

Euro-English:

A Debate and its Implications for Teaching English as a Foreign Language

by

Christine Raack

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Approved March 2012 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Elly Van Gelderen, Chair
Karen Adams
Carla Ghanem

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2012

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the acceptability of a new variety of English among the English teaching community in Germany. A number of linguists claim there is a new variety of English developing in continental Europe, also known as *Euro-English*. Their research has surfaced multiple features that are unique to European speakers of English. Twenty-one teachers participated in a survey. They answered a questionnaire consisting of two parts. Part one investigates the background of the teachers, their attitudes towards different varieties of English, and their awareness of the research regarding *Euro-English*. Part two tests the acceptability of ten features that have been claimed to be specific for mainland Europeans. Results of this study reveal that there is little awareness of non-native varieties and many find it hard to accept the features of *Euro-English*. However, the teachers show a genuine interest in this topic. Where there is a general preference in holding on to the guidelines of standard norms, many comments indicate that teachers think about issues of identity and how their teaching could be affected by a broader scope that exceeds traditional methods.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA (ELF).....	6
English Worldwide.....	6
Defining English as a Lingua Franca (ELF).....	8
Conceptualizing English as a Lingua Franca (ELF).....	10
ELF Features.....	11
Phonology.....	12
Pragmatics	13
Lexicogrammar.....	20
3 ENGLISH IN EUROPE	24
The Role of English in Europe	24
The Role of English on a National Level.....	27
The Example of Sweden.....	27
The Example of Germany	28
Resistance to English	32
English as the EU Working Language.....	34
The European Identity.....	36

CHAPTER	Page
4 EURO-ENGLISH	41
The Term <i>Euro-English</i>	41
The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE)	44
Features of European Languages	45
Features of Euro-English.....	52
A New Variety or Learner Language.....	58
Native and Non-native Teachers of English.....	62
Teaching the Variety	64
5 THE STUDY	68
Survey of English Teachers.....	70
Participants	71
The Questionnaire	73
Results	74
Professional Opportunities for Non-native and Native Speakers	74
Identity.....	77
Awareness of other Varieties of English.....	78
Awareness of Euro-English as a Topic of Discussion	80
Student Age Groups and Motivational Levels.....	83

CHAPTER	page
Varieties of English: Availability and Preference	83
Acceptability of Euro-English Features	89
Discussion of Results and Comments	98
6 CONCLUSION.....	108
REFERENCES.....	114
APPENDIX	
A INFORMATION LETTER ABOUT THE STUDY.....	123
B QUESTIONNAIRE.....	125
C APPROVAL FOR EXEMPT RESEARCH.....	131

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an investigation of the issues that surround a current linguistic debate. It has been argued that continental Europe is in the process of developing its own variety of English, usually referred to as *Euro-English* (Jenkins & Seidlhofer, 2001). Supporters of this idea (e.g. Jenkins, Modiano, & Seidlhofer, 2001) are predicting a future in which *Euro-English* will take its place among other already existing non-native World-Englishes, such as African English, Singaporean English, and Indian English. These second language varieties have long been accepted as well-functioning lingua francas, serving non-native and native speakers in their communities on a daily basis.

But being able to accept a non-native variety as such has been quite challenging for scholars. In order to grant *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) its independent variety status, it should meet certain requirements. In other words, we would have to be able to conceptualize this language and show a systematic recurrence of its features. These features should be homogeneous, distinguishing the variety from others. Although many efforts have been made to point out these ELF-specific features, what often remains is a *conceptual gap* (Seidlhofer, 2001a) and a challenge to define this language. The main reason for such difficulties is seen in the fact that ELF is measured solely against the native standard and therefore often judged as a deficient form that is lacking features according to the norm.

With respect to the study of *Euro-English*, challenges can be expected in similar ways. Some researchers claim to see forms that are systematically reproduced (Seidlhofer, 2004), where others find it hard to believe that *Euro-English* in fact exists, because they only recognize stages of foreign language acquisition that are oriented towards the native standard (Mollin, 2007). This study aims to investigate a number of issues that are involved in this debate and will appreciate them for their complexity. The questions that are raised in this context are: Does *Euro-English* exist and, if so, how is it perceived in the European community? What are the domains of its usage? And what are the possible consequences of its development, particularly for the field of teaching?

Before the findings of this research can be evaluated, it will be necessary to consider several aspects. The first part of this thesis will focus on what has been said so far about *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) and its use throughout the world. It seems relevant to look at the issue in a global manner before narrowing down the focus to the European context. If *Euro-English* is indeed a developing variety, it might show similarities to other varieties with respect to its functions and the domains of its usage. In order to understand what constitutes ELF, the study will point out its main characteristics and some of its surrounding socio-political circumstances. Of course, these circumstances may vary for different contexts.

In the case of Europe, it seems relevant to acknowledge the significance of the formation of the European Union (EU) and any entailed socio-political consequences for mainland Europe as well as any linguistic effects. Today,

English may play an important role in continental Europe, but there have been times, and there still are, when any tendencies towards the dominance of the language have met a great deal of objections (Ammon, 2006). In fact, as it will turn out in this discussion, EU member states went through a number of years of disagreement regarding the language's dominant status. This study will examine the reasons for the resistance that has surfaced, which may lead to a deeper understanding of the background of this debate.

Furthermore, the paper will summarize the characteristics of *Euro-English*, as proposed by the scholarly community. Proponents claim to identify numerous features that are specific for European speakers of English (Seidlhofer, 2004). Substantial research has been based on corpus studies, such as the *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (VOICE, 2011) and examples from these studies will be reviewed in this context. However, the discussion about a European variety of English has also given rise to an opposition. Critics (e.g. Mollin, 2006b) are not convinced that this variety exists, nor that it is in its developing stages. Therefore, both sides of this debate will have to be respected.

One country that has expressed particularly conflicted feelings towards the status of English in Europe is Germany. Though accepting the predominance of the language at first, Germany's attitude changed after the unification of the country and the recovery of its political autonomy (Ammon, 2006). Because of these historical events and the country's currently strong position within the EU, the example of Germany seems to invite a discussion of the *Euro-English* matter. This study will not only examine the issue with respect to continental Europe but

also on a national level. First, the discussion will address official EU language rights, language in relation to nationalism, and related identity issues. Then, it will narrow down its focus to the German context. Here, it seems relevant to describe various attitudes towards the English language throughout society as well as the general availability of the language in various domains.

Although the acquisition of English as a foreign language is a fundamental part of public education in Germany, there can be great differences in the level of proficiency depending on the type of schooling a student has pursued. This study will include a brief description of the basic structure of the German school system with regard to English teaching, including a consideration of the changes since the unification of the country. Today, it is commonly understood by Germans that the acquisition of the English language can be of great advantage when building a professional career. Companies are constantly investing in English language skills of their employees, or employees themselves are searching for ways to meet the demands of their occupations. In Germany, the most common way to meet these language needs is the involvement of a private instructor (Schöpfer-Grabe, 2009).

This research includes an analysis of a questionnaire that has been developed for English teachers in Germany. Previous studies have focused on teachers and professors who are employed in public education (e.g. Mollin, 2006b). This study, however, aimed to seek out instructors who work in adult education, either independently or in private language schools. Private language teachers might be less confined to the prescriptive teaching methods of a public school system. They might not work with a curriculum per se, but rather adjust to

new situations and teaching needs on a regular basis. They are usually consulted in order to provide for specific language needs that depend on the individual's current situation. It can be assumed that these teachers not only exhibit great flexibility in their educational methods, but also great tolerance with respect to a student's achievement. This kind of environment could also provide the platform for the acceptance of new forms or any deviations from prescribed norms.

However, in order for a new variety to develop, old norms would have to be discarded and the new variety would have to be increasingly in use (Görlach, 2002). Could the teaching method of an independent teacher tolerate a new approach to the language? A teachers' questionnaire might provide more clarity about the current status of *Euro-English*. Not only could it answer questions about the varieties of English that are currently available to students and their personal preferences, but also about their attitudes towards different varieties, and their expectations when it comes to language acquisition.

The following analysis starts with an overview of the research that has focused on English as a lingua franca (ELF). Chapter 2 aims to describe the concept of ELF and its linguistic features in a global and general way. Chapter 3 investigates the role of the English language in Europe, particularly on the mainland, and even more specific, on the national level. Chapter 4 focuses solely on Euro-English, the status of current research with respect to linguistic features, and any implications for teaching. Chapter 5 explains the research project of this study, its objectives, and findings. The analysis ends with a conclusion in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2

ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA (ELF)

English is a global language. No other language has ever had such global exposure as this language (Crystal, 1999). Estimations are that throughout the world, 80 percent of the verbal exchange in this language does not involve the participation of a native speaker (Beneke, 1991). The standard norm for English, however, is in the control of native speakers. With a world's majority of English speakers being non-native, it is not surprising that scholars are thinking about possible linguistic consequences for the future. Many have pointed out that we need to alter the way in which we think about this language. English simply does not belong exclusively to the native speaking community anymore, and because of that non-native speakers are also having an effect on the language and its future (Graddol, 1997). In fact, as Crystal (1999) argued, there is already a new standard forming: the *Emerging World Standard of Spoken English (EWSSE)*, a variety that is seen to be used in the future by native and non-native speakers alike.

2.1. English Worldwide

Kachru's model (Kachru, 1985) of World Englishes depicts three circles. The *inner circle* includes countries that use English as a first language and in which the language has a private function (e.g. Britain). These countries are also seen as the *norm-providing* source for countries that do not belong to the *inner circle*. *Outer circle* countries are using English as a second language with an official function (e.g. Singapore). According to the model, these countries are

norm-developing with a linguistic orientation towards the *inner circle*. Countries that belong to the *expanding circle* however (e.g. Germany), are thought of as *norm-dependent*, using English as a foreign language with an international function.

Three sets of criteria can be identified in this model (Ammon, 2006):

- (1) the order of the learned English with different degrees of identity (first, second, foreign);
- (2) the function of the language (private, official, international); and
- (3) the normative capacity with respect to the language (norm-providing, norm-developing, norm-dependent).

However, this model should not be interpreted with a clear-cut distinction between these three circles (Seidlhofer, 2004). For instance, an *outer circle* community that uses English as a second language with internal official functions would of course use the same language internationally with the *expanding circle*. At the same time it would also orient itself towards the language norms of the *inner circle*. Because the *outer circle* uses the language in this official way, in which it becomes the language of everyday life, English has the unique chance to develop into several varieties (New Englishes). These varieties are homogeneous in their own right and exhibit features that distinguish them from other varieties.

This study will examine the possibilities for the development of another variety. It will focus on the role of English in the *expanding circle*, more precisely within the European context. According to Kachru's model (Kachru, 1985), for most Europeans, English would be primarily a medium that serves the purpose of

international communication. But since the foundation of the European Union (EU) the function of the language might have changed and scholars have urged for a reevaluation of its position within the three-circle model. Many (e.g. Jenkins et.al., 2001) point out European English has taken on more and more the characteristics of a *lingua franca*, a claim that could change the way in which we think about this language.

2.2. Defining English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

Scholars have offered an array of definitions for the term *lingua franca*. It can be seen as a *lingual medium* for people of different mother tongues (Samarin, 1987), a *contact language* for speakers who share neither native language nor national culture (Firth, 1996), an *interaction* between different *linguacultures* (House, 1999), a *mutual engagement and joint negotiated enterprise*, a *shared repertoire of negotiable resources* (House, 2003), and a *locally determined, context-dependent, variable, fluid, shifting, dynamic, creative language used by multilingual, multicultural communities of practice* (MacKenzie, 2009).

Though this list could continue, some scholars feel ELF still needs to be defined more precisely. Mollin (2006a) for instance, finds it difficult to determine where exactly ELF would fit into Kachru's model. On one hand, it is referred to as the language that transcends the three circles (Seidlhofer, 2003). On the other, it is often called a variety of English, which would mean it could be placed in the *outer circle* (Mauranen, 2003). Statements like these can be confusing, especially when trying to evaluate the status of the language in a particular region.

Of course, no one will deny that the English language has reached a peak in its global significance. And because of its dimension, many believe it is possible that the language can be shaped by the influences of all people who use it, native as well as non-native speakers. Seidlhofer argues that ELF has taken on a life of its own (Seidlhofer, 2004). She points out that in the light of today's extensive electronic communication, English has a unique chance to move away from the control of prescriptive traditional systems, such as educational institutions, publishers, and media. Consequently, we should be able to see more and more forms that do not conform to the standard norm.

Brutt-Griffler (2002) notes ELF could be seen as a language that usually coexists along other languages and that should be available to anyone, regardless of someone's socio-economic situation. This notion stands in contrast to what McArthur (2003) observed regarding the role of English in India. There, although ELF is widely used in almost all domains, it is still very much a prestigious language of the elite, available to those who have access to good education. It seems important to note in this context, although English is playing an institutionalized role in education, law, and government, in many countries it is still a language exclusively used by a certain strata of the population (Murray, 2003). As a result, it might not always be perceived in the most positive way, maybe even be detested by impoverished members of a population. For an analysis of the local status of this and other languages, it seems relevant to pay attention to such factors.

2.3. Conceptualizing English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

Smith (1987) suggests one might think of ELF as a language that does not imply any essential relationship between language and culture. In other words, it is not necessary to meet cultural norms and expectations that are specific to the language when speaking it. ELF cannot be seen as an exclusive native-speaker property. Rather, we should look at it as a language that is *denationalized*. Crystal (1999) even finds, one of the reasons why ELF is functioning so well is because speakers avoid any associations with national varieties. They constantly accommodate to the speech situation, avoiding, for instance, any idiosyncratic expressions. Then it simply becomes a medium for communication, a product of global contact in the domains of science, technology, culture, media, and the world market (Brutt-Griffler, 2002).

Over time, the continuous use of ELF could lead to the emergence and acceptance of new forms that deviate from former prescriptive norms. This could change the standard and lead to a new local variety. Examples for such developments can be observed worldwide. These new varieties are also referred to as *new Englishes* (McArthur, 1998). As it was the case in many countries, English remained the lingua franca after a colonial past. This language choice was driven by the need for a convenient linguistic solution. In the case of Nigeria, for instance, the alternative would have been one of over 400 local languages (Crystal, 1999). Instead, English was chosen and remained the medium between all the different linguistic communities.

As in many other countries, after Nigeria established its independence, the language grew distant from the native norm. This development had mainly two reasons: the reduction of the influences of native speakers after the independence of the country was achieved and a search for a new identity after a colonial past. Eventually, a new variety was born. Numerous local lexical items and idioms were embedded in an already existing linguistic frame, shaping it into a new local variety that now reflected culture and identity. The case of Nigerian English confirms two main characteristics of *outer circle* second language varieties: nativisation and institutionalization (Kachru, 1992, p.55). The language is homogeneous, exhibiting specific features that are different from the norm and other varieties and it serves as the official means of communication in everyday life.

2.4. ELF Features

As soon as the existence of ELF was acknowledged, scholars started to invest increasingly in the description of its features. So far, research has been based primarily on spoken data. This is due to the assumption that spoken language is removed from the standardizing influences of writing and can therefore truly capture the negotiation of meaning at the time of a speech event (Seidlhofer, 2004). ELF speech can be observed in several domains, most certainly of course in any situations that involve an international community, such as business interactions or the conversations that take place at a university campus.

The following summary is based on existing ELF research. It attempts to list some of the main characteristics of the language. Several examples are provided, some of them in more detail for clarification. ELF research has so far focused primarily on three areas: phonology, pragmatics, and lexicogrammar.

2.4.1. Phonology

A very obvious feature of ELF is the trace of an L1 accent in pronunciation. Jenkins (2000) focused her studies on phonology and found that most problems in spoken ELF interactions are caused by pronunciation. Her research aimed to find the features that are essentially responsible for intelligible pronunciation. These features are summarized under the category *Lingua Franca Core* (LFC) and include:

- (1) all consonants with the exception of the dental fricatives /θ/ (e.g. *think*) and /ð/ (e.g. *this*), and dark “l” /ɫ/ (e.g. *hotel*)
- (2) the aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/
- (3) consonant clusters according to the L1 English rules: no omission word-initially (e.g. *proper*, *strap*) and omissions in other positions only according to L1 (e.g. *friendship* /frenʃɪp/ but not /frendɪp/ /fredʃɪp/)
- (4) the maintenance of the long/short vowel contrast (e.g. *live* vs. *leave*) and
- (5) the production and placement of nuclear (tonic) stress (e.g. *I come from FRANCE. Where are YOU from?*).

Jenkins (2000) notes, often the features that are not crucial for successful communication such as /θ/, /ð/, and /t/, are treated as errors when failed to produce, even though they are usually substituted by other consonants (e.g. /d/, /z/, /l/), which do not sacrifice any intelligibility. In her opinion, there is no justification for this treatment, since the majority of the world's L2 English speakers produce these features on a daily basis and understand them without any problems.

2.4.2. Pragmatics

Another area of interest in ELF research is pragmatics. Pragmatic features might be less clearly definable than phonological and lexicogrammatical features, if not alone for the fact that speakers do not share the same level of competence. But researchers confirm a number of characteristics that can be generally observed in ELF speech. Firth (1996) used conversational analysis (CA) in his studies of international business phone calls. He found that in order to avoid a potential communication breakdown, interlocutors employ multiple strategies. Generally, speakers seem to be fully aware of their own and/or the other speakers' limitations. But in order to maintain a climate of *normality*, parties often adopt a so-called *let-it-pass principle*. In anticipation of a certain communicative goal, the focus is on what is really important in a conversation and how this goal can be reached.

According to Firth (1996), ELF speakers seem to have their own ways in dealing with the status of a non-native speaker. They do not appear fearful of any

judgment regarding their linguistic abilities. ELF interactions tend to be relaxed, maintaining a certain order through incidences of laughter, pauses, and regular turns (Firth, 1996). Sometimes structural adjustments can be observed that are made by the interlocutors in order to orient themselves (Haegeman, 2002). Overall, the research that has been conducted in any workplaces has come to the general conclusion that interactions are of a very collaborative nature (Palmer-Silveira, Carlos, Ruiz-Garrido, & Fortanet-Gómez, 2006). Studies that observe business phone calls seems particularly suitable when analyzing ELF strategies, since they are usually very solution-oriented and have to take place under certain constrains of time.

Others have also looked at face-to-face conversations. Meierkord (2000) and Cogo and Dewey (2006) point out a number of characteristics of small talk among non-native international students. Meierkord (2000) found that the informal register of a non-native speaker differs from the native speaker in *discourse structure* and *politeness phenomena*. Opening and closing statements, for instance, are usually not linked to the core phase of a conversation. Illocutions, such as extractors (e.g. *I better go now*), rarely occur. Rather, speakers use frequently pauses in order to mark the transitions between phases. Non-native students also seem to prefer safe and superficial topics, such as food or the social life on campus, and their number of turns taken during a conversation does not exceed ten times. In addition, Meierkord (2000) noticed that simultaneous speech-overlaps are shorter in ELF (two words) compared to native speech (three words).

And *politeness phenomena*, although employed in ELF speech, is often restricted to stereotypical phrases such as *how are you*, *bye*, and *hello*.

On the other hand, supportive backchannels like *mhm*, *right*, and *yeah* are very common, even to the same extent as native speakers would use them. Backchannels like these can signal that a listener is paying close attention. It is also seen as a sign of encouragement for the speaker to continue. Furthermore, Meierkord (2000) as well as Cogo and Dewey (2006), noticed a considerable amount of sentence completions, frequent restatements, and verbal appeals for sympathy, such as *you know* and *you see*, which are all highly functional and usually signs of support and a desire to involve the other party. Cogo and Dewey (2006) also observed the use of *latchings*, in which turns follow one another without pauses, a feature that tends to indicate an informal atmosphere and a synchronic involvement of all participants.

Some scholars have based their research on corpus studies. Mauranen (2010) used data from ELFA, a large corpus of academic ELF that was founded at the University of Helsinki (The ELFA Project). Today, the corpus consists of one million spoken ELF words that have been collected from multiple university related contexts, such as conferences and faculty meetings. The study concentrated on three categories: negotiating topics, metadiscourse, and self-rephrasing.

Negotiating topics is a pattern in which the lexical subject of a clause is fronted and then represented by a co-referential pronoun, as shown in the following example provided by Mauranen (2010):

(1) *One of my friends she tried to enter to the university.*

This feature is also known as *left dislocation* and is often found in vernacular native speech. It ensures the maintenance of a topic during an ongoing discourse. Therefore, it can be of particular great value in situations where a common linguistic and cultural knowledge is not guaranteed (Mauranen, 2010). Results of this corpus study show that this feature can occur in reference to individuals (e.g. *one of my friends*), groups (e.g. *the Russians*), institutional bodies (e.g. *the parties*), physical objects (e.g. *these kind of kidneys*), and abstract objects (e.g. *these different layers of identity*).

Mauranen (2010) also remarks on the use of *metadiscourse*, which she would refer to the discourse about the ongoing discourse. In her opinion, *metadiscourse* becomes a crucial strategy in ELF communication, managing the discourse that involves speakers from various backgrounds. Its functions include:

(a) the introduction of new topics,

(1) *...what about we've we've talked about groups before and for example in spanish...*

(b) the explication of a speaker's relationship to the content of a speech event,

(1) *...if it's like, you know I think I'm not too familiar with the differences but I think it refers to that I don't know what they're allowed to do but some things are not allowed...*

(c) and the indication of a speaker's intention to change a topic.

(1) *...okay before we go to the next topic, I I think that. In a way the question <NAME> made what made you study or be- become*

interested on this issue it is a relevant question cause this your topic leads us a bit further to more general discussion about human rights or in general whether we can... (Mauranen, 2010).

Mauranen (2010) argues, although the research of *metadiscourse* in spoken language has not yet received much attention, nevertheless, in ELF communication it is a highly useful tool, providing a sense of cohesiveness and a speaker's signal of willingness to cooperate. Mauranen (2010) also commends on the possible significance of *rephrasing*, a strategy that is often mistaken for a sign of linguistic deficiency (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999). In fact, some scholars have claimed that this feature is not at all dependent on language proficiency, nor a speaker's first language. But it can be very effective for the purpose of clarity and rhetoric (Tannen, 1989).

In ELF talk, *rephrasing* can be helpful in several ways. A speaker can:

(a) buy time,

(1) *...people um of of of higher education...*

(b) do self-repairs,

(1) *...that takes place in two ways or has taken place...*

(c) and rephrase for clarification and more effectiveness.

(1) *...cultural approach to the history of technology will bring us new insight will will will enable us to understand the developments...*

(Mauranen, 2010)

The study also focused on the characteristics of dialogues. There, the use of *other-repetition (allo-repetition)* can be observed quite frequently. This feature

could be connected to the cooperativeness and a collaborative effort of ELF speakers in trying to make sense of what was said.

Of course, all these characteristics mentioned above could be stated for *learner language* in general and some of them for native speakers as well. Consequently, this is precisely an argument that has been made by the critics who are not convinced that these are in fact specific ELF features (Mollin, 2007). Pauses, safe topics, a reduced number of turns, short overlaps, and rephrasing, etc. are all characteristics of the foreign language learning process. But what stands out in many of the studies related to ELF is the way in which participants negotiate meaning throughout a conversation.

It is unlikely that ELF encounters involve speakers who share the same level of competence. Yet, as Meierkord (1996) points out, speakers who are more competent than others tend to be very sensitive to the linguistic situation and accommodate in ways that create a sense of *normality*. In fact, misunderstandings in ELF interactions are either rare or easily overcome by overt negotiation and the use of strategies like rephrasing and repetition (Seidlhofer, 2004). Such accommodations can lead to a greater efficiency of the language and a speaker's alignment with other participants. Crystal (1999) adds to this notion that accommodations can also be observed in native speakers when participating in such conversations. He noticed that in international encounters some native speakers tend to articulate their final consonants more carefully and seem to adopt a more syllable-timed speech pattern.

Crystal's observations took place in academic settings where native

speakers are already used to the nature of multinational interactions. But accommodation might be less noticeable in native speakers who have fewer opportunities to participate in these kinds of international situations. In fact, the observations of ELF speaker's accommodations have brought up some interesting questions. For instance, how should we define what it actually means to have native-like language skills or what constitutes a proficient, competent user of the language? It has been argued that in an international context, it might be in fact the non-native speaker who is more communicatively effective than the native speaker. In global settings, a so-called native speaker could be even less intelligible than a non-native speaker, especially if the native speaker uses a non-standard variety and does not use strategies to accommodate to the linguistic situation (Modiano, 1999).

As previously mentioned, in ELF conversations there seems to be a goal of alignment with the other interlocutors. This became also apparent in a conversational analysis conducted by Cogo and Dewey (2006). The researchers observed, speakers who used the strategy of other-repetition would restate the exact content of a phrase, including for instance the omission of articles (e.g. *because of revolution*). Of course, it is easy to assume that this feature is the result of *learner language*. Cogo and Dewey (2006), however, conclude that by repeating the error, speakers are actually aligning themselves intentionally with the other party. Sentence repetition with an orientation towards the norm on the other hand could have the exact opposite effect. It could signal an attempt to repair the error and imply an intention of non-alignment.

This style of interpretation is very characteristic for ELF research. The goal is not to find what is missing and how it can be fixed. Rather the reoccurrences of such observations are analyzed under the assumption that they could serve some purpose. Seidlhofer (2004) notes, in ELF any expectations of norms seem to be suspended. As long as a communal understanding can be obtained and the *let-it-pass principle* is employable, ELF could be just as easily seen as a language that is consensus oriented, cooperative, mutually supportive, and fairly robust (House, 2009). Thus, it could be argued whether or not ELF encounters should even be described as deficient types of communication.

2.4.3. Lexicogrammar

The most limited amount of research regarding ELF has been conducted in the area of lexicogrammatical features. One reason is that in order to come to any conclusions this type of research requires the use of a large corpus (Seidlhofer, 2004). Some studies however did involve data from VOICE (2011), a steadily growing corpus at the University of Vienna. They reveal a number of features that seem to emerge irrespectively of a speaker's L1 and L2 proficiency. Findings are often measured against expected standard norms and include:

- (1) the dropping of 3rd person present tense *-s*,
- (2) the confusion of the relative pronouns *who* and *which*,
- (3) the omission of definite and indefinite articles contrary to standard norms,
- (4) the insertion of definite and indefinite articles contrary to standard

norms,

- (5) the overuse of verbs with semantic generality (e.g. *do, have, make, put, take*),
- (6) the replacing of infinitive-constructions with *that*-clauses (e.g. *I want that*), and
- (7) the overdoing of explicitness (e.g. *black color* vs. *black*).

Although such deviations do not cause any communicational problems, language teachers usually regard to them as errors and treat them as such, devoting a considerable amount of classroom time to their correction (Seidlhofer, 2004).

Seidlhofer's list defines ELF features according to negative criteria. This approach has been criticized because it seems to contradict the notion that ELF should be seen as a language in its own right. Cogo and Dewey (2006) took this notion into consideration. Their list of lexicogrammatical features include:

- (1) the use of 3rd person singular zero,
- (2) the extension of relative *which* to include functions previously served only by *who*,
- (3) a shift in the use of articles (including (a) a preference for zero articles where L1 article use is largely idiomatic and (b) a preference for definite articles to support importance),
- (4) invariant question tags (and the use of other similar universal forms, such as *this* for *this* and *these*),
- (5) a shift in patterns of preposition use (*we have to study about...*),

- (6) an extension to the collocational area of words with high semantic generality (*take an operation*),
- (7) an increased explicitness (*how long time* instead of *how long*),
- (8) a preference for the infinitive over the gerund (*interested to do* instead of *interested in doing*),
- (9) the use of the infinitive as a subject (*to study is...*, *to read is...*)
- (10) exploited redundancy, such as ellipsis of objects/compliments of transitive verbs (*I wanted to go with*).

By phrasing the features in a more positive manner, the researchers hope to rid ELF from the stigma of deficiency. Their corpus study consists of 60,000 words collected from ELF interactions on the campus of King's College London. With a focus on communicative efficiency, one feature caught their attention in particular. They noticed a very high frequency of 3rd person singular *-s* omissions in simple present verbs. The feature is here referred to as *3rd person singular zero*. A total of 211 main verbs showed 108 cases of *3rd person singular zero*. Cogo and Dewey (2006) conclude that *3rd person singular zero* must be the result of choice rather than lack of control. They suggest it would be appropriate to treat these findings in the same manner as the omission of *-s* in African American Vernacular speech, where it is a completely legitimate and stable feature of that language.

The most interesting outcome of this study however is that this feature seems to be sensitive to the presence, or absence, of a L1 speaker during an interaction. Here, the frequency of *3rd person -s* increases in the cases where a

native speaker is participating in a conversation. On the other hand, the likelihood for 3rd *person zero* to occur is much higher when the interaction exclusively involves L2 speakers. Cogo and Dewey (2006) find this result to be so significant, they conclude that in the case of ELF, it is 3rd *person zero* that becomes the unmarked form, not 3rd *person –s*. They also noticed that 3rd *person zero* can be found in a wide range of verbs, whereas 3rd *person –s* seems to appear mainly in four: *has, means, looks, and depends*. And even then, they were often a part of a chunk of language and in most cases in connection with a preposition or an adverb (e.g. *depends on, looks like*).

This brief overview of ELF features is somewhat limited but intended to provide an insight in how the research of ELF features is approached and conducted. As it appears in these studies, a major factor in the field of ELF is the attitude towards this language. This is relevant for both sides, the researcher and the ELF speaker. With a focus on describing features in terms of their uniqueness and successfulness in communication, rather than their shortcomings, this field of study could gain more ground.

Chapter 3

ENGLISH IN EUROPE

3.1. The Role of English in Europe

In recent years, the status of English in continental Europe has been the topic of multiple discussions. Mainland European countries belong to the *expanding circle* where, according to Kachru (1992), English serves as a language for international communication. However, many researchers (Seidlhofer, House, Jenkins, Modiano, Mauranen etc.) have pointed out that this role is changing. They have argued that the English used on the European mainland is taking on increasingly the characteristics of a lingua franca. Some even claim that European countries are using ELF to such an extent that it is today even more widely spoken within Europe than within the former colonies (Graddol, 2001).

For an extended time, the language has already been the lingua franca of science and business. English is increasingly gaining ground in European universities, because they are in the process of becoming mutually compatible with others, which includes the use of ELF as the language of instruction (Ammon, 2001). In addition, many European businesses (e.g. ABB, Aventis, Novartis) are choosing English as their company language (Murray, 2003). But the more recent developments are seen in close relationship to the formation of the European Union (EU) and the growing importance of English as a working language. The dominance of the language, however, has given rise to many debates on several fronts, including the scholarly community.

In 2001, *The Guardian* invited a panel of linguists to discuss the current role of English in the EU and any implications for Europe's future (Phillipson, House, Walsh, Seidlhofer, & Jenkins, 2001). The discussions brought up a number of issues and perspectives. Phillipson (2001), for instance, expressed great concern about the language rights of many EU members. In his opinion, smaller language communities in particular seem to be ignored and unrepresented. In 2001, at the time of the discussion, 11 languages were considered to have equal rights: Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish. By 2006, the number reached up to 20 and has been growing ever since. Every new member has the right to request one of its national languages to be added to this list (Ammon, 2006). These languages intend to serve as the official working languages in the European Parliament and the Commission in Brussels.

However, Phillipson (2001) argues the claim that these languages enjoy equal rights is no more than a myth. To him it appears, although the EU was founded upon a commitment to social and cultural integration, in reality there are linguistic hierarchies that contradict the promotion of multilingualism and diversity (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001). In fact, only three languages seem to be in frequent use: English, French, and sometimes German. In 1970, most of the texts in the Commission were still in French (60 percent) and German (40 percent). During the following years, these figures went through drastic changes. Britain joined the EU in 1973. By 1989, French had dropped to 50 percent, German experienced a big loss and was down to 9 percent, and the use of

English started to increase (30 percent). By 1997, there was no mention of German anymore, French dropped further to 40 percent, and English had increased to 45 percent.

The remaining 15 percent were divided among the other 9 languages (Phillipson, 2001). Ammon (2006) noted on the occasional use of Italian and Spanish, but no other languages. His classification of EU languages distinguished between the *EU working languages* (French, English, German, Spanish and Italian) and the *merely official languages* (the remaining majority of EU's working languages). But he points out that within these two categories, there are additional hierarchies of status, with English being the working language that holds the highest order. It should not be surprising then to learn that all EU research programs are solely administered in English (Murray, 2003) and the overwhelming majority of external communications are also conducted in this language.

Such developments have not been taken well by everyone and led to fierce criticism that provoked some strong terminology, such as *linguistic imperialism* (Phillipson, 1992). To Phillipson (2001) these tendencies are a reflection of a growing American commercial, political, and military power, and the British capitalization on English as a strategic and commercial asset. The main concern here, however, is not so much the spread of English as part of today's European professional and social life. What seems more worrisome is the seemingly unstoppable decrease in the status of so many languages that have been marginalized by this linguistic situation.

3.2. The Role of English on a National Level

3.2.1. The Example of Sweden

Nordic languages, for instance, are in great danger of loosing ground. In Sweden, Swedish has been virtually replaced by English in some domains, including sectors of higher education, research, and industry (Hult, 2005). Teleman and Westman (1997) started addressing this problem twenty years ago. They have urged officials to decide on the direction of Sweden's national language as soon as possible. These worries do not all together imply a negative attitude towards the English language, although some of the terminology, such as *killer language* (Pakir, 1991) and *tyrannosaurus rex* (Swales, 1997) may suggest otherwise.

There is no doubt that Sweden recognizes the growing importance of English. But there has been some concern that Swedish does not enjoy the same status as English. Hult (2005) suggests the efforts to save Swedish should intend to bring both languages, Swedish and English, on the same platform. For instance, both languages should be of equal status in the domains of education. At the same time, language planning must address the question: What can be done for Swedish without hindering English?

An interesting notion in this context is the suggestion that measures should be taken to strengthen Swedish as a second language. Boyd and Huss (2001) claim that Swedish is already compromised by immigrant and minority languages. The researchers seem to imply that the acquisition of the Swedish language is of no concern to many immigrants. A proficiency in English seems to be enough in

order to succeed in the new environment. This could lead to a considerable amount of tension. In some cases native Swedish people who are non-native English speakers might feel disadvantaged. In a job market, for instance, that puts high value on a native like proficiency of the English language.

Other language communities have expressed similar worries about the increasing status of English. Other EU main languages for international function (French, German, Italian, and Spanish) are supposed to represent the core of European linguistic diversity. However, nations often feel that their languages are suffering under the predominance of English and that they need to address this problem (Ammon, 2006).

3.2.2. The Example of Germany

Germany has expressed such worries numerous times, although the country actually has a very solid history of promoting English as a foreign language. Ammon (2006) notes, during the Nazi period and its political agenda, English was often referred to as a language of the *northern race*. This led to the replacement of French by English in the school curricula. After the war, English was further promoted in West-Germany, which was then under the political control of the US. This tradition was extended to East-Germany after the reunification of both countries in 1990. There, English replaced Russian as the first foreign language taught in schools (Ammon, 2006).

Today, English is mainly promoted in three ways: (a) in schools as a general subject, starting as early as in the primary level, (b) in international study

and degree programs, which are taught or co-taught in English, and (c) in businesses, especially those with a focus on international relations (Ammon, 2006). Berns (1995) argues, it is because of this long tradition of promoting English, that Germany is now within the EU quite close to the *inner-circle* countries and even belongs more to an area where *outer-* and *expanding circle* overlap (Berns, 1995). Berns' argument is based on her observations in social, cultural, commercial, and educational settings where English has multiple functions. She notes, if these tendencies keep progressing, Germany could move even closer to the EU *inner circle* and develop its own variety, which would then give way to other linguistic levels, such as the function of identity.

But not everyone is enthusiastic about this prognosis and the growing promotion of the language has many critics. The introduction of English at an early age as the first foreign language was often viewed as an imposition, preventing the inclusion of other languages and therefore preventing educational diversity. Some feel what helped English has harmed German on the other end (Ammon, 1992). While English was gaining ground, Germany was also trying to promote its own language to the international community. But with an ongoing upgrading of English, the interest in the acquisition of the German language has subsided dramatically. As a result, many German language departments located abroad have suffered greatly. At one point, German universities did not even require a certain level of proficiency in German of their international applicants. By then most universities had offered programs that were taught solely in English. But protests were of such magnitude, that this rule had to be reversed.

However, the status of the German language is a serious concern. A recent article by Tanjev Schultz of the German newspaper *Die Süddeutsche* (Schultz, 2011) states, in many EU countries the interest in learning German is decreasing and high school students are less likely to pick German as a foreign language. In the Netherlands, for instance, since 2005 the number of students studying German dropped from 86 percent to 44. Dutch students find it easy enough to communicate in English when talking to Germans. They would rather invest in a foreign language that gained more popularity over the last years, like Spanish. In southern Europe, the interest in the German language is decreasing as well. There, it has been replaced by an increasing interest in English since the growing importance of the language is widely acknowledged.

Of course these developments have drastic consequences for educational programs and their teachers, which understandably concern many. Ammon (2006) detects an underlying fear that the German language is slowly losing its status within the international context. This can be observed in many areas. German academics, for instance, have felt a big blow when their once very dominant language in science started to be replaced by English in 1997, as higher education began to convert into a system that aimed to be more accessible to the international community. Suddenly academics were expected to submit their papers for publication primarily in English. This caused many bad feelings and many scholars felt at loss.

Many renowned academic journals are publishing in English. They not only exercise a gate-keeping role for scientific work but also require

accommodations to the linguistic norms of the *inner circle*. At the same time, scholars experience little support in meeting such expectations (MacKenzie, 2009). Or, how Ammon (2000) put it, there is no room for a non-native scientist's linguistic peculiarities. In addition, international programs expect professors to lecture in this language. There is also some concern about the increase of native English speaking professors at German universities and the consequences for the non-native speaking student population. Often, their teaching methods seem to have no consideration for the linguistic needs of the non-native speaker (Mocikat, 2007).

The shift to English has also serious consequences for German scientific publishers, where of course business has suffered greatly. All these changes have not been easily accepted and many feel quite strongly about the matter. The *Verein Deutsche Sprache* (Verein Deutsche Sprache), for instance, is a private language organization that is critically discussing the standing of the German language. President Walter Kraemer, a scientist himself, went as far as to blame the dominance of English in academia for the decreasing number of German Noble prize winners (Ammon, 2006).

The organization seems mainly concerned with the preservation of a *pure* German and the prevention of the rise of *Denglisch*, which is seen as an undesirable affect of the increasing influence of English on the German language. Concerns started to become controversial when some members suggested that foreign language studies in an early age needed to be supported by a school subject that “stabilizes a student's sense of national identity” (Ammon, 2006).

Such ideas, however, were not supported by the general German academic community, which might find them rather bizarre and like to keep their distance from such radical sentiments. In any case, the fear that there is any influence on the national language cannot be supported by the research. House (2001) points out, according to a study that involved texts in German, French, and Spanish, there is no evidence of change in structure or discourse conventions in these languages.

3.3. Resistance to English

The worries about an increasing presence of English in mainland Europe seem to combine two factors: a fear of losing ground with the native language and a feeling of being inadequate and not proficient enough when producing English. This could lead to a general feeling of insecurity. As soon as people feel disadvantaged in their way of using the foreign language (politically, economically, or in any other way) they will show some resistance to it. The level of resistance might vary between nations. Modiano (2004) observes great differences between Scandinavia and Southern Europe, and resistance seems highest where there is a high sense of prestige for a region's own language, such as in the case of France.

Nations might not only worry about the state of their own languages, but also about any cultural influences. Here Modiano (2004) refers to the notion of *linguistic Anglo-Americanization*. Where the Anglo-American influence of culture might be a generational phenomenon and less tolerated by an older

population, it is not just the influence through language that concerns many, but the full range of the media, which to some more traditional European communities seems to feel much more threatening.

The resistance to the English language and the Anglo-Americanization of Europe's culture is to be seen in close relation to the fear of culture loss (Modiano, 2004). On the other hand, the EU arrangement could be also seen as a new type of culture, a *monoculture* by itself. Some researchers, however, are concerned about this notion because it seems to imply the conformation to a more dominant culture and therefore it could marginalize other members in a group (Haas, 1992). But in the case of the EU, it could be interpreted differently. Modiano (2004) describes two types of *monoculturalism*. One is the nation-state that promotes monoculture on all levels, including *monolanguage*. The other type, however, is brought into an already existing frame. Monolanguage could be promoted, he suggests, but the key to a positive attitude to this arrangement is a complete redefinition of what it means to be a proficient speaker of that language – in this case, English.

This interpretation suggests there is room for a practical solution when people feel at disadvantage in a linguistic situation. It may entail a complete change in attitude towards the English language and its role in the European context.

3.4. English as the EU Working Language

If English enjoys a higher status than national languages, problems need to be expected as can be seen in the examples of Sweden and Germany. And as English is already spreading in the EU, scholars might be right to suggest some careful language planning in the process. But the attempts to include all languages in the EU communication system proved to be extremely challenging. The so-called linguistic diversity has sometimes turned out to be a hindrance in communication. Some have claimed that too often the inclusion of every language during a work session leads to a complete communicative chaos, which is simply not effective when work needs to get done (Ammon, 2006).

Others point out that the enormous body of EU translators and interpreters can be ridiculously expensive (Gazzola, 2006; House, 2001). In 2006, the EU employed close to 5,000 translators and interpreters, more than any government or political organization in the world. To make things more effective and less costly, there have been multiple suggestions to reduce the number of working languages, with the conclusion the best option would be to settle for just one language. Many language candidates (e.g. Esperanto and Latin) have been dismissed. Only English has been holding solid ground for serious consideration (Ammon, 2006).

English, so claims House (2001), is particularly suitable as EU's working language. For one thing, the language has already spread across the world and has formed into several varieties. This would strengthen Europe's position within the global context. She notes further on the advantages of the language in the context

of international communication. The language is already *denativised*, used by a majority of non-native speakers around the world, and has great functional flexibility, which is extremely valuable when used in an international context.

Arguing in favor of the use of only one working language in Europe, van Els (2005) adds that things would be much easier and cheaper for most EU countries. There would be simply only one language to worry about. Most EU languages have been marginalized and therefore have been made peripherally important. They are what Ammon (2006) calls *merely official languages*. Of course for the speakers of these languages it seems to make more sense to have to invest in only one language rather than all five EU working languages (English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian). In many cases, minority language communities have to provide financially for their own language needs. Besides the obvious advantage in cost reduction, a broad-scale application of the language can have many other advantages for Europe's future. Over time, communication would be enhanced and the language would reach the status of a lingua franca for the purpose of wider communication. Eventually, and just like in other areas around the world (e.g. India), the language would become the property of the local population, European non-native speakers, a prospect that could give way to the possibility of a new variety.

Van Els's (2005) suggestions should be particularly appealing to smaller language communities that are not granted the luxury of contemplating the idea whether their languages are losing ground in the linguistic landscape of Europe. However, there are voices of resistance to the one-language-only option. It has

been argued that the continuous use of several languages is a way to assure true democracy (Manz, 2002). But the question is: What can be truly democratic about a system that excludes any languages? For instance, there are more Catalan speakers in Europe than speakers of Danish. Yet, Catalan is not included in the list of working languages (Phillipson, 2001). If some language communities feel deprived of their linguistic rights, they at least should hope for a convenient and affordable solution when adjusting to the situation.

House (2001) suggests the essential question in the European context should be: Which type of English are we talking about when we worry about the impact of the language? Attitudes towards the language might have to be changed. If English can be seen as a lingua franca then it is nothing more than a useful tool. At the same time, national languages can carry national, regional, local, and individual identity. This way, there is no need to hold on to a concept of dichotomy between local languages and English as the aggressor. There can be a place for both where each language has a different function.

3.5. The European Identity

Habermas (1998) points out that a unifying language could play a significant role in the future of the EU. This might imply a conflict. On one hand, there is a traditional ideal that national identity is embodied in a single national language and culture. On the other hand, there is a new political will in Europe that favors unity and communal communication (Murray, 2003). A unifying language could help in the process of denationalization, giving way to a new kind

of Europe. Smith (2007, p.325) refers to this prospect as *civic nationalism* where civic nations are “based on the voluntary association of individual citizens who agree to live according to common values and laws”. The individual identity would then be a political phenomenon rather than something that is based on “ethnic bonds” (Edwards, 2009, p.176). It could be argued here whether or not the developments in the EU provide the basis for such an arrangement.

Smith (1992) analyzes the complexity of identity with respect to the European context. He as well points out that there might be a fundamental conflict between national identity and European identity. He claims nationalistic views are based on the belief that the nation is the “supreme object of loyalty and the sole criterion of government”. In other words, it is the nation that provides legitimate government and political community. One of a nation’s main goals is a distinctive individuality, exclusive from others. In this perception, a nation is defined “as a named human population sharing a historical territory, common memories and myths of origin, a mass, standard public culture, a common economy and territorial mobility, and common legal rights and duties for all members of the collectivity” (A. Smith, 1992).

For the individual person, multiple factors are at play, including gender, age, class, religious affiliation, and professional, civic, and ethnic allegiances. It can be assumed that a person usually moves quite freely between multiple identities, where each becomes relevant depending on the given situation. But above all these elements, there is the national identity, still setting cultural and political norms. Its impact can be quite strong, even though individuals in modern

societies might not experience this in a very obvious way. Sometimes the overlap of multiple identities can lead to conflict. For instance, an individual might be accused of being disloyal to the nation when sympathizing with issues that concern an outside group (A. Smith, 1992).

To what extent does European identity exist? And to what extent can it exist? To answer these questions, the considerations mentioned above are all relevant, because they underline the complexity of this issue. European identity could fit into the puzzle of multiple pieces, coexisting peacefully along national and local identities. Sometimes however, it can be perceived as a thread. If the EU could be compared with a civic nation of members that associate voluntarily with the arrangement and agree on common values and regulations, it still faces the strongly present counterpart of national identity. And if national identity is drawing from shared origin, symbolism, cultural myth and so forth, the essential questions are: What are the elements from which European identity can draw from? And what are the unifying characteristics of European communities that separate them from non-Europeans?

Girault (1994) finds that European societies share similarities in six areas: family structures, employment patterns, the division into social classes, the welfare state, urbanization, and consumption patterns. None of these characteristics however can be seen as strong foundations for a European identity (Baycroft, 2004). In fact, Smith (1992) comes to the conclusion that there is only one area where there is enough potential: a common history, particularly the political and legal traditions and some elements of cultural heritage. Here, identity

could draw from experiences and collective memories that Europeans share as a community. These include the traditions of Roman law, democracy, parliamentary institutions, religious ethics, and various aspects of cultural heritage (humanism, rationalism, empiricism, romanticism, classicism). Smith (1992) points out, although European communities have never shared in all of these experiences at the same time, at some point however, all communities participated in some of them. Therefore, the European community could be referred to as a *family of cultures*.

But in order to cultivate the idea of a shared European experience, there would be the need for a platform that addresses this notion. To Smith (1992), there lies a problem. It is one thing for politicians and historians to agree on the unifying factors and a shared vision towards a new Europe, but how does the majority of Europe's population feel about this issue? Some note the social identification with Europe implies the engagement of the individual and a motivation to be a part of a European social collective (Cinnirella, 1997). European historical events are still addressed in a very local ethno-national way. There are, for instance, no truly European holidays. This is also evident in the various national public school systems that seldom incorporate the idea of the shared experience and a mass media that seems mostly determined by national priorities (A. Smith, 1992).

And there are of course the events of a more recent European past from which some nations might want to distance themselves. On the other hand, a European identity could provide an opportunity to blunt the unpleasant memories

of the past. For many members of the post-war generation in Germany, for instance, a unified Europe has a significant meaning, offering a truly new and more positive identity and therefore much more than the benefits of an economic arrangement (Westervelt, 2011).

Today, many agree that the one thing that has left an undeniable strong mark on Europeans is *war* (d'Appollonia, 2002). Despite the fact that there were differences in how individual nations experienced war times, the collective belief remains that wars were bad and that everyone suffered. The EU was founded upon the goals of peace and prosperity. It has been often enough expressed that the repetition of war times are unacceptable and that there needs to be a communal effort in preventing them in the future. But where there is a shared vision for peace in the European community, it is however doubtful that the general population can grasp the complexity of a common European economy (Baycroft, 2004).

The foundation for a European identity might be not very strong in comparison to individual national identities, which can vary greatly depending on the nation. But some shared historical memories and a common political culture could lay a foundation for the future. However, the very recent events of 2011 as a result of a European financial crisis should warn us of the limitations and the fragility of such arrangements.

Chapter 4

EURO-ENGLISH

4.1. The Term *Euro-English*

In recent years, a new term has surfaced that seems to receive attention from several sides. *Euro-English* refers to the type of English that is used in continental Europe. Many times, associated with the European Union (EU), the term entails a rather negative sentiment, implying that the English language used within the EU is no more than bad English (McArthur, 2003). While the Internet proves to be a rich source for public amusement (e.g. <http://www.ahajokes.com/fp052.html>), the issue is taken rather seriously in other places. Emma Wagner, a translator for the European Commission, for instance, addresses her concerns about the quality of writing in EU documents (The Economist, 2011). She warns that poorly drafted texts may lead to serious complications regarding the application of EU law and can generate bad publicity.

Wagner is one of several supporters of the *Clear Writing Campaign*, an initiative that hopes to improve the current situation by offering guidance to anyone who writes EU documents in English. The campaign states ten main points that should be considered when writing a document:

- (1) Think before you write.
- (2) Focus on the reader (be direct and interesting).
- (3) Get your document into shape.
- (4) KISS: “Keep it Short and Simple”.
- (5) Make sense (structure your sentences).

- (6) Cut out excess nouns (verb forms are livelier).
- (7) Be concrete, not abstract.
- (8) Prefer active verbs to passive (and name the agent).
- (9) Beware of false friends, jargon and abbreviations.
- (10) Revise and check.

All of these points are elaborately explained in an online version of the guide (European Commission, 2011), a tool that intends to increase effectiveness, reduce unnecessary correspondence, and build goodwill. The necessity for such guidelines is justified with the notion, although 95 percent of all documents are written in English, only 13 percent come from native speakers. Wagner concludes in *The Economist: There is a lot of bad English about* (The Economist, 2011).

Of course, Wagner's perspective on this matter is of someone who feels compelled to fix the usage of the language according to a prescriptive native English standard norm. The main problem in this context is seen in the recurrence of certain mistakes that seem to appear everywhere and because there is an extensive use of technology they become harder and harder to control. But these so-called mistakes (or deviations) could also suggest another interpretation, in which the recurrence of certain features and patterns, or even their resistance to a prescriptive norm, might have a profound explanation that is much more complex than the bad English version.

It is such incorrect and uncontrolled English of European non-native speakers that became the focus of numerous studies. Some linguists suggest that Europe, particularly the expanding EU, provides an environment for the

development of a new regional variety, also known as *Euro-English* (Seidlhofer, 2004). Here, it is argued that the EU is a political entity and just like in India, Singapore, and Nigeria, English became increasingly a lingua franca for a linguistically diverse community. This political and economic arrangement could also give rise to a unique culture, which would then be reflected in this language (Modiano, 2001).

Some researchers are not convinced that ELF could be in fact a language for identification (House, 2003). Rather, it is a means for communication, which functions depending on the context and therefore constantly adapts to new situations (O’Keeffe, McCarthy, & Carter, 2007). These conditions could make it difficult for a variety to develop, because the language would be in a constant flux where stability cannot be guaranteed (Mollin, 2006a). The ever-changing conversational circumstances could complicate the negotiation towards a common standard. Thus findings of homogeneous regional specific features would be rather surprising.

Still, many insist that the *Euro-English* variety already exists, carrying cultural identity that is already reflected in a number of lexical items and phrasal structures. These usages would mean little to an outsider who is not familiar with the European context. As linguists assume, there is a new identifiable variety, they also expect to find variety specific features, which then could be codified and eventually standardized (Modiano, 2007).

4.2. The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE)

A very effective way of studying the English that is used in continental Europe is the use of a corpus. VOICE (2011), a corpus based at the University of Vienna, is intended to be a source for this type of research. Funded by the *Austrian Science Fund*, the city of Vienna, and *Oxford University Press*, this project seeks to capture interactions of non-native English speakers who use English as a lingua franca. Barbara Seidlhofer, director and project founder of VOICE, is leading a team of researchers who have based numerous studies on this corpus. VOICE currently consists of about 1 million words of spoken European ELF, which equals approximately the length of 120 hours of transcribed speech. It also includes a number of recordings. All interactions involve non-native English speakers exclusively, who are considered to be experienced and successful users of ELF.

So far, 1250 ELF speakers from 50 different L1 backgrounds have been recorded in this corpus. Interactions are ordered in an event specific manner with respect to the domain of a speech act, its function, and the role of the participants. Domains could be professional, educational, or leisure. Functions might be, for instance, for the purpose of information exchange or the enacting of social relationships. Of course, the role of a participant in these interactions depends on the characteristics of the relationships to the other parties.

VOICE further classifies speech events into the following categories:

1. interviews
2. press conferences

3. seminar discussions
4. working group discussions
5. workshop discussions
6. meetings
7. panels
8. question-answer-sessions
9. conversations

It is important to note, even though the corpus is exclusively seeking out interactions between non-native speakers of ELF, it does not necessarily exclude ELF speech from non-Europeans. However, Seidlhofer (2001b) seems to find it more important where the data collection took place geographically. In her opinion, Vienna is a very suitable place, due to its location in the heart of Europe and the fact that it is a big central European city with a high frequency of international encounters.

4.3. Features of European Languages

Before any attempts should be made to describe the type of English that has emerged in continental Europe, it is appropriate to take note of the research that has been dedicated to the identification of the features that are shared among European languages. Smith (1992) points out, although not all European languages belong to the Indo-European family, the majorities do. And even though the fault-lines between languages cannot be ignored, there are also many crossroads and interrelationships. The patterns that can be identified today must

be due to linguistic contacts in the past. Haspelmath (1998, p.272) mentions five possible influences:

- (1) the retention of Proto-Indo-European structures and the assimilation of some non-Indo-European to Indo-European structures,
- (2) the influence from a common substratum of the pre-Indo-European population in Europe,
- (3) the contacts during transitions (from antiquity to the Middle Ages),
- (4) Latin as the official language in a common European culture in the past, and
- (5) a common European culture in modern times (from Renaissance to Enlightenment).

Haspelmath (1998) points out that number (5) would not account for syntactic changes since this time period would be too short (300-500 years). But it would be the right period to discuss any lexical similarities between European languages (e.g. compounding and idiomatic structures). Of the four other options, he finds only point (3) to be a convincing argument: contacts during the time of the great migrations at the transition between antiquity and the Middle Ages. Evidence for this appears in the written records of vernacular languages toward the end of the first millennium CE.

In a model adopted from van der Auwera (1998), Haspelmath (1998) distinguishes between three language areas in Europe: nucleus, core, and

periphery. The nucleus includes continental West Germanic languages Dutch and German and Gallo-Romance French, Occitan, and northern Italo-Romance. Languages that are geographically far from this center share significantly fewer characteristics. It should be interesting to mention in this context that English, even though it is a West-Germanic language, does not belong to this nucleus (Haspelmath, 1998).

Languages that belong to the core include other Germanic and Romance languages and the West and South Slavic and Balkan languages. The periphery consists of East-Slavic, Baltic, Balto-Finnic, Hungarian, Basque, Maltese, Armenian, and Georgian. In order to identify linguistic features (also called *Europeanisms*) that are unique for this linguistic area, it needs to be shown that the great majority of core languages possess them and that others lack them (Haspelmath, 1998).

Research has been devoted to the typological study of these European languages. Any common characteristics that are found are usually summarized under the term *Standard Average European* (SAE), which was first coined by Whorf (1956). A number of SAE research projects have been based on data from *EUROTYP*, a program that is sponsored by the European Science Foundation (<http://www.esf.org>). Most of them are comparative studies with regard to syntactic features of European languages. Studies with a focus on phonology have not been very enlightening, claiming that there is little evidence for SAE-specific features (Ternes, 1998).

However, research results lead to the conclusion that the degree to which structural similarities exist between European languages is actually quite high. Haspelmath (1998, p.274) lists seventeen features of the SAE, also called the SAE *Sprachbund*:

1. Definite and indefinite articles - worldwide most common in Europe in all Romance, almost all Germanic, and some Balkan languages; but not common in Eastern Europe.
2. Relative clauses - unique type in SAE: postnominal with inflicting relative pronoun, which introduces the relative clause (e.g. *the suspicious man whom I described*).
3. Negative pronouns and the lack of verbal negation - SAE type is V + NI (verb + negative indefinite), (e.g. German *niemand kommt* "nobody comes").
4. Have-perfect - almost exclusively found in Europe (Dahl, 1995), (e.g. English *I have written*; Swedish *jag har skrivit*; Spanish *he escrito*).
5. Participial passive - SAE has canonical passive construction (e.g. *be*; *become*).
6. Dative external possessors - most common in Romance, continental West Germanic, Balto-Slavic, Hungarian, and Balkan languages (e.g. German *Die Mutter wäscht dem Kind die Haare* "The mother is washing the child's hair").
7. Relative-based equative constructions - many European languages are based on an adverbial relative-clause construction (adverbial relative

pronoun Z + correlative demonstrative X), (e.g. German *so Z wie X*; *so stark wie ein Bär* “as strong as a bear”).

8. Subject person affixes as strict agreement markers - obligatory in only a few non-pro-drop European languages (Dutch, English, French, German, Icelandic, Welsh), (e.g. German *ihr arbeit-et* “you (pl.) work” vs. Bulgarian (*vie*) *rabot-ite* “you (pl.) work”); pro-drop is far more common.
9. Intensifier-reflexive differentiation - SAE languages typically differentiate between reflexive pronouns and intensifiers (e.g. German *sich* (reflexive) vs. *selbst* (intensifier); *sie hat sich geschnitten* “she cut herself” vs. *sie selbst hat das geschnitten* “she herself cut this”).
10. Anticausative prominence - high percentage of anticausative verb pairs in SAE languages (Haspelmath, 1993).
11. Nominative experiencers - the most common type in Europe is the *generalizing* type (e.g. *I like it*), not the *inverting* type (e.g. *it pleases me*), (Bossong, 1998).
12. Particles in comparative constructions - most commonly found in Germanic, Romance, Balto-Slavic, the Balkans, Hungarian, Finnish, and Basque (e.g. *I love you more than she*).
13. Comparative marking of adjectives - special forms in comparative constructions more common in Europe than elsewhere (e.g. English suffix *-er*: *The dog is bigger than the cat*).
14. A and-B conjunction - most European languages are using one particular sub-type of conjunction strategy: A and -B.

15. Verb fronting in polar question - subject-verb inversion found primarily in European languages (Ultan, 1978); in the large majority of Germanic, Romance, and Slavic languages.
16. Comitative-instrumental syncretism - in SAE, same preposition is used to express accompaniment and instrumental role (e.g. English *with her daughter*; *with a pencil*); non-European languages use different markers for different semantic roles (e.g. Swahili *na* “with” (comitative) and *kwa* “with” (instrumental)).
17. Suppletive second ordinal - a suppletive form for 2nd that is unrelated to the number two (e.g. English *second*), heavily concentrated in Europe (Stolz, 2001).

A cluster map (see Fig. 1) provided by Haspelmath (2001) combines the first nine of the features listed above: definite and indefinite articles, relative clauses, negative pronouns and the lack of verbal negation, *have*-perfect, participial passive, dative external possessors, relative-based equative constructions, subject person affixes as strict agreement markers, and intensifier-reflexive differentiation. The two languages that share all nine of these features are German and French (Fig. 1 shaded area). Haspelmath (2001) finds this to be an intriguing result considering the role that was historically played by the speakers of these languages, but also with respect to the current events of the European unification. He points out even though English is the dominant language throughout the world, compared to its European sister languages that

4.4. Features of Euro-English

If there is indeed a European variety developing, it might be possible to describe its features and find ways to conceptualize this language (Seidlhofer, 2001b). The possibility of a new variety can be considered, if systematic and communally shared features are found in the areas of phonology, grammar, lexis, and syntax.

Some features that seem to be very characteristic for European speakers of English have been pointed out by Crystal (1999). Based on his observations in multinational conversations he noticed accommodation can be extensive and speakers often adopt a range of phonological modifications. There is the already mentioned careful articulation of final consonants, a syllable-timed speech pattern instead of a stress-timed, but also a general slower rate of speech and the avoidance of features of speech connection.

Seidlhofer (2004) mentions several lexicogrammatical features that are frequently observable in Europe, some of which have already been mentioned in reference to ELF:

- (1) *Zero marking of the third person singular present tense (e.g. He look very sad.);*
- (2) *The treatment of who and which as interchangeable relative pronouns (e.g. the picture who; a person which);*
- (3) *The use of “isn’t it?” as a universal tag question (e.g. You are very busy today, isn’t it?);*
- (4) *The use of countable nouns (e.g. informations; baggages; advices);*

- (5) Using just the verb stem in gerund constructions (e.g. *I look forward to see you tomorrow. / It's not worth to do.*);
- (6) The use of redundant prepositions (e.g. *discuss about; phone to*); and
- (7) Lexical borrowings (e.g. *actual* for *current*; *eventually* for *probably*).

Further, Décsy (1993) and James (2000) have predicted a future loss of the present perfect in mainland European English. And Murray (2003) noticed a number of structural preferences that seem to win over others. For instance:

- (1) *I know him for a long time...* instead of: *I have known him...*
- (2) *If there would have been...* instead of: *If there had been...*
- (3) *The situation gets worse...* instead of: *The situation is getting worse...*

She also refers to a notion by Görlach (1999) that a European variety might differ from native English in the *over-or underuse* of certain syntactic structures, as in these examples:

- (1) *They have the possibility...* instead of: *They can...*
- (2) *Already last year...* instead of: *As early as last year...*

With regard to the lexical register, Modiano (2001) argues for a number of innovations that are primarily applicable to the European context. Some of his findings are:

- (1) *Schengen* (an agreement that allows traveling without a passport within the EU)
- (2) *Euro-speak* (the language of *Eurocrats*, the vernacular of EU politicians and civil servants)
- (3) *Euro* (the currency – no capitalization and no –s for plural form)

(4) *Euro-zone* (the area comprised of all members states)

(5) *Additionality* demands for national funding from European funds.

More of these examples are available at the EU website for *Eurojargon* (Eurojargon). Such terms are often referred to as *eurocratic waffle* or *Eurospeak*, a way of talk that might mean little to someone who is not part of the European experience. But for that reason they represent a register that could serve for identification. After all, any domain that entails a shared set of jargon and specific ways of talk provides a sense of membership or belonging.

Lexical innovations have also been a focus of research based on VOICE. In a sample of 250.042 transcribed words, Pitzl, Breiteneder, and Klimpfinger (2008) noticed a number of items that could not be found in the VOICE reference dictionary (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 7th edition*). Although these words were not codified, they nevertheless seemed to be communicatively effective. In the data, they were summarized under the tag <pvc> (pronunciation variations and coinages). Some of them can be regarded as specialized terms in different domains. Others, however, seem to be innovative. But it appears that the <pvc> tagged items are not arbitrarily, rather they seem to follow certain processes. The researchers aimed to find what characterizes these usages and to determine what makes them communicatively effective.

Pitzl, Breiteneder, and Klimpfinger (2008) identify four underlying functional motivations for this kind of lexical innovation:

- (1) Increasing clarity
- (2) Economy of expression

- (3) Regularization
- (4) Filling lexical gaps

Items were then sorted into ten categories of classification. These categories are listed below and include a number of VOICE examples as provided by Pitzl, Breiteneder, and Klimpfner (2008):

- (1) Suffixation - e.g. *characteristical, claustrophobic, contentwise, forbiddeness, gatheral, imagnate, increasive, increasement, linguistical, opportunality, preferently, publishist, supportancy, turkishhood, workal*.
- (2) Prefixation - most common are *non-* and *re-*; e.g. *non-confidence, non-formal, non-graduate, non-transparent, re-enroll, re-read, re-send, re-orient*.
- (3) Multiple affixation - e.g. *overdepted, pseudo-conformal, regionization, urbanistic*.
- (4) Borrowing - e.g. *decreet* (Dutch for the English word “decree”), *inscenation* (mental similarity between the German word “Inzsenierung” and the English word “scene”).
- (5) Analogy - e.g. *mouses, advices, ambivalences, fundings, informations, knowledges* (in analogy to regular plural forms); *unformal* for “informal” (in analogy to a set of morphologically related words such as *unable* and *unhappy*); e.g. *thinked, caughted, drived, feeled, losed, putted, selled, sended, splitted, teached, thrusted* (in analogy to regular past tense forms).

- (6) Reanalysis - e.g. *medias* and *criteria*s (reanalysis of irregular Latinized plural forms, which become the singular base for plural with suffix *-s*); *displayses* (reanalysis of plural form *displays* as singular form, which becomes the base for the plural with suffix *-es*).
- (7) Backformation - e.g. *devaluated* from “devaluation”; *examimates* from “examination”.
- (8) Blending - e.g. *ecometric* (economic + metric); *flexicurity* (flexibility + security), *webmail* (web + email).
- (9) Addition - e.g. *creativitly*, *adevertisement*, *innovatiations*.
- (10) Reduction - e.g. *manufacturers*, *contination*, *diversication*.

It is important to note that these findings are evaluated in consideration of the context in which they appear. Some of these examples, for instance, can be explained by a need to express an idea for which no other word is provided (e.g. *forbiddenness* – the state of being forbidden). Others might be due to the word class they are associated with, depending on the speaker’s L1 (e.g. L1 German: *increasement of salary* can be associated with the German noun “*Lohnerhöhung*”; *supportancy* can be associated with the German noun “*Unterstützung*”). In ELF research, these findings are usually explained by a tendency towards increased clarity. They also include the adjectival suffix *-al* (e.g. *characteristical* and *linguistical*), which is attached to a base that is already an adjective. Such items are also referred to as overt word-class markings, through which a speaker transfers word class markers of the L1 to the L2.

In regard to prefixation (e.g. non- and re-), this feature can be seen as an economical way to avoid the elaborate explanations of a complex process. In another example provided in this study, the use of prefix *pre-* by a Swedish ELF speaker in the term *pre-thesis* refers to a whole academic time frame that is conveniently expressed in only one word.

In response to the observations of analogy, Pitzl, Breiteneder, and Klimpfinger (2008) remark on Plag's (2003) distinction between two models of interpretation: morpheme-based morphology and word-based morphology. In the morpheme-based interpretation, morphological rules combine morphemes to form words, similar to the process of syntactic rules combining words to form sentences. The word-based interpretation, on the other hand, which is also the interpretation the researchers are leaning toward, focuses on the relationship between morphologically related words, as in the example of *unformal* in relation to words like *unhappy* and *unable*.

Over time, analogical processes like these tend to establish more regular words. In deed, it is this general tendency towards regularization that is emphasized in such studies. Some forms might be amusing to the unaccustomed listener. However, blends like *ecometric*, *flexicurity*, and *webmail*, for instance, can be quite common in some professional domains within the European context. The continuous use of these innovations could lead to well-established forms. Such processes are common in native varieties and the same concept should apply here. Once a word is established it will be codified and eventually find its way into the lexicon.

Innovation does not only apply to single words. Modiano (2001) claims some phrasal expressions that are common in European languages could also find their way into European English. For instance, the Swedish expression *hoppa över* (“hop over”) usually indicates that some type of activity has been skipped or left out. Modiano (2001) observed that Swedes often incorporate the expression in their usage of English as in: *I’m going to hop over lunch today* (I’m going to skip lunch today). He provides another Swedish example for grammatical structures. When a Swedish speaker refers to a group of people she or he might say: *We were many people at the party*, instead of: *There were many people at the party*. In Modiano’s opinion, the repetitiveness of such patterns can be explained through the structures of European languages. He claims if such forms are increasingly in use, they could eventually be accepted.

4.5. A New Variety or Learner Language

Some scholars, however, are not convinced that there is in fact a European variety of English developing. Mollin (2006a) investigates two main characteristics that mark a new variety and its status: *nativisation* and *institutionalisation* (Kachru, 1992, p.55). *Nativisation* refers to the concept of homogeneity of ELF features, as discussed earlier. *Institutionalisation*, on the other hand, refers to the attitudinal aspects and to the extent to which the variety has become the standard in the minds of its speakers. Both characteristics have been identified in Asian and African English. With regard to European English, however, Jenkins (2006) points out there is often the assumption that it is not a

legitimate variety. European English did not arise through colonization like in Asia and Africa. Consequently, it did never undergo the same processes of institutionalization.

In a study of European English, Mollin (2006a) based her research on a corpus of 400,000 words, mostly gathered from EU-related contexts. Over half of these words (240,000) are spoken and have been collected during a number of speeches and press conferences. Therefore they represent a more formal usage of the language that can be observed in a rather closed community. The remaining 160,000 words, however, come from online writings, mostly found in chat rooms and discussion groups. They represent the usages of ordinary citizens communicating about European matters. This corpus analysis aims to identify any Euro-English features that have been claimed so far (Alexander, 1999; Décsy, 1993; James, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001b). But it also takes into consideration the frequent errors of European non-native English speakers that have been remarked on by Swan and Smith (2001).

Findings were then compared to native-speaker patterns. In this study, the major criterion for the variety to meet status requirements was a general homogeneity that would also exhibit clearly distinctive features. Based on this corpus, Mollin (2006a) could not conclude that there were any signs of a new variety in Europe. Speakers seemed to orient themselves towards the standard in which they have been taught at school. In fact, she found it even surprising how few deviations from the standard could be found. For instance, present tense singular *zero -s*, a Euro-English feature suggested by Seidlhofer (2001b) occurred

in only 16 cases (0.58 percent) among 2,700 possibilities. Further, Mollin (2006a) could also not confirm the predicted tendency towards the interchangeability of relative pronouns *who* (1.83 percent) and *which* (0.91 percent). Nor did she find evidence for the loss of present perfect as suggested by Décsy (1993) and James (2000). On the contrary, it was in fact used at a similar rate as native British English speakers would do.

Only one feature confirmed prior observations in ELF research: the overuse of verbs with semantic generality (e.g. *do, have, make, put, take*), which has been mentioned as a general ELF feature by Seidlhofer (2004). Mollin (2006a) provides the following examples that show a preference for *have* (1) and *make* (2):

- (1) *...I think it is in all fairness probably best not to have a definitive judgement at this point...*
- (2) *...My first son is an economist, the second makes research in biology...*

The common use of such forms could be either explained by a restricted knowledge of appropriate verbs or by an effort to reassure communal understanding. Mollin's analysis could only confirm a communicational purpose of ELF in Europe but did not find any additional structural features that are specific for this language. Mollin (2006a) proposes the conceptual approach should be changed in Euro-English research. In her opinion, Euro-English should be classified as a register rather than a variety. A register would allow for more heterogeneity than a variety and therefore it can describe this particular ELF in a

more appropriate way. This way it is a functional rather than a structural phenomenon and its characteristics could include, for instance:

- (1) The use of shorter utterances
- (2) The use of a smaller range of vocabulary
- (3) The avoidance of idiomaticity.

4.6. Implications for Teaching

4.6.1. Awareness and Attitudes towards Varieties

The debate about the status of Euro-English has also led to a debate about teaching methods. Scholars who want to bring awareness to the issue of Euro-English want to see changes in the way education approaches the teaching of English in general. In their opinion, schools are not addressing enough the existence of different varieties throughout the world, let alone the possibility of the emergence of a European variety. They claim the level of awareness about this and other varieties is either low or nonexistent. Ideally, students (and teachers for that matter) should be introduced to all different types of English, their similarities and differences, their link to identity, and any issues concerning intelligibility (Jenkins, 2006).

But there is still a strong submission to native-speaker norms in European schools and other domains, which makes it difficult to introduce new concepts (Seidlhofer, 2005). Traditionally, the variety taught in European schools is Standard British English. Any deviations from this norm are corrected and test results usually reflect to what degree a speaker can approximate this norm

(Murray, 2003). British English is often idealized and many Europeans firmly believe the ideal outcome of their language education is the assimilation of this variety, an understanding of British culture and ideology, and the impression of what it means to be British (Modiano, 2004). Failure to reach this goal of near-native proficiency can entail unpleasant consequences, such as professional disadvantages or a less favorable grade in a student's schoolwork.

However, with the increasing influences of other Englishes, the British variety might not be able to hold its traditional ground. Emphasizing the importance of British English in European formal education (e.g. Sabec, 2003) is failing to see the various kinds of influences European English learners are exposed to. There has been for instance a considerable shift towards American English that cannot be ignored. The question is could this linguistic situation shift even further? Jenkins (2003) claims, like the speakers of Asian English, European English speakers on the mainland could also reject the prescribed norms of the British and American Standard. But how realistic is this idea?

4.6.2. Native and Non-native Teachers of English

One hindrance in the efforts of bringing awareness to other varieties is the widely spread preference for teachers who are native speakers. This is not only a European phenomenon, but can be observed worldwide. Often, native speakers are perceived to be the better teachers solely based on the fact that they are native. But many programs are hiring people who have no pedagogical experiences and little or no training (Jenkins, 2006). Some researchers have dedicated their work

to the comparison of native and non-native teachers. The results do not seem to back up the idealization of the native speaker.

Phillipson (1992) even argues there could be considerable advantages to non-native teachers. Due to their own experiences while acquiring the language, non-native teachers might be able to relate better to the individual stages that are involved in the language learning process, including any psychological and emotional issues. In addition, it can be assumed that these teachers went through years of rigorous pedagogical training at a university.

Some researchers find the distinction between native and non-native speaker problematic altogether and try to avoid the use of these terms. They suggest that this dichotomy should be rather seen as a continuum, where a speaker could stand on any given point. To Llorca and Moussu (2008), such labels contradict the efforts that are made towards more justice and respect for non-native teachers. Unfortunately, this argument is made for a reason. Selvi (2010) finds that although the majority of English teachers in the world are non-native speakers, they are not enjoying equal opportunities in the job market. His research focuses on the content of online job advertisements. He examines two leading sites: *TESOL's Online Career Center* (<http://careers.tesol.org>) and the *International Job Board at Dave's ESL Café* (<http://www.eslcafe.com/joblist>). Results reveal a dominant preference for teachers who are native speakers (*TESOL's Online Career Center*: 60.5 percent and the *International Job Board at Dave's ESL Café*: 74.4 percent).

Indeed, a quick online search for European websites confirms this tendency. One site caught my attention in particular in this context. An Italian language school with the catching name *EUROENGLISH* (<http://www.euroenglish.it/>) offers language instruction at all levels. A closer look at the webpage reveals that all teachers employed at this school are native speakers of English.

4.6.3. Teaching the Variety

Scholars who support Euro-English as a variety are urging for a reevaluation of classroom practices and teaching materials. Modiano (2004) proposes a complete makeover of current teaching methods and suggests the development of a theoretically neutral program that would reject Anglo-American English as the norm of proficiency and the desired standard. This new type of program would be designed to accommodate the needs of non-native speakers in the European and international context. He states the model should appeal to communities that benefit from the use of English but are concerned about the status of their own languages and cultures.

This new teaching approach would also avoid the feeling of being a marginalized member in a native speaker constituency. Modiano claims traditional English teaching methods do not provide a platform where individuals are allowed to explain their own societies and cultures. Such explanations of *self* are still expected to orient towards the norm of the traditional standard and therefore the own identity cannot be expressed. Therefore, the teaching approach

that would be in the best interest of Europeans would facilitate a learner with means of communication that serve locally, regionally, and internationally (Modiano, 2009).

Jenkins (2006) refers to this new way of teaching as *pluricentric*, as opposed to *monocentric*. This approach could also enable learners to reflect on their own sociolinguistic reality, rather than on one that is usually distant. It could incorporate a focus on successful communication with native speakers as well as non-native speakers. It would raise the speakers' confidence in their own variety and reduce the linguistic power of the native standard. Classroom material would be accommodated to this new teaching philosophy. Here, the use of so-called *cultural* teaching material has been suggested, which could provide a more diverse perspective on the different topics that are discussed in class (McKay, 2000). This new material could embrace the European experience, reflecting culture that is also oriented on the non-native speaker experience.

However, the realization of such changes is not an easy task for several reasons. For one thing, there is still great uncertainty whether a European variety really exists. As long as it is not agreed on the existence of stable features that could describe a local norm, this norm would provide a rather poorly functioning standard when teaching the language (Mollin, 2006a). Further, even if there were teachers willing to incorporate the variety into their style of teaching, when it comes to the preparation of students for testing, they would find themselves in a difficult position.

The testing system would have to be able to differentiate between learner error and local variety. In other words, it would have to recognize the so-called systematic features that have been suggested for ELF and Euro-English. What that means for oral competence, for instance, is the acceptance of any substitutions for the “*th*” sound (/t/, /d/, /s/ or /z/), a common Euro-English feature that is not hindering any intelligibility. But as long as testing systems idealize a native standard norm, teachers might not feel comfortable taking the risk for their students to fail in important exams (Jenkins, 2006).

A debate about teaching methods should also consider the attitudes of students and teachers towards the language. Mollin (2006a) refers to a survey conducted by Timmis (2002) in which 400 students in 14 countries have been asked about their preferences when acquiring English. Results reveal the majority of students aim for the approximation of the native standard and feel inadequate when failing to do so. Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) confirm this in similar findings for university students in Austria. Here the majority of 132 students show a clear preference for Standard British English.

Other studies focused on teachers. Murray (2003) conducted research in Switzerland. The analysis reveals a clear preference for a model that teaches the native standard and not ELF. Even though the majority was acknowledging the existence of other varieties and the need for more awareness, most teachers did not feel comfortable to use ELF in their teaching methods. Most teachers had trouble accepting the suggested features of Euro-English. A rather surprising outcome of this study was that it showed a significant difference between native

and non-native speakers. In response to the statement *Native speakers should respect the English usage of non-native speakers*, the native speakers agreed much more strongly than the non-native speakers.

Murray tries to explain this reluctance to accept Euro-English, or any non-native variety for that matter. For one thing, we should not underestimate a non-native teacher's investment in the near-native performance of the language and the extensive university training that is oriented on the native norm. But there are also many practical problems that come with the reorientation, like evaluation and testing, criteria of a syllabus, and a teacher's responsibilities within the whole teaching concept.

THE STUDY

This study focuses on the status of the English language in Germany. Germany's needs for the language have increased greatly since the formation of the EU. As a result of the country's strong position within the EU, there is a high demand for English language skills in many areas, including the domains of business, education, and government. Many businesses have already adopted English as their company language or are in the process of doing so. And as it has been already mentioned, higher education as well is in the process of converting into a system that is more compatible with other universities, where English already has a prominent role. No longer is the language an exclusive educational requirement of employees in higher positions in business and academics. For many people it becomes a crucial factor when applying for jobs at any career level (Schöpfer-Grabe, 2009).

Anyone who is growing up in Germany will receive English language education to some extent. But the duration of formal public schooling can vary. Depending on the circumstances, a student will attend school either at a *Hauptschule* (9 years), a *Realschule* (10 years), or a *Gymnasium* (12 to 13 years). Today, English language instruction starts as early as in elementary school. However, there can be a four-year difference of opportunity in receiving language instruction depending on whether a student is attending a *Hauptschule*, which is considered the most basic course of public education, or a *Gymnasium*, which is

intended to provide the educational foundation for higher education and is also required for admission to a German university.

Further opportunities to acquire the language would depend greatly on the path of career that is chosen. Graduates of a *Hauptschule* or *Realschule* would very likely start an apprenticeship that includes the attendance of a technical college. But depending on the type of apprenticeship this may or may not include further instruction in English. There can be a big difference, for instance, between a person who is entering a technical profession at a company that deals with machinery or construction and someone who works in tourism. However, as mentioned before, many companies are adopting English not only as their external but also as their internal lingua franca. There are several reasons for this tendency. For one thing, the language opens up communication with the rest of the world and by assuring that workers on all levels know how to use it, it becomes a great resource that can always be relied on. And, interestingly, even though this language is enjoying currently a very high prestige, in many European companies it is also seen as the most neutral choice (Murray, 2003).

As it can be imagined, the imbalance in language support in some occupational areas has put a considerable amount of stress on workers. This concern is especially relevant to people who grew up in former East-Germany. Members of the generation that entered the work force at the time of Germany's reunification had only little English language support prior to the events of 1989. Their foreign language education had emphasized on Russian. Today, these people are in their forties. Many are fully involved in their careers. However, in

their region, just like in the western parts of the country, there is a growing demand for competence in English, which will have to be met in some way.

5.1. Survey of English Teachers

In order to meet such linguistic expectations, employees are searching for resources. Some companies are able to outsource for this kind of language support, but such options greatly depend on their economic situation. The most common way to meet English language needs is the involvement of private instructors. These teachers are usually contacted through private language schools, the local Chamber of Commerce (*Industrie- und Handelskammer*), or a *Volkshochschule* (<http://www.vhs.de>), an educational organization that offers various classes to the community (Schöpfer-Grabe, 2009).

This study includes a survey that was developed for teachers who provide this kind of language support. Many teachers are consulted to help students in very specific ways. Some need support in professional writing or with public speech performance while preparing for presentations. Others want to develop communication skills because they either find them more and more necessary for work or they want to travel to countries where the language is either the L1 or highly useful as a lingua franca. Every case is unique and the teacher has to accommodate to the situation. Some teach individual students or/and small-size classes of students that come from different backgrounds and age groups. In other words, many private teachers are expected to exhibit great flexibility in their teaching methods and to be able to adjust to whatever is coming their way.

The opinions of teachers can be a valuable source when investigating the status of a language (in this case English) in a particular region. For the purpose of this research, they could provide answers to some very fundamental questions. For instance: How is the Euro-English issue perceived in the teaching community? What is the level of awareness of a debate concerning this issue? Are there any indications that awareness could change the way of teaching? What can and want teachers provide their students? And most importantly, if Euro-English indeed exists in its own right, would it be accepted and respected within the teaching community?

5.2. Participants

The teachers who participated in this survey were either contacted directly by e-mail or through the administrative personnel at their work. Forty-eight e-mails were sent out to individual teachers and schools. Some teachers were listed on a webpage that provides information about private English teachers in Germany, including their personal e-mail addresses. In order to protect the anonymity of these teachers, the link to this webpage will not be provided here. Other teachers could be reached by contacting a number of *Volkshochschulen* (*VHS*), which cannot be disclosed here either, because in many cases the names of these teachers are stated in the content of the individual school pages.

Twenty-one teachers responded to the survey. Nine of them work as private English teachers, either independently or at a private language school. Seven are employed at a VHS, four are employed at a public school, and one

teaches at a university (see Table 1). In some cases these work areas overlap. For instance, the university professor works also at a VHS and independently as a private tutor. And several of the other teachers who are either employed at a public school or a VHS have also mentioned additional work as a private instructor. All teachers live in Germany with the exception of one who lives in France. The geographical locations of the teachers vary and seem fairly evenly distributed throughout the different regions of Germany.

21 English teachers			
private	VHS	public school	university
9	7	4	1

Table 1: Types of Employment

Among these twenty-one teachers, nine are native speakers and twelve are non-native speakers of English (see Table 2). Native speakers either use Standard British English (3) or Standard American English (6). Likewise, non-native speakers either use the Standard British variant (7) or Standard American (5).

21 English teachers			
9 native speakers		12 non-native speakers	
Standard British English	Standard American English	Standard British English	Standard American English
3	6	7	5

Table 2: Varieties of English

5.3. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix) that has been developed for this study consists of two parts. The first part aims to find out information about the teachers' background, the level of awareness of current discussions about different varieties and Euro-English, and subsequently the teachers' opinion on that matter. Some answers to these questions might provide information about the varieties that are used by the teachers themselves and the attitude towards other varieties. Teachers are also encouraged to comment on the issue of native and non-native speakers in the English teaching profession regarding their own job opportunities and the preferences of students when acquiring the language. The second part of the questionnaire lists nineteen sentences, which contain several forms that have been claimed to be features of Euro-English. Participants are simply asked to state whether they would find these forms acceptable. If not, they are invited to provide alternative forms.

These types of teacher questionnaires are not entirely new in the research related to Euro-English. But they usually involve participants who work in an environment where Standard English as a norm can be expected, such as in academic settings (Mollin, 2006a) or in public schools (Murray, 2003). There teachers, scholars, and students went through years of English instruction that used prescribed curricular guidelines that are oriented towards the standard norm. This study, however, includes a number of participants (17) who are in the unique position of being able to work fairly independently. They would most likely develop lesson plans based on the specific needs of their students, not on any

institutional requirements. The question is: could this type of teaching environment have an effect on the assessment of a student's progress when it comes to deviations from the standard norm?

5.4. Results

5.4.1. Professional Opportunities for Non-native and Native Speakers

Question 2 of the survey invites teachers to talk about their experiences as native or non-native speakers of English in terms of opportunities in the job market. The majority (17) find that opportunities are not equal for both sides. A number of teachers have offered possible explanations for this imbalance. Some simply see a general preference for the native speaker in the English teaching profession, particularly in the private educational sector:

- (1) *No, native speakers are definitely preferred.*
- (2) *No, native speakers are understandably preferred.*
- (3) *No. Native speakers have the edge, particularly in larger cities.*

Others, mainly native speakers, offer more detailed explanations depending on the viewpoint from the side they are standing:

- (1) *Native speakers are obviously more in demand. Customers often insist on teachers being native because they speak an authentic English.*
- (2) *Not necessarily equal, but there are a number of non-native English teachers here - in fact, ALL educators in public schools are Germans (well, almost 100% anyway). But for Business English /*

private courses and private language schools definitely prefer native speakers.

(3) *No - in Germany the state schools require a degree from a German University, ... In private teaching situations such as for small children in a day-care or for adults in a "Volkshochschule" or an English training institute, as well as English tutors (Nachhilfe) who offer training to High School students, the situation is quite different. In this case, the native English-speaking teacher is preferred.*

(4) *No. In [name of town], there are very few native speakers of English. Therefore, a qualified native English speaker is in high demand. However, in most circumstances, a teacher must be certified by German standards, and this could be problematic for many non-Germans.*

(5) *It depends on the type of school. In the Czech Republic, native speakers were much more highly sought after than non-natives. I had Czech colleagues who were FAR more qualified, as far as on-paper education AND actual knowledge of English, than many native speakers, but they received lower pay. I've only been in Germany a year, but the feeling seems to be generally the same here, although I think they're fairer in terms of pay.*

(6) *No. British school teaching qualifications are not recognized here. It's very hard to get into the school system as a British subject, and*

some people have had to do their teaching qualification again from the start in Germany, even experienced, fully qualified teachers. In adult education, on the other hand, I have an advantage as a native speaker, but I can only work on a freelance basis.

(7) No there aren't; in France, becoming a certified English teacher means you have succeeded at a contest test, which is very selective. You can't have this test if you have a strong American accent or if your mastering of the French language is not perfect!

These statements point to a general divergence in opinions on this issue depending on which side a teacher stands (native or non-native). Some native speakers seem to find they are at a disadvantage when applying to public schools, since the requirements include citizenship and a degree from a German university and their own already accomplished certifications from another country are not accepted. Non-native speakers, on the other hand, seem to feel a disadvantage in the private sector, where there is a clear preference for the native speaker.

5.4.2. Identity

In question 3 of the questionnaire, teachers are asked to describe their identity (German, European, German and European, or other). As it has been pointed out in chapter 3 of this paper, it is very likely that identity will draw from national identity. So it can be expected that teachers align themselves in regard to their nationality and the country of their origin. However, the majority of the teachers (13) find it also relevant to include *European* into the description of their identity, in one case even exclusively (see Table 3).

21 English teachers						
German	French	American	European	German/ European	British/ European	American/ European
4	1	2	1	6	2	4

Table 3: Identity of Teachers

A number of teachers offered the following comments in regard to their identity:

- (1) *European and definitely still American*
- (2) *An American living in Germany for 13 years*
- (3) *American of European descent*
- (4) *US-born European*
- (5) *I would describe it as mainly German with substantial influence from European and American experiences.*
- (6) *I am British and European. I have lived in Germany for 30 years, but retain my British passport and nationality. I have more of a*

European outlook than someone who has lived exclusively in Britain.

5.4.3. Awareness of other Varieties of English

Question 4 of the survey was intended to get an idea to what extent teachers had a chance to be introduced to some of the other varieties of English that exist throughout the world. For instance, have they ever taken a World-English class during their own course of education? Only five teachers answered with *yes*. However, when analyzing the comments to this question more closely, it becomes clear that most teachers are thinking exclusively of native varieties (e.g. British English, American English):

- (1) *No, none. I have become aware of it through students' questions and through the need to explain text where a difference exists.*
- (2) *I have not taken any world English classes but the difference between several varieties of the English language is known.*
- (3) *No, I haven't. I learned Standard British in school, that changed when I entered an exchange program – and that again influenced my studies at university. I preferred American studies (Amerikanistik) to English studies (Anglistik).*
- (4) *There were just some isolated situations here and there, in which the different varieties of English were illustrated, mainly by native speakers of these varieties.*
- (5) *I haven't been formally introduced, but I've read/heard a lot in the*

different textbooks (Headway, Murphy's "English Grammar in Use", etc)

- (6) *I was only introduced to American civilization.*
- (7) *There was no World English class at the time. We learned British English and the differences to American English.*
- (8) *When I went to the university there was no differentiation between the "Englishes". We studied Old English and Middle English instead.*

Only three teachers answered in a way that could suggest their awareness of non-native varieties:

- (1) *I have taken a basic TEFL course.*
- (2) *Yes - "International English"*
- (3) *I have had no formal training as a teacher, but I have encountered various forms of English -- namely, South African, Sub-Saharan, Scottish, Irish, and BBC English in addition to English as a second language of natives of Germany, Poland, Finland, France, Turkey, the Czech Republic, and the Netherlands.*

5.4.4. Awareness of Euro-English as a Topic of Discussion

Question 5 was an attempt to find out whether teachers know about *Euro-English* as a linguistic topic of discussion, how they feel about this issue, and how they would describe Euro-English to their students. When teachers were asked whether they have ever heard of the term *Euro-English*, nine teachers replied with *yes*. Thirteen provided comments, including some attempts to describe or define the variety:

- (1) *Yes, it is a conglomeration of the various Englishes of this world spoken by at least 60 % of those who speak English but are not native speakers.*
- (2) *English, that is used in Europe with some mistakes typical of European countries. But still people understand each other.*
- (3) *If you mean broken European English as a means of getting your message across, yes.*
- (4) *Euro-English is simply incorrect English.*
- (5) *I once read an article written by a French businessman who said "Most people who speak English are non-natives, so we should have a bigger say in how 'English' works... And which English (what kind of English) we speak." >> He called it "International English".*
- (6) *I am familiar with it. It is English used and spoken by non-native speakers who have been educated in European Schools and Universities... I imagine that Euro-English speakers have a*

different spectrum of colloquialisms, which are also enriched by their native language. When they express themselves in Euro-English, I may notice or be amused/impressed by how they say something because it can include a new use and/or new interpretation of an English word or concept.

- (7) *Funnily enough the term Euro-English is not widely used over here in Germany. However, we often refer to a kind of international English influenced by different nationalities.*
- (8) *No. I would assume that, due to the significant differences among the various European families of languages, their individual influences on the English language would not create a homogenous "Euro-English". For example, natives of Slavic-speaking countries have a tendency to omit articles (a, an, the) or use them improperly while, in contrast, the similar function of articles in Germanic languages suggest that this is less of a problem for the German and Dutch learners of English. However, because many "False Friends" exist within these Germanic languages, other typical problems arise, such as the improper usage of prepositions (between German and English: von vs. from/of; bei vs. by/with/at).*
- (9) *Yes. It's the variety of English that is spoken when a group of non-native speakers get together and speak English. This primarily occurs in the business world, when a company uses English as the business language, but many/most of the employees are not native-*

English speakers. But I have been in situations where it happened in spontaneous social situations.

(10) *An emerging variety of the English language used by speakers in the European Union whose mother tongue is not English.*

(11) *I would say it is English based on some basic vocabulary and grammar you need to communicate about general topics.*

(12) *I have never heard of Euro-English before but we talk about "globish" which stands for global English and is the kind of new English language created by non-native speakers from all over the world.*

(13) *Eurolingua-as a lingua franca more popular to ordinary people.*

However, to the question whether teachers are aware of a linguistic debate about this topic, only two comments stand out:

(1) *This has been a topic here in Germany during the past 10 years at least – especially those who are involved in further education have encountered experience with Euro-English.*

(2) *No. There is no debate, simply people trying to justify incorrect usage. Euro-English is not comparable to other native forms.*

5.4.5. Students of English

Questions 6 to 10 are intended to collect information about the student population that is served by these teachers, predominantly their age, their level of motivation, and their variety preferences when it comes to the study of English.

5.4.5.1. Student Age Groups and Motivational Levels

When teachers are asked about the age groups they are currently teaching, the majority marked the ages 25 and upward. Nineteen teachers find their students to be moderately to highly motivated while attending class. Two reported a lack of motivation among younger people and high school students.

(1) *The adults, who are generally paying their own money to take the courses, are motivated. The kids/teenagers generally are not.*

(2) *Most of the job consists in motivating them [high school students] through role games, music...*

(3) *At a level only moderately [motivated] because of outdated publications in class.*

(4) *They are investing time and some money - and they are generally very amused with the benefits of their efforts.*

5.4.5.2. Varieties of English: Availability and Preference

When teachers are asked in question 7 which variety they are currently teaching to their students, the answers evenly alternate between *Standard British English* and *Standard American English*. But some teachers describe their efforts

to include other varieties into their teaching, which is in this case mainly the other native variety (British or American). Once again, answers suggest, for the most part teachers think of native varieties when considering other forms of English.

- (1) *My students' textbooks contain Standard British English almost exclusively, but I try my best to give equal attention to Standard British and American English.*
- (2) *Standard British English with impulses from other “Englishes” according to the course book*
- (3) *I teach British English, but I make my students aware of differences in American spelling when they occur.*
- (4) *International English and I make students aware of the differences btw e.g. Brit and American Engl. I even help customers learn Australian Engl. Vocab to prepare for a trip there.*
- (5) *I teach a mix, and it depends on the type of course. If it's just conversation, then I speak my “Midwest American*” and point out here and there when British English differs. If I'm teaching a grammar course with a textbook, then I follow the textbook. *But my own English is a bit muddled now, as I've picked up more British pronunciation of some vowels, and I use “cinema” instead of “theater” and “at the weekend” instead of “on the weekend”, to name a few examples. People I grew up with in the US now tell me I have “a European accent”.*

Question 8 aims to determine which variety teachers think their students do prefer most when studying the language. Again, answers alternate evenly between *Standard British English* and *Standard American English*, but there seems to be a preference for Standard American English among younger students and for British English among older students.

- (1) *The majority prefer e.g American spelling and like American English as they have been in the USA.*
- (2) *They like AE because it is more tolerant concerning tenses, etc. and in their eyes more modern. British companies insist on British teachers.*
- (3) *They do prefer the American variety cause they think that the US has more impact on International business than the UK.*
- (4) *American because it is more wide-spread (Internet, Hollywood, TV, etc) but also British because of the "European" tradition, the idea that it is "better" or "purer"...*
- (5) *My students tend to prefer Standard American English as they have an American teacher. Also many have traveled and/or done business in the US.*
- (6) *Often students know from the beginning that I am an American, so they are open to and expecting to learn American English. I have encountered some people who prefer Standard British English and want to position themselves as students of British English. Some*

English Teachers like to amplify and propagate this attitude. Often this seems to me to be self-interested -- they are trying to collect and solidify their client-base of students for themselves and their country-men/women. I do not do this and am not interested in doing it. Rather than politicize, I'd rather help the student to use and understand English

- (7) *Most of our students learnt British English at school and are more used to this variety of English, but there is a growing number of younger learners, who prefer American English, perhaps because of films, TV, internet, work contacts international negotiations etc.*
- (8) *I would estimate that the preferences are equally distributed. Those students who prefer American English are predominately younger, want to better understand American music and movies, and would like to travel to the U.S. Those who prefer British English are typically older, have already traveled at least once to the U.K., and want to better their English for use in all future travels (not limited to English-speaking countries). Nearly all students state that British English sounds more beautiful than American English.*
- (9) *It varies greatly. Younger students (teenagers, early 20s) often prefer "American", because they're used to it from films and TV series they watch. With older/professional students, it depends on their background and on their goals for the future. A lot of people hope to spend some time in the UK or Australia, so they prefer*

“proper English”.

- (10) *They prefer to stick to the rules of British English as a guideline.*
- (11) *Most of my students prefer British English, apart from those who have lived or traveled in America. Those who prefer British English like the sound of the accent better.*
- (12) *Standard British English because their textbooks and recording use it and I`m speaking it,too. Some of them have been told that this was the “ true” English when they learned it at school. For others it`s difficult to say the American R-sound.*
- (13) *People often specify British or American English. Many people (mistakenly) think that British English is 'better' or more 'formal' because of their (also often mistaken) cultural associations. We work in North Germany and there is a British slant to the English taught at schools here, however, school children in the southern parts of Germany tend to learn an American-based English, presumably due to the different occupied post-war zones.*
- (14) *They don`t really care as long as they are understood and they can understand the others.*

Question 9 intends to find out the main reasons why students take on English lessons. Although reasons vary, the majority of the adult student population seeks help in English for the purpose of traveling and communication at work. For younger students, English is an obligatory subject in school and in

some cases a private teacher is consulted to prepare them for testing and school work.

- (1) *The majority need practice in English for professional communication, presentations, small talk and travel.*
- (2) *because they need it at work or want to travel to the US, etc.*
- (3) *English for professional communication and writing*
- (4) *Mainly two categories: English for English-speaking clients and colleagues at work, English for Professional writing.*
- (5) *Basic introduction to the English language, English for translation and future communication*
- (6) *The university students now HAVE to take some English for credits, no matter what their course of studies is. Most others need it for their jobs (communication, presentations, meetings, telephoning skills, and the like).*
- (7) *Traveling and professional communication (often with other non-native speakers of English who use English as a Lingua Franca)*
- (8) *recreational, education (students at a technical college), and professional communication*
- (9) *English for travel, to maintain mental agility, for social contacts.*
- (10) *English for professional communication and writing, to keep their brain busy*
- (11) *Most of them study it for travelling, some do it for professional communication.*

- (12) *My students mostly learn English for work purposes or for travel.*
- (13) *different reasons depending on group: travelling; obligatory course with an exam at the end; obligatory at work*
- (14) *The students seek a better command of the language for the final test (Abitur). The elderly like to freshen up their English proficiency.*
- (15) *It's part of the curriculum.*

5.4.6. Acceptability of Euro-English Features

The second part of the questionnaire aims to determine whether Euro-English would be in fact acceptable to the teaching community. Ten features have been selected. Examples containing such Euro-English lexicogrammatical features (Seidlhofer, 2004) as well as Euro-English lexical innovations (Pitzl, et al., 2008) are listed below (features in focus are marked in bold):

- (1) 3rd person zero – s:

Do you know where she **live**?

He **look** very happy.

- (2) Interchangeability of *who* and *which*:

That's the man **which** I met at the party.

I show you the table **who** I bought.

- (3) Universal tag question ..., *isn't it?*:

He was elected in 1999, **isn't it?**

She is very busy today, **isn't it?**

- (4) The use of countable nouns:

I need more **informations** on this topic.

How many **baggages** do you have?

The hospital has all the latest **equipments**.

He can give you more **advices**.

(5) Using just the verb stem in gerund constructions:

I look forward to **see** you at the dinner.

It's not worth to **do**.

(6) Lexical borrowings:

Last year I had the **possibility** to attend a conference.

(7) Suffixation:

We get a five percent **increasement** of salary.

This is very **characteristical** of them.

(8) Analogy to regular past tense forms:

The bill was **splitted**.

She **tached** for ten years.

(9) Blending:

I have to read my **webmail**.

(10) Reduction:

Many **manufacturers** release their workers.

Such forms have been repetitively noticed in the speech of non-native speakers of English in continental Europe. Participants are invited to comment on these examples and to think about whether they would find these forms

acceptable. Should this not be the case, they are asked to provide alternative forms that they would find more acceptable. The following summary lists all examples (underlined), followed by the number of teachers who accepted these forms, and any alternative suggestions (marked in bold) that have been provided by the participants:

(1) 3rd person *zero – s*:

Do you know where she live? – not accepted

- Do you know where she lives?
- Do you know where she **is living**?
- **Where does** she live?

He look very happy. – not accepted

- He **looks** very happy.

(2) Interchangeability of *who* and *which*:

That's the man which I met at the party. - accepted by 3

teachers

- That's the man **who** I met at the party.
- **He** is the man **whom** I met at the party.
- That's the man **that** I met at the party.
- **He's** the man I met at the party.

I show you the table who I bought. – not accepted

- I show you the table **which** I bought.
- I show you the table I bought.
- **I'll** show you the table I bought.

- I **will** show you the table **that** I bought.
- I **can** show you the table I bought.
- I **am going to** show you the table **which/that** I've bought.
- I **am going to** show you the table I've bought.
- I **am showing** you the table I've bought.

(3) Universal tag question “..., *isn't it?*”:

He was elected in 1999, isn't it? – not accepted

- He was elected in 1999, **wasn't he?**
- He was elected in 1999, **right?**

She is very busy today, isn't it? – not accepted

- She is very busy today, isn't **she?**
- She is very busy, **right?**

(4) The use of countable nouns:

I need more informations on this topic. – accepted by 5

teachers

- I need more information on this topic.

How many baggages do you have? – accepted by 3 teachers

- How **much** baggage do you have?
- How many **bags** do you have?
- How many **pieces of luggage/baggage** do you have?
- How **much baggage have you got?**
- How **much luggage (US baggage) have you got?** Or US:
do you have?

The hospital has all the latest equipments. – accepted by 5

teachers

- The hospital has all the latest equipment.
- The hospital has all **of** the latest equipment.
- The hospital has **state-of-the-art** equipment.
- The hospital has **the most modern** equipment.

He can give you more advices. – accepted by 5 teachers

- He can give you more **advice**.
- He can give you more **pieces of advice**.
- He can give you **further advice**.
- He can give you **some advice**.

(5) Using just the verb stem in gerund constructions:

I look forward to see you at the dinner. – accepted by 6

teachers

- I look forward to **seeing** you at the dinner.
- I look forward to **seeing** you at dinner.
- I **am looking** forward to see you at dinner.
- I **am looking** forward to **seeing** you at the dinner.

It's not worth to do. – accepted by 5 teachers

- It's not worth **doing**.
- It **is** not worth **doing**.
- It's not worth **doing it**.

- It' not worth **it**.

(6) Lexical borrowings (e.g. *actual* for *current*; *eventually* for *probably*):

Last year I had the possibility to attend a conference. –

accepted by 8 teachers

- Last year I had the possibility **of attending** a conference.
- Last year I had the **chance** to attend a conference.
- Last year I had the possibility/**opportunity to go to a** conference.
- Last year I had the **opportunity of attending** a conference.
- Last year I **was able** to attend the conference.
- I **was able** to attend a conference last year.

(7) Suffixation (e.g. *characteristical*, *claustrophobicity*, *contentwise*, *forbiddenness*, *gatheral*, *imagine*, *increasive*, *increasement*, *linguistical*, *opportunality*, *preferently*, *publishist*, *supportancy*, *turkishhood*, *workal*):

We get a five percent increasement of salary. – accepted by 2

teachers

- We get a five percent **increase** of salary.
- We get a five percent **increase in** salary.
- We **will** get a five percent **increase in our** salary.
- We get a five **per cent rise in** salary.
- We get a five percent **pay raise**.

- We get a five percent **salary increase**.
- We **are getting/going to get** a five percent **pay raise**.

This is very characteristic of them. – accepted by 3 teachers

- This is very characteristic **for** them.
- This is **characteristic for** them.
- This is **very typical** of them.
- This is **typical for** them.
- This is **very stereotypical** of them.

- (8) Analogy to regular past tense forms (e.g. *thought, caught, driven, felt, lost, putted, sold, send, splitted, taught, thrust*)

The bill was splitted. – accepted by 4 teachers

- The bill was **split**.
- The bill was **divided**.
- **They split** the bill.

She taught for ten years. – accepted by 2 teachers

- She **taught** for ten years.
- She **has taught** for ten years.
- She **has been teaching** for ten years.
- She **was teaching** for ten years.
- NO, she **has teached** or **she has been teaching**

- (9) Blending (e.g. *ecometric* (economic + metric); *flexicurity* (flexibility + security), *webmail* (web + email)):

I have to read my webmail. – accepted by 9 teachers

- I have to read my **emails**.
- I have to read my **e-mail**.
- **Email** (US webmail)

(10) Reduction (e.g. *manufacturers, continuation, diversification*):

Many manufacturers release their workers. – accepted by 4 teachers

- Many factories/ companies release their workers.
- Many manufacturers **fire/let go** their workers.
- Many manufacturers **let** their workers **go**.
- Many manufacturers **have let** their workers **go**.
- Many manufacturers **lay off** their workers.
- **A lot** of manufacturers **lay off** their **employees**.
- **A lot** of manufacturers **dismiss** their workers.
- Many manufacturers **are making** workers **redundant**.
- Many manufacturers **are**
dismissing/firing/sacking/laying off their workers.

In Table 4 (see below) the acceptability of these forms is illustrated.

Examples of features are stated on the left side. The bar codes represent the rate to which teachers have accepted individual forms. The absence of a bar code indicates zero acceptability of the feature in question (feature 1 and 3).

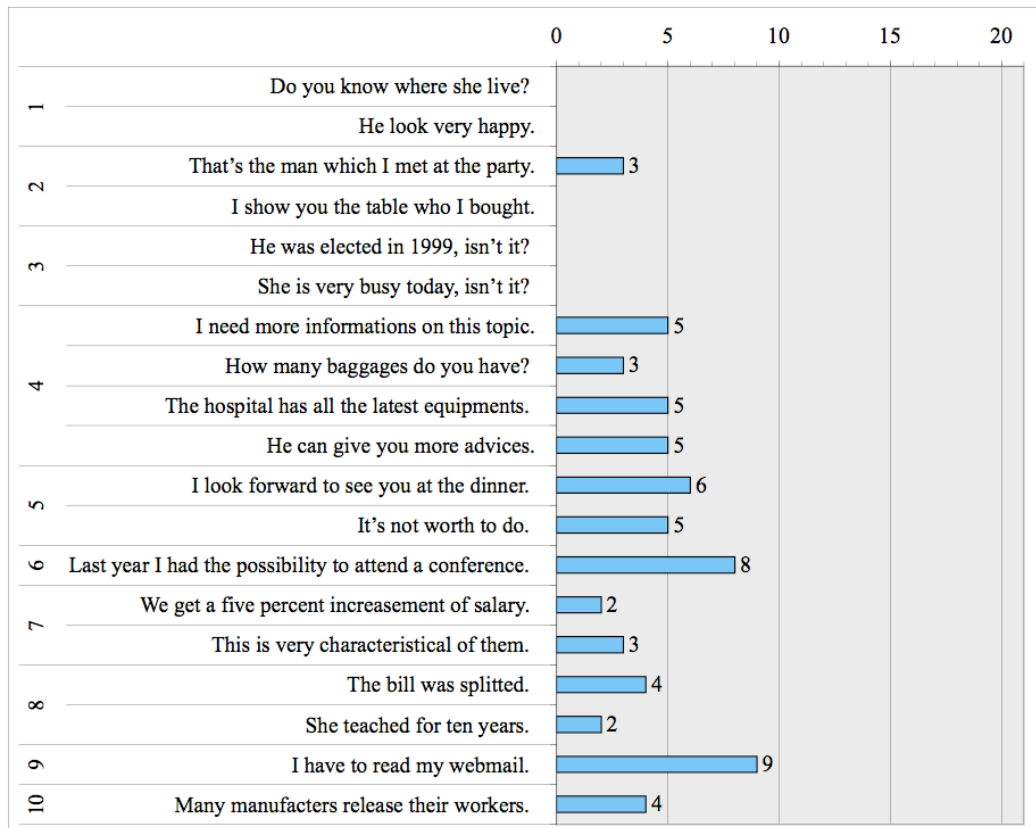


Table 4: Acceptability of 10 Euro-English Features

5.5. Discussion of Results and Comments

As table 4 suggests, most teachers find it difficult to accept these Euro-English features. Some forms, however, seem to be more tolerated than others. As it turns out, the most acceptable features are the lexical innovation (feature 9) *webmail*, a blend of *web* + *mail*, and the lexical borrowing (feature 6) *possibility* in the place of *opportunity*. The fact that nine teachers, most of them non-native speakers, find *webmail* tolerable could indicate that this usage is already quite common in some domains. In any case, and as it has been pointed out by one of the teachers (see below), the use of this form should not cause any problems regarding intelligibility and could pass quite freely in a conversation.

- (1) *Haven't heard this before. I guess some people might say it and it wouldn't be a conversation stopper. I'd correct students, though, and say "email".*

Similarly, there is no obvious violation with the use of *possibility* in place of *opportunity*. This usage could be explained through an association with the word *Möglichkeit*, the German term for both, *possibility* and *opportunity*.

Nevertheless, only eight teachers find this feature acceptable, even though there was some acknowledgement of its frequent occurrence:

- (1) *.... very often said in Germany, but I would correct it and say : chance, opportunity.*
- (2) *There's nothing wrong with this. You could also say "of attending", but "to attend" is also correct.*

However, lexical innovations and borrowings like these do not break any grammatical rules that are taught in conventional Standard English teaching methods. This would explain the higher rate in their acceptability in comparison to other features. In contrast, for instance, there has been no tolerance for feature (1), 3rd person *zero -s*, and feature (3), the universal tag question - *isn't it*. Here, according to standard norms, grammatical rules are clearly violated. In one case, there is a lack of subject/verb agreement (feature (1)), in the other, the pronoun of the tag question does not agree with the subject and there is also a problem with verb/tense agreement (feature (3)). No teacher was able to accept these forms. If anything, they caused some amusement:

(1) *wrong : does you know how to conjugate?*

Feature (5), the use of the verb stem instead of the gerund construction, although only accepted by five to six teachers, inspired however a number of comments:

I look forward to **see** you at the dinner.

(1) *This is a very common mistake that German students make.*

(2) *I'm afraid I'm old-fashioned – “to seeing you, of course, is what I learned”. Still, I could probably accept “to see you ...”.*

(3) *“seeING you” This is a good example of Euro-English. I hear this a lot. It's not correct, and I tell my students the right way to say it. But if a group of non-native speakers is talking together, probably none of them will notice a problem with this (and some might even be confused*

by the correct wording). So “acceptable” depends...do you mean should it be written into grammar books as correct? I'd say no. But would it be accepted in conversation, sure.

It's not worth to **do**.

- (1) *“doing” Not correct, but more “acceptable” than some of the other mistakes. Problems with “verb patterns”, or how the second verb is formed when it follows another verb, are very common and understandable, since there is no one rule in English as in most other languages. I hear these types of mistakes a lot.*
- (2) *Hard to understand why worth doing. Maybe acceptable in the future.*

Likewise, Feature (4), the use of countable nouns in the place of uncountable nouns, has invited teachers as well to reflect on the use of this form:

I need more **informations** on this topic.

- (1) *This one I regard as a minor “mistake”. Not important since the meaning doesn't change.*
- (2) *This is common. “uncountable” nouns plural is a common mistake. Not correct, but not a big deal.*
- (3) *This is also a very common mistake that German students make.*
- (4) *OK, but considered as a mistake.*

How many **baggages** do you have?

- (1) *Acceptable, but we still teach baggage as an uncountable noun.*

The hospital has all the latest **equipments**.

He can give you more **advices**.

(1) *Incorrect, but not a big distraction in conversation.*

The remaining features (2), (7), (8) and (10), even though hardly tolerated among the teachers, nevertheless gave rise to further comments.

Feature (2): Interchangeability of *who* and *which*

That's the man **which** I met at the party.

I show you the table **who** I bought.

(1) *should be "which" or just "... the table I bought". I usually tell my people to leave out the which and who, resp., altogether, to make it easier for them.*

Feature (7): Suffixation

We get a five percent **increasement** of salary.

(1) *No "increase in" the preposition isn't such a big deal, but the incorrect word form is. So, if someone said "increase of salary" while speaking, I probably wouldn't even catch it to correct them. But it should be "increase IN salary"*

Feature (8): Analogy to regular past tense forms

The bill was **splitted**.

(1) *“split” Very common. It's not correct, but would pass in conversation among non-native speakers.*

She **tached** for ten years.

(1) *Not as common as 17, but I hear it sometimes. But this is a mistake that would be noticed among average Euro-English speakers, so I'd definitely correct it.*

Feature (10): Reduction

Many **manufacturers** release their workers.

(1) *Wrong, but I'm not sure how noticeable it'd be in speaking. Many native speakers “swallow” syllables enough that it sounds like they're saying “manufacturers” when they say “manufacturers”.*

As it can be seen in these statements, even though teachers find themselves in the position where they are unable to accept these deviations from the norm, at times however, they feel conflicted in their decisions. There seems to be some discomfort when assessing these forms, which has been confirmed in the following comments:

(1) *As a teacher, I find it difficult to assess if these examples could be acceptable or not because these are sentences we hear all the time but we correct them because our role is to teach students the right words! or at least we try!*

(2) *I think that it depends on the language level people want to achieve.*

It's all acceptable, at least it's better than no English at all!! If you want to become a secretary or even a professor of English, well, then I suppose you should be able to form correct English sentences.

In other cases, however, the opinion on this matter is expressed very clearly:

- (1) *The above examples contain typical errors made by students learning English as a second language.*
- (2) *The above examples are not English, they are simply wrong. Euro-English is simply incorrect English and cannot be justified. You cannot apply the rules of one language (in this case German) to another and then claim that it is another form of that language and all attempts to do so should be resisted. English tends to be badly taught in Germany and the misconceptions about the language are widely spread. Our job is to try and improve this and this is not helped by assertions that incorrect usage is justifiable as 'Euro-English'.*
- (3) *None of the above forms or structures would be acceptable to me.*
- (4) *Actually, I don't know anything about Euro-English. I hope it isn't as terrible as the examples given on these pages.*

Some teachers feel that the issue cannot be generalized and the level of acceptance should depend on the feature in question:

- (1) *I've been accused of being too easy on my students. If something could*

be correct in a theoretical interpretation of grammar (baggages, informations, equipments.. or possibility instead of opportunity), but does not fit with Standard English, I commend the parts of the sentence that are correct while only briefly pointing out the mistake. These mistakes will not interfere with the intended meaning of a sentence and are automatically remedied when a speaker is in contact with native speakers for long periods of time. Mistakes that violate the basest rules of grammar (He like; she teached; etc) or otherwise compromise the intended meaning of a sentence are always my top priority.

Others even add their own contributions to the list of Euro-English features with observations they have made throughout the years of teaching:

- (1) *In my experience: The use of "do/does/did" in questions and negative statements is typically omitted in the English spoken between non-native speakers. Poles (and possibly other Slavic speakers) tend to use the word "no" instead of "not/don't/doesn't" in negative statements. There are certainly other stereotypes, but I'm sure that I'm not the first one to document them.*
- (2) *Speakers of Slavonic (Russian, Czech, Polish, Serbo-Croatian) languages leave out articles (a, the) very often and it could be considered "standard" for Euro-English spoken in former "Eastern" Europe. In German-speaking groups, misuse of the present perfect is*

standard. For example “I have seen a really interesting film yesterday.” Also, misuse of the preposition “by”, when used for time” is VERY common with both groups (Germanic and Slavonic speakers). They use “by” in the correct place but also where “until” is necessary. It's so widespread, that sending an email about a deadline with the correct use of “until” could actually cause confusion for speakers of Euro-English, whereas incorrectly using “by” will be understood by all. As I mentioned above with one example, some of the more unusual verb patterns are commonly misused, some to the point that saying it incorrectly is the norm: “I look forward to see you.” or even “I look forward to you”. And “He needs to stop to smoke” (instead of stop smoking).

(3) A few other things I hear a lot, that I'd say are typical for Euro-English, are:

- 1) He is the husband of/from my friend. We drove the car of/from my parents.*
- 2) I spent Christmas by my grandparents. My mother was by us this weekend.*
- 3) And then there is the “invented” vocabulary in a given region. Here in central Europe, even native speakers start to use words like “handy” (for a cell/mobile phone) or misuse words like “control” (as in, “security guards were controlling the crowd as*

they entered the stadium.” or “the teacher controlled the homework”.)

Even though the evaluations of these features have not been in favor of acceptance of Euro-English, the comments provided by the teachers let conclude a general interest in this topic. This was either stirred up through participation in this study or teachers were given a chance to express some already existing opinions:

- (1) *I will now pay more attention to Euro-English.*
- (2) *I'd certainly like to get to know more about it.*
- (3) *It's an interesting topic and something I think about a lot, as I notice my own English changing. More and more often, I find myself unable to say if a certain wording or phrase is "correct" or not, because I hear it so often. Sometimes I even catch myself starting to say "I went BY foot" or something similar.*
- (4) *I think Euro-English is a reality and worth being aware of for any native speaker who does business (or even travels) throughout Europe. But, just as with “standard English”, I think it's a mistake to talk about only one “Euro-English”. There are some mistakes that are common throughout the continent, but there's also a lot of variation, depending on the background of the speakers.*
- (5) *If the concept of Euro-English exists, someone should tell the Europeans about it.*

- (6) *I think languages are developing all the time and there is always a tendency to simplification, no matter what linguists think about it. Nevertheless, I wouldn't say that European English as a variety of World English should be based on "new" rules for grammar and on "new" vocabulary. I know I'm a bit conservative.*
- (7) *English has become the "world language" and is evolving daily. I find it awkward to use a term such as Euro-English. I would prefer a term such as "International English" to describe the language used to communicate across cultures. I actually teach several lessons on English as an international language.*
- (8) *The expectation that everybody should speak English - well, okay, I guess in a globalized world you need one common language everyone (who needs or wants) can communicate in. So this is English- Chinese or Russian would be too difficult. Can you see English with some mistakes (see above) as a new variety of English? Maybe. I think European citizens are doing a great job learning English; if there are mistakes - fine, if that's called Euro-English - so be it. Especially as so few American and British people learn another language!!!*

CONCLUSION

This thesis is an attempt to analyze the extent to which a new variety of English could be accepted in an educational system that is used to traditional methods of foreign language teaching. Numerous research projects in the fields of English as a second language, as a lingua franca, and as a variety have been introduced in this paper. There is still some uncertainty in how scholars define these categories, but the results of the substantial research in these areas could raise the question what effect they will have on the way we teach the language in the future.

Germany seems to make a very suitable case when discussing this issue. As the study reveals, the German language has lost considerable ground as one of the official EU working languages and is now virtually replaced by English as such. However, the country has a strong economic position within the EU. This should ensure its place at the forefront of decision-making when it comes to mainland European issues, including linguistic matters. Consequently, and in relation to this discussion, the idea of a new variety of English that is unique to non-native European speakers should sound interesting or even appeal to the German non-native speaker of English.

Germany has been feeling the effects of English language dominance in several areas, which has often been met with a considerable amount of resistance. A European lingua franca that is accepted and tolerated as a variety in its own right could have many advantages. It could liberate speakers from some of the

discomforts that are often associated with when trying to meet the expectations of standard norms. It could also provide a feeling of being more fairly treated in terms of EU language rights and the expressions of identity when using the language. There has been substantial research done in the area of Euro-English, which allows the conclusion that there are in fact certain features that can be observed in European non-native English speakers. In addition, there has been considerable work done that shows an array of features that are shared among European languages, in which the English language plays a rather marginal role.

But in order for a new variety to win its ground, these features would have to be accepted and given the chance for increasing usage. Would these features in fact be tolerated? The opinions of English language teachers, particularly in the private and independent sector, are a good source when analyzing the current state of this matter. The study reveals most teachers find it hard to accept Euro-English. Even though private teachers work with adult students who need help with their communication skills, the majority of teachers insist on meeting the expectations according to standard norms.

This attitude is confirmed in many of the comments given by the participants. For instance, there seems to be a clear preference for teachers who are native speakers (British or American) in the private sector. Likewise, students seem to prefer an instructor who is a native speaker. However, when it comes to the question of identity, the majority of teachers felt their description should include the term *European*. Here, teacher comments suggest that identity in the light of a changing Europe could be indeed a topic of discussion in the present

and the future. Of course, this has to be seen in close relation to the developments in the EU and a growing globalization. But to many Germans a European identity means much more. It can provide a truly new identity with an orientation towards a more positive future, leaving behind a dreadful political past.

So Germany has good reasons to invest in the European project and their identity within it. However, when it comes to the thought of actual linguistic changes in the light of this *Europeanness*, the results of this study reveal ambivalence. For one thing, it appears that there is little awareness in the English teaching community of the existence of non-native varieties. Most forms that have been commented on are the native varieties Standard British English and Standard American English. Only one teacher actually acknowledged the existence of non-native varieties and the idea of English as a second language.

On the other hand, when the attention turns to Euro-English, the discussion seems to get very lively and a number of teachers feel animated to share their thoughts about this topic, their concepts of Euro-English, what it means to them, and how it should be described. It appears though that the issue is still very new. Many are trying to process the idea of a European variety and there is little awareness of an actual linguistic debate on this matter. Some perceive the variety as a mix of different forms or simply call it *International English* or *Globish*. Others describe it as a deficient form that exhibits typical European mistakes. In some cases there is even the mention of a European variety in its own right. Here it is seen as a language that developed within the EU and the educational institutions that are *European*.

But even though there is a considerable amount of interest in this area, there is little willingness among the teachers when it comes to the acceptance of the actual Euro-English features, especially if they would break basic rules. The reasons for the unacceptability vary though. To some teachers these forms are a clear violation of standard norms, which they are unwilling to give up as their guidelines in language acquisition. On the other hand, there are teachers who seem conflicted with the traditional ways of assessing a student's progress according to the native standard norms, but they are unsure how to treat this issue otherwise.

It appears that the latter teachers have already put considerable thought into this area. Some, for instance, reported lower motivational levels in teenagers compared to other groups. This should come as a surprise since young students are seen as a group that is drawn to the language through their participation in pop-culture and social media. Murray (2003) notes, most teachers would favor a focus on communication over error-correction. They noticed greater success and motivation when there can be an emphasis on performance and communication. But having to deal with a curriculum that subscribes strictly to standard guidelines and tends to test and value what has been taught rather than acquired, teachers feel they have to teach to these expectations. With regard to young students, this could have a dramatic effect on motivation. It appears that some teachers would be willing to try new teaching methods, but there is little trust in the credibility of alternative ways. They might feel it is easier to continue with what is known, before changing to ways that are still unexplored.

This persistence in holding on to traditional ways can be also seen in the fact that students stick to a preference in the two standards, British and American English. Here again, there is no or little mention or awareness of other varieties and for the majority the only sign that suggests inclusiveness is a genuine effort among teachers to point out the differences between these two standards. There seems to be a higher interest in Standard American English among young people, whereas older students tend to prefer Standard British English, which was traditionally taught in German schools.

However, this tradition does not include the regions of former East-Germany. Some comments seem to imply that there is a still a high need for language support in this part of the country:

- (1) *My previously mentioned theory regarding the lack of English among older (35+) generations of the former GDR could very possibly apply to most of the former Soviet Union.*
- (2) *For the past two years, I've been teaching numerous English courses in the Volkshochschule. Very important to note is that ... former East Germany... has a much lower percentage of adults who learned English in their school years when compared with the rest of Germany. I would assume that, since German Reunification about twenty years ago, this difference has been almost entirely nullified, but the possibility remains that those educated in the post-Reunification eastern states have not had access to the level of support and expertise in learning English as their*

West German counterparts due to their parents' lack of English education and a shortage of well-qualified English teachers.

It appears that adult students in particular would highly profit from a lingua franca teaching approach. Many adults need the language for work related situations, mainly for the purpose of communication. They seek help to reach this goal in a fast and effective way. A teaching method that would take into consideration what is known about the features of Euro-English, and ELF in general for this matter, could focus on successful communication, rather than prescriptive norms. At the same time it could open the discussion about what it means to be a speaker of English in continental Europe and how this relates to a speaker's identity within the global context.

This research provided some insight and brought up many additional questions, but it has its limitations. The rather small number of participants does not allow for any conclusive generalizations. One of the basic weaknesses in this work was the presumption that within the teaching community there is already an existing general awareness about non-native varieties. Since this could not be confirmed in this study, one of the pressing questions for further work in this area should be: how can this issue be addressed in the future? Teachers show considerable interest in the notion of Euro-English, but if they are unaware of the existing research regarding this topic and other non-native varieties, changes with respect to teaching methods cannot be expected in the near future.

REFERENCES

- Alexander, R. J. (1999). Caught in a Global English Trap, or Liberated by a Lingua Franca? Unravelling Some Aims, Claims and Dilemmas of the English Language Teaching Profession. In C. Gnutzmann (Ed.), *Teaching and Learning English as a Global Language* (pp. 23-39). Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Ammon, U. (1992). The Federal Republic of Germany's policy of spreading German. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 95, 33–50.
- Ammon, U. (2000). Towards More Fairness in International English: Linguistic Rights of Non-native Speakers? In R. Phillipson (Ed.), *Rights to Language: Equity, Power, and Education* (pp. 111–116). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Ammon, U. (2001). *The dominance of English as a language of science: Effects on other languages and language communities*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ammon, U. (2006). Language conflicts in the European Union. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 3, 319–338.
- Baycroft, T. (2004). European Identity. In G. Taylor & S. Spencer (Eds.), *Social Identities: Multidisciplinary Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Beneke, J. (1991). Englisch als lingua franca oder als Medium interkultureller Kommunikation [English as lingua franca or as medium of intercultural communication]. In R. Grebing (Ed.), *Grenzenloses Sprachenlernen* (pp. 54 - 66). Berlin: Cornelsen.
- Berns, M. (1995). English in the European Union. *English Today*, 43(11), 3 - 11.
- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., & Finegan, E. (1999). *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Pearson Education.
- Bosson, G. (1998). Le marquage de l'experience dans les langues d'Europe. In Feuillet (Ed.), (pp. 259 -294).
- Boyd, S., & Huss, L. (2001). Introduction. In S. Boyd & L. Huss (Eds.), *Managing Multilingualism in a European Nation-state: Challenges for Sweden* (pp. 1 - 12). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Brutt-Griffler, J. (2002). *World English: A study of its development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cinnirella, M. (1997). Towards a European Identity? Interactions between the National and European Social Identities Manifested by University Students in Britain and Italy. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 36, 19 - 31.
- Cogo, A., & Dewey, M. (2006). Efficiency in ELF communication: from pragmatic motives to lexicogrammatical innovation. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 5, 59 - 94.
- Crystal, D. (1999). The future of Englishes. *English Today*, 58, 10 - 20.
- d'Appollonia, A. C. (2002). European Nationalism and European Union. In A. Pagden (Ed.), *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (pp. 171–190). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dalton-Puffer, C., Gunther Kaltenböck, & Smit, U. (1997). Learner Attitudes and L2 Pronunciation in Austria. *World Englishes*, 16, 115 - 128.
- Décsy, G. (1993). *Europe's linguistic future: the Eurish-problem* (Vol. 65).
- Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eurojargon. European Union website, Retrieved February 1, 2012, from http://europa.eu/abc/eurojargon/index_en.htm
- European Commission. (2011). *How to write clearly*. Retrieved from http://bookshop.europa.eu/is-bin/INTERSHOP.enfinity/WFS/EU-Bookshop-Site/en_GB/-/EUR/ViewPublication-Start?PublicationKey=HC3010536 doi:DOI: 10.2782/29211
- Firth, A. (1996). The discursive accomplishment of normality. On 'lingua franca' English and conversation analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26, 237–259.
- Gazzola, M. (2006). La gestione del multilinguismo nell'Unione europea. In M. Gazzola & F. Guerini (Eds.), *Le sfide della politica linguistica di oggi. Fra la valorizzazione del multilinguismo migratorio locale e le istanze del multilinguismo europeo. A cura di A. Carli* (pp. 17–116). Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Girault, R. (1994). *Identité et conscience européennes au XXe siècle*. Paris: Hachette.

- Görlach, M. (1999). Varieties of English and language teaching. In C. Gnutzmann (Ed.), *Teaching and Learning English as a Global Language*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag.
- Görlach, M. (2002). English in Europe — European English? In M. Görlach (Ed.), *Still More Englishes* (pp. 135–153). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Graddol, D. (1997). *The future of English?* London: British Council.
- Graddol, D. (2001). The future of English as a European language. *The European English Messenger*, X(2), 47-55.
- Haas, M. (1992). *Institutional racism: The case of Hawaii*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Habermas, J. (1998). *Die postnationale Konstellation. Politische Essays*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Haegeman, P. (2002). Foreigner talk in lingua franca business telephone calls. In K. Knapp & C. Meierkord (Eds.), *Lingua franca communication* (pp. 135–162). Frankfurt a.M.: Lang.
- Haspelmath, M. (1993). More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. In B. Comrie & M. Polinsky (Eds.), *Causatives and Transitivity* (pp. 87-120). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Haspelmath, M. (1998). How young is standard average European? *Lang. Sci.*, 20, 271-287.
- Haspelmath, M. (2001). The European linguistic area: Standard Average European. In M. Haspelmath, E. König, W. Oesterreicher & W. Raible (Eds.), *Language typology and language universals / Sprachtypologie und sprachliche Universalien / La typologie des langues et les universaux linguistiques* (Vol. 2.2, pp. 1492–1510). Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.
- House, J. (1999). Misunderstanding in intercultural communication: Interactions in English as a lingua franca and the myth of mutual intelligibility. In C. Gnutzmann (Ed.), *Teaching and learning English as a global language* (pp. 73–89). Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- House, J. (2001, April 19). A stateless language that Europe must embrace, *The Guardian Weekly*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/GWeekly/Story/0,3939,475288,00.html>

- House, J. (2003). English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 624–630.
- House, J. (2009). Introduction: the pragmatics of English as a Lingua Franca. *International Pragmatics*, 6(2), 14 - 45.
- Hult, F. M. (2005). A case of prestige and status planning: Swedish and English in Sweden. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 6, 73-79.
- James, A. (2000). English as a European lingua franca: Current realities and existing dichotomies. In J. Cenoz & U. Jessner (Eds.), *English in Europe: The acquisition of a third language* (pp. 22–38). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Jenkins, J. (2000). *The phonology of English as an international language. New models, new norms, new goals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, J. (2003). *World Englishes: A resource book for students*. London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, J. (2006). Current perspectives on teaching world Englishes and English as a lingua franca. *TESOL Quarterly*, 40(157-181).
- Jenkins, J., Modiano, M., & Seidlhofer, B. (2001). Euro-English. *English Today*, 17, 13-19.
- Jenkins, J., & Seidlhofer, B. (2001, April 19). Bringing Europe's lingua franca into the classroom, *The Guardian Weekly*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2001/apr/19/languages.highereducation1?INTCMP=SRCH>
- Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and the British Council.
- Kachru, B. (Ed.). (1992). *The Other Tongue. English across Cultures* (2nd ed.). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- MacKenzie, I. (2009). Negotiating Europe's lingua franca. *European Journal of English Studies*, 13(2), 223-240.

- Manz, V. (2002). *Sprachenvielfalt und europäische Integration: Sprachenrecht im Spannungsfeld von Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur*. Zürich: Schulthess Juristische Medien AG.
- Mauranen, A. (2003). The Corpus of English as Lingua Franca in Academic Settings. *TESOL Quarterly*, 37(3), 513-527.
- Mauranen, A. (2010). Features of English as a lingua franca in academia. *Helsinki English Studies*, 6, 6-28.
- McArthur, T. (1998). *The English languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McArthur, T. (2003). World English, Euro-English, Nordic English? *English Today*, 73, 54-58.
- McKay, S. (2000). Teaching English as an international language: implications for cultural materials in the classroom. *TESOL Journal* 9(4), 7-11.
- Meierkord, C. (1996). *Englisch als Medium der interkulturellen Kommunikation. Untersuchungen zum non-native-/non-native speaker Diskurs*. Frankfurt a.M.: Lang.
- Meierkord, C. (2000). Interpreting successful lingua franca interaction. An analysis of non-native / non-native small talk conversations in English. *Linguistik online* 5. Retrieved from http://www.linguistik-online.de/1_00/MEIERKOR.HTM
- Mocikat, R. (2007). *Sprache in der naturwissenschaftlichen Forschung und Lehre*. Paper presented at the XVIth European Symposium on Language for Special Purposes, Hamburg.
- Modiano, M. (2001). A New Variety of English. *English Today*, 68, 13-14.
- Modiano, M. (2004). Monoculturalization and language dissemination. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 3(215-227).
- Modiano, M. (2007). Euro-English from a “Deficit Linguistics” Perspective? *World Englishes*, 26(4), 525-533.
- Modiano, M. (2009). Inclusive/exclusive? English as a Lingua Franca in the European Union. *World Englishes*, 28(2), 208-223.
- Mollin, S. (2006a). English as a lingua franca — A new variety in the new Expanding Circle? *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 5, 41-57.

- Mollin, S. (2006b). *Euro-English. Assessing Variety Status*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Mollin, S. (2007). New variety or learner English? Criteria for variety status and the case of Euro-English. *English World-Wide*, 28(2), 167-185.
- Moussu, L., & Llorca, E. (2008). Non-native English-speaking English language teachers: History and research. *Language Teaching*, 41(315-348).
- Murray, H. (2003). Swiss English Teachers and Euro-English: Attitudes to a Non-Native Variety. *Bulletin suisse de linguistique appliquée*, 77(147-165).
- O’Keeffe, A., McCarthy, M., & Carter, R. (2007). *From Corpus to Classroom: Language Use and Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pakir, A. (1991). *Contribution to workshop on endangered languages*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Hawaii.
- Palmer-Silveira, Carlos, J., Ruiz-Garrido, M. F., & Fortanet-Gómez, I. (Eds.). (2006). *Intercultural and International Business Communication. Theory, Research and Teaching*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R. (2001, April 18). English yes, but equal language rights first, *The Guardian Weekly*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2001/apr/19/guardianweekly.guardianweekly1>
- Phillipson, R., House, J., Walsh, J., Seidlhofer, B., & Jenkins, J. (2001, April 18). Global English: The European Lessons. A debate about the role of English, *The Guardian Weekly*. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk/GWeekly/Global_English/0,8458,400340,00.html
- Pitzl, M.-L., Breiteneder, A., & Klimpfinger, T. (2008). A world of words: processes of lexical innovation in VOICE. *Vienna English Working PaperS*, 17(2), 21-46.
- Plag, I. (2003). *Word-formation in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sabec, N. (2003). English at the crossroads: the Inner Circle versus the Expanding Circle. In B. Kettleman & G. Marko (Eds.), *Expanding Circles, Transcending Disciplines, and Multimodal Texts* (pp. 79–85). Tübingen: Narr.
- Samarin, W. (1987). Lingua franca. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar & K. Mattheier (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: An international handbook of the science of language and society* (pp. 371–374). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Schöpfer-Grabe, S. (2009). Betrieblicher Fremdsprachenbedarf im deutschsprachigen Raum. In U. Ammon, J. Derquennes & S. Wright (Eds.), *Sprachenwahl in Europäischen Unternehmen* (pp. 150-162). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Schultz, T. (2011, December 14). Deutsch wird immer unbeliebter, *Die Süddeutsche*. Retrieved from <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/karriere/sprachunterricht-an-europas-schulen-deutsch-wird-immer-unbeliebter-1.1235020>
- Seidlhofer, B. (2001a). Closing a conceptional gap: the case for a description of English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 11(2), 133-158.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2001b). Towards Making “Euro-English” a Reality. *English Today*, 68, 14-16.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2003). A Concept of International English and Related Issues: From ‘Real English’ to ‘Realistic English’? *Council of Europe. Language Policy Division*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2004). Research perspectives on teaching English as a Lingua Franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 24, 209-239.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2005). Standard future or half-baked quackery? In C. Gnutzmann & F. Intemann (Eds.), *The globalisation of English and the English language classroom* (pp. 159–173). Tübingen: Narr.
- Selvi, A. F. (2010). All teachers are equal, but some teachers are more equal than others: trend analysis of job advertisements in English language teaching. *WATESOL NNEST Caucus Annual Review*, 1, 156–181.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Phillipson, R. (2001). The world came to Sweden – but did language rights? In S. Boyd & L. Huss (Eds.), *Managing multilingualism in a European nation-state: Challenges for Sweden* (pp. 70–86). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Smith, A. (1992). National Identity and the Idea of European Unity. *International Affairs*, 68, 55-76.
- Smith, A. (2007). The power of ethnic traditions in the modern world. In A. Leoussi & S. Grosby (Eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Smith, L. E. (1987). *Discourse across cultures: Strategies in World Englishes*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Stolz, T. (2001). Ordinalia – Linguistisches Neuland: Ein Typologienblick auf die Beziehung zwischen Kardinalia und Ordinalia und die Sonderstellung von EINS und ERSTER. In B. Igla & T. Stolz (Eds.), *Was ich noch sagen wollte... Festschrift für Norbert Boretzky zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Swales, J. M. (1997). English as tyrannosaurus rex. *World Englishes*, 16(3), 373-382.
- Swan, M., & Smith, B. (2001). *Learner English. A Teacher's Guide to Interference and Other Problems* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tannen, D. (1989). *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Teleman, U., & Westman, M. (1997). Behöver Sverige en nationell språkpolitik? [Does Sweden need a national language policy?] *Språk i Norden*, 5-22.
- Ternes, E. (1998). Lauttypologie der Sprachen Europas. In W. Boeder, S. Christoph, K. H. Wagner & W. Wildgen (Eds.), *Sprache in Raum und Zeit: In memoriam Johannes Bechert* (Vol. 2, pp. 139-152). Tübingen: Narr.
- The Economist. (2011, Sep. 30). Euro-English - Blasting the bombast. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2011/09/euro-english>
- The ELFA Project. (2012, January 9) Retrieved February 1, 2012, from <http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/elfacorpus>
- Timmis, I. (2002). Native-Speaker Norms and International English: A Classroom View. *ELT Journal*, 56, 240-249.

- Ullian, R. (1978). Some general characteristics of interrogative systems. In J. H. Greenberg (Ed.), *Universals of Human Language* (pp. 211-248). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- van der Auwera, J. (Ed.). (1998). *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- van Els, T. (2005). Multilingualism in the European Union. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 15(3), 263-281.
- Verein Deutsche Sprache. Retrieved February 1, 2012, from <http://www.vds-ev.de>
- VOICE. (2011, November 15) Retrieved February 1, 2012, from <http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/>
- Westervelt, E. (Writer). (2011). Germany's Identity cemented in the Euro, *All Things Considered*: National Public Radio, Broadcast on November 25 <http://www.npr.org/2011/11/25/142780603/germanys-identity-cemented-in-the-euro>.
- Whorf, B. L. (1956). *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Cambridge/MA: MIT Press.

APPENDIX A
INFORMATION LETTER ABOUT THE STUDY

**Euro-English:
A Debate and its Implications for Teaching English as a Foreign Language**

Date

Dear _____:

My name is Christine Raack. I am a graduate student in the Department of English at Arizona State University. I am currently working on my master thesis in linguistics under the direction of Professor Elly van Gelderen.

In my study, I aim to research different aspects that surround an ongoing debate about the status of the English language within the European context, particularly on the mainland. I investigate the possibility of a new variety, often referred to as *Euro-English*. It has been argued that this variety is already developing and will take its place along other World Englishes. I am particularly interested in the level of awareness of this issue, attitudes towards it within the teaching community, and any possible implications for the teaching of English as a foreign language.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study by answering a short questionnaire about your experiences as an educator. Please write your answers under the questions that you choose to answer and send the questionnaire back to me via e-mail raack@asu.edu

You have the right to refuse to answer any of these questions and, of course, your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study, you are free to do so at any time and there will be no consequences for you.

Although there is no direct benefit for you by being a part of this study, your participation is highly appreciated and for the benefit of gaining more knowledge about the perspective that teachers have on the issue of *Euro-English*.

Please know that there are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation and that your responses will be anonymous. In case you have any questions about this research study, please contact: Dr. Elly van Gelderen at ellyvangelderens@asu.edu or Christine Raack at raack@asu.edu. If you have any concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Thank you for considering your participation in this study. Your return of this questionnaire will be considered as your consent to participate.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please write answers under questions!
Feel free to answer **in English or German** and to any extent that you like!

1. Are you a native speaker of English?
 - a. If *yes*, which variety of English are you speaking? (Standard British English, Standard American English, other varieties (please specify))

 - b. If *no*, in which variety have you been instructed when learning English? (Standard British English, Standard American English, Standard British English and Standard American English, other varieties (please specify))

2. Do you find that there are equal opportunities in your country for non-native and native English speaking teachers? (Please feel free to explain.)

3. How would you describe your identity?
 - a. German
 - b. European
 - c. German and European
 - d. Other (please explain)

4. During the course of becoming a teacher of English, have you been introduced to the several different varieties of English that exist throughout the world? For instance, have you taken a World English class in college or the university?

5. It has been argued that mainland Europe is in the process of developing its own variety of English, also referred to as *Euro-English*.
 - a. Are you familiar with the term *Euro-English*? How would you describe/define Euro-English to someone who asked what it was?

- b. Are you aware of a current debate with respect to the status of *Euro-English* within the World-Englishes?
6. In which age group is the majority of your students?
- a. 15-25 years old
 - b. 25-35 years old
 - c. 35-45 years old
 - d. 45 + years old
7. Which variety are you currently teaching to your students?
(Standard British English, Standard American English, Standard British English and Standard American English, other varieties (please specify))
8. In your opinion, which variety do your students prefer and why?
9. What is/are the main reason(s) why your students are studying English?
(e.g. English for recreational purpose - such as traveling, English for writing, English for translation, English for professional communication and writing, etc.)
10. Generally speaking, what level of motivation do your students exhibit while studying English in your course(s)?
- a. highly motivated
 - b. moderately motivated
 - c. hardly motivated
11. The following forms have been found amongst non-native speakers of English in European contexts, and these forms may or may not be acceptable from a Standard British English or Standard American English perspective. From your own perspective, do you think these forms should

be acceptable? If not, please write an alternative form that is acceptable to you.

1. That's the man which I met at the party.

2. Do you know where she live?

3. I look forward to see you at the dinner.

4. I need more informations on this topic.

5. I show you the table who I bought.

6. He was elected in 1999, isn't it?

7. How many baggages do you have?

8. He look very happy.

9. The hospital has all the latest equipments.

10. It's not worth to do.

11. He can give you more advices.

12. Last year I had the possibility to attend a conference.

13. She is very busy today, isn't it?

14. I have to read my webmail.

15. We get a five percent increasement of salary.

16. This is very characteristic of them.

17. The bill was splitted.

18. She teached for ten years.

19. Many manufacters release their workers.

12. Do you have any other general comments you would like to make about Euro-English as a variety of World Englishes or any related issues?

Thank you so much for your participation! Simply attach this file in your e-mail to raack@asu.edu. If you would like to find out about the results of this research, please feel free to contact Christine Raack at any time via e-mail: raack@asu.edu

APPENDIX C

APPROVAL FOR EXEMPT RESEARCH

To: Elly Van Gelderen
LL

From:  Mark Roosa, Chair 
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 09/16/2011

Committee Action: **Exemption Granted**

IRB Action Date: 09/16/2011

IRB Protocol #: 1109006838

Study Title: Euro-English: A Debate and its Implications for Teaching English as a Foreign Language

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2).

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.