ranta (2009: 84) points out, grammatical features of ELF in most cases have been classified as learner errors. Jenkins (2006b: 143), however, argues that it is wrong to assume that ELF is an interlanguage merely because it is not native-like. Instead, since the sociolinguistic context in which ELF speakers use English are different, in comparison with native speakers, communication based on adapting one's speech and utilizing a set of communication strategies should not be regarded as interlanguage but rather of effective ELF use (Jenkins 200b: 142-143).

As we have now defined ELF on a conceptual level, the following chapter aims at providing a more practical overview on the linguistic features of ELF. The next chapter thus focuses only on the most influential studies in the field of ELF. In addition, the findings of these studies on the linguistic characteristics of ELF have been used as reference points for the present study, particularly when designing the questionnaire items relating to typical features of ELF language use.

2.3.1 Research on the linguistic nature of ELF

By the words of Mauranen (2009: 1), "the use of English as a lingua franca has been hotly debated but relatively little studied". Mauranen (ibid.) continues that the increased role of English used in international contexts and the consequences following this

change in language use surely would be entitled to receive more attention and research. The interest in ELF and the research on it, according to Mauranen (2009), took off slowly. Some research on ELF was conducted in the 1980s and 90s, however, the focus was on describing how mutual understanding and successful communication was achieved in ELF interaction, despite the errors and deficiency in relation to ENL (Jenkins 2009a: 143). The turning point in research on ELF can be placed at the beginning of the 21st century and being triggered by the works of Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001) which received a great deal of interest in the field (Mauranen 2009, Jenkins et al. 2011: 282). In her groundbreaking paper in 2001, Seidlhofer (2001: 133) pointed to a "conceptual gap" between the massive use of ELF worldwide and the lack of research on its use and description of its linguistic features. She further argued that the lack of research prevented the ELF speakers to be considered "language users in their own right" and thus further increasing the power of native varieties as educational models (Seidlhofer 2001: 133). With the purpose of filling the gap, Seidlhofer began the compilation of an ELF corpus, the VOICE (Jenkins et al. 2011: 282). Later on another ELF corpus project ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) was launched and the compilation of these two over million-word corpora has developed the research in the field significantly and has made it possible to study ELF from a new perspective and examine it at all linguistic levels, geographical locations and in different domains (Mauranen 2009: 2, Jenkins 2009a: 143). By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the research on ELF took off dramatically and since then several publications have been made (Jenkins 2009a).

The linguistic levels of ELF have thus been the most popular and widely studied areas in the field of ELF (Jenkins et al. 2011). The research has particularly focused on pronunciation, lexis, lexicogrammar and pragmatics (Jenkins 2012: 486), and in the following core studies, and thus relevant for the present study, of each area will be presented and discussed.

Jenkins' (2000) study on ELF pronunciation was the first comprehensive research examining the phonological features of ELF interaction (Seidlhofer 2004: 215-216). The aim of the study was to determine to which extent problems and errors in pronunciation cause miscommunication. In addition, Jenkins was interested in phonological accommodation; that is, how the speakers adjusted their pronunciation, and which features were adjusted, in order to make sure they were understood (Jenkins et al. 2011). The data for the study was collected from both social and educational

settings in ELF interactions between speakers with various first languages during several years. In terms of accommodation, Jenkins (2000) found that in cases where the speakers wanted to avoid miscommunication, they changed some features of their accent to resemble a more standard, ENL pronunciation. Perhaps the most significant outcome of the study, and of particular interest to the present study, is that Jenkins identified the Lingua Franca Core (LFC) consisting of sounds which were crucial for intelligibility. In other words, those sounds which caused problems for mutual intelligibility and thus needed to be pronounced 'correctly' were categorized as core features whereas those sounds which did not appear to have an effect on understanding were non-core. Jenkins (2009a: 12) summarizes the core features as following:

-consonant sounds (except dental fricatives /ð/, /θ/ and dark l)

-vowel length contrasts (pitch/peach)

-Restrictions on consonant deletion

-Nuclear or tonic stress production/placement

Some features, such as dental fricatives /ð/, /θ/ and dark l, weak forms, elision and assimilation, the direction of pitch movement, word stress and vowel quality, on the other hand, did not seem to cause any problems for intelligibility and were labeled as non-core features (Jenkins 2009a). In terms of ELF pronunciation, speakers can use pronunciation sounds which have been affected by their L1 to replace the non-core features and this should not be considered as a pronunciation error (Jenkins 2009a: 148). However, Jenkins has emphasized that the LFC is not a model for pronunciation covering all situations all the time but it rather offers guidelines for ELF speakers, and with sufficient accommodation skills speakers can modify their accents and pronunciation according to each situation (Jenkins et al. 2011).

The findings of Jenkins' study thus have pedagogic value (Kirkpatrick 2007). On the one hand, the findings of the study point out those aspects of pronunciation which are crucial for understanding and which thus need to be emphasized and given precedence in teaching (Seidlhofer 2001: 142). Jenkins (2000: 123) further points out that the LFC helps "to scale down the phonological task for the majority of learners by… focusing pedagogic attention on those items which are essential in terms of intelligible pronunciation". On the other hand, the LFC also identifies pronunciation features which are not relevant in terms of mutual intelligibility, and thus the mastery of these sounds is

not necessary. Interestingly, as Seidlhofer (2001: 142) points out, many of the features which are categorized as non-core, such as /ð/, /θ/, represent sounds which are considered to be "particularly English" and to learning of which a considerable amount of time is often dedicated in the classroom.

The study on lexicogrammatical features of ELF has, in addition, provided significant information on the way in which ELF speakers utilize the language and its structures (Jenkins et al. 2011: 288-289). Lexicogrammatical features of ELF were in fact the last linguistic level to be taken under research largely due to the fact that a sizeable corpus was needed in order to produce reliable findings (Seidlhofer 2004, Jenkins 2011 et al.). According to Jenkins et al. (2011: 289), the initial research on lexicogrammar focused on describing language features that were systematically used in ELF interactions. They further mention that the research has shown "how speakers in ELF interactions customarily manipulate the linguistic resources available to them in systematic, regular ways" (Jenkins et al. 2011: 288-289). Seidlhofer's research on the field can be seen as groundbreaking since she was the first to compile a list of language features which demonstrated that ELF was its own variety and not a defective form of ENL (Jenkins et al. 2011: 289-290). Seidlhofer started her investigation into ELF lexicogrammar by setting up the VOICE corpus, which provided her the possibility to examine "which items are used systematically and frequently, but differently from native speaker use and without causing communication problems" (Jenkins 2006a:169). Seidlhofer's findings on the lexicogrammatical features of ELF have later been supported by and motivated other researchers (Jenkins et al. 2011: 289). The features include for example:

> -dropping the third person present tense -s
>
> -mixing the pronouns who and which
>
> -inserting redundant prepositions, as in We have to study about…
>
> (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)

Whereas the early research on ELF lexicogrammar focused on describing specific features, Jenkins et al. (2011: 291) note that recent investigations aim at describing the functions of the features. Moreover, besides merely listing all the different language features, the goal is to examine the significance and the functions of the features in language use (Jenkins et al. 2011: 292).

From a pedagogical point of view, as Seidlhofer (2004: 220) points out, these features are systematically regarded as serious errors in English teaching and a lot of effort is dedicated into teaching the native counterparts to these forms. For example, the third person present tense is taught to students during their first years of English learning in Finland (see e.g. Jyväskylän normaalikoulun esi- ja perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelma 2011), and it is considered as one of the most significant grammar items to be learned. However, considering the findings of Seidlhofer and others, the misuse of these lexicogrammatical items is not in fact a sign of a failure but instead of a natural variation and ELF use.

Finally, the study on the pragmatics of ELF for the most part centers on cooperation and mutual support. As Jenkins et al. (2011: 293) point out, the early research examined mutual understanding in ELF and how it was maintained. Later on the focus shifted to studying miscommunication and how it was signaled by interlocutors. Interestingly, research found, according to Jenkins et al. (2011: 293) that ELF interactions suffered less from misunderstanding problems compared with communication between native speakers. Moreover, as Jenkins et al. (2011: 293) report, ELF speakers work together and use preventative measures to avoid misunderstanding. The research on pragmatics has further discovered strategies which ELF interlocutors use when facing problems in understanding, including repetition, clarification, paraphrasing, self-repair and using plurilingual resources (Jenkins et al. 2011: 293-294). The study on pragmatics of ELF thus has pointed out a set of different strategies which speakers can utilize in order to maintain intelligibility, and which can be of help when interacting with speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The findings of the pragmatic studies are valuable also in terms of English teaching and pedagogy. As communication is the main function of a language, strategies which have been found to facilitate communication and contribute to intelligibility are obviously important. Thus, in terms of effective communication, it might be more useful to increase students' awareness and use of different communicational strategies in English classrooms.

3   ENGLISH IN FINLAND

Since the present study is conducted in Finland it is reasonable to look at the position that the English language has reached in the country. The chapter begins first by describing the general status of English in Finland. Additionally, a brief historical point

of view is included, again, in order to provide a clearer image of the reasons behind the current status of the language in the country. Finally, since the present study focuses on teaching English, the last part of the chapter discusses the role of English in Finnish education and important documents and frameworks affecting the teaching practices, such as the National Core Curriculum and the Common European Framework of Reference for languages are presented.

3.1 The status of English

English is a foreign language in Finland. According to Kachru's model, Finland would be placed on the expanding circle, English being a foreign language taught in school and traditionally thought to be used mainly to communicate with foreigners. However, as Kachru's model of English is partly insufficient in describing the role of English toady, as discussed in chapter 2.1, placing Finland on the expanding circle is not as straightforward. The changed status of English in the world and the new roles and functions the language has acquired are also evident in Finland. As Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 16) point out, the increased importance of English in Finland is a joint effect of several factors, such as structural changes in the society, urbanization, globalization, changes in the business life, development of information technology and effective language education, which have changed the role of English in Finland. Thus, instead of being merely a foreign language, English has become part of everyday life for most Finns.

Developments in information and communication technologies are probably one of the most influential factors which have brought English closer to the Finnish population. Today, the presence of English in the mass media is considerably high, which has consequently prompted the use and spread of English in Finland (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339). The proportion of English TV series, movies and other entertainment forms and programs in Finland is great. Moreover, the fact that all foreign programs in Finland are subtitled and have authentic rather than dubbed voices, increases the daily encounters people have with English. In addition, the technological developments have made it easier to access information, for example, on the internet, where much of the information is stored in English. Additionally, direct communication with people all over the world has become possible, which consequently has increased the need for a common language, which in most cases means English. The print media has also started to increasingly utilize English in magazines, advertisements and job announcements

(Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339). The position of English is rather prominent in youth culture and even though code-switching is often associated with youth language and informal language use, today even Finnish newspapers have begun to utilize English idioms and expressions (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 5).

In addition, professional and business life has also gone through changes which have consequently led to English gaining more ground and significance. Whereas economic growth has been rapid and corporations have expanded and outsourced their businesses, English has been adopted as the lingua franca for several companies operating in Finland (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2008: 29, Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 7-8). The nature of working life and the time spent in one workplace have also changed and occupational mobility across the nation borders has increased (Sajavaara 2007: 224-225). Moreover, some companies have changed their Finnish names to English, in order to appear trendier and more understandable to their international business partners (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 7-8).

Thus, exposure to English in Finland is inevitable and it can be said that for most Finns English has become a stable part of their everyday life (see e.g. Leppänen et al. 2011). To return to the paradox of placing Finland into the expanding circle, the new functions in which English is used in social, professional and educational (see next chapter) domains make it obvious that the role of English is indeed changing and English serves as an additional language alongside Finnish and Swedish (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339). In fact, similar to other countries where the status of English is in transition, justifiable arguments for English moving from a foreign language to a second language have also been made. This may very well be true for some individuals but as Leppänen (2007: 149) aptly points out, it is important to realize that the role of English in Finland is not consistent and the function and the role of the language varies in different domains, in different parts of the country and from people to people. She continues on by proposing that "Finland is no one expanding circle, but rather a series of overlapping circles in which English manifests itself and spreads in distinctive ways" (Leppänen 2007: 149).

3.2   English in education

English has had a strong standing in the Finnish language education system for quite a long time and Finnish people have relatively good skills in English (Leppänen and Nikula 2008:20). However, before the Second World War, English was still a rather

marginal foreign language and at the time German held the position as the most popular foreign language taught in school. After the war, the statuses of the languages begun to change and the interest and popularity of English as a foreign language grew, alongside with the changes, such as urbanization and modernization, taking place in the Finnish society (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 17-18). The introduction of the comprehensive school system in the 1970s further boosted the role of English and the number of students learning English grew considerably (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2008). With the comprehensive school reform all students were obliged to start learning a foreign language along with Finnish and Swedish. According to Sajavaara (2007: 228) when deciding on the compulsory language, English was already then supported and noticed due to its international significance.

Nonetheless, since the 1970s, for more than forty years, English has been the most popular foreign language chosen by learners in Finland (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2008: 31). Statistics on students' language choices similarly support the strong position that English has at Finnish schools: in 2010, 90.5% of third grade students chose English as their first compulsory foreign language, i.e. A1-language (Suomen kieltenopettajien liitto n.d.). Additionally, practically all of the secondary school graduates in 2013, 99.7%, had studied English as an A1-language (Suomen virallinen tilasto 2013).

Besides being the most popular foreign language studied, English-medium instruction has also become common at all school levels in Finland in the forms of Content and Language Integrated Learning, i.e. learning other school subjects through English, IB-schools, a diploma focusing on internationalization, and courses in higher education (Leppänen and Nikula 2007:339). Moreover, in higher education there are several degree programmes that are taught entirely in English. The fact that tuition is offered also in English further strengthens the central role English has reached in education.

Hence, the impact which English has had on the Finnish education system is clear. Certainly, all the historical, societal and cultural factors have had an effect on the way in which English is currently being taught in Finnish schools. However, the two most influential documents affecting the work of an individual English teacher are the Common European Framework of Reference and the National Core Curriculum. It is therefore necessary to examine these documents more carefully to find out what sort of directions they set for English teaching and what their stance towards ELF is.

3.2.1 **Common European Framework of Reference**

The European council has actively for many years worked to unite European language policies. Particularly the implementation of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR) has affected foreign language teaching considerably across Europe. In short, the CEFR is an instrument for foreign language learning, teaching and assessment and provides a common basis for syllabi and curricula design across Europe. The CEFR further aims at increasing co-operation between the EU member states and hence the common basis for language teaching and assessment enables the comparability of qualifications and language degrees received in the countries where it is used (Common European Framework of Reference for languages, CEFR, 2002). The CEFR does not, however, provide any specific instructions either on how languages should be taught or what the teaching contents should precisely consist of (Hynninen 2006). Instead, the CEFR gives general guidelines and recommendations for language teaching and thus offers a common starting point for language professionals.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of the CEFR in relation to teaching foreign languages is its reference levels describing language learning at different stages. With the purpose to facilitate the teaching and assessing processes, the CEFR describes language proficiency at six levels (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2), A1 portraying the minimum level of language proficiency and C2 the near mastery of the language. In the Finnish adaptation of the scale, the levels are further divided into subcategories (e.g. A1.1 and A1.2.). The proficiency levels are also bound to specific situations, which illustrate what learners have to be able to do with the language. In other words, a set of "can do" statements are defined, which describe the proficiency of the language learner. Even though the highest level in the scale, C2, is named "Mastery" it is mentioned that it does not imply native or near-native competence but instead describes the fluency and ease of language use typical of successful language learners (CEFR 2002: 36). However, when pursuing the level B2, for instance, one of its goals is to achieve a degree of fluency in language use which makes regular interaction with native speakers possible (CEFR 2002:24). Thus, the proficiency levels and their descriptions on the goals of language learning, particularly from the point of view of ELF, seem to be somewhat contradicting since, on the one hand, some of the levels maintain that the aim of language learning is not to achieve a native-like proficiency. On the other hand, some levels nonetheless emphasize the competence to use the language with native speakers.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the CEFR in relation to ELF, at least on a conceptual level, is its notion of plurilingualism. In the CEFR it is stated that the goal of foreign language teaching is not to simply achieve a native-like competence in one or more languages. Instead, plurilingualism, that is a competence of several languages of different levels, is promoted. Plurilingualism has further been set as one of the goals of language education. Thus, a person may be able to speak fluently in one language and to read or recognize some words in another language. However, the competencies of different languages are not separate and operate in isolation but rather mix together and influence each other (CEFR: 2002). Language education should thus aim at assisting the learners in building a competence of different linguistic abilities (CEFR 2002: 5). Thus, according to the plurilingual view, English teaching should not be based on the notion of achieving a native-like competence and following the norms set by native speakers. Similar to the ideas of ELF, the emphasis should instead be on developing learners' communicative competencies and providing them with strategies which will help them to cope with different linguistic situations.

Overall, the impact of ELF on the CEFR is rather minor, or rather, the CEFR does not bring forward the status and the consequences of English as the world's lingua franca (Ahvenainen 2005: 14). Surely, the CEFR acknowledges the concept of plurilingualism but as Ahvenainen (2005: 14) points out, there is a major contradiction between the plurilingual view and the common reference levels. Whereas plurilingualism promotes the learning of several languages and questions the goal of achieving a native-like competence, the reference levels, which can be regarded as the most influential aspect of the CEFR in relation to language teaching, still appear to advocate the pursuit of a native-like competence and thus emphasize communication with native speakers rather than with non-native speakers (Ahvenainen 2005: 14). Seidlhofer (2003: 23) aptly concludes that a state of plurilingualism is unlikely to be achieved unless the obscure ideal of a native speaker competence is abandoned.

3.2.2   The National Core Curriculum

The most influential document affecting English teaching in Finland is undeniably the National Core Curriculum (NCC), latest version for upper secondary education published in 2003, constructed by the Finnish National Board of Education. The NCC provides a nationwide outline for teaching that each municipality, school, teacher and teaching material producer must follow (Luukka et al. 2008: 53). However, as pointed

out in the NCC for secondary education (Lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteet, LOPS, 2003) each school must take into account the local features and the environment in which the school operates when designing the annual curriculum. The local curricula are therefore more thorough and define the goals and the contents of teaching in more detail. The curriculum further provides instructions and regulations concerning the educational values along with general descriptions on teaching goals, contents and methods for each subject (LOPS, 2003).

The NCC for secondary education continues the instructional and educational task began in basic education. Moreover, the fundamental task of upper secondary education is to educate students into becoming self-assured, responsible citizens and to prepare them for the future challenges both in personal and occupational life (LOPS 2003: 12). As can be expected, the goals of upper secondary education reflect the values appreciated by the society at the time. These values are therefore visible and direct the setting of goals and contents of the NCC for secondary education and the emphasis given to them. When browsing through the NCC for secondary education of 2003, also noted by Luukka et al. (2008: 54), it is clear that globalization has affected the construction of the latest curriculum and its educational goals. Issues such as equality, tolerance, multiculturalism, cultural-identity and cross-cultural co-operation are mentioned several times and not merely when discussing the teaching of foreign languages. Furthermore, one of the main goals of upper secondary education, and also mentioned several times in the document, is to strengthen students' cultural identity. It is emphasized that a positive cultural identity and the knowledge of one's own culture is vital since it allows students to better understand other cultures and to learn how to operate successfully in situations which involve people from different backgrounds (LOPS 2003: 27). The NCC for secondary education (2003: 28) additionally encourages students to engage in cross-cultural communication. Thus, the general themes and objectives of the NCC for secondary education appear to work well with the ideas of teaching ELF.

With regards to teaching foreign languages, the NCC for secondary education does not provide any detailed instructions on how or what should be taught. The guidelines are rather loose, which leaves room for interpretation. The document, however, gives some frames and lists broad goals for teaching. In addition to learning to operate in different kinds of foreign language situations, in alignment with the general goals of secondary education, the NCC for secondary education (2003: 100) for foreign language teaching

strives to enhance students' skills regarding intercultural contact and communication. Students are also expected to learn about and appreciate different cultures. In fact, it is stated that students need to learn "how to communicate in a manner characteristic of the target language and its culture" (National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools 2003: 102). It is worth noticing that culture is mentioned in singular, not plural, which in the case of English is problematic, since all the countries where English is spoken have their unique cultures. Furthermore, in terms of ELF, since ELF is "de-nationalized" (Smith 1976, cited in McKay 2002: 12), there is no single culture which could be adapted as the target culture.

The NCC for secondary education does not either give instructions which would be specific to English teaching. However, since most students choose English as their first foreign language, the aims set for A-languages are followed when teaching English. Again, the aims and instructions are not specifically stated; mainly course descriptions and the basic goals for each course are listed. The themes for compulsory courses range from societal, educational, and technological to cultural. There is one optional course called *Globalization and internationalization* that accordingly focuses on topics concerning current global issues. Even though the NCC for secondary education emphasizes internationalization and the importance of knowing different cultures, interestingly it does not define how English should be taught, or particularly which variety of English should be chosen as the model of learning.

As mentioned above, the reference levels of the CEFR have been adapted to foreign language teaching in Finland and specific goals of language learning are defined in the NCC for secondary education as well. Examination of the goals set for English as an A-language reveals that the goals of the NCC for secondary education largely reflect those given in the CEFR, i.e., native-speaker competence. The level which learners are supposed to achieve in listening, speaking, reading and writing in English is B2.1, signifying the first stage of independent proficiency (LOPS 2003: 100). The descriptions of the aims of the levels more or less directly suggest that the goal of learning is to be able to communicate with native speakers. For example, one of the prerequisites for level B2.1 for speaking is to be able to communicate with native speakers regularly without unintentionally appearing as amusing or annoying. In addition, it is stated that at level B2.1 pronunciation should be natural. The word *natural* is rather vague but as the synonyms for the adjective are, for example, legitimate, common, standard and native (Collins' online dictionary) it can be suggested that

'natural pronunciation' implies a near-native, British or American, pronunciation. Even though the NCC for secondary education does not specifically take a stand on which variety of English should be chosen as the model, the fact that the goals for learning lean on communication with native speakers has a major influence on the overall teaching. As Huttunen and Takala (2004: 337) point out, the impact of the reference levels is significant since the criteria direct and influence teaching contents, methods and assessment.

Even though the NCC for secondary education does not officially take a stand on the issue of native versus non-native model, according to Ranta (2010: 159-160), national curricula in Finland have emphasized the role of native-speaker models and since the 1960s British English has been the preferred target in teaching. Ranta (ibid) continues that later on American English was introduced and made an equal variety to British English. Shortly, new native varieties, such as Australian English, were gradually added into the curriculum. The international aspect and the use of English as a lingua franca were, however, noted in the curriculum as early as the 1960s (Ranta 2010: 159). Even though the curricula from the 1990s onwards do not indicate any specific variety to be preferred over others, it is still obvious that native varieties, particularly British and American English, remain as ideal targets (Ranta 2010: 159-160). Supporting Ranta's conclusions, when browsing through a few curricula of different schools, the variety, which should be adopted as the target of teaching, was not mentioned. However, from personal experience, as both a student and a teacher, British and American varieties dominate the classroom. Thus, on the one hand, the global role of English has been recognized by the government at some level and the importance of internationalization has been acknowledged. On the other hand, in practice, English teaching in most cases does not appear to reflect and implement practices, which would manifest the role of English as lingua franca.

The decision on which variety of English to choose as the educational model, both in terms of the NCC and individual teachers, also to some extend reflect the underlying attitudes towards different varieties. Thus, the next chapter discusses attitudes, and particularly language attitudes, more thoroughly and presents different definitions, approaches and methods used to study language attitudes.

4   LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Defining the concept of attitude is not a straightforward task. As attitudes are complex constructions, several differing definitions on the nature of attitude have been proposed (Gardner 1985: 8, Baker 1992: 11, Garret 2010: 19). Moreover, contradicting views on the specificity and generality of the concept have been expressed (Gardner 1985, Baker 1992). A frequently cited definition of an attitude comes from Allport (1954, as quoted by Garrett 2010: 19) according to whom attitude is "a learned disposition to think, feel and behave towards a person (or object) in a particular way". Ajzen (2005: 3) further states that "an attitude is a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event". Ajzen (ibid.) emphasizes the evaluative aspect of an attitude maintaining that attitudes are either negative or positive constructs to different objects. Baker (1992: 10) further defines attitude as "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour". The three above mentioned definitions all agree that since attitudes are hidden abstract constructs or dispositions they cannot be directly measured or observed. Attitudes must then be "inferred from the direction and persistence of external behaviour" (Baker 1992: 11). Garrett (2010) additionally proposes that attitudes are learned rather than innate, two main influences of attitudes being personal experiences and social environment. Further, according to Garrett (2010) attitudes can either be stable and durable or dynamic constructs.

In addition, a generally accepted view on attitudes regards them as both input and output (Baker 1992: 12, Garrett 2010: 21). The dual function of attitudes is particularly important in education research as Garrett (2010: 21) points out. Thus, input, on the one hand, can be regarded as a positive attitude to language learning thus encouraging the learner to engage in the learning process. Output, on the other hand, can be an outcome of a language course, for example on varieties of English, resulting in a positive attitude.

The definitions of language attitudes have similarly varied to some extent due to the prevailing views and approaches on attitudes. Kalaja (1999: 47) reports that commonly language attitudes have been defined based on the mentalist view and according to Williams (1974: 21), "attitude is considered as an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response". In terms of language attitudes, Kalaja (1999: 47) states that the stimulation is lingual such as speech or writing and the reaction to it is either positive or negative. Thus, language attitudes

convey a more specific meaning compared to attitudes in general and the term is used to describe attitudes that people have towards different languages, dialects, or the users of different languages (Kalaja 1999: 46). Hyrkstedt (1997: 8-9) further points out that the study of language attitudes usually includes also different and broader aspects of attitudes instead of focusing only on attitudes towards the language itself. Baker (1992: 29) defines language attitudes as an "umbrella term", which signifies the several different points of views that the study on language attitudes can concentrate on, for example, attitudes towards language learning, variation, language communities and language use.

The mentalist approach on language attitudes and attitudes in general, categorizes attitudes into three components: cognition, affect and behaviour (or conation) (Kalaja 1999: 47, Garret 2010: 23, Ajzen 2005: 3-4, Baker 1992: 12). The cognitive component consists of thoughts and perceptions of objects. Thus, cognitive responses are beliefs about people, objects, and events etc. In terms of language attitudes, a favorable attitude to the English language, for example, might concern a belief on the superiority and the importance of the language. The affective component includes evaluations of and feelings to different attitude objects, for example, a passion for learning English in order to be able to read English literature. The third component, which is behavior, concerns "behavioral inclinations, intentions, commitments, and actions" (Ajzen 2005: 4). Thus, the behavioural component indicates a tendency to act and behave in a certain way. A person with a positive attitude to English might, for example, enroll on an English language course. The three component model of attitudes thus suggests that the cognitive and affective components affect the behavioural component predisposing a person to behave in a certain manner (Cargile et al. 1994: 222). Contradicting views on the relationship between the behavioural and the other two components have, however, been presented as several studies have found that the connection between the components is weak (Cargile et al. 1994: 222).

Language attitudes can also be divided into instrumental and integrative components. These two components have a significant role in research on second language learning and achievement (Baker 1992: 31-33). Instrumental orientation to language is mainly self-oriented and is characterized by "a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language" (Gardner and Lambert 1972:14, as quoted by Baker 1992: 32). Integrative attitude, on the other hand, is characterized by a wish to integrate or identify oneself with a particular language group or culture. Thus,

instead of pursuing to gain profit through language learning, a person with an integrative attitude to a language has a genuine interest on the language itself or its culture and wants to communicate with its members.

The categorization of attitudes into integrative and instrumental components has, however, invoked controversies (Baker 1992: 32). For example, the measurement processes of the two attitudes have been criticized since the techniques and methods used have varied a lot and often the number of instruments measuring the attitudes has been low (Baker 1992: 32). However, for the purposes of the present study it is useful to be aware of these two attitude components, since one of the main arguments of ELF is that for most non-native English speakers it is no longer necessary to assimilate with native English speakers or their culture (Jenkins 2009a: 144). On the contrary, most NNSs of English use the language to communicate with other NNSs and thus the language is used for mainly instrumental purposes. The new conceptualization of the English language and its new functions therefore question the relevance of integrative attitude since it is no longer possible to specify a single English target culture to which the students might assimilate into (Jenkins 2009a). Consequently, instrumental attitude and motivation might be in a more significant role, since most learners of English use English in lingua franca contexts where it is unnecessary to identify oneself with native speakers.

In conclusion, as Kalaja (1999: 47) summarizes, language attitudes concern people's feelings and thoughts about different languages and their speakers according to which they behave in a certain way. As attitude is seen as an internal state, it can be examined merely indirectly by measuring or making deductions on people's attitudes based on their external behavior (Kalaja 1999: 47). The following chapter presents an overview on the different methods and approaches used to study language attitudes. In addition, the approach and the methods which the present study relies on are outlined.

4.1 Approaches to studying language attitudes

Similar to the numerous definitions on attitudes, several perspectives and techniques have been used to study them (Ryan et al. 1988). According to Ryan et al. (1988), since the 1960s research on people's attitudes to languages has mainly utilized three techniques; the direct method, the indirect method and social treatment. First, the direct method, as its name suggests, often makes use of direct questions about people's attitudes to language related issues to which the respondents are expected to give exact

responses (Garrett 2010: 39, Cargile et al. 1994: 212). The research can focus on investigating attitudes to one particular language or it can compare two languages, different societal and regional dialects and code-switching between the languages (Kalaja 1999: 49). Questionnaires and structured interviews fall into the direct approach, Likert scales, used also in the present study and discussed more thoroughly in chapter 6.2, illustrating one of the most popular techniques used in the direct approach (Kalaja 1999, Baker 1992). Questionnaires can include both open- and close-ended questions (Kalaja 1999: 49).

Despite the popularity of the method, the directness and the simplicity of it bring along some challenges. Most criticism around the direct approach centers among the formation of the questions themselves. Garrett (2010: 44) points out that the questions are often hypothetical or ambiguous. Garrett (2010: 44) further addresses the issue of "social desirability bias" which means that the respondents tend to give socially correct and appropriate answers even though their attitudes to the issue would be contrary. Baker's (1992: 19) idea of the "halo effect" is similar to Garrett's, implying that people often provide answers which make them look more prestigious than they in fact are. Kalaja (1999: 61) finally adds that the fact that the questions and statements are formed by the researchers themselves, and are based on their understanding and points of views, limits the scale on which the respondents can express their own attitudes.

Second, the indirect method to studying language attitudes aims at approaching the issue from a more subtle perspective, thus avoiding asking direct questions about attitudes (Garrett 2010: 41). Whereas the study of attitudes in general relies on different indirect methods, research on language attitudes has mostly applied the matched-guise technique. The technique created by Lambert and his colleagues in the 1960s in an effort to access the more private aspects of attitudes (Garrett 2010: 41, Kalaja 1999: 49-50). The matched-guise technique has later on been argued to provide "an indirect way to obtain language attitudes that is less sensitive to reflection and social desirability biases than are those reported in a questionnaire" (Cargile et al. 1994: 213). In short, matched-guise studies require "participants to evaluate audiotaped speakers without any social group labels attached" (Cargile et al. 1994: 213). The underlying assumption is therefore that people categorize, evaluate and make further assumptions on other people's personalities based on the way they speak (Kalaja 1999: 50).

According to Garrett (2010: 41), in a typical case of matched-guise technique a single speaker reads the same text several times changing only one feature of his/her language, e.g. accent if the study aims at investigating attitudes to different accents, while attempting to maintain all other features as constant as possible. The participants are then asked to evaluate the speaker according to a variety of adjectives, for example, the intelligence of the speaker (Kalaja 1999: 50-51, Cargile et al. 1994: 213). The evaluation scale can be based on a Likert scale or on a 5- or 7-point semantic differential scale, which uses adjectives with opposite meanings, e.g. good – bad, between which the respondent has to choose his/her position (Kalaja 1999: 50-51, Baker 1992: 18).

Although the matched-guise technique is the most widely used method in language attitude research (Cargile et al. 1994: 213) it has been criticized. Kalaja (1999: 61) emphasizes the challenges in forming the audio tapes as the selection of the speech sample needs to be considered carefully instead of choosing the samples randomly. Thus, the decision on the number and contents of the texts has to be informed since it can have an influence on the results (Kalaja 1999: 61). In addition, Kalaja (1999: 62) points to the reliability of the technique since it is questionable whether the use of this technique makes it possible to access the internal attitudes located in the people's minds. Moreover, as Kalaja (1999: 61) notes, the settings of the study are artificial since they are conducted in laboratories and are based on audio tapes instead of real interaction.

Societal treatment or content analysis, as it is sometimes called, is the third common approach to studying language attitudes. According to Ryan et al. (1988: 1068) all techniques which do not include asking the respondents direct questions on their attitudes belong to this approach. Observational and ethnographic studies as well as analyses of public documents and texts (newspaper articles, media texts, educational language policies etc.) are examples of techniques used in societal treatment studies (Ryan et al. 1988: 1068, Kalaja 1999: 48, Garrett 2010: 51). The approach aims at exploring the position of different languages and their speakers in society and to find out how the languages are treated (Kalaja 1999: 48-49, Garrett 2010: 51). Societal treatment studies are often ignored when discussing language attitude research and regarded as preliminary to more extensive research (Ryan et al. 1988: 1068, Garret 2010: 51). However, as Ryan et al. (1988: 1068) note, "the relative status and worth of language varieties lies in their public treatment".

A more recent development on research on language attitudes, and which is closely related to the societal treatment approach, is social constructionism that examines attitudes from a discourse analytical point of view (Kalaja 1999: 62-63, Garrett 2010: 51). Thus, the approach sees attitudes as verbal actions which may vary for different reasons in different contexts (Kalaja 1999: 62-63). The approach further emphasizes that language attitude research should be purely linguistic (Kalaja 1999: 63).

Overall, all the four techniques have both advantages and disadvantages as the discussion above reveals. As Ryan et al. (1988: 1076) note, it is not possible to rank the techniques and suggest that one method is better than the others since they all explore different levels of attitudes and thus produce different types of results. Ryan et al. (1988: 1076) further exemplify that it is possible that the findings gathered with direct and indirect techniques are contradicting but nevertheless both produce "rational attitude constellations". In an ideal case, as Ryan et al. (1988: 1076) point out, a combination of the different techniques should be used in order to receive a valid and an all-rounded image of attitudes. However, due to time restrictions and previous personal experience in conducting research, the present study makes use of mainly direct techniques. The techniques used involve both closed and open-ended questions as well as Likert scale statements. The use of different techniques, even if they all can be considered direct, aims at providing as versatile an image of the attitudes as possible. The participants of the study are in addition allowed to elaborate and give justifications for their responses. The choice of the research method is discussed more thoroughly in chapter 6.2.

In terms of attitudes to ELF, relatively little research has so far been conducted (Xu and Van de Poel 2011). As Seidlhofer (2004: 229) similarly points out, the investigation of students', teachers' and the public's attitudes to ELF has only recently begun. As the aim of the present study is to examine students' attitudes to both ELF as its own variety and teaching ELF, and since the two issues are obviously interrelated and affect each other, previous studies focusing on both issues and providing information on both aspects (attitudes to ELF and teaching ELF) are discussed more thoroughly in chapter 5.3. Also to avoid repetition, previous research on attitudes to ELF and teaching ELF are presented in the same chapter. Thus, I will return to these studies at the end of the following chapter, after first having discussed the pedagogical issues related to teaching ELF.

5 TEACHING ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

As the concept of ELF has been defined and described more thoroughly it is time to move on to discuss ELF in relation to English teaching. As chapter 2.3 outlined the characteristics of ELF, this chapter aims at discussing the same ideas in an educational context and exploring the pedagogical implications of ELF. The chapter begins by briefly dealing with the issue of why ELF should be chosen as the model for English language education. Next, models and recommendations on how to incorporate and teach ELF are presented along with more practical and concrete suggestions on how teachers, for example, could introduce elements of ELF into the English classroom. The last part of the chapter discusses research conducted on attitudes to teaching ELF which are relevant for setting up the present study.

5.1 ELF – a Future Model for English Teaching?

As Modiano (2009b: 208) points out, European language teaching has always relied on inner circle varieties, in particular standard British English and American English. Not only do all teaching and learning materials as well as teaching methods promote the standard varieties but they also "collectively promote the understanding that the acquisition of an idealized rendition of a prestigious L1 variety is the given goal of institutionalized foreign-language education" (Modiano 2009b: 208). As Kirkpatrick (2006: 71) puts it, the reasons behind the decision on which model of English is chosen are often political and ideological not educational. The choice of a native model is often justified by the power and the "inherent superiority" of the variety (Kirkpatrick 2006: 72). However, due to the international expansion of the English language and its universal status (Modiano 2009b: 208) and the increased interest in issues related to ELF, questions about the appropriateness of the current ELT practices have been raised as well as the effectiveness of the native speaker model questioned. Suggestions for an ELF based model for English teaching have consequently been proposed.

 A common argument used in favor of the ELF model for English teaching is the number of NNSs of English in comparison with NSs (e.g. McKay 2002). As previously mentioned there are more NNSs of English than NSs, and the number of NNSs is growing as people in the expanding circle acquire English. Thus, NNSs no longer learn English in order to communicate mainly with NSs; instead it is more likely that they

interact mostly with other non-native speakers. It has also been stated that as the ratio of NNSs to NSs keeps on changing, NNSs of English will determine the future of the language (Graddol 1997: 5). Thus, the examination of the numbers of NNSs and NSs thus indicates that English learners would benefit more from learning a universal variety of English rather than a standard variety that is spoken by fewer people.

McKay (2003b: 35-38) further argues for an ELF based curriculum by bringing forward issues which make the current English language teaching objectives and goals problematic. First, ELT curricula have been formed according to native speakers' linguistic needs and their acquisition process of the language. It is obvious that the functions in which native speakers and non-native speakers use English in most cases are not similar. McKay further notes that English is usually an additional language for speakers in the outer and expanding circles. Thus, the goals for language learning for NSs and NNSs are undeniably different, usually ignored by ELT curricula. In agreement with McKay's notion, Modiano (2000: 29) indicates that due to the changing status of English in the global world, and the functions for which learners need English, the traditional ELT practices do not necessarily meet the communicative needs of the majority of learners. Secondly, even though the general assumption and ideal of English learning is to achieve a native like competence, according to McKay (2003b: 35-36), in reality for most learners the situation is different. As the functions and purposes for which NNSs need and use English differ from NSs, it is thus unjustified to presume that the goal for these learners would be to achieve a native-like proficiency. McKay (2003b) consequently proposes that a specific ELF curriculum set apart from native norms should be formed after examining and assessing the learners' needs in their own speech community.

Perhaps the biggest obstacle still preventing ELF from being accepted as a model for English teaching, along with native varieties, is the lack of extensive research and codification. As Modiano (2000: 29) puts it, ELF is neither standardized nor an actual variety according to its opponents. Kirkpatrick (2007:193) further acknowledges that the different varieties of lingua franca English make it complicated to codify ELF for classroom use. Similarly, the opponents of ELF supporting native speaker models (American English, British English) argue that teaching different varieties of ELF and the absence of a common set of standards would lead to intelligibility problems among English speakers. They further maintain that the codification and the abundance of

dictionaries and teaching materials for native varieties ensure that mutual understanding between speakers' remains.

Many scholars alike (e.g. Seidlhofer 2004, Kirkpatrick 2006) recognize the fact that more research is needed before a curriculum based on ELF can be formed and introduced into English teaching. The research on ELF is indeed still in its initial stages but the works of Jenkins and Seidlhofer, for example, have set the foundation for future studies. Moreover, many scholars argue that the aim of ELF research is not to construct a specific single model of ELF that would fit every classroom as such (Jenkins 2012: 492). In addition, instead of dictating a set of rules and norms, the goal of ELF is to provide an alternative to the traditional ELT practices and to the pursuit of a native-like competence (Modiano 2009b). Jenkins (2012: 492) continues that teachers and students themselves should decide on the teaching targets and the elements of ELF included in teaching depending on their individual needs. Furthermore, regarding the critique on intelligibility, Kaur (2009) points out that research has shown that ELF interactions do not in reality suffer from a lack of intelligibility but instead different communication strategies and interactional practices used in lingua franca interactions result in mutual understanding.

Besides intelligibility problems, it has been argued that teaching ELF would mean lowering the standards and learning objectives due to ELF's disregard of rules, as discussed in chapter 2.3. If the goal of teaching is merely to imitate native speakers this argument might be correct to some extent. However, since the focus of ELF is on intelligibility and communication, this means that instead of spending time on trying to teach the students to pronounce all sounds native-like, they would learn, for example, a variety of useful communication strategies, how to communicate in international contexts and how to accommodate their speech according to context. In other words, instead of lowering the standards, the students would learn perhaps even more challenging skills which would be beneficial for them when interacting with both NNSs and NSs of English. Tomlinson (2006: 142) further points out that teaching accommodation and exposing the students to different varieties of English, both native and non-native, would help the students to develop their abilities to communicate with all English speakers with different backgrounds. It is also important to note that including elements of ELF into English teaching, further, would not mean giving up the native varieties and all standards completely, instead they would be used alongside with ELF and thus providing more information and possibilities for the learners. It is

therefore misleading to assume that ELF equals lowered standards since not only would the students learn more practical communication skills but also, in addition to native varieties, they would learn about non-native varieties of English.

5.2 Pedagogical implications for teaching ELF

As we have previously discussed, problems with teaching ELF circle around the lack of codification, norms, practices and reference material thus causing challenges to those who might want to include ELF into English teaching. Modiano (2009a: 96) similarly notes that research on ELF yet fails to provide a more detailed description of ELF. Attempting to put his understanding of ELF in an educational context, as well as responding to the criticism of his previous model discussed in chapter 2.1, Modiano (1999b) formed a model illustrating the common core of EIL/ELF (see Figure 3 below). By Modiano's (2009a: 96) words, the common core is a "body of language features which are shared by all users of the language".
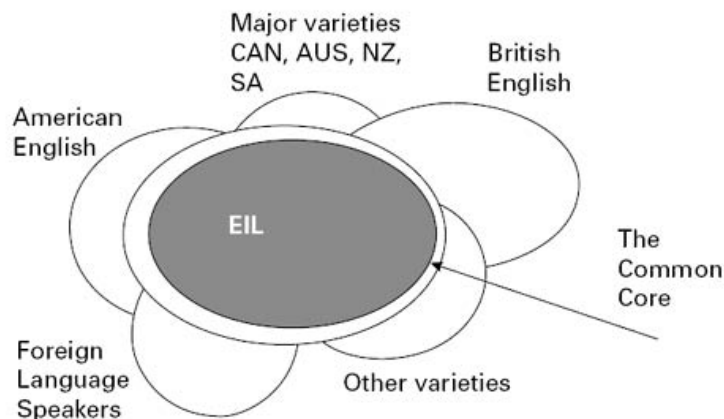
Figure 3. English as an International Language (EIL) illustrated as those features of English which are common to all native and non-native varieties (Modiano 1999b: 10)

As the model shows, Modiano (1999b: 10-11) has divided the speakers of English into five categories; American English, British English, other major (inner-circle) varieties of English, foreign language English speakers and speakers of other varieties (e.g. Indian English, Nigerian English).The outermost circles contain culture specific and esoteric features, be they pronunciation, lexis or grammar, which are not understandable in an international context. Thus, these culture specific features, unique to certain

varieties, are not part of EIL. The next circle can be regarded as a "grey area" since it contains language features which are in the process of either becoming universally acknowledged or obscure. The innermost circle, EIL, includes features that are free of culture specific and vague features and thus internationally understandable and comprehensible to most of the speakers of the five groups. According to Modiano (2009a: 99), these features, as they form the core of EIL, provide a foundation for a more detailed definition of EIL.

The EIL core can be a helpful tool for teachers willing to incorporate ELF into teaching English. At first it might feel problematic to categorize linguistic features and determine which are core features, but as Modiano (2009a: 101) himself points out, moving from the most common words and phrases and which are understood by all, such as *man, woman, language, I love you* etc., outwards is a good starting point. Modiano (2009a: 100-102) continues that it is important to note that the common core of EIL is context and group dependent. Thus, the background of the speakers in a group, e.g. age, profession and education, has an influence on the core features. For example, discussion between medical professionals probably consists of different core features in comparison to a conversation between friends. Modiano (2009a: 101) further emphasizes that learners should keep in mind the "*probability* of comprehension of that specific feature". Thus, a proficient speaker of ELF utilizes features which are likely to be known by a majority of other English speakers or by the interlocutor in question. Consequently, teachers' task is to inform learners of these different features and whether they are likely to be understood internationally or not.

Continuing his aim to provide an educational setting for ELF, Modiano (2000: 34) summarizes the main points of ELF teaching objectives. Besides the core features of EIL and exposing students to a wide variety of different Englishes, an important element and an outcome of ELF is to release students of the pressure from mimicking and striving to pursue a native-like proficiency. Instead of trying to sound like a native speaker, in terms of accent and choice of words, English learners should be more focused on mastering skills necessary for cross-cultural communication (Modiano 2000: 34).

Kirkpatrick (2007: 194) has additionally defined three elements which should be taken into consideration if introducing ELF into English teaching. First, similar to Modiano's idea of the EIL core, Kirkpatrick argues that teaching should raise awareness of

linguistic features that might cause problems in mutual understanding. In terms of pronunciation and accent, for example, Jenkins's LFC (see chapter 2.3.1) provides a helpful tool for instructing students on the sounds which are crucial for intelligibility. Second, concerning cultural teaching, students should be provided information on different cultures and particularly the differences in cultures should be emphasized. Additionally, information on how the differences affect cross-cultural communication should also be provided. Matsuda and Friedrich (2011: 338) further point out that students should realize that besides pronunciation, there are differences in cultural and linguistic values between the varieties. Third, emphasis should also been given to teaching communicative strategies which would help the students succeed in cross-cultural communication, e.g. repair strategies.

In addition, McKay (2002: 127-128) has defined teaching goals for ELF which are similar to Kirkpatrick's ideas: intelligibility, comity and textual competence. Intelligibility implies that teaching should recognize linguistic features that might lead to problems in understanding. Moreover, teachers should be aware and address those linguistic features, which do not affect intelligibility but convey negative attitudes about the speaker's competence. The second teaching goal, comity, indicates that students should learn about pragmatic strategies in order to achieve friendly relations with other English speakers. Finally, textual competence, i.e. reading and writing in English and learning to critically evaluate the cultural factors that influence the texts, is an important goal of ELF.

To discuss culture teaching in more detail, as one of the main features of an international language is that it is "de-nationalized" and not dependent on any particular culture (Smith 1976, cited by McKay 2002: 12), the emphasis on the inner circle varieties and cultures in English education should be decreased. Culture teaching and materials can focus on culture teaching from three different points of views:

1. *source culture materials* that draw on the learners' own culture as content;

2. *target culture materials* that use the culture of a country where English is spoken as a first language;

3. *international target culture materials* that use a great variety of cultures in English and non-English speaking countries around the world.

(Cortazzi and Jin 1999, cited in McKay 2003b: 38)

Obviously target culture materials are mostly used in English classroom. However, as one of the main purposes for learning English, or any language, is to be able to discuss and convey information about one's own country and culture to people from different backgrounds, it is questionable whether using target culture materials provides learners with the necessary skills. Source culture material, on the other hand, would help students both to understand their own culture more deeply and learn the necessary vocabulary needed in order to discuss it with others (McKay 2003b: 39). Rashidi and Javidanmehr (2012) similarly argue for endonormative materials, i.e. reflecting issues of the learner's own culture. As opposed to materials published or produced by native speakers, endonormative materials require that the writers are familiar with the learners' lifestyle and country and thus reflect its history, politics, religion, values and social settings (Rashidi and Javidanmehr 2012: 59). As mentioned above, being able to take part in intercultural communication and sharing information on one's own background in English is a significant function of a language. Endonormative materials ensure that learners have their own voice and instead of merely acting as mediators of American and British cultures, they can discuss issues important to them (Rashidi and Javidanmehr 2012: 62).

Perhaps the most useful and appropriate method for culture teaching in relation to ELF is to choose international target culture materials as the main reference points. Thus, instead of presenting students only with the inner circle varieties, usually American and British English, examples on a variety of Englishes used also outside the inner circle should be included. The main advantage of this perspective is that students receive a deeper understanding of the different functions and roles that English has in an international context (McKay 2003b: 39). Moreover, textbooks presenting examples of different ways in which English can be used effectively along with showcasing the variation in language will help the students themselves to become more efficient and confident users of ELF (McKay 2003b:39).

To conclude the discussion on teaching ELF, Crystal (1999: 17-18) summarizes the most significant tasks of teachers:

> …teachers need to prepare their students for a world of staggering linguistic diversity. Somehow, they need to expose them to as many varieties of English as possible, especially those which they are most likely to encounter in their own locale. And above all, teachers need to develop a truly flexible attitude towards principles of usage. The absolutist concept of 'proper English' or 'correct English', which is so widespread, needs to be replaced by relativistic models in which literary and educated norms are seen to maintain

their place alongside other norms, some of which depart radically from what
was once recognized as 'correct'.

Thus, the above mentioned models and proposals demonstrate that even though
codification of ELF is still in process, there are several feasible ways in which a teacher
can incorporate elements of ELF into the classroom. The general goal of a teacher is
mainly to expose the students to different varieties of English and make the students
tolerant and aware of both the linguistic and cultural diversity of the different varieties
and how these differences influence intelligibility and communication.

5.3 Previous research on attitudes to teaching ELF

As the previous chapters show, the debate on the models and norms for English
teaching is ongoing and arguments both for and against an ELF based curriculum have
been presented. It has also been questioned whether students and teachers would be
willing to accept and how they would react to non-native models in English teaching
(Ranta 2010). Tomlinson (2006) argues that the decision on which model and which
norms to follow should be made by learners themselves since they know what they need
the best. Even though the research on attitudes to ELF and its teaching has just begun
(Seidlhofer 2004: 229), some studies have already been conducted on examining
teachers' and students' awareness and attitudes to ELF and to different varieties of
English. Many of these studies additionally aim at exploring the relevance of ELF in
regards to the participants' own lives. As teachers have a significant influence on
students' attitudes and also act as "gatekeepers", deciding what to teach and what kind
of an image of English to convey (Ranta 2010), several studies consequently focus on
teachers' perspective. These studies have included an educational aspect as they aim to
explore the teachers' position on the model of English teaching and how the global role
of English is present in the classroom. There are also a few studies in which both
teachers and students are included in order to receive a fuller image of English teaching
and to find out whether their opinions match. These studies are briefly presented in the
following since they serve as essential background information for the present study.

Lai (2008) interviewed Taiwanese university teachers on the role of EIL in Taiwan and
in teaching English. The teachers were asked whether they think English belongs to
certain countries and whether learning English requires students to integrate with a
certain country or culture. The findings of the study revealed that the teachers' views on
EIL were contradictory. Even though some teachers supported and acknowledged the

importance of EIL and its relevance to students' futures, some still held on to the stereotype of English belonging to certain countries. Similarly, in terms of teaching, the opinions of the teachers were divided as some found it important to teach English as an international language whereas the others felt it was their responsibility to provide the students with the most advantageous and competitive variety of English, which was British or American English. Acknowledging the struggle of the teachers, Lai suggests that the local ELT professionals and the students should together determine which model of English, whether native or ELF, corresponds to their needs the best. Lai, however, remarks that it is important that in any case the teachers make an effort to raise students' awareness of ELF and different varieties of English. In addition, Lai continues that it is also crucial that the teachers' awareness of ELF is raised since they have a significant role in the classroom and thus a major influence on their students.

A similar study examining teachers' awareness of EIL was conducted by Seppälä (2010). In her master's thesis Seppälä interviewed Finnish novice teachers on their awareness of the status of English as an international language to see if it was reflected in their teaching practices. Thus, the goal was to explore how the special status of EIL was represented in the classroom. The study approached the issue from three different angles: teachers as English speaker models, cultural contents and EIL contents in teaching. Like the Taiwanese teachers, the teachers in Finland were familiar with EIL and aware of its benefits. However, this was not reflected in their teaching practices as it was found that they did not provide their students with enough information on EIL or on cross-cultural communication and non-native cultures. Thus, theory in their case was not put into action.

In addition, Timmis (2002) compared the opinions of both students' and teachers' in order to find out whether and to what extent they preferred native speaker norms in pronunciation and grammar use. Nearly 600 students and teachers from various countries responded to the questionnaire and 15 interviews were conducted on the basis of the results to get a deeper insight on some of the responses. Timmis concluded that the students still to some extent wished to conform to native-speaker norms and models, particularly in terms of accent, despite the fact that they might communicate mainly with non-native speakers. The teachers' responses were, however, somewhat contradicting since, in terms of accent and pronunciation, they did not prefer clearly either a native or a non-native model, which also contradicts with the students' responses. However, in terms of grammar, the teachers indicated that a native

competence was the preferred target. Interestingly, compared with the results from Seppälä and Lai, the findings of the study in general suggest that teachers seem to be shifting away from the native-speaker norms whereas the majority of the students still desire to follow native-speaker models and the idea of 'mastering a language' still occupies the minds of many students.

Matsuda's (2003) study focused on Japanese secondary students' attitudes to ELF. The study involved 33 participants. Even though the emphasis was on students' perception, also four teachers were included in the study due to the powerful position teachers have in the classroom. The study applied several data collection methods. A questionnaire was used to investigate the general attitudes to ELF and later, based on the results from the questionnaire, ten in-depth interviews were conducted. In addition, Matsuda's observation notes both inside and outside classroom were utilized. The results show that the students recognized the role of English as an international, common language. However, regarding the ownership of the language, the students strongly felt English is owned by its native speakers. In addition, most of the students equaled 'English speakers' with British and American speakers. However, instead of clearly indicating negative attitudes to other varieties of English, the study found that the students rather lacked knowledge and interest in varieties other than American and British English, which consequently reinforces their devotion to these varieties and hinders their awareness of the different functions of English around the world. Matsuda (2003: 493-494) thus concludes that in order to change "the American/British-centric view" of the students it is crucial that they are exposed to and in contact with different varieties/speakers of English in the classroom.

Ranta (2010) additionally carried out a similar study, which aimed at exploring Finnish upper secondary school teachers' and students' awareness of ELF and their own English use. Additionally, she examined the attitudes the participants' had towards non-native and native speakers of English. The data was collected with a questionnaire including both qualitative and quantitative items and it drew responses form 108 students and 34 English teachers. The findings of the study show that both the teachers and the students were rather well aware of ELF and realized the importance of ELF in their future English use. The attitudes of the participants towards non-native varieties and speakers of English seemed to be positive. However, the students' opinions on English teaching were somewhat contradicting since they agreed that it equips them well for future English use but at the same time criticized teaching as being too grammar and norm

oriented. As Ranta (2010: 175) indicates there is still quite a clear division between "school English" and "real-life English".

Whereas many of the previous studies include both teachers and students' viewpoints, Xu and Van de Poel (2011) concentrated merely on students' opinions on ELF. More specifically, the study aimed at discovering the role of ELF in Flemish university students' social and academic lives. The findings of the study support Ranta's (2010) division of attitudes into school and real-life English. On the one hand, the Flemish students considered English as an auxiliary language and owned by all English speakers. Moreover, the students seemed to be open and aware of ELF and moving away from idealizing native speaker varieties. On the other hand, some students believed in pursuing a linguistic native-like accuracy and saw standard English as the preferred target. Thus, to some extent, the students appeared to be positively oriented to ELF and acknowledged the international value of the language. However, at the same time, the students were still highly attached to native varieties.

Groom's (2012) findings on non-native English speakers' attitudes to ELF correspond to those introduced above. Groom's study had two aims, first to find out whether native or non-native varieties were seen as more desirable learning goals, and second to discover the participants' position to replacing ENL with ELF in English teaching. The data was gathered with a questionnaire including both multiple choice and Likert scale questions. The participants were also asked to write down reasons for their choices. The findings of the study were quite straightforward since the majority of the participants reflected a clear preference for native varieties, in terms of both learning goals and teaching model. The findings of the study, considering particularly the second objective which was teaching ELF, however, should be treated with caution since the questionnaire was rather short (only four questions targeting teaching ELF) and uninformative. Before the actual Likert scale statements, a short and rather a narrow minded, in my opinion, description of ELF or European English was provided based on which the participants had to decide whether it should replace the native varieties in English teaching. The concept of ELF is such complex and diverse that it is impossible to assume that the participants would be able to give valid responses based on a short description. In fact, one of the participants wrote that he or she had never heard of the concept before. The questions were further "too" direct in a sense that they did not describe what it practically means to learn ELF but instead they merely asked whether the participants wanted to learn ELF or not. In addition, the author's own opinion on

ELF becomes rather evident as she, for example, argues that the ultimate goal of learning English is to attain a native-like proficiency and thus teaching ELF would mean shortening this scale and lowering the standards. Despite the shortcomings of the study, the findings still suggest that the learners' ideologies largely center on native speaker standards and models.

In the light of the previous studies, it appears that both students and teachers are still prone to favor native varieties and models for English teaching. Even though it seems that the participants in most cases recognize the importance and relevance of ELF outside school, inside school, or when discussing norms and standards, they still rely on native models. Despite the fact that the interest in studying ELF on the micro-level has grown in the past years, more extensive research particularly on students' dispositions to ELF needs to be conducted (Csizér and Kontra 2012: 2). As Csizér and Kontra (2012: 2) further point out, the question of "what dominates the beliefs, aims and attitudes of learners/users of English who are exposed to conflicting influences: are they shaped by the NS centered ideology embodied in ELT materials or by the strong impulses of today's globalized world?" needs to be answered in order to provide the students with appropriate teaching. The present study thus aims at exploring students' attitudes to ELF more thoroughly by taking into consideration also the characteristics of ELF. In addition, as Ranta's (2010) study revealed the students' dissatisfaction with the current English teaching, it is also necessary to examine how the students would respond to ELF based learning objectives and whether they would consider them more useful compared with the traditional ENL oriented English teaching objectives.

6 THE PRESENT STUDY

In this chapter the present study is discussed in detail. The chapter begins by explaining the aims of the study and presenting the research questions. Next, the method used to gather data is discussed and reasons supporting the use of this particular method are explained. In addition, different means of analysis applied in the study are introduced. Finally, the chapter ends by describing both the participants of the study as well as the data collection process.

6.1   **Aims and research questions**

The general goal of the present study is to examine Finnish upper secondary school students' attitudes to ELF and teaching ELF. More specifically, the study has two aims first of which is to find out whether the students are negatively oriented to issues concerning linguistic and cultural aspects of ELF. The second aim is to investigate whether or not the students wish to include some elements of ELF into teaching English. The research questions of the present study are following:

 1. What kind of attitudes do the students have towards ELF?

- – This question aims at finding out if the students think ELF is inferior to native varieties of English and whether they wish to conform to native norms. Moreover, one of the goals is to discover if the students see the specific features of written and spoken ELF as errors or have negative attitudes towards ELF language use. These questions further help to uncover the students' attitudes towards teaching ELF.

2. Should elements of ELF be incorporated into English teaching?

- – The second research question attempts to find out if the students think elements typical of ELF teaching would be more beneficial compared with the traditional and native speaker oriented English teaching contents. The question also reveals which elements of ELF the students see useful and would therefore like to incorporate into teaching.

In the light of the previous research conducted in the same area (e.g. Timmis 2002, Matsuda 2003) it can be hypothesized that the students' attitudes to ELF are still slightly negatively influenced and native-speaker oriented. Although it has been discovered that students acknowledge the status and the benefits of English as a global language or as a lingua franca, they nevertheless see native varieties of English as more desirable and more valuable (e.g. Xu and Van de Poel 2011, Timmis 2002). In addition, as Timmis (2002) noticed, students are more hesitant to shift away from native speaker norms compared to teachers. However, some of the previous studies have also indicated a positive attitude to ELF. Ranta (2010), for example, found that upper secondary school students had a relatively positive outlook on NNSs and non-native varieties of English. Furthermore, according to Ranta, the students did not indicate a strong preference to native varieties of English but instead they appeared to be confident NNSs

of English. Thus, it can be expected that the students in the present study are perhaps prone to favoring native varieties of English. However, as the awareness of ELF gradually spreads throughout the world, it can be assumed that attitudes to ELF become less and less negative.

6.2   Research method: questionnaire

After a thorough deliberation on the possible data collection methods, a questionnaire, and therefore mostly a quantitative approach, appeared to be the most suitable tool for the present study as several factors support its use. One of the greatest assets of a questionnaire is that a large amount of data can be gathered rather easily and quickly (Dörnyei 2003: 9). As previously mentioned, students' opinions and attitudes to teaching ELF have not been thoroughly investigated in previous research and thus up-to-date information on students' willingness to shift towards an ELF oriented teaching is lacking. It is therefore reasonable to receive preliminary information on the matter and as Dörnyei (2007:34) further mentions, the nature of quantitative research enables the production of reliable data and generalizable facts. Thus, the aim of the present study is to compile a general overview on Finnish upper secondary school students' attitudes to ELF for which a questionnaire is a suitable tool.

Another matter supporting the use of a questionnaire, is the fact that the concept of *lingua franca* is quite complex even for those who are acquainted with it. It is difficult to predict how familiar the students are with the concept and interviewing a student who does not know much about the topic might be problematic. Although the researcher and his or her background may have an influence on the respondent's answers on an attitude test (Baker 1992: 19), it can be assumed that in a case where the interviewee does not have much knowledge about the topic, the interviewer might unconsciously have a bigger influence on the responses. Using a questionnaire and collecting data from a large number of participants ensures that the responses of a participant, who does not know much about the topic, do not have a significant influence on the overall results.

However, as quantitative research, according to Dörnyei (2007: 35), has been criticized as being too simplistic and inconsiderate of the reasons individuals attach to the examined subject, a few open-ended questions can be included in a questionnaire. Even though questionnaires are not particularly suitable for qualitative research, the open-ended questions help to gain a more versatile and valid image of the students' attitudes to ELF and add a qualitative aspect to the study. Open-ended questions will further give

the respondents a possibility to express their opinions more thoroughly and bring up ideas which are not included in the questions (Dörnyei 2007: 107).

Due to the fact that little research has so far been conducted on examining students' attitudes to teaching ELF, the questionnaire used in the present study was designed for the purposes of the present study (see Appendix 1). However, questionnaires used previously in similar studies (e.g. Xu and Van de Poel 2011) were used to motivate the present questionnaire. Moreover, the guidelines and recommendations given by Dörnyei (2003) on constructing a questionnaire, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs, were carefully considered and applied. Moreover, prior to the actual data collection, a piloting study was conducted to detect possible problems or vagueness in the statements and questions. After piloting and consulting the supervisor, some modifications were made and the wordings of some statements were changed.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts, and to avoid any misunderstandings the entire questionnaire was written in Finnish. The first part of the questionnaire can be considered as a background section and it was designed to examine the students' awareness of ELF and different varieties of English. The section included three common factual questions, such as the age, sex and L1 of the respondents. As the purpose of the study was to receive a general overview on upper secondary school students' attitudes to ELF, and as the study already yielded a large amount of basic data, the results of the study were not, however, viewed or categorized in relation to the background variables. Thus, comparisons between boys and girls, for example, were not made. In the first part the students' were further asked to determine whether in the future they will use English more with NSs or NNSs of English or, in other words, in lingua franca situations. Both multiple choice questions and open-ended questions were used in the section. However, the overall aim of the first part was not to analyze the responses in-depth but instead mainly to discover whether the students in fact were familiar with the concept of ELF or not. The information received from these questions would also be important when analyzing the responses given in the latter parts of the questionnaire.

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of 17 Likert scale statements which aimed to investigate the students' attitudes to ELF and to non-native varieties of English

in general. The statements were categorized into three groups, which all related to different aspects of ELF. These three categories were:

1. Goal of learning (whether the students wanted to conform to native norms or not)
2. Varieties of English
3. ELF characteristics (emphasis on communication versus correctness)

As Dörnyei (2003: 33) notes, the wording of statements may have a significant impact on the way in which participants respond to statements. To prevent and limit the load of a particular statement, the questionnaire utilized multi-item scales. Multi-item scales include "several differently worded items that focus on the same target" (Dörnyei 2003: 33). Consequently, one statement does not have too big of an impact on the total results since all the scores from the multi-items directing the same target are added to receive the overall score (Dörnyei 2003: 32-33). Thus, the statements from 1 to 5 addressed the students' target of learning English and aimed at finding out to what extent the students still wanted to pursue native norms and whether they wished to acquire a native-like competence. The statements from 6 to 11 addressed different varieties of English and sought to find out whether the students thought non-native varieties of English were inferior to native ones. Moreover, a couple of questions focused on the ownership of English which further indicated whether the respondents mainly supported native varieties of English. Finally, the statements from 12 to 17 aimed at discovering the students' attitudes to ELF characteristics. The statements included both linguistic and pragmatic features related to ELF use and their goal was to examine whether the students saw the language typical of ELF as inferior or as a deficient form of native varieties.

When responding to the Likert scale statements in the second section, the participants were asked to indicate how much they agreed with the statements. An important and challenging issue when using Likert scale statements is to decide on the number of the response alternatives (Dörnyei 2003: 37). For the present study, a five step range was chosen where alternative 1 implied a strong disagreement, 2 a slight disagreement, 3 neither disagreement nor agreement, 4 a slight agreement and alternative 5 a strong agreement. After a long deliberation, the neutral response alternative 3 was included in the range, since it was found important to give the participants a possibility also to

indicate if they did not have a clear opinion on some of the statements. Even though it may be argued that participants may choose the neutral alternative too eagerly without thinking about the statement and their opinions carefully, similarly the exclusion of the neutral alternative may result in participants having to modify their attitudes in order to find a suitable response alternative. Furthermore, as Dörnyei (2003: 37-38) points out, research shows that the neutral category, or its absence, does not have a huge influence on the way in which participants respond to questions and therefore the total results.

The third and the last part of the questionnaire focused on teaching ELF. The aim of the third part was to find out if the students would like to incorporate elements of ELF into teaching English. Moreover, the students were asked whether, in their opinion, elements of ELF would be more beneficial than the traditional native oriented elements and exercises considering their language needs. Thus, in the last part there were five different items related to teaching English with **A** and **B** options. The items covered themes such as exercises, culture, model for learning, form versus function and status of English. Option **A** in each item represented exercises, teaching contents and methods typical of the current ENL oriented teaching, such as grammar exercises and emphasis on native varieties of English. The term ENL was chosen to represent option **A**, and consequently the current teaching approach, since it well embodies what the current ELT practices emphasize, i.e. native varieties and standards. Option **B**, on the other hand, represented elements typical of ELF teaching and focus was on communication and non-native varieties of English, for instance. The students were then asked to choose either option **A** or **B** based on what they saw as being more beneficial considering their English learning and needs. The students were also asked to briefly justify their choices.

6.3 Methods of analysis

As already mentioned, the present study applied both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to receive a versatile picture of the students' attitudes. Similarly, the data was analyzed with the help of quantitative and qualitative methods. Since the questionnaire consisted of three different parts, varying methods were used in their analysis. However, in all three parts statistical analyses were conducted using the SPSS-program. As explained above, the first part of the questionnaire consisted of questions concerning the participants' background and their knowledge of ELF. The responses given in the first section were first transformed into numerical form and tabulated, after

which the SPSS was used to calculate frequencies and percentages for each question, to see how many participants answered in a certain way and out of all responses what was the number in percentages.

In the second part of the questionnaire, which consisted of 17 Likert statements, again the values given to each statement were tabulated and entered into the SPSS. As the statements were originally designed to consist of three multi-item scales, the statements were consequently grouped according to three variables: goal of learning, varieties of English and ELF characteristics. Since the questionnaire used in the present study was mostly self-designed, investigations of reliability were needed to test the new measurement device (Nunnally 1967: 210). A commonly used method for assessing reliability is the Cronbach's alpha which is based on internal consistency (Nunnally 1967: 210, Dörnyei 2007: 206). Hence, in the present study the internal consistency of the statements within each of the three variables was measured to make sure that the statements measure the same phenomenon and correlate with each other. The upper limit for the alpha is 1 and a high alpha value indicates a high internal consistency between items (Nunnally 1967: 210). There is, however, some variation in the literature on the boundary values for the alpha, particularly regarding the lowest satisfactory level of reliability, as values given by different authors range from 0.6 to 0.8. (Nunnally 1967: 226, Dörnyei 2007). Nunnally (1967: 226), however, argues that attempting to reach values over 0.8 in basic research is unnecessary and he further points out that for preliminary or introductory research reliabilities of 0.6 are sufficient. The value of 0.6 was thus adopted to mark the minimum level of reliability in the present study. However, as after testing some of the variables did not reach the reliability value of 0.6, some of the statements were removed from the variables to increase their consistency and to reach the value of 0.6. Chapter 7.2 reports more on the procedure.

After re-forming the variables and receiving acceptable Cronbach's alpha values, mean values for each variable were calculated. As the questionnaire included both positively and negatively worded statements, the scoring of some of the statements needed to be reversed before including them in the multi-item scales (Dörnyei 2003 :90). Thus, the scores for statements which were negatively oriented to ELF, and were in favor of native varieties, were re-coded so that for all statements the response alternative 5 symbolized a positive orientation to ELF. For example, statement 1, *People should learn to speak English as closely to the American or British way as possible,* is negatively oriented to ELF and choosing alternative 1 (strongly disagree) suggests a

positive orientation to ELF. The scores for the statement were thus reversed and score 1 was changed to 5 etc. Thus, when discussing the mean values of the variables, a value close to 1 indicates a negative orientation to ELF, value 3 the average and a value close to 5 a positive orientation to ELF. However, the results for the individual statements are presented in the tables in chapter 7.2 and discussed in their initial form instead of the reversed form. In addition to mean values, percentages for each statement were computed to see how the students' responses were divided within the scale.

Finally, in the third part, the results were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. First, quantitative analysis methods were applied to the different response alternatives to see how many students chose option **A** or **B**. Thus, similar to previous sections, the results were first entered into the SPSS program and statistical information, such as percentages and frequencies for each question and for the two response alternatives, were counted. Second, content analysis was applied to the open-ended questions. According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009), content analysis is a common and a 'basic' method of analysis which can be applied to several different studies. Content analysis can thus be applied to quantitative studies as well. In fact, as Dörnyei (2007: 245) points out, the origins of content analysis are quantitative as it was first used to examine written texts. In short, the goal of content analysis is to rearrange the data into a compact and simple form without reducing its informative content (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009). Miles and Huberman (1984, as quoted by Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009) further describe content analysis as a three-step process containing reduction, grouping and conclusion making. In the present study, first, all the unessential information from the responses was reduced and compacted. Next, from the reduced data key points were discovered which were put together and further grouped into similar themes. The final step was to draw more general conclusions based on the reduced data. The open-ended questions were thus analyzed qualitatively as the purpose was mainly to describe and report the issues and attitudes expressed by the students.

6.4   Participants and data collection

The participants of the present study were Finnish upper secondary school students in their first or second year and thus aged from 16 to 18. This age group was chosen for several reasons. First, as previous research has pointed out, students' attitudes and opinions on ELF and its incorporation into English teaching have not been thoroughly examined. The present study therefore aims at producing reliable research-based

information on students' thoughts on the matter. Second, most of the previous studies that have concentrated on students' perceptions have targeted students in higher education. However, it is equally important to consult upper secondary school students, since most of the students who participate in upper secondary education finish their English studies after graduation. In other words, later on in life many students have to manage with those skills acquired in English in upper secondary school. It is therefore reasonable to ask the students what kind of skills they think they will probably need and what kind of instruction would benefit them the most in the future. Consequently the teaching contents can be modified accordingly. Third, upper secondary school students have been studying languages for quite a long time and their critical thinking has developed and they are likely to be more aware of the current position of English compared with, for example, secondary school students.

After the questionnaire was piloted and modified, the actual data was collected in March 2013 in three different upper secondary schools in central Finland. Altogether 90 students filled in and returned the questionnaire; 69 were girls and 21 boys. Three schools were needed to receive a satisfactory number of responses for the study, as Dörnyei (2007: 99) recommends that the sample for a survey research should be around 100 at the minimum. Since the present study utilizes qualitative methods as well, for which the sample size is remarkably lower (Dörnyei 2007: 125-127), the number of participants in the study was considered sufficient. Some of the data were collected during girls' physical education, which explains the higher number of female participants. All of the questionnaires were handed in and filled in during lessons, and instructions on filling the questionnaire were explained to the students. It was also emphasized that all the answers would be handled confidentially and anonymously. The students were given the opportunity to ask questions in case they did not understand all the instructions or statements in the questionnaire. The students also signed a written consent form (see Appendix 3), in which they agreed to take part in the study and permitted the use of their nameless responses for the purposes of the study.

7   RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the study. As the questionnaire consisted of three parts, this chapter similarly discusses each of the sections individually, starting from the background section (7.1), moving to the Likert statements (7.2) and finally to the results

of the third part, teaching ELF (7.3). At the end of each section, or each item as in chapter 7.3, the main findings of the section are briefly summarized. Since the questionnaire was written and filled entirely in Finnish, all the questions and statements as well as the students' quotes are translated into English.

7.1   Background

The background section was mainly designed to provide an overview of the students' awareness of ELF and apart from three standard factual questions regarding the students' age, sex and L1 the section focused on examining the students' knowledge of ELF and different varieties of English. In addition, the students were asked to estimate with whom they will use English in the future.

Altogether 90 students participated in the study, of which 76.7% were girls and 23.3% boys. The proportion of girls is significantly higher, which has to be kept in mind when discussing the results. However, since the study does not aim at comparing the results of boys and girls, but instead aims at sketching a general overview, the imbalance between the sexes does not have such a significant role in the present study. In fact, in 2011 the majority of the students, 57.0%, participating in upper secondary education were girls and 43.0% were boys (Suomen virallinen tilasto 2012). Even though the difference in the percentage of boys and girls in the present study is clearly higher, it can be seen to correspond to the fact that the majority of upper secondary students are indeed girls.

When asking the students about their knowledge of the term *English as a Lingua Franca* the results showed that an overwhelming majority (97%) did not know what the term meant (question 1) and only one student indicated some knowledge of the concept. When asking to explain in their own words what they thought the concept means, most students left the question unanswered or implied they had no idea what it means (question 2). However, of those three students (3%) who *thought* they knew what ELF means, the comments they made on it revealed that two of them did not in fact know the actual meaning of ELF. These two students thought ELF signified the structure of the English language or the original form of the language. The only student who appeared to be slightly familiar with the concept expressed an idea of English being a common language in the world ("yleiskieli"). However, the same student wrote that people learn English instead of other foreign languages because it is an easy language to learn. Even though the description given by the student is not entirely accurate, it shows that she/he has some knowledge of ELF. Moreover, as mentioned by Crystal (2003) the spread of

English is commonly thought to result from the simple structure and the "easiness" of the language and therefore the response of the student was not entirely unjustified. Thus, out of 90 students only one indicated some level of knowledge of ELF.

The students were also asked to estimate whether they will use English mainly with a) non-native speakers, b) native speakers of English or c) equally with both in the future (question 4). The responses were divided rather evenly between alternatives a and c, as 41% thought they will use English mainly with other non-native speakers of English and 53% estimated they will need English with both native and non-native speakers. The remaining 6% of the students thought they will communicate mainly with native speakers of English. Contrary to the results of the previous question (question 2), the findings of this particular question indicate that on some level the students are aware of the lingua franca role of English and that English is not being spoken just with native speakers, but also with non-native speakers.

Question 3 in the background section aimed to explore students' awareness of different varieties of English. In it students were asked to name all the different varieties of English they knew. Since the question was rather difficult to formulate in Finnish, the students were given American English and British English as examples of different varieties. Thus, these two varieties of English were left out from the calculations when counting different varieties listed by the students. As for the results, 32.2% of the students mentioned knowing only one variety of English (hence, American English and British English not taken into account, see Figure 4). The next biggest group, 25.5%, was not able to name any varieties at all. 20.0% of the students were able to name two varieties, and 12.2% three varieties of English. Only nine students named more than three varieties; 3.3% four varieties, 4.4% five varieties and 2.2% six varieties of English. Thus, the majority of the students (57.7%) reported knowing zero or one variety of English. The most frequently named varieties were Australian English, Irish English and Scottish English, all of which are native varieties. Indian and Canadian English were also mentioned several times. Different accents inside the United States, such as the southern Texas accent, were listed by eight students. This suggests that some students were not able to separate accents and varieties from each other.
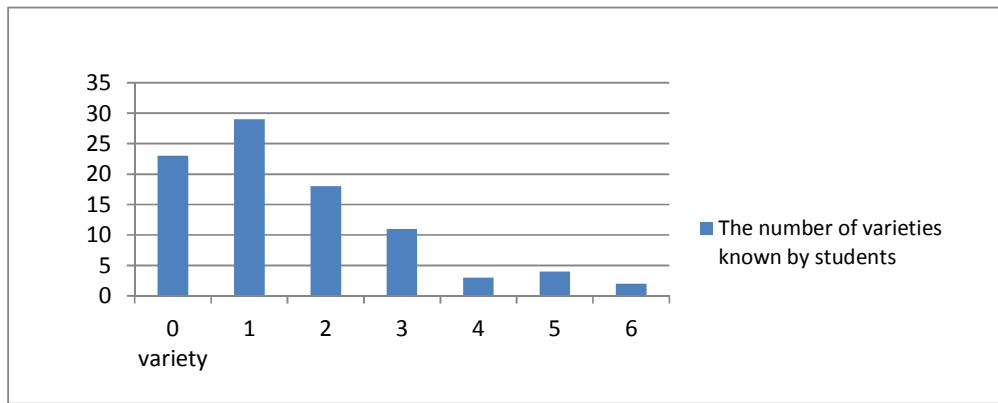
Figure 4. Students' awareness of different varieties of English

The results show that the students' awareness of non-native varieties was clearly lower compared with native varieties. When all the occurrences of the different varieties mentioned were added up, 16 different varieties were listed (see the list in Appendix 2). Out of all the occurrences 91.8% were native varieties of English, and 8.2% were non-native varieties. Non-native varieties which were mentioned were mostly European varieties, for example Dutch English. Two students expressed an ELF oriented view as they wrote that each country, where English is not the primary language, has their own variety of English. Two students further listed Finglish, English with Finnish influences, as a variety of English. However, the response of one of those students was "Finglish and other bad Englishes", which indicates quite a strong negative attitude towards those varieties of English, which have been influenced by other languages, i.e. nearly all non-native varieties of English.

To sum up, the background section of the questionnaire revealed interesting and somewhat surprising information on the participants' awareness of ELF related issues. Previous research conducted both in Finland and in other countries has concluded that upper secondary students are rather well aware of the role of English as lingua franca (Ranta 2010, Xu and Van de Poel 2011). The findings of the present study are contradictory to some extent since practically all the students stated that they did not know what the concept means. However, the term itself is complex and its foreign spelling might account for the unfamiliarity of the concept. Moreover, in class the same phenomenon might be discussed using a different, less complex name such as global English, or English as a common language. Thus, the following sections of the

questionnaire and the analysis of the results help to better determine whether the students in fact are aware of the phenomenon or not.

The students' awareness of different varieties of English can further be considered lacking, since the majority of the respondents were able to name one or zero variety of English. The overwhelming majority of the varieties mentioned were also native varieties of English, which implies that the students either do not know much about English varieties spoken outside its native countries or do not consider them as proper varieties of English, as expressed by one student.

However, the fact that the students saw themselves using English in situations where non-native speakers were present indicates that they understand that English is spoken around the world. The results further correspond to the fact that non-native speakers of English have outnumbered native speakers and in that regard the students' responses are up-to-date. The fallacy of English being studied in order to communicate only with native English speakers, which both the CEFR and the NCC however seem to aim at, is clearly absent in the minds of these students.

7.2   Attitudes to ELF

The second part of the questionnaire aimed at exploring the students' attitudes to ELF more specifically. The part consisted of 17 Likert scale statements, to which the students had to indicate their agreement on a scale of 1 to 5. The 17 statements were further grouped into three variables according to themes related to different aspects of ELF; goal of learning, varieties of English and ELF characteristics. Each of the themes is examined separately and mean values for each variable are provided (scale: 1 negative attitude to ELF, 3 average, 5 positive attitude to ELF). In addition to reporting on the mean values for the three variables, the results for individual statements are discussed, in case they provide interesting information on the students' attitudes by displaying significant statistical differences between the response alternatives or if they contradict other statements (scale: 1 strongly disagree, 2 slightly disagree, 3 neither disagree nor agree, 4 slightly agree, 5 strongly agree). At the end of the chapter, the main findings of the section are summarized.

1. Goal of learning

One of the most common issues in relation to teaching ELF is the debate on which model of English should be adopted as the norm in the classroom. The first variable

thus sought to examine the students' take on this issue and to find out what were their personal goals of learning English. The statements from 1 to 5 thus aimed at discovering whether the students preferred a native variety of English and wished to pursue a native-like competence. Cronbach's alpha for the five statements is 0.71, which indicates that the statements do measure the same phenomenon and provide reliable results. The mean value, which signifies the average value of the responses given to all five statements, for the first variable is 2.73, which implies that the students slightly lean towards a native model of English and wish to pursue a native-like competence to some extent. The examination of the individual statements further strengthens the notion that the students' goal is to sound and use English native-like, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Personal goal of learning

Statement	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	Mean	Variable Mean
1. People should learn to speak English as closely to the American or British way as possible.	7,8	**32,2**	28,9	28,9	2,2	2,86	
2. I like having a Finnish accent.	**35,6**	31,1	20,0	12,2	1,1	2,12	
3. I want to learn to use English expressions and phrases so that I would sound more like a native English speaker.	2,2	5,6	11,1	**50,0**	31,1	4,02	**2,73**
4. My goal is to learn to speak English in a way that I would be mistaken as a native speaker.	17,8	17,8	25,6	**30,0**	8,9	2,94	
5. I want to sound like a native speaker since I feel that my non-native variety of English is otherwise inferior.	**33,3**	32,2	18,9	11,1	4,4	2,21	

Particularly statements 2 and 3 demonstrate students' aspiration to sound and use English native-like. When asking the students about their attitude towards a Finnish accent, the majority of the students, 66.7% (both alternatives 'strongly disagree' and 'slightly disagree') disliked the idea of having a Finnish accent. Additionally, the overwhelming majority (81.1%) similarly wanted to learn and use English idioms and phrases in order to sound more like a native English speaker. However, according to statement 1, the students did not explicitly think people in general should pursue to sound particularly British or American. Thus, it seems the students have different

expectations and demands regarding their own English skills in comparison to other people. In addition, interestingly, even though statements 2, 3 and 4 in the variable indicate willingness to pursue a native-like competence, 65.5% of the students did not appear to regard their own non-native variety of English as inferior to native speakers' English or at least they did not consider it as a significant reason for pursuing a native-like competence (statement 5).

2. Varieties of English

The second variable in the questionnaire concerned different varieties of English. Statements 6 to 11 tested the students' attitudes to non-native varieties of English and whether they considered native varieties of English superior and the most important varieties. Moreover, statements 9 and 11 focused on examining the students' opinions on the ownership of English. As mentioned previously, reliability tests were conducted on each variable to assess the internal consistency of the statements. To increase the internal consistency and therefore the validity of the results, as explained in chapter 6.3, statements 10 and 11 were excluded from the mean value calculations for the second variable, since they did not correlate with the other statements. Hence, the value for the alpha for the variable (including statements from 6 to 9) is 0.6, which is considered acceptable for the purposes of the study. The results from the excluded statements are, however, presented in Table 2 below and discussed as individual statements since they contribute significant information on the students' attitudes to the ownership of English. As for the variable *mean,* the mean value for the second variable (including statements from 6 to 9) is 3.7. The mean value suggests that the students are rather positively oriented towards ELF and show an interest to different varieties of English. Furthermore, the students seem to realize that due to the vast expansion of the language, English cannot be merely seen as the property of its native speakers.

Table 2. Varieties of English

Statement	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	Mean	Variable Mean
6. I think British and American English are the best varieties of English.	5,6	17,8	24,4	**32,2**	20,0	3,43	
7. Besides American and British English, I am interested in receiving information also on other English varieties.	6,7	18,9	17,8	**31,1**	24,4	3,48	
8. It is important to hear English spoken in accents other than British or American.	1,1	6,7	14,4	36,7	**41,1**	4,10	**3,7**
9. English has spread so widely that it no longer can be considered to belong merely to the UK or the USA.	0,0	5,6	12,2	34,4	**47,8**	4,24	
10. I think American and British cultures are emphasized too much in English lessons.	4,4	**31,1**	30,0	21,1	12,2	3,06	
11. English is the property of those countries where it is spoken as a native language	**45,6**	27,8	21,1	4,4	1,1	1,88	

The closer examination of the statements indeed confirms that the students' attitudes to different varieties of English are rather positive and the students clearly show an interest towards different varieties of English. Combining the percentages for alternatives 'slightly agree' and 'strongly agree', the students were both interested (55.5%) and aware (77.8%) of the benefits of learning about different varieties of English, as statements 7 and 8 indicate. The high percentage, 73.4%, of the students slightly or strongly disagreeing with the argument of English belonging merely to its native speakers (statement 11), further supports the notion of students' positive orientation to non-native varieties of English. However, whereas the overall results of the variable appeared to indicate a positive attitude to different varieties of English, statement 6 reveals that half of the students (52.2%) considered native varieties, particularly British and American, as superior varieties. Furthermore, despite the fact that the majority of the students indicated a positive attitude to learning about different varieties of English, they did not feel that British and American English were emphasized excessively in English lessons.

3. ELF characteristics

The third variable, statements from 12 to 17, focused on specific features of ELF and aimed at finding out the students' attitudes to linguistic characteristics of ELF. In addition, as the ELF approach emphasizes the importance of communication and intelligibility, three statements (statements 12, 14 and 15) were added to explore the students' views on the importance of communication in comparison to accurate language use. To increase the value for Cronbach's alpha, statement 14 was left out when counting the mean value for the third variable. Thus, Cronbach's alpha for the third variable is 0.61. The mean value, on the other hand, for the variable is 3.3 and slightly leaning towards the ELF approach. However, since the value does not deviate much from the average of 3, profound deduction on the students' attitudes cannot be made. This might indicate that the students' responses vary a great deal resulting in an average score and thus it is reasonable to examine the statements more closely.

Table 3. ELF Characteristics

Statement	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	mean	Variable mean
12. It is distracting if others make errors when speaking English even though I understand what they want to say.	**37.8**	34.4	7.8	15.6	4.4	2.14	
13. When speaking English one could well say: "*There is two computers in the classroom*".	**28.9**	14.4	16.7	25.6	14.4	2.82	
14. Accurate language use is more important for effective communication than communicative skills.	**43.3**	32.2	16.7	5.6	1.1	1.88	**3,3**
15. I think it is more important to speak fluently than to pronounce perfectly.	1.1	6.7	20.0	**40.0**	30.0	3.93	
16. *"My brother play computer"* is bad English.	5.6	17.8	12.2	28.9	**35.6**	3.71	
17. It does not matter whether one says "*Do you hear what he is saying*?" or "*Do you hear what is he saying*?" because both sentences are understandable.	5.6	24.4	17.8	**33.3**	18.9	3.36	

Indeed, the observation of the statements (see Table 3) reveals that the students' attitudes to different statements varied greatly and the deviation for some statements was quite high. Interestingly, the students' responses and attitudes appeared to be somewhat conflicting in the case of communication and accuracy. The statements which focused on communication in general and on its importance (statements 12, 14 and 15) suggest that the students consider communication and understanding more important than accuracy and correct pronunciation. As statement 12 particularly shows, as much as 72.2% of the students reported that they did not consider errors in spoken language distracting if the meaning was otherwise comprehensible. In fact, only 1.1% of the students strongly agreed with the fact that accurate language use is more important for communication than communicative skills. In addition, even though the students previously expressed an urge to sound like a native speaker, 70% (those who 'slightly' and 'strongly' agreed) still thought fluency is more important than accurate pronunciation (statement 15).

However, the statements concerning linguistic features of ELF (statements 13, 16 and 17) were contradictory to the students' views on communication. Statements 13 and 16, which concretized the ideas of the previous more general statements about communication on a linguistic level, i.e. demonstrated what comprehensible sentences with errors in fact might be like, reveal that the students were not as tolerant of errors as they had reported. Statement 16, in particular, which provided an example of a typical structure used in ELF interaction (i.e. dropping the third person present tense -s), demonstrates that even though the message of the sentence is clear and does not endanger communication, it is still not regarded as acceptable use of language. Hence, the total of 64.5%, that is well over half, of the students agreed or strongly agreed that the sentence "My brother play computer" is bad English. Similar results can be discovered from statement 13, even though the division of the responses was not as dramatic. 43.3% of the students thus thought the sentence "There is two computers in the classroom" was not language-wise appropriate although it was comprehensible. Hence, the results of the third variable suggest that the students' views on ELF language use are contradictory since on the one hand they believe communication is more important than accurate language, but on the other hand they still appear to be critical of errors and have a rather narrow-minded view on English use.

In sum, for the most part the students' attitudes to ELF and aspects relating to it were similar to the findings of previous research as many of the participants preferred a

native model and wished to pursue a native like competence. In addition, most students in the present study seemed to reject the idea of possessing a distinctive non-native accent and, on the contrary, implied an urge to sound more like a native English speaker. Interestingly, the students did not think people in general should pursue to sound particularly native-like. They thus had differing expectations for themselves and for other people. However, it should be noted that the students' responses in the present study, concerning the statements on their learning goals, were more or less evenly distributed between the response alternatives. In addition, since the mean value for the variable was 2.73, not far from the average, the students' preference for native models was not perhaps as substantial as expected based on previous studies. Despite the fact that the students in general still favored a native model, they rather surprisingly did not consider their own variety and competence in English inferior to native speakers'. These findings raise interesting questions on the students' motives for wanting to achieve a native like competence.

Whereas the results of the first variable leaned towards the native model, the students' attitudes to different varieties of English were more positive and in line with the ELF approach. The ELF ideology emphasizes cultural diversity in English teaching, to which the students were positively oriented. Even though the results of the background section revealed a lack of awareness of varieties of English, the students were interested in knowing and learning about varieties other than British and American English. They additionally acknowledged the benefits of learning about the diversity of English. Thus the reasons behind the students' lack of knowledge of different varieties of English were not based on lack of interest. In regards to ownership of English, the majority of the students felt that English was not merely the property of the native speakers. In spite of the interest and tolerance to the diversity of English, the majority of the students still regarded British and American English as the best varieties. Nonetheless, in alignment with the mean value for the second variable, the students' opinions on the varieties of English and the ownership indicate openness to diversities of English and thus suggest that students' orientation to ELF-thinking is rather positive.

The findings on the students' attitudes to special ELF features and communicativeness were somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, the students believed that communicative capabilities and comprehensibility were more important than grammatical accuracy. A clear majority, 72.2% of the students in fact maintained that when interacting with others, they were not bothered by their linguistic errors, in case

communication was not hindered. On the other hand, when presenting the students with concrete examples, which demonstrated how despite grammatical errors the messages of the sentences were clear, their prior tolerant attitude to inaccuracy changed. Thus, according to the students' responses, errors in grammar equaled bad or inappropriate English. These results indicate that the students are still largely attached to native speaker models along with their norms and standards. Moreover, since the sentences exemplified structures typical of ELF use, not following the norms set by inner circle varieties, the results further suggest that the students would not be ready to accept ELF as its own variety.

7.3   Teaching ELF

The third section of the questionnaire asked the students to consider the teaching contents of English classes and included five items relating to English teaching methods and contents: exercises, culture, model of English, form vs. function and the spread of English. The students were asked to choose between two alternatives A and B, alternative A symbolizing the traditional ENL oriented teaching and option B the ELF oriented approach. Next the results from this section are presented, each item individually. As the students were also asked to give motivations for their choices, each question is analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. Hence, the distribution of the percentages between the alternatives is presented along with reporting and discussing the themes emerging from the written responses. Quotes illustrating the themes and the opinions of the students are additionally presented.

1. Exercises

In the first item the students were asked to decide whether they prefer written grammar exercises or exercises practicing communicative strategies. The majority, 73.3%, of the students considered option B (communicative strategies) to be more useful whereas 24.4% opted for A alternative. One student had ticked both alternatives and one had not chosen either of the alternatives. When examining the responses of those students who chose alternative B, themes that occurred most frequently and that can be seen related to each other were intelligibility and future language use (see quotes 1 to 3).

> 1. Koen, että puhuttu englanti ja sillä kommunikointi on tulevaisuudessa tärkeämpää. Englannin puhumisen kynnys myös laskee, jos sitä ollaan ensin käytetty "turvallisesti" koulussa. (student 45)
>   *[I feel that spoken English and communication will be more important in the future. The threshold to speaking English is lower if it has first been "safely" practiced at school.]*

2. On tärkeämpää pärjätä tositilanteissa kuin osata virheettömästi. (student 3)
   [It is more important to cope with real situations than to speak perfectly.]

3. On tärkeämpää ymmärtää ja tulla ymmärretyksi. (student 83)
   [It is more important to understand and be understood.]

Hence, the students found communication and intelligibility more important than grammatical correctness and did not feel that errors in grammar or pronunciation jeopardize interaction. The students conveyed the idea that the main function of a language is to serve as a tool for communication. In relation to intelligibility and communication, many of the students wrote that practice of different communicative strategies helps them in real language use situations when they actually have to use English and school was seen as a safe place to practice verbal skills. Thus, the students clearly seem to believe that in the future the situations where they will need English are mostly verbal.

As quotes 4 and 5 illustrate, communication exercises were, in addition, considered to be effective for their overall learning outcomes.

4. Itse opin parhaiten jos pääsen kuulemaan tai sanomaan harjoitukset kuin täyttämällä robottimaisesti aukkotehtäviä. Parin kanssa tulee myös korjattua virheet heti. (student 46)
   [I learn best if I get to hear or say the exercises out loud rather than filling in gap-fill exercises robotically. When working with a partner you also correct errors immediately.]

5. Sanoja sekä kielioppia oppii puhuessa. (student 65)
   [One learns both words and grammar when speaking.]

For many students, verbal exercises appeared to be effective learning methods since they allowed them to actually use the language. Thus, the idea of "puhumalla oppii" (learning by speaking) was frequently expressed by the students in favor of the communicative learning strategies. Many students also wrote that, besides communicative skills, communicative exercises improved their vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. A couple of the respondents also strongly felt that grammar was emphasized too much in English lessons. However, the urge for accuracy was still present in some responses, and some students felt that communicative exercises were useful since they allowed the partner to correct any errors immediately. Thus, some of the students choosing the ELF oriented alternative, still in fact were prone to pursue complete accuracy in their speech.

The small group choosing alternative A (24.4%), grammar exercises, emphasized accuracy, as quotes from 6 to 8 demonstrate.

> 6. Saattaa olla tärkeämpää työn kannalta oppia "hyvää englantia". (student 4)
> *[It might be more important for a job to learn "good English".]*

> 7. Saa varmemman oikean käsityksen siitä, mikä on oikea tapa sanoa jokin asia. (student 40)
> *[You get a more certain and correct idea of what is the correct way of saying something.]*

> 8. Tulee oikeasti ajateltua mitä tekee. Puhuessa helposti unohtuu ajatella kaikkia kielioppiasioita. (student 48)
> *[You really have to think what you are doing. When speaking, one easily forgets to think of all the grammar points.]*

The answers revealed that grammar exercises were favored since they demonstrate the correct ways of writing and speaking English. Grammatical correctness in general was considered important and correct ways of using English were also associated with "good" English, which was seen to be important in the future. In addition, some students found grammar exercises more versatile, effective and challenging since, for example, there is usually only one suitable option or answer for each question which they have to discover.

Additionally, accuracy and grammar exercises were preferred due to assessment methods, as demonstrated in quote 9. However, surprisingly few students had based their decision on the fact that current testing is still heavily based on grammar and accuracy.

> 9. Tärkeää YO-kokeissa. (student 13)
> *[Important in matriculation examinations.]*

A couple of students pointed out that exams and the matriculation examinations focus on written language and points are mainly given for correct language use. Consequently, exercises similar to the ones in the exams were considered more important in English lessons.

To sum up, based on the results of the first item, the students seemed to recognize the importance of learning and practicing communicative strategies. Similar to ELF ideology, most students emphasized intelligibility and indicated that instead of complete accuracy, understanding and successful communication were the main goals when using English. Thus, the future needs of the students, considering their English use, were clearly communicational and the students themselves realized that. However,

grammatical correctness and pursuit for accuracy still were strongly rooted in these students' minds. The philosophy of good English equals good grammar was heavily present in many of the responses, even in those which claimed to favor the communicational approach to English teaching. Even though some students mentioned that communication exercises and strategies helped them to get practice for their future needs, for some these exercises were merely another way of practicing accuracy. In other words, the fundamental function of exercises on communicational strategies was obviously unclear for many students. Interestingly, only a few students brought up assessment and, particularly in the case of upper secondary school students, the matriculation examinations. All in all, the fact that the majority of the students chose the ELF oriented option does not necessarily mean they support the ELF approach since clearly accuracy and grammatical correctness were still advocated.

2. Culture

The second item focused on culture teaching. Alternative A stood for information merely on native cultures and countries whereas alternative B included both native and non-native cultures. The majority of the students, 77.8%, chose option B, that is, information on both native and non-native cultures. The most common theme that arose from the written responses involved an idea of an all-round education. 31 students indicated that knowledge of also non-native varieties is important and broadens the world view (see quotes 10 and 11).

10. Yleissivistys ei ole koskaan pahasta. (student 18)
    [All-round knowledge is never a bad thing.]

11. Maailmankuva laajenee. (student 78)
    [The world-view broadens.]

Many students additionally mentioned that any further information on countries and cultures where English is spoken is useful. Moreover, many students acknowledged the spread of English and its status as a world language, and thus expressed ideas which can be seen connected to the concept of ELF, as quotes from 12 to 14 demonstrate.

12. Näitä maita on niin paljon, että olisi outoa ohittaa ne kokonaan. (student 44)
    [There are so many countries like these that it would be strange to ignore them entirely.]

13. Kieli ei ole sidonnainen kulttuuriin. Kiva tietää eri kulttuureista. (student 35)
    [Language is not dependent on culture. It is nice to know about different cultures.]

14. Sillä englanti on maailmanlaajuinen juttu. (student 28)
    [Because English is a worldwide thing.]

Similarly to the ELF ideology, the students pointed out that due to the expansion of the language, English is spoken around the world and thus it would be strange to ignore all other countries where English is not spoken as a native language. One student even noted that language is not dependent on culture, and thus indicated that non-native cultures are equally as important when learning about English cultures.

Versatility was also a common theme which occurred in the students' responses (see quotes 15 and 16).

15. Amerikka ja Britannia on käyty läpi jo niin monesti, että arvostaisin vaihtelua muihinkin englanninkielisiin maihin. (student 52)
   [We have gone through the USA and the UK so many times already that I would appreciate variation in other countries.]

16. Monet tietävät maat, missä puhutaan englantia äidinkielenä. Maista joissa englanti on tärkeä kieli ei puhuta niin paljon. (student 59)
   [Many know the countries where English is a native language but countries where English is an important language are not discussed that much.]

The students clearly wished to have more diversity when it comes to teaching culture and they felt too much emphasis is given to discussing native countries, the USA and the UK in particular. Consequently, according to the students' answers, non-native countries and cultures appear to be absent in English lessons, contrary to the students wishes.

Finally some of the students brought up their needs in language skills and indicated that the knowledge of non-native cultures will be useful for them in the future (see quotes 17 and 18).

17. Ne ovat "samalla viivalla" meidän kanssa. (student 63)
   [They are on a par with us.]

18. Myös näissä maissa tod.näk. tulee kommunikoimaan englanniksi, joten on hyvä tietää myös niistä. (student 43)
   [We will probably communicate in English in these countries as well so it is good to know about them.]

Hence, the students identified themselves with non-native speakers of English and reckoned the similar position, which English has in other non-native countries, provides useful and interesting information. Moreover, some students predicted that in the future they will probably interact with non-native speakers of English and therefore benefit from knowing about these countries and cultures.

Thus, the obvious minority (17.8%) chose alternative A and wished to include information only on native cultures and countries in their English lessons. The number of students choosing this alternative was small, only 17, and of the already small group, six students did not provide any justifications for their decision. However, the remaining 11 responses can be roughly divided according to two themes: time-restriction and the relevance of native cultures.

A few students indicated that it is practically impossible to include instruction also on non-native countries due to time-restriction and therefore it is reasonable to focus on native countries, as shown by quotes 19 and 20.

19. Koska alueesta tulisi liian laaja. (student 85)
   [Because the contents would be too broad.]

20. Jos olisin valinnut B:n, tunnit menisi kokonaan kulttuurien tuntemukseen, koska englanti on maailman kieli. (student 49)
   [If I had chosen B, all the lessons would be spent on learning about cultures, because English is the language of the world.]

Thus, even though some students, such as student 49, had chosen alternative A, they still recognized the spread of English and its status as the language of the world and were not in fact against teaching non-native cultures. Many students further stated that there was not enough time to go through all the countries and cultures where English is spoken. Moreover, some students believed that learning about different cultures would take too much time away from the actual language learning. Hence, for approximately half of the students choosing alternative A (6 students), the reasons were mostly due to practicalities time-wise.

The other half of the students (5 students), on the other hand, were more clearly in favor of native varieties (see quotes 21 and 22).

21. Koska ne maat ovat tärkeämpiä englannin kielen kannalta. (student 39)
   [Because these countries are more important when it comes to English.]

22. Koska jos englanti ei ole "pääkieli" se ei ole englanninkielinen maa. (student 82)
   [Because if English is not the primary language then it is not an English speaking country.]

These responses demonstrate that a small number of students did not see it necessary to know about countries or cultures where English is not a native language and considered native countries more important in terms of learning English.

To sum up, most students clearly wished to include non-native cultures into English culture teaching and only a fraction favored the native-only approach. The students were aware of the global status of English and thus considered it insufficient to focus only on native varieties. One common reason mentioned supporting the inclusion of non-native varieties concerned the future needs of the students as they indicated that they will probably interact with non-native speakers of English. Consequently, the students' presumptions are highly accurate considering the fact that non-native speakers are outnumbering the native speakers of English (Crystal 2003). Contrary to Matsuda's (2003) findings on Japanese secondary students' attitudes to non-native varieties, the Finnish students were keen to learn about non-native varieties of English and thus did not reflect negative attitudes towards them. As a matter of fact, the students strongly expressed the need and wish for versatility in culture teaching. Most of the students participating in the study were in their second year of upper secondary school, which means that they have completed the majority of all English courses from comprehensive school to upper secondary. They have therefore received a relatively comprehensive image of the culture teaching in English lessons and their views on the contents of teaching can be considered fairly truthful. Thus, the data from the second item reveals and strengthens the belief that English teaching in Finland, and particularly culture teaching, focuses on native varieties of English.

3. Model of English

The third item in the section aimed at finding out whether the students preferred native speaker or non-native speaker visitors in the classroom. Whereas in the previous two items the majority of the students chose the alternative representing ELF oriented teaching, the results for this item were the opposite: 81.1% of the students preferred native visitors and 12.2% non-native visitors. The remaining 6.7% of the students either chose both or neither of the options. Most of the responses for alternative A emphasized the superiority of native varieties (see quotes 23 to 25).

23. Tietää miltä se oikeasti kuulostaa. (student 26)
    [You know what it sounds like in reality.]

24. Hän on uskottavampi. (student 61)
    [He or she is more believable.]

25. Syntyperäinen puhuja antaa parhaan käsityksen siitä, millainen kieli on ns. aidosti. (student 52)
    [A native speaker gives the best idea of what the language is truly like.]

Many of the responses maintained that natively spoken English is in fact real English. Native speakers' competence in English was thus seen to exceed that of non-native speakers'. Native speaker was thought to speak perfect and flawless English. Four students in fact mentioned that one can be sure that native speakers do not make any mistakes when speaking English and that they are more believable.

In relation to the superiority of native varieties, many of the respondents found native visitors and their English to develop their own English skills more effectively (see quotes 26 to 28).

26. Oppii enemmän ja kaikki mitä hän sanoo on oikein kieliopillisesti. (student 80)
[You learn more and everything he or she says is grammatically correct.]

27. Päivän selvää. Että oppii oikein eikä väärin jos tulee virheitä vieraana kielenä puhuvalle. (student 2)
[It is obvious. So that you learn correctly and not incorrectly in case a non-native speaker makes mistakes.]

28. Oppii eri sanontoja ja ääntämistä. (student 69)
[You learn different phrases and pronunciation.]

The students further reported that accuracy and grammatical correctness had a significant effect on their learning and also improved their English skills. Besides grammar, pronunciation was frequently brought up when discussing the benefits of native visitors. The students specified that they would have the chance to both improve their own pronunciation and to learn to understand proper English, i.e. native accents and pronunciation, in case they would have native English visitors in the classroom. Additionally, communication with native speakers was also considered to be beneficial for other aspects of language, such as vocabulary.

Interestingly a few students preferred native speakers because of their ability to also give feedback to the students on their English use, as exemplified by quote 29.

29. Pystyy neuvomaan vinkkejä natiivilta kuulostamiseen. (student 78)
[He or she is able to give advice on how to sound like a native-speaker.]

Thus, besides providing a correct native model of English to the students, native speakers were also favored since they were thought to be able to instruct and guide the students on how to sound and use English native-like. The data thus indicates, and confirms the findings from chapter 7.2, that at least some students wish to pursue a native like competence.

The students choosing alternative B (non-native visitors) thus formed a clear minority with 12.2%. The responses of the students centered around two themes. First, in most responses it was mentioned that non-native visitors would be more helpful since they were on a par with them regarding their background with English language, as shown by quotes 30 and 31.

30. Tietää miltä se tuntuu, jos ei vaikka ymmärrä ihan kaikkea ja osaa asettua kuuntelijan asemaan. (student 37)
[He or she knows what it feels like to not understand everything and can relate to the listener.]

31. Näkee mille tasolle voi yltää, parempi vertailukohde. (student 81)
[You can see the level which can be achieved, a better point of comparison.]

Some students thought that they would be able to better relate to other non-native speakers. Putting oneself in another's place, for example if not understanding properly, was considered useful. One student further mentioned that other non-native speakers and their competence in English provided a more appropriate point of comparison than native speakers.

However, some responses reflecting the same theme can be considered conveying a negative attitude to the phenomenon (see quotes 32 and 33).

32. Ei ole paineita omasta taidosta. (student 1)
[No pressure on own competence.]

33. Syntyperäiselle engl.kielen puhujalle puhuminen on typerän tuntuista, koska tiedän, että se kuulostaa hänestä kömpelöltä. (student 63)
[Talking to a native speaker feels silly because I know that he or she think I sound awkward.]

A couple of students wrote that communicating with non-native speakers was less stressful and awkward. Certainly, releasing the pressure towards speaking English is a positive aspect when it encourages students to use the language. However, some students expressed that the anxiety to speak English increases with native speakers and as one student clearly reported, talking to native speakers makes him/her uncomfortable because of insecurities of own English skills. Hence, some students felt their English was inferior to native speakers' and for that reason preferred non-native visitors.

Second, a few students opted for the ELF option since they recognized the benefits of interacting with non-native speakers, as quotes 34 and 35 illustrate.

34. Oppii ymmärtämään erilaisia puhujia. (student 4)
[You learn to understand different speakers.]

35. Ymmärrän itse luultavasti paremmin ja hänkään ei välttämättä puhu täydellistä enkkua. (student 31)

[I will probably understand better and he or she might not necessarily speak perfect English.]

It was thus mentioned that listening to and learning to understand people with different backgrounds was useful. A couple students further specified the importance of hearing different accents. Additionally, one student (student 31) reckoned it would be easier to understand non-native speakers and indicated that the fact that the visitors' English is not perfect was indeed a positive aspect.

The results from the third item reveal that the majority of the students preferred native English speaker visitors in the classroom instead of non-native speakers. Most students motivated their responses by referring to the inherent superiority of a native variety. Native varieties were also considered to represent a model of real or proper English. Moreover, the students' image of native speakers can be seen somewhat naïve since their English was seen completely pure and free from errors. Native speakers' English proficiency was also seen as having a positive effect on the students' learning and language development. In contrast, only a small group of students took into account the benefits of interacting with people who have a similar history with the English language and with whom the students are in an equal position. In fact, the results are contradictory to the previous two items, which reflected a strong preference for ELF oriented options. Particularly in the second item concerning culture teaching, the majority of the students was rather keen to learn about non-native cultures and argued for the benefits of including instruction on these countries in English lessons. However, the results from the third item are opposite as the students preferred a native model of English and thus neglected the advantages that non-native varieties of English might have both in terms of culture and language. The results thus rather strongly suggest that even though the students recognize the importance of different varieties of English and wish to learn more about them, language-wise native varieties and native models of English are still seen as superior. While several studies have shown that many learners of English do not wish to pursue or achieve a native-like proficiency (e.g. McKay 2003b) the results from the third item suggest the opposite.

4. Form vs. function

The fourth item focused on the function of the language and whether emphasis should be given to producing language accurately or understandably. 83.3% of the participants

supported the option on producing comprehensible language (option B) whereas 15.6% stressed the importance of accurate and correct language (option A). Only one student passed the item.

The theme that was most frequently brought up by the students in favor of the comprehensible language, concerned the importance of intelligibility. Many of the students were unable to give profound justifications for their decision and they merely reported that understanding each other is more important than producing language correctly (see quotes 36 and 37).

36. Vastapuoli ymmärtää kyllä mitä hänelle sanotaan vaikka puheessa olisi pieniä virheitä. Ymmärrettävyys ja sujuvuus tärkeintä. (student 73)
[The other person will understand what is said even if there were small mistakes. Intelligibility and fluency are most important.]

37. Kommunikaatio toimii, kun toista ymmärtää – viis pilkunviilauksesta! (student 44)
[Communication works when you understand each other – no need to split hairs!]

Hence, the students emphasized communication and remarked that a few errors do not hinder understanding.

Additionally, some students in fact pointed out the insignificance of perfection, as quote 38 illustrates.

38. Eivät kaikki englantia äidinkielenä puhuvatkaan osaa kieltään virheettömästi. (student 76)
[All native speakers do not necessarily speak their language flawlessly.]

Some students thus recognized that even native speakers of English do not speak English faultlessly and thus the demand for accuracy in Finland, where English is not a native language, is unreasonable.

A significant minority thus supported accuracy in language teaching. 14 students altogether thought that emphasis should be given to pursuing accurate and correct language in English lessons. Some students brought up the idea of language development (see quote 39).

39. Kun yritetään tähdätä täydellisyyteen päästään sitä lähemmäksi, kuin että tähdätään siihen, että toinen ymmärtää juuri ja juuri. (student 58)
[Achieving perfection is possible if the goal is to pursue it instead of aiming at barely understanding each other.]

It was thus pointed out that pursuing perfection leads to better learning results and makes the achievement of accurate language possible. Additionally, a couple of students mentioned that in case one is already rather proficient in English, the obvious next step

would be to refine one's grammar. Some students further implied that the excessive attention given to producing "barely" understandable language might harm the development of other areas of language, such as grammar.

In addition, some students felt that accurate language use prevents misunderstandings, as demonstrated by quote 40.

> 40. On tärkeää puhua virheettömästi, sillä muuten voi käydä väärinymmärryksiä. (student 10)
> *[It is important to speak accurately, because otherwise there might be misunderstandings.]*

Thus, it was indicated that faultless language prevents misunderstandings whereas errors might lead to problems in understanding.

Finally, assessment came up in some of the responses in favor of accuracy (see quote 41).

> 41. Sillähän ne pisteet kokeessa ropisee. (student 38)
> *[That is how you get points in exams.]*

Accuracy and grammar were thus favored since exams heavily rely on grammar and points are awarded for correct and accurate language use. One student also mentioned matriculation examinations as a reason for supporting accuracy.

In brief, the majority of the students preferred an approach which emphasized the production of comprehensible language instead of accuracy. The responses of the students did not provide much data, since many students had merely stated that communication and understanding were more important. However, the results reveal that most students would welcome a more ELF oriented approach to English instruction where emphasis would be given to communication instead of correcting errors. As the current English teaching still focuses on native varieties and norms, and therefore accurate language is stressed, some students noted that in order to receive good marks in exams, it is useful to focus on using language accurately. In addition, some students pointed out that in relation to developing one's language skills and ensuring comprehensibility, practicing correct and accurate language use is more beneficial.

5. Spread of English

When asking to decide whether information on the history of the USA/UK (option A) or on the spread and status of English (option B) would be more useful, the students rather unanimously chose the latter option. Thus, 75 students (83.3%) thought they would

benefit more from learning about the status of the language. Even though many students justified their decision merely based on their own interest, the idea of English as a global language was also present in several responses, as exemplified by quotes 42, 43 and 44.

42. Englanti on yksi tärkeimmistä kielistä, jota monet osaavat puhua vaikkei se olisi oma äidinkielensä, olisi hyvä tietää miten se on levinnyt. (student 34)
[English is one of the most important languages, which many people can speak even though it is not their mother tongue, it would be good to know how it spread.]

43. Vain kahteen kulttuuriin keskittyminen on huono asia; globalisoituneessa maailmassa tarvitaan tietoa useammista maista. (student 41)
[Focusing on only two cultures is a bad thing; in a globalized world information on several countries is needed.]

44. Helpompi lähteä reissuun kun tiedostaa asioita. (student 13)
[It is easier to travel if you are aware of the issues.]

The students thus recognized the worldwide use of English, as a lingua franca in fact, and acknowledged that knowing only about native English countries and cultures was insufficient in today's globalized world. In addition, quite a few students made an important point on traveling, and how knowledge of different cultures and of the position of English in other countries was of use.

Another frequently expressed idea, which was used to argument for the ELF alternative, was the mismatch between history and languages, as quote 45 shows.

45. USA:n ja Iso-Britannian historia ei mielestäni liity juurikaan kieleen. (student 45)
[In my opinion, the history of the United States and Great Britain is not connected with the language.]

Surprisingly many students stated that the history of the United States or the United Kingdom is not connected with the English language and thus there is no need to go through the issue during English lessons. Some students also rather strictly stated that English lessons were not history lessons and thus topics concerning historical aspects should be covered during history lessons. However, a few students paralleled the two topics and pointed out the lack of information on the history of languages (see quote 46).

46. Maiden historiaa käydään tarpeeksi historian tunneilla, mutta kiel(t)en historiaa ei lainkaan. (student 68)
[The history of different countries is covered in history lessons but the history of different languages is not.]

Thus, some students in fact pointed out that the history of languages is an essential topic, on which instruction, however, is not provided. It was further pointed out that the students received enough or too much, as some students stated, information on the history of the native countries (UK and USA) as it is, and thus versatility was held important. Similarly it was pointed out that considering general knowledge, information on the spread and status of English would be beneficial.

All the responses in favor of the ENL alternative related to the students' personal interests. Practically all the students justified their decision mainly because they thought it was more interesting.

To sum up, a great majority of the students considered the topic of the position of English in the world more important compared to the history of the UK/USA. In fact, none of the students presented views that were against ELF as the other option was chosen and motivated mainly based on personal preference. The most common reasons mentioned for choosing the ELF option related to themes such as personal interest, globalization, versatility and general knowledge. The results revealed that the students were to some extent aware of the role English has as a lingua franca and realized it has an effect on different countries and cultures. However, the findings suggest that even though practically all students held information on the history and spread of English important, the school fails to meet these needs. The responses further indicate that the emphasis is still on the native countries and their history despite the students' wishes. In addition, English lessons do not provide the students with meta-knowledge on the aspects of ELF and thus do not help to increase their overall image of ELF. The students' unawareness of the link between the position of English and history of the UK/USA further supports the presumption that schools fail to teach English beyond the linguistic and cultural levels.

8   DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to examine Finnish upper secondary school students' attitudes to ELF. In addition, another goal of the study was to find out to which extent the students would be willing to shift towards a more ELF oriented English teaching model. In this chapter, the main findings of the study are summarized and discussed in relation to previous studies. The chapter is organized so that each

section provides answers to one of the research questions of the study. However, since the questions are interrelated, it is difficult to discuss the issues entirely in isolation with each other. Thus, attitudes to ELF reflect attitudes to teaching ELF and vice versa. The chapter begins by discussing the students' attitudes to ELF and then moves to attitudes to teaching ELF. In the end, an evaluation of the study and suggestions for future research are provided.

8.1   Attitudes to ELF

Before discussing the students' attitudes to ELF, it is reasonable first to briefly review the students' awareness of ELF. The background section in the questionnaire provided signs of both unawareness and awareness of the issue. The most evident sign of unawareness was certainly the students' inability to recognize or give a meaning to the term. The results thus showed that none of the students recognized the term ELF despite the dramatic spread of the language and the emphasis that globalization and internationalization is given in the NCC for example. Certainly ELF can be discussed in the classroom in a more general sense describing it with a different name, but since ELF as a term has stabilized its position in the field of research and has also started to occur in more informal situations, it would be reasonable to educate the students about the concept in more detail.

In addition, similar to Matsuda's (2003) findings on Japanese students' knowledge of outer circle varieties, the Finnish students' awareness of different varieties of English can be considered lacking. The lack of knowledge, which was mostly limited to native varieties, reinforces the notion of the students' unawareness of the ELF phenomenon. The students, however, realized that in the future they will mostly interact with other non-native speakers instead of merely with native speakers, which shows that they are aware of the global spread and status of English. Moreover, as the results from the third section of the questionnaire regarding ELF teaching show, most students chose teaching contents which would measure up to their future English needs, that is communicating with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Thus, even though the students did not seem to recognize ELF as a term, they appeared to, at some level, understand how the number of English speakers in the world has changed and how it influences and perhaps changes their personal, future English needs.

Moving on to attitudes to ELF, and to discussing the students' learning goals, based on previous research conducted in the same area it was hypothesized that the students'

attitudes to ELF would be negatively influenced and native-speaker oriented. The findings of the present study confirm the hypothesis in many regards as the students were more prone to favor native models and conveyed negative attitudes to ELF language use. In addition, the majority of the students still aspired to achieve a native-like competence. The results are thus contradicting to arguments in favor of ELF which claim that students no longer wish to pursue a native-like competence (for example McKay 2003b). Jenkins (1997, cited in Timmis 2002: 242) has further argued that most L2 users of English want to include and maintain some elements of their L1 in their English. In contrast, the students in the present study projected rather negative attitudes particularly to ELF pronunciation since the vast majority rejected the idea of having a Finnish accent and, on the contrary, wanted to sound like a native speaker or even be mistaken as one. However, at the same time the students maintained that it is important to hear English spoken in different accents.

The results of the learning goals, pronunciation in particular, are not too surprising since Timmis' (2002) research drew similar findings. Ranta's (2010) findings on the other hand were opposite, since according to her study, the students were quite confident non-native English speakers and did not imply a willingness to sound native-like. The students in the present study thus seemed to have a more negative perspective on their non-native accent compared with their counterparts in Ranta's study. Surely it is impossible to make comprehensive conclusions based on these two studies, but it is indeed interesting that a similar group of students, who have received similar education, have such different attitudes to their Finnish accent. As teachers have a huge impact on students' attitudes, it is possible that the different attitude to accent is based on their teachers' opinions, which consequently are reflected in their teaching practices. If the teacher him or herself keeps to or advocates a British or American accent, it is likely that the students similarly favor the same accent. Jenkins (2005: 39) further emphasizes the crucial role of a teacher by arguing that the teachers' own view on ELF identity and its effect on the students' future resolve whether ELF pronunciation is taken up. Thus, according to Jenkins (2005: 39), the deciding factor on whether to include ELF pronunciation is the teachers' "recognition of ELF pronunciation as acceptable variation rather than learner English resulting from L1 transfer".

The aspiration to sound native-like in many cases is interrelated with a sense of inferiority. One of the main findings of Xu and Van de Poel's study (2011: 272) in fact concerned the students' lack of confidence and feelings of inferiority in regards to their

own non-native varieties of English. Even though students' pursuit of a native competence, particularly in terms of accent, might be taken as a sign of insecurity of one's own English competence, the majority of the students in general in the present study did not consider themselves inferior to native speakers. Thus, on the one hand, the students felt the need to achieve a native-like proficiency and rejected their Finnish accent, but on the other hand, they were confident with their own non-native variety of English and did not see themselves inferior to native speakers.

In terms of ELF as its own variety of English, particularly considering language use, the students' attitudes towards it were contradictory. It seems that the students' attitudes to ELF language use take different directions on conceptual and concrete levels, which are reflected in their opinions on communication and accuracy. On a conceptual level, the students advocated communication and fluency over grammar, and they seemed to realize that actual communication does not rely merely on grammar and accuracy but it is a joint effort of several skills. They further maintained that understanding is the key factor in successful interaction and that errors are not distracting if they do not cause problems for intelligibility. The students' views on language use and communication on a conceptual level are in fact similar to Ranta's (2010) concept of "English in the real world" as the students frequently emphasized the importance of communication and communicational skills when considering their own language use on a broader scale. Thus, the majority of the students realized that they will benefit more from learning how to communicate and to manage in *real-life* language use situations than from refining their grammar. Indeed, in most cases when the students justified their choice for ELF oriented teaching, whether concerning communicational skills or knowledge of non-native cultures, they tended to emphasize their future needs in English or refer to 'real-life' situations in which they have to use English. In contrast, when the students chose teaching contents which were based on the current ENL oriented practices, they rarely mentioned future or real-life needs as a reason for their decision.

Considering the students' awareness of the importance of communication and intelligibility together with the fact that the students saw non-native speakers as a major group with whom they will communicate, it can be inferred that the students have a realistic and truthful image of the lingua franca role of English in the real world. The students' realization of the communicative situations and contexts in which they will use English are further consistent with Xu and Van de Poel's (2011: 271) findings of English being considered "more as a functional tool for international communication

than as a medium to connect with native English speakers". To sum up, on a conceptual and on a general level the students perception of their English language use, including both the communicative situations they are likely to face and the skills they need, are realistic and match the ELF ideology.

On a concrete level, the students, however, strongly supported accuracy. Although the majority of the students did not consider errors in spoken language disturbing and maintained that communication exceeds accuracy, as discussed in the previous chapter, they regarded, for example, the sentence "My brother play computer", demonstrating a typical structure of ELF use, as bad English. The students' prior tolerant view on errors thus changed dramatically when they were presented with actual examples, and they appeared to ignore the intelligibility of the sentence when evaluating its acceptability. As Seidlhofer (2004) points out, the characteristic linguistic features of ELF are typically seen as errors instead of features of language use, and similarly the students in the present study considered sentences utilizing these features as bad or incorrect English. These statements targeting the students' views on language use reveal that the students are still largely attached to native models and varieties as they consider ELF language use erroneous and believe that 'proper' English is dependent on native rules and norms. The findings on the students' attitudes to accuracy are thus similar to Xu and Van de Poel's (2011: 271-271) and reveal that "underneath the signs of acceptance of ELF, on a micro level the students maintain a strong belief in linguistic accuracy according to native standards".

The students' strict views on accuracy are further related to Ranta's (2010) concept of "school English". Whereas communication and fluency represented the kind of English that is useful in the future, 'real' English for the students was, however, something they appeared to pursue here and now – at school. Since English teaching in Finland is heavily dominated by the inner circle varieties (Ranta 2010: 159-160) with emphasis on grammar and accuracy, it is not surprising that the students, despite having realistic expectations regarding their future English use, still aim for the ideal outcome which they are presented at school. It is further possible that the students have different expectations of both themselves and other people in school and in real-life. While the school is the place to use and at least to strive to use English correctly, outside school the demands are lower since the purpose of using English is to be understood. Thus, there certainly seems to be a gap between reality and actual learning practices.

The attitudes to the cultural aspects of ELF and to the diversity of English were more straightforward compared with the results found in ELF language use. As several previous studies conducted on students' attitudes to ELF have found (e.g. Xu and Van de Poel 2011, Ranta 2010), the upper secondary school students' attitudes to different varieties of English, culturally speaking, were positive throughout the present study as well. Whereas Matsuda (2003: 489-490) concluded that Japanese students' lack of awareness of varieties of English resulted from a lack of interest in them, the Finnish students saw it both interesting and important to receive information on different varieties, also non-native, and thus depicted openness to the diversities of English. They were not thus entirely reliant on inner circle varieties even though the students still regarded American and British varieties as the best, superior varieties. However, as the English instruction in Finland still heavily relies on native models (Ranta 2010: 159-160) it is presumable that the students consider these varieties, which are present and emphasized in the classroom, as the preferred and most prestigious varieties. The attitudes to the diversity of English were in any case more broadminded in comparison to attitudes to the linguistic features of ELF. Similarly the students' opinions on the ownership of English were open-minded and opposite to Matsuda's (2003) findings. Whereas the Japanese students believed that English, despite its international use, belongs to native speakers (Matsuda 2003: 493), the Finnish students felt that English belongs to all speakers of English.

However, regarding awareness of different varieties of English, a rather low number of different English varieties were mentioned. This signals either the students' lack of awareness of the spread of English or the fact that they, in fact, do not associate the worldwide spread and use of English with distinct or proper varieties of English. In particular, the findings revealed a lack of awareness of non-native varieties of English, whereas the inner circle varieties were typically well recalled. It is thus unclear whether the students simply did not know any non-native varieties of English or whether they regarded non-native varieties as unacceptable varieties. Regardless of the answer to the question, the students' lack of awareness to different varieties did not seem to be caused by a lack of interest which thus provides an excellent starting point for incorporating ELF into English teaching. The cultural aspect and the students' attitudes to varieties of English will be discussed more in relation to teaching ELF in the next chapter.

8.2   **Attitudes to teaching ELF**

Similar to the findings on attitudes to ELF, the students' attitudes to the cultural aspects of teaching ELF are more positive compared with issues relating to language use. In fact, the Finnish upper secondary school students seem to favor an ELF oriented cultural teaching approach instead of the traditional native-based teaching. In terms of the second research question regarding ELF teaching, an overview on the percentages of the results suggests that the students would be willing to shift towards a more ELF oriented teaching approach since they opted for the ELF based alternatives four times out of five. Thus, in only one case, relating to model of English, they considered the ENL based option to be more beneficial compared with the ELF option. The ELF elements, which the students saw more beneficial and would therefore be willing to incorporate into English teaching, emphasized communication, communicative strategies and fluency instead of accuracy and grammar. The students pointed out that it is more important to practice skills which are useful for them in the future in situations where they have to communicate in English. The students further considered it more beneficial to receive information on different varieties of English instead of focusing merely on the inner circle varieties. Several students motivated their decision by referring to the global status of English and to the benefits of knowing about cultures and countries where English is spoken as a non-native language. In addition, a desire for variation in culture teaching was brought up frequently. Similarly to the previous item, the students opted for the alternative concerning the global status of English instead of the history of the inner circle countries. Again they justified their decision with the spread of English, variation, general knowledge and personal interests. In terms of the model of English, the only item in which the majority chose the ENL option, the students preferred a NS visitor instead of a NNS since they felt that NS visitors would provide them with the correct and error free model of English. The students further saw NS visits more useful in developing their own language skills. In addition, the students felt that NSs were also able to instruct them on how to sound like a native speaker.

Despite the fact that the students in most cases preferred the ELF alternatives, a closer examination of the responses and justifications reveal that the results are not as straightforward as the numbers imply. Similar to attitudes to ELF, the findings on the students' attitudes to teaching ELF are contradictory in terms of language use and culture. The item which provided the most contradicting results was the one concerning the different types of exercises, i.e. communicative strategies and grammar exercises

(item 1). Even though the majority of the students, 73.3%, thought communicative exercises were more important, many of those students still, at least to some extent, emphasized the importance of accuracy and grammar. For some students the basic idea behind communicative exercises seemed to be unclear, since oral exercises done with a partner were considered useful since the partner was able to immediately correct any errors that occurred in speech. It is thus questionable, whether the percentage of students favoring the ELF oriented alternative is, in fact, such high in reality.

Even though the students statistically appeared to be willing to include a more ELF oriented approach into English teaching, the results of both attitudes to ELF, particularly concerning their judgment on errors and features of ELF language, and teaching ELF suggest that the students probably would not be ready to accept ELF either as its own variety or as a model of English teaching, at least not yet. Although the students in theory support intelligibility and communication and would be willing to shift the focus of teaching to suit these ideas, they are still extremely conscious, even naïve, of correctness according to native models. As the norms and standards of native varieties are so deeply rooted in the minds of the students, which the current teaching practices continue to reinforce, it takes time before the students are willing to or ready to change their attitudes and loosen their image of what is real English and consequently implement their broad view on communication into practice.

Consequently, as the majority of the students actually regarded communicative exercises more important than grammar, it would be important to gradually increase the amount of communicational exercises in English lessons and at the same time raise students' awareness of ELF and present them with examples of interaction between non-native speakers. Additionally, as the characteristic features of ELF are commonly regarded as errors (Seidlhofer 2004), a view shared by the students in the present study, it is important that teachers help students to realize that deviation from the norms of native varieties does not necessarily indicate an error.

Besides the negative feelings the students have towards ELF, there are positive signs which indicate that the students' orientation to ELF might be slowly changing. Before conducting the present study, it was hypothesized that students' attitudes to ELF become less negative as the awareness of ELF spreads. Indeed, the students' positive orientation to non-native English cultures, discussed more in the following sections, is a sign of an attitude change. In addition, as the students realize that communication is not

reliant on complete accuracy and that they would in theory benefit more from learning how to communicate, it is clear that the students are not completely against ELF. In fact, even though the students still tended to prefer native models and particularly pursue a native competence, it needs to be remembered that the students' orientation to native models was not substantial as the mean value for the first variable examining the students' learning goals was 2.73 and thus not deviating much from the average of 3. In addition, in comparison to Groom's (2012) research, in which the students quite unanimously favored native models as around 80% of the respondents indicated a preference for native speaker models in several statements, the Finnish upper secondary school students' responses were more evenly distributed in the scale and fluctuated between different statements. Hence, as expected, the students' were prone to conform to native models. However, the dominance of the native speaker model perhaps was not as clear or substantial as it could have been. Previous studies (e.g. Timmis 2002) have concluded that students are slower and more hesitant about moving away from the native models than teachers. The results of the present study may well signify the students' slow movement away from native norms and towards an ELF approach.

Besides inconsistencies within individual items, some of the items contradict each other as well. Whereas the items on exercises and form and function (items 1 and 4) generally indicate that the students consider communication more important than correct form and accuracy, the findings on item 3, model of English, are quite the opposite. In item 3, the benefits of communicating with other non-native speakers were overtaken by the possibility to hear and receive a 'correct' and 'real' model of English. In addition, in item 2, concerning culture teaching, the majority of the students was in favor of including non-native varieties into teaching. In fact, one commonly stated motive behind the decision was based on the fact that in the future they will interact with other non-native speakers and therefore it is useful to know about different countries and cultures. However, the students appeared to ignore this realization when responding to the third item since as much as 81.1% chose the native speaker visitor. This further contradicts the results of the background section as in it only 6% of the students estimated that in the future they will communicate mainly with native English speakers. The students perhaps forgot to think that a non-native visitor would provide them a great opportunity to practice the communicative situations they are likely to face in the future. Again the results here suggest a division between the conceptual and concrete levels, or 'English in the real world' and 'school English', since perhaps for the

students, a visitor in an English *classroom* signified more of a formal learning situation and since the visit took place particularly during a lesson, the aim of the visit thus would be to learn the kind of English that belongs to English classroom and not outside the classroom.

One of the cornerstones of ELF is the notion of de-nationalization meaning that, in the case of an international language, the culture is not dependent on any particular country (Smith 1976, cited in McKay 2002: 12). The results of the study correspondingly suggest that, both in terms of attitudes to ELF and teaching ELF, the students consider culture separate from language and question the dominance of the inner circle countries in culture teaching. Even though they are still negatively oriented towards ELF language use and favor inner circle standards and norms, the negative attitudes are not reflected in their attitudes to different varieties and cultures of English. In contrast to the students' rather strict views on standard, native based language use, their view on culture is much more ELF oriented as they indicate both a willingness to learn about different non-native cultures and acknowledge the importance of knowing about these cultures in terms of their future language needs.

McKay (2003b) and Modiano (2000) have argued that the current ELT practices no longer meet the needs of the students. The Finnish upper secondary school students indeed express signs of dissatisfaction or shortage particularly in terms of culture teaching. As it has been mentioned quite a few times, the majority of the students welcomed a broader and a more versatile approach to teaching culture including also non-native varieties. As teaching materials are dominated by the inner circle varieties (McKay 2003b) and cultural information thus centers on a few native varieties, it is not surprising that the students desire versatility. Shifting towards international target culture information (McKay 2003b), including both English and non-English speaking countries, would meet the needs and the wishes of the students better by providing them with the variation that they are asking for. The students additionally were interested in learning more about the global status of English, i.e. ELF. Contrary to Matsuda's and Friedrich's (2011: 339) recommendations, the results of the study reveal that English lessons do not, however, provide the students with meta-knowledge on the aspects of ELF and thus do not help to increase their overall image of ELF. Adopting an international approach to culture teaching would besides giving information on different countries, help the students to better understand the functions and roles English has in international contexts (McKay 2002, 2003b).

Thus, the students' views on ELF and its teaching are two-fold and divided between language use and culture. The students' positive orientation to different varieties of English, however, provides an excellent starting point for teachers to begin incorporating ELF elements into English teaching. In fact, broadening the contents of cultural teaching to include also non-English speaking countries would not only meet the needs of the students but it also might be helpful in changing the students' attitudes to ELF in general since as Matsuda (2003: 494) notes "the higher the level of exposure to and awareness of different varieties of English, the more positive their attitudes may become. Furthermore they may become less inhibited about communicating in their own variety of English". Thus, incorporating elements of ELF into current English teaching practices would help the students to extend their positive attitudes to different cultures to also ELF language use and strengthen their own identities as non-native English speakers.

As the results of the study have now been thoroughly discussed, the next chapter examines the study critically, particularly in terms of methodology, and also gives directions for further research.

8.3   Evaluation of the present study

The present study was successful in uncovering the students' attitudes to ELF. As the purpose of the study was to receive a general overview on Finnish upper secondary students' attitudes to ELF, a questionnaire was both a natural and a practical methodological choice for data collection. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods suited the aims of the study well as the results gathered with the two methods both supported and supplemented each other therefore increasing the validity. Particularly the open-ended questions were helpful in gaining a more versatile image of the students' attitudes. Exclusion of the open-ended questions, and therefore the students' justifications, would have reduced the depth of the analysis significantly.

Despite the assets of the questionnaire, there were, however, a couple of problems. The first problem concerned the Likert scale statements as the reliability tests indicated inconsistencies between the statements within the variables. Thus, as all the statements within the same variable did not seem to measure the same phenomenon, some of the statements had to be left out when calculating the mean values for the variables. Consequently, the number of statements in some of the variables was rather low when the mean value was calculated which undeniably affects the results. Secondly, due to

the lack of previous research concerning students' attitudes to teaching ELF and particularly examining their willingness to include ELF elements into English teaching, the third section of the questionnaire, asking the students to choose between ELF and ENL alternatives, was self-designed and thus its functionality was difficult to predict. Even though the questions in the third section worked surprisingly well and provided interesting insights on the students' attitudes, in further studies the contents of the questions could be revised since items 1 and 4 appeared to investigate and yield similar responses.

In addition, a further limitation of the present study, concerning both the questionnaire and the overall execution of the study, concerns the exclusion of the background variables. The decision on not comparing or categorizing the results according to the background variables was deliberate. However, viewing and analyzing the results from different points of views, for example gender, certainly could have contributed to the findings of the study and brought forward interesting issues.

Even though the number of participants in the study made it possible to conduct statistical analyses which can also be generalized to some extent, the rather small scale of the study needs to be remembered when applying the results to a larger group. However, as there are only few studies conducted on investigating students' attitudes to both ELF and teaching ELF, particularly in Finland, the purpose of the present study was mainly to compile an overview on the students' attitudes which would then guide and give directions for further research and also provide both teachers and educational authorities information on students' needs and wishes for English teaching.

Further research is thus needed to explore Finnish students' attitudes to ELF and particularly teaching ELF more thoroughly as the findings of the present study indicate willingness to move towards an ELF oriented teaching approach. As the present study was of a small scale, studies including a larger number of participants should be conducted in order to make profound conclusion on Finnish upper secondary school students' attitudes to ELF. While it is important first to receive a general overview on students' attitudes to ELF, to better understand the reasons and attitudes students have to ELF, the next step would be to conduct qualitative research. Whereas teachers' awareness of and attitudes to ELF has been investigated through qualitative methods, research on students' views has for the most part been quantitative. For instance, since the present study uncovered inconsistencies in the students' views on accuracy and

communication and also found evidence of the division of 'School English' and 'English in the real world', qualitative research might help to explain and understand the reasons causing these conflicts. In addition, another possible direction for qualitative research would be to inspect and compare students who favor either the ELF or the current ENL approach in order to grasp what causes and influences the different orientations.

9 CONCLUSION

The goal of the present study was to examine Finnish high school students' attitudes to ELF and to find out whether the students would be willing to incorporate elements of ELF into English teaching. In terms of attitudes to ELF, the findings of the study reveal that the students' attitudes to ELF as its own variety are more negative compared with the attitudes to varieties of English. As expected, in addition to the students' negative attitudes to ELF, most students preferred native models and wished to pursue a native competence. However, it has to be noted that even though there was a tendency for native models and learning goals, the preference cannot be seen dramatic. The findings of the study were particularly interesting regarding the students' attitudes to ELF language use as they showed that the students' advocacy of communication and intelligibility were not, however, reflected on a concrete level or in practice. Hence, the students' tolerant views on errors and features of ELF use radically changed when they were faced with examples of the kind of language use it entails.

In terms of teaching ELF, the students were favorable to including elements of ELF into teaching as they tended to choose the alternatives which were based on the ELF approach over the ENL oriented teaching contents. Particularly in the case of culture teaching the students reflected a strong tendency for the ELF options as they wanted to include also non-native cultures into culture teaching. However, most students' responses concerning ELF teaching further support the students' conflicting views on communication and accuracy. Whereas the majority of the students thought exercises practicing communicational skills were more important than repetitive grammar exercises, they still emphasized the importance of accuracy and indicated that good English equals good grammar. Regarding the results of both attitudes to ELF and teaching ELF, the findings further suggest that the students have differing images of English in school and outside school. The English at school for the most students still

equals native models and the pursuit of accuracy. However, for outside school and particularly for the future the students appear to have a more ELF oriented view of English as they emphasize communication and skills needed for interaction with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Thus, in brief, the students' attitudes to ELF and its teaching appear to be two-fold since on the one hand they are negatively oriented to ELF language use and perhaps unwilling to accept ELF as its own variety. On the other hand, the students' attitudes to different varieties of English are positive and they both show interest to non-native cultures and willingness to incorporate them into English teaching. Moreover, considering the students' positive orientation to the cultural aspect of ELF together with the fact that the students' tendency to native models was not as dramatic as perhaps expected, the findings of the present study might indicate that the students are slowly shifting away from idealizing the native varieties and thus becoming more tolerant of learning ELF.

Consequently, the findings of the study call for changes in English teaching practices and in the NCC. In order to meet the needs of the students and provide them with appropriate teaching, the official documents directing the work of individual teachers need to be adjusted. As the students' have begun to realize the importance of ELF for their future English needs, it is important that the NCC does the same.

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APPENDIX 1 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO   KYSELYLOMAKE

KIELTEN LAITOS   Kevät 2013

Emmi Jämsä

Tutkimus lukiolaisten asenteista englannin kieltä kohtaan

****

Tehtävä 1.

Vastaa seuraaviin kysymyksiin:

1. Uskon tietäväni, mitä käsite ***Englanti lingua francana*** tarkoittaa.

   kyllä
   ei

2. Selitä lyhyesti mitä mielestäsi käsite ***Englanti lingua francana*** tarkoittaa.

_____

_____

_____

3. Mitä erilaisia englannin kielen murteita/variantteja tiedät? (esim. Amerikan englanti, brittienglanti)

_____

_____

4. Arvioi keiden kanssa tulet todennäköisesti eniten käyttämään englantia

   enimmäkseen muiden englantia vieraana kielenä puhuvien kanssa
   enimmäkseen syntyperäisten englanninkielen puhujien kanssa
   tasapuolisesti molempien kanssa

Olen:

   tyttö

   poika

Ikä: _____   Äidinkieli:_____

Tehtävä 2.

Alla on 17 väittämää, jotka koskevat englannin kieltä ja opiskelua. Lue väittämät huolellisesti ja ympyröi vaihtoehdoista se, joka on lähinnä omaa mielipidettäsi kyseisestä asiasta. Vastaa kaikkiin kohtiin ja valitse ainoastaan yksi vaihtoehdoista.

1= olen täysin eri mieltä, 2= olen jonkin verran eri mieltä, 3= en osaa sanoa, ei selvää mielipidettä, 4= olen melko lailla samaa mieltä, 5= olen täysin samaa mieltä

1. Ihmisten tulisi opetella puhumaan englantia mahdollisimman amerikkalaiseen tai brittiläiseen tapaan.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Pidän siitä, että puheestani kuuluu suomalainen aksentti.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Haluan oppia käyttämään englanninkielisiä sanontoja ja fraaseja, jotta kuulostan aidolta englanninkielen puhujalta.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Tavoitteeni on oppia puhumaan englantia siten, että minua luultaisiin syntyperäiseksi englanninkielen puhujaksi.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Haluan kuulostaa äidinkieliseltä englannin puhujalta, sillä koen että käyttämäni englanti on muuten alempiarvoisempaa.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Britti- ja amerikanenglanti ovat mielestäni parhaimmat englannin kielen muodot.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Olen kiinnostunut saamaan tietoa muistakin englannin eri muodoista kuin britti- ja amerikanenglanti.	1	2	3	4	5
8. On tärkeää kuulla englantia puhuttavan muillakin aksenteilla kuin brittiläisittäin tai amerikkalaisittain.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Englanti on levinnyt niin laajalti ettei sen voida ajatella enää kuuluvan pelkästään Iso-Britannialle tai USA:lle.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Mielestäni englanninkielen tunneilla painotetaan liikaa Iso-Britannian ja USA:n kulttuureja.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Englannin kieli on niiden maiden omaisuutta, missä sitä puhutaan äidinkielenä.	1	2	3	4	5
12. On häiritsevää, jos muut tekevät virheitä puhuessaan englantia, vaikka ymmärtäisinkin mitä he haluavat sanoa.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Englantia puhuttaessa voisi hyvin sanoa *"**There is two computers in the classroom"**.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Tehokkaan kommunikaation kannalta tärkeämpää on virheetön kielenkäyttö kuin viestintä-taidot.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Minusta on tärkeämpää puhua sujuvasti kuin ääntää täydellisesti.	1	2	3	4	5
16. *"**My brother play computer "** on huonoa englantia.	1	2	3	4	5
17. On samantekevää sanotaanko **Do you hear what he is saying**? tai **Do you hear what is he saying**? sillä kumpikin lause on ymmärrettävä.	1	2	3	4	5

Tehtävä 3.

Alla on listattu pareittain eri sisältöjä ja aiheita, joita voidaan käsitellä ja opiskella englannin kielen tunneilla. Ympyröi alla olevista pareista, se vaihto-ehto (A tai B), jonka itse koet olevan hyödyllisempi tai tärkeämpi englannin kielen käyttöäsi ajatellen. Perustele valintasi lyhyesti.

1.)

    A. Kirjalliset kielioppiharjoitukset (aukkotehtävät, käännöslauseet..)

    B. Erilaiset harjoitukset, joissa opetellaan kommunikaatiostrategioita (esimerkiksi pyydetään keskustelukumppania toistamaan sanottu tai itse muokataan sanoma niin, että vastapuoli varmasti ymmärtää mitä haluat sanoa)

    Miksi?

_____

_____

_____

2.)

    A. Tietoa **ainoastaan** maista/kulttuureista, joissa englantia puhutaan äidinkielenä.

    B. Tietoa **lisäksi** maista/kulttuureista, joissa englanti on toinen kieli tai tärkeä vieras kieli.

    Miksi?

_____

_____

_____

3.)

    A. Tunnilla vierailija, joka on syntyperäinen englannin kielen puhuja.

    B. Tunnilla vierailija, joka puhuu englantia vieraana kielenä.

    Miksi?

_____

_____

_____

4.)

    A. Paino sillä, että tuotetaan puhetta ja kirjoitusta virheettömästi.

    B. Paino sillä, että tuotetaan ymmärrettävää puhetta ja kirjoitusta.

Miksi?

5.)

    A. Tietoa USA:n ja Iso-Britannian historiasta.

    B. Tietoa siitä, miten englannin kieli on levinnyt maailmalla ja missä kaikkialla sitä puhutaan.

Miksi?

<div align="center">Kiitos vastauksestasi!</div>

APPENDIX 2 DIFFERENT VARIETIES OF ENGLISH LISTED BY THE STUDENTS

Australian English

Scottish English

Canadian English

Irish English

Accents inside the USA (Southern accent)

South African English

Welsh English

Jamaican English

English in New Zealand

Indian English

African English

Latin English

Dutch English

European Englishes

Finglish

All EFL accent

APPENDIX 3 THE CONSENT FORM

SOPIMUS TUTKIMUSAINEISTON KÄYTTÖOIKEUKSISTA

Tällä allekirjoituksella suostun ottamaan osaa tutkimukseen ja annan luvan käyttää nimettömiä vastauksiani tutkimusaineistona Emmi Jämsän (nyk. Jokilehto) pro gradu –tutkielmassa.

Jyväskylässä _____
                  (päivämäärä)

Tutkimukseen osallistujan allekirjoitus ja nimen selvennys

_____