LANGUAGE REGULATION
IN ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

EXPLORING LANGUAGE-REGULATORY PRACTICES
IN ACADEMIC SPOKEN DISCOURSE

Niina Hynninen

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Department of Modern Languages
University of Helsinki

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Abstract

This study investigates language regulation, or the negotiation of acceptability and correctness in language. It takes a bottom-up perspective on regulation, with focus on the ways that speakers manage and monitor language in lingua franca interaction, and the ways that they talk about language. I approach language regulation as a process through which speakers both reproduce codified language norms and construct alternative ones. Language regulation, then, sheds light on the construction of norms relevant for the speakers, that is, on living norms, as opposed to prescriptive, codified norms that arise as a consequence of linguistic description and codification.

I explore two complementary dimensions of language regulation: interactional and ideological dimensions. The dimensions I bring together in a comparative analysis, where I consider the findings in relation to the macro-level ideologies of language maintenance and native speaker ownership of English.

To explore the two dimensions, I draw on two main types of data, collected from English-medium university courses where English was used as the lingua franca: interrelated recordings of study event interactions from three different groups and research interviews with students, teachers (i.e. subject experts) and English instructors who attended the interactions.

The findings show that the scope of acceptability was wider than the scope of correctness when regulating language in interaction. Second language users of English took on and were assigned the role of language experts, and while speakers mainly drew on (their notions of) English native language norms for correctness, for instance, scientific contexts emerged as an alternative source for norm construction. Further, differences emerged between student, teacher and English instructor views, and generally, the informants' talk about language was found out to be more purist than their use of the regulatory mechanisms.

In all, the study shows that the construction of living norms is a complex process. On the one hand, speakers reproduce prescriptive, codified norms and thus turn them into living ones. On the other hand, the regulatory practices in the study event interaction and interview findings illustrate that speakers also construct irrelevance of prescriptive norms, and importantly draw on alternative sources, such as their academic field, for norm construction.

Yleistajuinen tiivistelmä

Kieltä säädellään yhteiskunnassa monin eri tavoin. Kielipoliittiset päätökset vaikuttavat esimerkiksi koulujen kielivalikoimiin, ja instituutiot kuten Kotimaisten kielten keskus julkaisevat sanakirjoja ja kielenhuolto-oppaita, joissa määritellään kielen hyväksyttävyyden rajoja. Kielen kodifiointi onkin tärkeimpiä syitä, miksi oletamme, että jokin kielen muoto voi olla oikein tai väärin. On kuitenkin selvää, että käyttämämme kieli voi poiketa ja usein poikkeaakin institutionaalisista oikeakielisyysmalleista. Miten kieltä sitten säädellään vuorovaikutustilanteissa ja miten ihmiset puhuvat kielestä?

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan, miten kielenkäyttäjät säätelevät kieltä eli neuvottelevat kielen hyväksyttävyydestä ja oikeellisuudesta ja rakentavat näin merkityksellisiä kielellisiä normeja. Kielensäätelyä lähestytään kahdesta näkökulmasta: (1) miten puhujat puuttuvat kieleen vuorovaikutustilanteissa (vuorovaikutuksen taso) ja (2) miten he puhuvat kielestä (ideologinen taso).

Tutkimusaineisto on kerätty kansainvälisiltä englanninkielisiltä yliopistokursseilta, joissa englantia käytettiin yleiskielenä, lingua francana. Aineisto koostuu kolmen ryhmän vuorovaikutustilanteiden nauhoituksista sekä näihin vuorovaikutuksiin osallistuneiden opiskelijoiden, opettajien ja englannin kielen opettajien haastatteluista.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että vuorovaikutustilanteissa puhujat eivät useinkaan puutu toistensa kieleen. Englantia vieraana kielenä puhuvat ottivat usein kielellisen asiantuntijan roolin, myös silloin, kun äidinkielisiä puhujia oli läsnä, ja vaikka oikeakielisyydestä neuvoteltaessa nojattiin pitkälti äidinkielisen puhujan malliin, vaihtoehtoisesti ammennettiin myös esimerkiksi tieteellisistä konteksteista. Puhujat eivät siis vain toistaneet tuttuja kodifioituja normeja, vaan käyttivät myös muita lähteitä (esim. tieteenalansa kontekstia) norminmuodostuksessa. Haastatteluissa opiskelijoilla, opettajilla ja englannin kielen opettajilla oli erilaisia käsityksiä kielestä ja sen säätelystä, ja tulosten vertaileva analyysi osoittaa, että opiskelijoiden ja opettajien puhe kielestä oli puristisempaa kuin heidän vuorovaikutuksessa käyttämänsä säätelymekanismit. Tärkeinä huomioina voidaan vielä nostaa esiin, että (1) englantia vieraana kielenä puhuvat toimivat kielen säätelijöinä, (2) kieleen puuttumista oli vähän ja kielellinen vaihtelu oli hyväksyttävää ja (3) kieltä arvotettiin sen tilanteisen riittävyyden eikä niinkään kodifioitujen normien mukaan.

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Parts of the findings reported in section 5.2.2 were published in the *Journal of Pragmatics* special issue on ELF, edited by Beyza Björkman (43 (4), 2011: 965–977), and a preliminary analysis of the student interviews reported in section 6.2 can be found in the *Helsinki English Studies* ELF issue, edited by Anna Mauranen and myself (6, 2010: 29–43). Moreover, my findings and remarks on language expert roles speakers take on in ELF interaction (chapter 5 and section 7.2.1) build on those published in the *AILA Review* 2012 issue of integrating content and language in higher education at mainland European universities, edited by Ute Smit and Emma Dafouz Milne.

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Niina Hynninen

1 Introduction

Whenever we communicate with others, we negotiate about the boundaries of what is acceptable language. In some situations, this may mean that we resort to codified standards found in dictionaries and grammar books; in other situations, we may not care about this kind of 'correctness'. What is acceptable language, then, may not have anything to do with correctness. In this study, I explore these questions of acceptability and correctness by focusing on spoken lingua franca communication. A lingua franca is a contact language used between speakers who do not share a first language. Often, however, speakers in lingua franca encounters share experiences of institutional language learning, and we may then expect that the negotiations of what is acceptable language will be influenced by these experiences, as well as the speakers' experiences of using the lingua franca. The question is through what practices speakers in lingua franca encounters regulate language in interaction, that is, what means they use to monitor and manage one another's language. My focus is on language-regulatory practices, or ways that speakers use to negotiate acceptable and also correct linguistic conduct. The regulatory practices looked into include explicit commenting and correcting of language, as well as more subtle regulatory practices. In addition to exploring the interactional dimension of language regulation, I consider the experiences and views of speakers participating in the analysed interactions to see how they think they use the lingua franca and how they think it ought to be used. With this dual approach, I aim to build a comprehensive picture of language regulation at the micro level of using a lingua franca, taking into account both regulatory practices in interaction and speaker views about the lingua franca and its regulation.

My focus is on academic discourse, with data collected from international university courses where English was used as the lingua franca. Academia is a natural choice for looking into lingua franca communication, since it is inherently international. At the same time, academic communication is demanding topic-wise, and thus requires speakers to have good command of the lingua franca. In addition, as studies on academic literacy have shown (e.g. Geisler 1994), using a language for academic purposes is a learning process also for its native speakers. Because of these complex circumstances, academic English as a lingua franca (ELF) is fascinating ground for an investigation of language regulation.

With its lingua franca perspective, this study contributes to the growing body of research on ELF (see Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011), but also provides new insights for research on English for Academic Purposes (EAP), which has traditionally oriented to the native speaker (see Mauranen 2012). Methodologically, the study combines insights from ethnography and discourse studies.

This introductory chapter first situates the study in the wider framework of language regulation, after which the focus is narrowed down to discuss the research questions. The structure of this book is presented in section 1.5.

1.1 Language regulation as a complex phenomenon

Languages are regulated in society in various ways, in different contexts and on different levels. Language policy decisions, for instance, influence the status of different languages and what languages are taught at school, whereas grammar books and dictionaries that codify language are often used as sources for 'correct' usage. Language policies and codification can thus influence people's language use, for example, in terms of guiding their language learning choices and notions of correctness. Against this backdrop, language regulation can be described as a multifaceted phenomenon. For one, it can be approached from an institutional perspective by focusing on language policies and guidelines, and the application of such policies and guidelines, for instance, in the teaching of languages. For another, it can be explored from a language-ideological perspective, for instance, considering speakers' ideologies about language and regulation. But the question that remains is how speakers regulate language at the level of interaction. A third option, then, is to approach language regulation from an interactional perspective and focus on the regulatory practices in interaction, and to consider what norms are reproduced or constructed as an alternative in the process. Let us consider each of the perspectives in turn.

On an *institutional* level, the use of languages is regulated through language policies and guidelines, which determine or influence the status of different languages and what languages we (can) use. There are various institutional regulatory organs that operate either internationally, nationally or on a more local level. In Europe, the European Union and the Council of Europe are influential language policy makers, whose decisions also filter down to national language policies, and in consequence influence, for instance, language education programmes. For higher education, decisions made at the European level include the creation of a European Higher Education Area, which has meant the introduction of the Bologna Process and the Erasmus exchange programme, among others.[1] While European language policy in general aims at plurilingualism, there seem to be at least two opposing forces at play: the strengthening of multi- and plurilingualism as support for the linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe, as opposed to the internationalisation of working life with its requirements of a shared language (Huhta 2005). What comes to the creation of a European Higher Education Area, especially the encouragement for mobility can be seen to reflect this dilemma: on the one hand, mobility enables students and staff to test and develop their plurilingual resources, but at the same time it increases the need for higher education institutions to establish courses and study programmes run in an international language – usually English – to attract international students and staff. In fact, there has been a tremendous increase in English-medium study programmes in Europe (as well as world-wide) within the last decade (Graddol 2006: 73–80; Wächter 2008; Smit & Dafouz 2012). This spread of English has given rise to much debate in Applied Linguistics (see e.g. Kirkpatrick 2009: 254–255; Phillipson 2006; Preisler: 2008; Tardy 2004), and higher education English language policy has received its share of the critique (see e.g. Ammon 2007; Jenkins 2011). The aim of this study, however, is not to enter into these debates, but primarily to explore the use of ELF at the micro level of English-medium university studies.

In addition to language policies that influence the status and role of different languages at different levels of society, there are institutional actors that deal with the regulation of individual languages. Language planning is sometimes the responsibility of institutes such as Académie Française and The Institute for the Languages of Finland[2], which steer the use of standard languages, for instance, by issuing guidelines on standard language use that describe (boundaries of) acceptable usage. Such institutes as well as the codification of language in dictionaries and grammar books in general contribute to the belief that there exists a standard, 'correct' language, which is more prestigious than other forms of the language (see Milroy & Milroy 1985). This belief is then further reinforced in language teaching, where grammar books and dictionaries are traditionally used as a yardstick for correct usage.

Language policy and planning decisions made on an institutional level thus have consequences for the micro level of language use, especially in terms of influencing what languages we (can) use (e.g. when interacting with government officials), but also in terms of shaping our notions of acceptability and correctness (e.g. prescriptive grammar books

[1] For more information on the higher education measures taken in Europe, see <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013).

[2] For more information, see <http://www.academie-francaise.fr> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013) for Académie Française and <http://www.kotus.fi/?l=en&s=1> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013) for The Institute for the Languages of Finland.

used in language teaching). However, to consider language regulation only as a top-down process is to simplify the matter. For instance, feminist movements have had a great influence on the attitudes towards sexist language, the use of English itself, as well as its institutional regulation (see Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003). What happens at the micro level of language use and users, then, can also influence institutional language planning and policies. This is what makes it important to focus on the language-regulatory practices people make use of in interaction, and how people understand language and regulation. In the context of new media studies, Blommaert et al. (2009) have called for an approach to language policy that takes into account the activities of a range of actors, including the micro-level language users. Their point is to shift attention from language policy as a product to the process of language norm construction in "polycentric multilingual environments" (Blommaert et al. 2009: 204). This is also the approach adopted in this study.

The *language-ideological* perspective on regulation deals with people's notions and views of language. A number of studies have been conducted on awareness of and attitudes towards ELF, but many of these studies have focused on the views of either practicing or prospective English instructors (e.g. Decke-Cornill 2003; Erling 2007; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2003), language learners (e.g. Matsuda 2003), or both (e.g. Hakala 2007; Ranta 2004, 2010; Timmis 2002). The studies have tended to explore people's attitudes towards and preferences of different varieties of English, as well as their views concerning the kind of English to be taught at school. The findings imply a preference for English native language (ENL) varieties, although attitudes seem to be changing towards, for instance, different non-native accents of English.

By charting the attitudinal atmosphere, we get an understanding of broader tendencies and changes in people's preferences; but in order to reach beyond preferences, it would be important to explore how people talk about language. Also, a focus on English instructors and language learners means a focus on people for whom English is an object of study, and for whom lingua franca use of English is an aspect of the subject they are teaching, or a future possibility. This focus can thus tell us little about the views of people who regularly use ELF, and for whom English may be a necessary means of communication. In addition, as I point out in Hynninen (2010: 30), English instructors and language learners may not have experiences of actual ELF interaction, and if they have no experiences of ELF, they may have difficulties imagining what ELF communication is like and what it could mean for the teaching of English. We thus need to explore what users of ELF have to say.

Previous research on ELF users' views has shown that ELF users have a tendency to take a practical approach to English. Kalocsai (2009) shows that a group of Erasmus students studying in Hungary described their English in terms of mutual intelligibility, and with little concern for whether they made "mistakes", and Ehrenreich (2009) and Smit (2010) report on informant accounts that imply the primacy of business and study goals respectively. Also Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen (2010), who discuss business professionals'perceptions of using English in their work, show how their informants took a practical view of English: its use was described by the informants as "simply work" (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010: 207; see also Kankaanranta & Planken 2010). Experiences of communication in ELF thus appear to relax people's attitudes towards correctness.

In addition to studies where people have been asked about their attitudes of or views on language, experiments have been conducted on what forms people consider grammatically correct and whether forms that they consider incorrect are still used, or reported to be used (e.g. Quirk & Svartvik 1966; Schmidt & McCreary 1977). Such experiments could be described as acceptability tests that focus on specific grammatical features and people's correctness judgements of the features. The tests tell us about discrepancies between what is seen to be grammatical and correct as opposed to what is seen to be acceptable. The findings of Schmidt and McCreary (1977), for instance, suggest that grammatical forms can change through usage, but if an outdated rule persists, for instance, in grammar books, it may still linger in people's minds and cause confusion. However, while the tests enable a focus on a specific set of features, they tell us little about how the features are treated in interaction and whether they at all become points for acceptability negotiation. This means that we need to turn to language regulation from an interactional perspective, and take into account that speakers in an interaction constantly negotiate acceptable language, and in the process construct (language) norms that are relevant for them (see Mäntynen, Halonen, Pietikäinen & Solin 2012: 332).

Previous studies have looked into *interactional* language regulation, for instance, from the perspectives of variation in the use of 3rd person pronouns in spoken Finnish (Lappalainen 2010), and the subverting and reproducing of institutionalised norms for language use in multilingual peer groups (Evaldsson & Cekaite 2010; Rampton 1995, 2006). Lappalainen's (2010) study on pronoun variation in spoken Finnish suggests that the standardisation of written Finnish has had an effect on pronoun use in spoken Finnish. Lappalainen does not see the pronoun variation as a problem as long as speakers are not confused by the conflict, in this case, between codified norms of written language and natural norms that arise in the course of interaction (see Karlsson 1995). Language correcting and commenting in interaction are an indication of such norm conflicts, but Lappalainen (2010) concludes that only some signs of them could be found in her data.

A somewhat more complex situation emerges in studies conducted on language use in multilingual peer groups: for instance, Rampton (1995, 2006) demonstrates that a group of adolescents in London use crossing (that is, they codeswitch into a language that is not seen to be 'theirs'), and through such language experimentation can be seen to create hybrid forms of language that come to question the "monolingual unitary code" (Evaldsson & Cekaite 2010: 587). Then again, minority children in Swedish shools have been found out to reproduce the hierarchical relationship constructed between proper or correct Swedish and other linguistic varieties and forms, which is seen to enforce the monolingual norms of the majority (Evaldsson & Cekaite 2010: 601). In the peer group studies, the informants use English or Swedish as a lingua franca, but they use it in a context where the majority language also is English or Swedish. When talking about ELF use in academia, however, the context very often is non-English speaking, which means that we could expect language norms related to English-speaking cultures to play a lesser role in academic ELF than the respective cultures in the peer group studies.

In addition to the above-mentioned studies, research has been conducted in Conversation Analysis (CA) on repairs that are used to display communicative trouble (e.g. Schegloff 2000; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). Much of this work on repairs deals with repairs as a means to ensure understanding, rather than as a language-regulatory practice that can define boundaries of acceptable language. Moreover, language corrections (as a subgroup of repairs) have been explored mainly in studies focusing on interaction between first language (L1) and second language (L2) speakers, where L2 speakers tend to be treated as learners of the language in question. What these studies imply is that language correcting is not common, but that when correcting occurs, it is almost always done by the L1 speaker (e.g. Hosoda 2006; Kurhila 2001, 2003). This reflects the asymmetric relations in L1–L2 interaction. Whether similarly asymmetric relations can be found in ELF interaction, and what alternatives emerge, is what this study partly seeks answers to. However, I do not simply consider the relationship between L1 and L2 speakers in ELF interaction, but also that of different user groups (students, their teachers and English instructors).

My focus, then, is on the interactional and ideological dimensions of language regulation. With language regulation I mean the reproduction of codified norms and the construction of alternative language norms. This includes both language-regulatory practices of managing and monitoring language in interaction, and speakers' notions of acceptability and correctness in language. The interactional and ideological dimensions of regulation are thus approached from a bottom-up perspective, that is, I explore language-regulatory practices in ELF interaction and speaker notions of ELF. The findings are constrasted in a comparative analysis based on tertia comparationis, or common qualities found in the two analyses (see Sørensen 2008, 2010).[3] The comparative analysis links the findings to two wide-spread ideologies relevant for ELF: the ideologies of language maintenance and native speaker ownership of English (see Haberland 2011; Widdowson 1994). This is done in order to consider the implications of the findings on a more general level. The institutional level of language regulation and language policies are not analysed in this study, but they are taken into account as the backdrop for the micro-level language regulation focused on.

1.2 Why focus on academic ELF

This study was conducted in the *English as a lingua franca in academic settings* (ELFA) research team at the University of Helsinki.[4] It forms part of the project *Studying in English as a lingua franca* (SELF)[5], which, in late 2007, set out to explore the use of ELF in English-medium university studies with a combined focus on participant perspectives and language use. Instead of collecting material through audio-recordings of different kinds of individual events, as was done in the earlier ELFA corpus of spoken academic ELF[6], this meant that the material was collected from interrelated group work and course meetings by recording and observing the events, collecting written texts related to the events (such as students' reports and presentation slides), and conducting research interviews with students and teachers (i.e. subject experts)[7] attending the events. This ethnographically-informed approach was designed to complement the research (being) done on the ELFA corpus. Studies on the ELFA corpus shed light on the observable tendencies in the use of lexico-grammatical features in academic ELF, and whether the features are specific to ELF or common to L1 or L2 varieties of English. The research conducted on the ELFA

[3] For a more detailed discussion, see chapter 4. When referring to more than one tertium comparationis, I use the more accurate Latin plural form tertia comparationis, rather than tertii comparationis used in Sørensen (2008) and (2010). I thank Prof. Barbara Seidlhofer for pointing this out to me.
[4] The website of the ELFA research team is at <http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013).
[5] The SELF project was directed by Prof. Anna Mauranen. It received funding from the University of Helsinki Research Funds for the three-year period of 2008–2010. For more information, see <http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/self> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013).
[6] For more information on the ELFA corpus, see <http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/elfacorpus> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013).
[7] I refer to the experts teaching or mentoring the student groups collectively as teachers. If a distinction between teachers and mentors is deemed necessary, I talk about teachers and mentors respectively. To avoid terminological ambiguity, the term *English instructor* is reserved for English teachers.

corpus has shown, for instance, extended use of the present progressive for an 'attention-catching' function (Ranta 2006), and the 'approximation' of phraseological units, that is, phraseological units have been found to be used in their established sense, but with slight deviations from the standard form (Mauranen 2009a). Research in the SELF project, then again, looks into the processes and mechanisms of achieving mutual understanding in interaction, which in turn can help understand "the processes that go towards explaining why features develop the way they do" (Mauranen 2009b). Mauranen's (2007) work on explicitness in ELF interaction is a case in point (even if conducted with ELFA corpus data). This is also where the findings of this study factor in.

In addition to studies done on the ELFA corpus, research on academic ELF has, for instance, looked into the pragmatics (Björkman 2009; House 2003; Knapp 2011a, 2011b) and morphosyntax of academic ELF (Björkman 2008), as well as lecturing in English (Airey 2011) and lecture comprehension and student learning in lectures (Airey 2009; Mulligan & Kirkpatrick 2000; Suviniitty 2012). A few studies have also been conducted on ELF used among exchange students (Kalocsai 2009; Shaw, Caudery & Petersen 2009). If we extend our scope to higher education in general, we can also include Smit's (2010) ethnography on ELF use in a higher education study programme. A variety of approaches to academic ELF or ELF in higher education thus already exist, but none of the studies so far has focused on language regulation. In addition, few (if any) of the studies include a comparison of separate bottom-up analyses of ELF interaction (recorded in more interactive settings than lectures) and research interviews.

Since the data used in this study come from English-medium events, rather than English language classes, the speakers in the events are treated as users of English, and not learners. This does not mean, of course, that a speaker could not take on the role of language learner, for instance, by referring to his or her English as inadequate, but the situation itself does not place the speakers in the position of language learner. The distinction between language learners and users is important when studying language regulation, since language learners can be expected to reproduce (or try to reproduce) prescriptive language norms, whereas language users are more likely to take charge of the language (see Mauranen 2012: ch. 1). They may act as if prescriptive norms are not relevant, and they may also construct alternative norms.

In this study, ELF is understood in a broad sense to cover communication between speakers who do not share an L1. The term L1 is used to refer to a speaker's mother tongue, understood as a language (or languages) that the speaker has acquired in childhood. The term L2 refers to any language a speaker has learned in addition to his or her L1(s). This means that L2 is used as an umbrella term to cover all additional languages irrespective of whether the language was learned as a second, third (etc.) language, and irrespective of whether the language could be subclassified as a *foreign language* (FL). When a more detailed classification is needed, it is spelled out in the text.

1.3 The research site and data

The data for this study were collected at the University of Helsinki, Finland. As in so many other higher education institutions outside English-speaking countries, a great number of English-medium study programmes were established at the University of Helsinki during the first decade of the 2000s, and in 2012, it offered over 35 international Master's Degree Programmes. In 2007, the university also published an official language policy, in which the two national languages of Finland, Finnish and Swedish, are given primary role as the two official languages of the university (UH Language Policy 2007). In the policy, English is recognised as "the academic *lingua franca*" (UH Language Policy 2007: 41, original italics), and based on this, the development and creation of English-medium programmes is encouraged.[8] The policy also mentions language support services, which are offered by the university's Language Centre[9]. Since this study focuses on the use of ELF in English-medium studies, the findings are of relevance in developing the language support services. The practical implications of this study are discussed in chapter 8.

My data consist of recordings of three 'study events', or courses and course-related meetings arranged at the university, along with research interviews conducted with students and teachers participating in the events. A study event consists of a series of interrelated meetings, not just one. The events focused on include: (a) group work meetings of a student group, (b) a teacher-led course, and (c) group work meetings of a student group guided by two mentors. All the events are interactional in nature, and each event has its own characteristics. Together, the events along with the research interviews provide both student and teacher/mentor perspectives, and the third event also includes

[8] Concern for the growing impact of English is taken up in the policy, and although Finnish, Swedish and English are separated out, the importance of other languages and the furtherance of their use come out clearly: "The growing impact of English as a foreign language may weaken users' skills in their first language and in languages other than English. Therefore, the University should be able to provide teaching and promote a range of activities in languages other than English" (UH Language Policy 2007: 44).

[9] For more information on the Helsinki University Language Centre, see <http://www.helsinki.fi/kksc/english> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013).

an English instructor perspective.[10] My focus is on the ELF interaction between the students and teachers and the views of these two groups. The perspective of the English instructor is taken on board, since it is quite prominent in higher education contexts where English is used as the medium of instruction, but is not the language of the society at large. A more detailed description of the data is given in chapter 4.

1.4 Research questions

This study focuses on language regulation in a context where English is used as a lingua franca. Language regulation includes both language-regulatory practices of managing and monitoring language in interaction and speakers' notions of acceptability and correctness in language. However, it does not cover appropriateness (see Warren 2006: 128–129; see also chapter 2). Appropriateness is a sociolinguistic concept that deals with the degree of social acceptability of language use in a particular occasion (e.g. eavesdropping or swearing at a fancy dinner party may be considered inappropriate). Also, while it is understood that institutional regulation of language can be consequential for the regulatory dimensions focused on in this study, this aspect is left out from closer scrutiny. Institutionalised language norms are, however, considered to the extent that they are made relevant by the informants.

The research questions addressed in this study are:

(1) In what ways is language regulation carried out in ELF interaction?
(2) How do speakers of ELF perceive English and its regulation?
(3) What do the findings imply in terms of norm construction in ELF?

First, in chapter 5, I look into language-regulatory practices in the ELF interaction of the study events to see what boundaries of acceptability and correctness the speakers construct. These practices include not only explicit commenting on language and language corrections, but also more subtle regulatory practices (embedded repairs, reformulations and mediation, and lexical accommodation). While explicit regulatory practices often deal with notions of correctness, the more subtle practices shed light on the scope of acceptability. In this study, I focus on a number of both types of regulatory practices that were found to occur in the data. This analysis seeks answers to the questions of who

[10] An English instructor from the Helsinki University Language Centre attended the third study event on two short occasions, and his perspectives (along with those of two other instructors) are thus included in the study.

regulates language, in what situational contexts and in what ways. The relationship between the concepts acceptability, correctness and appropriateness I discuss in chapter 2.

Second, in chapter 6, I explore how English and its regulation are viewed by the speakers. This is done by analysing research interviews conducted with students and teachers who attended the study event interactions. The analysis focuses on student and teacher experiences of ELF and notions of language constructed in the interview accounts. The idea, then, is to find out (a) how the interviewees think they and other speakers use English, and (b) how they think they *ought to* use English. The student and teacher interviews are further compared to perspectives of university English instructors. The interviewees' descriptions of English are analysed for the interpretative repertoires (cf. Potter & Wetherell 1987) manifest in them.

The two dimensions of analysis (regulatory practices and notions of language) are seen as complementary viewpoints on language regulation, which means that they combine speakers' manifest activity (i.e. language-regulatory practices) with speaker views about ELF. In the third stage of the analysis (chapter 7), the findings are brought together in a comparative analysis based on common qualities, or "organising patterns" (Sørensen 2010: 56–57) that cut across the two micro level analyses of chapters 5 and 6. These tertia comparationis found in the micro level analyses are further linked to the macro level ideologies of language maintenance and native speaker ownership of English (see Haberland 2011), which means that the analysis seeks connections between the micro level of language use and users (chapters 5 and 6), and the macro level of ideologies.[11] The comparative analysis includes comparing the regulatory practices with the views, but the findings are not compared directly to each other, but indirectly through the analysis based on the tertia comparationis. By doing this, I avoid the fallacy of using one type of findings to explain the other type, but I still acquire a comprehensive understanding of the norm construction processes on the micro level of language users and language use. What is more, the introduction of the macro-level ideologies means that I can bring the question of constructing living norms in ELF interaction to a more general level of discussion.

The study thus explores the question of language regulation by analysing what gets constructed as acceptable and correct in the ELF interaction, and what norms speakers report to be orienting to. These findings are then considered in the light of norm construction in ELF. The study can be placed within the intersection of ethnographically-informed discourse studies, EAP and ELF. For one, the data collection was

[11] See chapters 4 and 7 for more detailed discussions on this.

ethnographically informed; second, the study focuses on English used for academic purposes, particularly in lingua franca settings, and takes an ELF perspective on L2 use; and third, the analysis draws on a combination of discourse analytic methods. The design of the study combines elements from ethnographic and discourse analytic research. Methodologically, the study opens up questions dealing with the analysis of a diverse set of data, specifically in terms of the relationships of the different types of data to one another.

1.5 Structure of the book

This book is divided into eight chapters. In the following chapter 2 "Language regulation", I focus on the theoretical framework of the study by discussing the concept of language regulation. The chapter describes what I mean with the concept, and introduces the two dimensions of language regulation dealt with in this study: (a) the interactional dimension, and (b) the ideological dimension of language regulation. Chapter 3 "English as a lingua franca" turns to the notion of ELF. In the chapter, I discuss the ELF approach adopted in this study by drawing on previous studies conducted on ELF and academic discourse. In chapter 4 "Material and Methods", I describe the data and their collection, as well as the methods of analysing the data. Chapters 5–7 form the analysis chapters of this study. Chapter 5 "Language-regulatory practices" focuses on the interactional dimension of language regulation. In this chapter, I look into a number of language-regulatory practices found to occur in the data, that is, language commenting, other corrections of language, embedded repairs, reformulation and mediation as well as lexical accommodation. Chapter 6 "Interpretative repertoires of language and its regulation" turns to the ideological dimension of language regulation. In this chapter, I analyse the interview data for the interpretative repertoires manifest in the interview accounts. Student and teacher interviews as well as English instructor interviews are looked into separately. In chapter 7 "Comparisons: The construction of living norms", I compare the findings of the two previous chapters. This is done with the help of a comparative analysis based on tertia comparationis. This analysis further seeks to relate the findings to wider discussions about norm construction in ELF. The study ends with concluding comments and evaluation of the study presented in chapter 8 "Conclusion".

2 Language regulation

In this chapter, I explore norms of language, and discuss how norms of language relate to the concept of language regulation. I approach language norms as social norms that regulate speakers' linguistic conduct, rather than as norms of the language system. The approach to language norms as social norms is the focus of section 2.1, which also provides the definition of language regulation. The following section 2.2 deals with the negotiation of norms, with a particular focus on the construction of norms relevant for a specific linguistic community, or a community of practice. I use the term (linguistic) community as an umbrella term to refer to any community of language users, whereas the concept of community of practise (Lave and Wenger 1991), discussed in more detail in section 2.2.2, is used in reference to people who engage in a joint endeavour. Section 2.3 describes the methodological framework developed on the basis of the earlier sections. It introduces the dual approach to language regulation adopted in this study, and thus describes what is meant with interactional and ideological dimensions of language regulation.

2.1 Norms of language and language regulation

Social norms, to which also norms of language belong (Bartsch 1982: 61; Hartung 1977: 11; Piippo 2012), have been approached from a variety of perspectives within linguistics – with influences drawn from the social sciences, philosophy and law (see Bartsch 1987; Bicchieri & Muldoon 2011). Many of the approaches to norms, and norms of language in particular, have been essentially theoretical (e.g. Bartsch 1982; Piippo 2012), although there are some studies that discuss processes of norm-formation based on empirical data (e.g. Johnstone & Baumgardt 2004; Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh 2009). Below I take a brief look at the development of the norm concept in linguistics after which I turn to some of the more central notions of language norms in view of the study at hand (section 2.1.1). In section 2.1.2, I introduce related concepts, whereas sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 discuss the norm concept in relation to language regulation: in section 2.1.3, I focus on the relationship between beliefs, expectations and norm-abiding behaviour, and in section 2.1.4, I consider the difference between what is common and what is normative. Both of these questions are important for understanding the approach to language regulation adopted in this study, and pave the way to the definition of language regulation given in section 2.1.5.

2.1.1 Language norms

Some of the early approaches to norms considered 'norm' as a mediating concept between the language system and speech (Coseriu 1970; Hjelmslev 1942). The norm, as proposed by Coseriu (1970), restricts possibilities that the system of a language permits, and speech, then, is the realization of the norm. In other words, the norm is a restriction on the possible patterns and structures that are compatible with a language system (Bartsch 1982: 52). In contrast, Prague school linguists focused their attention on the function of norms and the difference between norms and their codification (Hartung 1977: 51). Havránek (1964), for instance, emphasises that all linguistic communities have their own linguistic norm, whether codified or not. This means a shift from the norm of a (standard) language to the norm of a dialect, of a sociolect, of a register and so on. A distinction is also made between the norms of written and spoken languages. The Prague school linguists thus brought the concept of norm to the level of linguistic communities by pointing out that dialects had norms of their own, albeit not codified ones (see Švejcer 1987).

However, the above approaches have been criticised (Bartsch 1982: 53, 55; see also Bamgbose 1987) for their focus on 'the norm' of a language (as in Coseriu 1970) or 'the norm' of a dialect (as in the Prague school), which hides the possibility that conflicting norms could exist within a linguistic community. The distinction made by the Prague school between norms and their codification is, nevertheless, an important step towards a focus on norms relevant to linguistic communities (or communities of practice; see section 2.2.2) rather than on norms of the standard language (see e.g. Schwarz 1977: 73; Švejcer 1987) – a central distinction for the purposes of this study.

Now, in order to arrive at a definition of language norms, let us compare three different approaches to language norms: Bamgbose (1987, 1998), Bartsch (1982; 1987) and Piippo (2012). All these approaches distinguish between norms relevant to linguistic communities and those of the standard language, and all of the approaches consider norms to be variable in scope and agree that different norms may exist within the same community. However, the norm concept is defined differently in each approach, and thus a closer look at each approach is in order.

I start with Bamgbose (1987: 105, see also 1998) who defines a language norm as "a standard language form or practice that serves as a reference point for other language forms or practices", and then proceeds to distinguishing three norm types: code norm, feature norm and behavioural norm. He defines the norm types thus:

(i) Code norm: A standard variety of a language or a language selected from a group of languages and allocated for official or national purposes.
(ii) Feature norm: Any typical property of spoken or written language at whatever level (e.g. phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, orthographic, etc.) and the rules that go with its production or use.
(iii) Behavioural norm: The set of conventions that go with speaking including expected patterns of behaviour while interacting with others, the mode of interpreting what is said, and attitudes in general to others' manner of speaking.

(Bamgbose 1987: 105)

The definition of a language norm as a *standard* language form or practice implies that a language norm is a codified norm, although the differentiation between the three types of norms means that different norms may exist within a community, and some norms may, for instance, cut across communities and thus have a wider scope than other norms (Bamgbose 1987: 111). However, codification is central to Bamgbose's (1998: 5) approach in that he argues that for a variety to become a point of reference for usage and acceptance, it needs to be codified.[12]

Bamgbose (1998) does not go into much detail in terms of the relationship between the different types of norms, but considering his discussion of the codification of different varieties of English, it appears that a code norm refers to a standard variety (such as Standard British English), a behavioural norm refers to what is appropriate usage in interaction, and a feature norm determines acceptable linguistic form. Bamgbose's (1998) point, then, appears to be that behavioural norms should guide the creation of feature norms in order for a variety to become a point of reference for usage and acceptability – and thus a language norm. While I fully agree with this starting point for the codification of varieties, for my purposes, I need a definition of language norms

[12] Seidlhofer (2009a, 2011) takes up Bamgbose's (1987, 1998) differentiation between feature and behavioural norms in discussing ELF, and sees particular relevance in behavioural norms. See chapter 3 for a discussion on this.

according to which language norms do not necessarily have to mean standard language forms or practices.

Bartsch's (1987) theoretical model of norms of language provides some answers. Bartsch (1987: xii) defines norms as "the social reality of correctness notions", with correctness notions considered to be necessary for the recognisability and interpretability of linguistic expressions. In Bartsch's (1987: 172) model, acceptability is not necessarily identical with linguistic correctness or grammaticality of the utterance (irrespective of the standard compared to), which means that ungrammatical expressions may very well be constructed acceptable in the course of interaction. For Bartsch (1987: 172, 213), acceptability means correctness with respect to the highest norm of communication, that is, achieving understanding, whereas correctness is achieved by compliance with established linguistic norms. This distinction between acceptability and correctness makes it possible to see interaction as a possible site for norm negotiation: acceptable usage that deviates from correct usage can, when it recurs, lead to change of language norms. However, in the model, correct usage is still seen in relation to established (codified) norms, a system that is already there, waiting to be used, rather than something that is maintained and reconstructed in interaction (see Piippo 2012: 110). While I draw on Bartsch (1987) and distinguish between acceptability and correctness in my conceptualisation of language norms, I see both acceptability and correctness as maintained and reconstructed by speakers in interaction.

The third definition of language norms I want to take a closer look at is the one given in Piippo (2012). For Piippo (2012), norms are empirical phenomena, and importantly in her theory, established (codified) norms are *not* an assumed yardstick. Piippo (2012: 27) defines language norms as "concepts of appropriate, expected and meaningful conduct", by which she means that:

> [language norms] are representations that contain the knowledge of a certain linguistic element's social range as well as its social domain. In other words, norms are knowledge about semiotic signs and their social meaning potentials. This includes knowledge about by whom and in what type of situations the sign could be appropriately and meaningfully used. (Piippo 2012: 232–233)

This understanding of norms builds on the notion of appropriateness of an utterance or expression to a specific situation. Piippo (2012: 29) rejects earlier definitions of norms that rely on the notion of correctness (e.g. Bartsch 1987) in order to, on the one hand, emphasise the context-bound nature of normativity and on the other, avoid the connotations of prescription and grammatical well-formedness connected with the notion. However, on the whole, this makes the definition too broad for the purposes of this study: appropriateness deals with questions of socially acceptable behaviour, such as the social acceptability of swearing (see Warren 2006: 128–129), whereas my focus is on the construction of acceptable language. This kind of acceptability is what speakers achieve through the process of language regulation in interaction (section 5.1.2): by intervening in one's own or one another's language, but also by letting, for instance, unconventional forms pass. When I talk about language norms, then, I refer to representations of acceptable, rather than appropriate, linguistic conduct. What speakers construct as acceptable linguistic conduct is further seen to exert different degrees of "normative force" (Bartsch 1987: 166) – understood in this study as a sense of 'oughtness', that certain kind of conduct is expected of members of a group (see Piippo 2012: 40). This means that we can expect different normative force for the linguistic conduct that speakers construct as acceptable compared to the conduct they construct as correct.

2.1.2 Related concepts

Concepts such as *habit*, *custom*, and *convention* are occasionally used almost interchangeably with the concept of norm. This is not surprising in that all these concepts deal with observable regularities in behaviour. A habit, however, is first and foremost a regularity in an *individual's* behaviour (Wright 1963: 8). For instance, one might have a habit of starting the day by drinking a glass of water, but such behaviour is not connected to one's membership in a community. It is not a social norm.[13] Customs, then again, are treated by von Wright (1963: 8–9) as social habits, and he considers them to be "norm-like" in the sense of influencing speakers' conduct by exerting "normative pressure" on members of a community. A custom implies expectations of regularity, but contrary to a norm, nobody can be required to abide by a custom (see Bartsch 1987: 166).

Conventions, as defined by Lewis (1969: 78), are regularities in the behaviour of members of a community; but for Lewis, convention is not a normative term, even if he argues that conventions may be a type of norms: "regularities to which we believe one

[13] Some scholars, though, do consider habits to be social in that they talk about the habitual grounds of social action (e.g. Alasuutari 2005).

ought to conform" (1969: 97).[14] Lewis (1969) works with a form of rational choice theory, with focus on coordinating actions. His account of convention has been criticised particularly because it only makes use of individualist concepts (individual's preferences, beliefs and actions), and because the notion largely requires uniformity in the conforming behaviour of the members of a community as well as their expectations and preferences (Miller 1992; Piippo 2012: 37–38). This kind of 'individualist' approach does not take into account that speakers reflect on and negotiate acceptability in relation to a group; but rather it sees the reasons for following conventions as purely rational and utilitarian (Piippo 2012: 38).

On account of their relation to observable regularities in behaviour, I am inclined to agree with Piippo (2012: 41) that customs and conventions may best be seen as types of norms that exert different normative force, or a sense of 'oughtness'. In this perspective, we have a continuum where customs may be followed without much conscious reflection, whereas the other end of the continuum is represented by prescriptive (language) standards that generally exert high normative force.

In this study, *language standards* are seen as one type of language norms: they are codified language norms in the form of prescriptive rules to which members of a community are generally expected to conform, for example, in educational systems. Standard language, such as Standard British or American English, is often used as such a norm. With *standard language*, I mean a variety (or varieties) of language that is generally seen as the yardstick to which all other varieties or usage is compared. It is a label given to a variety that is typically used as a reference point for acceptability and correctness in language, even if actual usage may conform to it to a greater or lesser extent (see Milroy & Milroy 1985: 23). The term ENL norms, then again, is used more broadly to refer to norms associated with ENL use. For instance, when my informants clearly imply ENL use, but it remains unclear whether they talk about codified language norms, I use the term ENL norms.

The notion of *rule*, which is also sometimes used interchangeably with *norm* (see Bartsch 1987: 168–170; Piippo 2012: 38–39), is used in this study to refer to tools used for linguistic description (a Standard English grammar rule would, for instance, be: "capitalise a proper noun").

[14] Even if Lewis (1969) leaves out normative terms from his definition of conventions, his notion has subsequently been used as a basis for models of conventions or norms of language with a normative dimension (see Bicchieri 2006).

2.1.3 Normative beliefs vs. behaviour

One major question dealt with in studies concerning social norms has been the relationship between normative beliefs and behaviour. According to Bicchieri and Muldoon (2011), some scholars have identified norms with observable, recurrent patterns of behaviour; whereas others have defined them as people's beliefs and expectations of the kind of behaviour that is prescribed (or proscribed) in a given social context. However, neither of the approaches appears adequate to explain what norms are and how they emerge.

The former approach maintains that conforming behaviour is rationally chosen in fear of sanctions that norm-breaching would cause, but this is problematic, since not all norms involve sanctions (Bicchieri 2006: 8; Bicchieri & Muldoon 2011). Also, taking a purely behavioural account of norms fails to distinguish between what is common as opposed to what is normative, or considered to be normative (see section 2.1.4).

The latter approach where norms are equated with people's beliefs and expectations, then again, is problematic if we want to explain behaviour. A number of studies in social sciences (e.g. Bicchieri 2006; Bicchieri & Xiao 2009; LaPiere 1934; Wicker 1969) and linguistics (e.g. Quirk & Svartvik 1966; Schmidt & McCreary 1977) have shown that our normative beliefs do not necessarily reflect in our behaviour. In linguistics, experiments have been made on speakers' notions of grammatical correctness and their correlation with usage, or reported usage as is the case with, for instance, Quirk and Svartvik (1966) and Schmidt and McCreary (1977). The experiments have revealed discrepancies between the correctness notions and the forms speakers actually use (or what they report to use), which shows that speakers' normative beliefs do not necessarily result in behaviour that is in compliance with their beliefs. When dealing with language, we thus need to take into account that linguistic behaviour does not necessarily conform to speakers' normative beliefs about language. This calls for an approach that explores behaviour and beliefs separately.

In some theories dealing with language norms (e.g. Bartsch 1987; Piippo 2012), norms as actual practice are separated from evaluative behaviour concerning language. Bartsch (1987: 177–178) does this by dividing the sphere of norms into population and situation domains. The domains are further divided into practice, acceptance, adoption, validity and justification, which means that for some section of a population or in some situations, norms may, for instance, be accepted as a guide for behaviour even if they did not regulate the behaviour (i.e. exist as a practice). As Kauhanen [Piippo] (2006: 42) rightly points out, this explains how people, for instance, may have positive views about norms of the standard language even if they did not apply the norms in practice.

Further, what recent social scientific research suggests is that conformity to a norm is conditional upon empirical and normative expectations (Bicchieri 2006; see also Bartsch 1987: 141; Bicchieri & Muldoon 2011; Lewis 1969: 97–100). Empirical expectations mean that a speaker expects that a sufficient number of people in a social situation conforms to the norm; and normative expectations mean that the speaker expects that other people expect him or her to do the same, and that they possibly enact positive or negative sanctions depending on whether the speaker conforms to the norm or not (Bicchieri 2006: 11). We should note here that Bicchieri (2006: 11) talks about a person's preference to conform. The approach entails that norms need to be approached not simply as either recurrent behaviour or normative beliefs, but as behaviour supported by shared expectations, as summarised by Bicchieri (2006: 10):

> Norms refer to behavior, to actions over which people have control, and are supported by shared expectations about what should/should not be done in different types of social situations. Norms, however, cannot just be identified with observable behavior, nor can they be equated with normative beliefs, as normative beliefs may or may not result in appropriate actions.

With the introduction of empirical and normative expectations, then, what becomes important when dealing with language norms is not only to separate linguistic behaviour from speakers' (normative) beliefs about language, but also to distinguish between speakers' beliefs about language and their expectations of language use in specific contexts, because speakers' linguistic behaviour is more likely to be guided by their expectations than by their beliefs. Support for the distinction of speakers' beliefs and expectations will be given in the analysis (chapter 6), where students' descriptions of their experiences of ELF interaction were found to differ from their (normative) beliefs about language.

2.1.4 Common vs. normative

Another important distinction when talking about norms of language is the distinction between the notions of *common* and *normative*. This distinction is discussed by Andersen (2009, see also 1989; cf. Bicchieri 2006: 29), who categorises norms into declarative and deontic norms. Declarative norms define what is common, and they are divided into descriptive (or statistical) norms and experiential norms (cf. Agha 2007: 124-127). Descriptive norms refer to what is common linguistic behaviour in a linguistic community, which follows Coseriu's (1970) model where the system of language is seen to restrict patterns and structures of 'normal' speech thus constituting the norm. For Coseriu (1970), what is common and in that sense normal builds the norm. To find out what descriptive norms exist in a community, then, we need quantitative methods that can tell us about the frequencies of linguistic expressions. For instance, variationist sociolinguists establish descriptive norms when they quantify variables and compare their usage in different social categories such as speakers' ethnicity and age, and make statements about the frequencies of the variables (cf. Labov 1972b). Similarly, corpus linguistics can offer insights into what is common, and for instance Ranta's (2006) study on the progressive *-ing* used in the ELFA corpus suggests that the form is assigned an extra function compared to how it is used by native speakers of English in the MICASE[15]. The extended use of the progressive in ELF, and especially its extension for the specific function of "attention-catching" (Ranta 2006: 114), suggests that we are talking about a descriptive norm. In addition to descriptive norms, declarative norms include experiential norms, which refer to what speakers consider to be common, whether, statistically speaking, this is so or not. In order to study experiental norms we might, then, devise a questionnaire asking the speakers in Ranta's (2006) study to give their impressions of the frequency of *-ing* forms in ELF interaction. This way we might get an idea of the speakers' awareness of the extended use and the meanings the speakers attach to it.

In sum, descriptive norms tell us about the actual usage and experiental norms about speakers' beliefs about the usage. Since changes in frequency patterns can be seen to indicate language change, declarative norms are valuable in suggesting directions for such change (see Milroy 1992: 91): both in terms of what is happening at the level of usage, and how people perceive the changes. However, neither what is common nor what is considered to be common automatically translates into what is acceptable or considered to be so (see Hartung 1977: 19–20). For this, we need what Andersen (2009) terms deontic norms, that is, norms that define what is acceptable: what we are permitted to do or not allowed to do in certain circumstances, as well as what we are obligated to do or prohibited of doing (cf. Beller 2008).

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[15] For more on the Michigan corpus of academic spoken English (MICASE), see <http://micase.elicorpora.info> (Accessed 28 June 2012).

In Andersen's (2009) terminology, deontic norms are divided into prescriptive and living norms[16]. Prescriptive norms are defined as usage that is considered correct according to an established standard (Andersen 2009: 24). They are thus codified norms. In the case of English, using prescriptive norms would mean, for instance, using Standard English as the yardstick for correct use of the language, irrespective of who would be using the language or where it would be used (cf. Bamgbose 1998). Since such language standards are widely used, for example, in language teaching, it can be expected that prescriptive norms generally form part of speakers' normative beliefs about language. What Andersen (2009) terms living norms, then again, are appropriateness norms that are constructed and reconstructed in linguistic communities, or communities of practice (cf. Piippo 2012; see also Karlsson 1995). They are relevant in a community, but not necessarily codified. According to Andersen (1989, 2009), living norms are what arise and are shaped and reshaped in communities through what he calls an implicit metadialogue, where speakers' expectations about appropriate behaviour are constantly reflected with the actual behaviour of others. Thus, living norms do not have to correspond to prescriptive norms, even if prescriptive norms may become living norms when accepted as such in a community.

To further clarify what the distinction between prescriptive and living norms means, let us briefly return to Piippo's (2012: 30) dialogical approach to norms where norms (in general) are seen to emerge out of social interaction and to be maintained through it. This approach lends support to an interactional approach to norm construction (see Johnstone & Baumgardt 2004; Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh's 2009): ultimately all norms are constructed, maintained and partially changed in interaction, whether prescribed (codified) or living (mainly non-codified). Living, or non-codified, norms emerge as a result of acceptability negotiation in interaction, whereas prescriptive, or codified, norms arise as a consequence of linguistic description and codification. What is crucial, however, is that codified norms are not treated as relevant at the outset, but rather only to the extent that they are maintained and accepted in interaction. As Piippo (2012: 225) puts it these "varyingly binding prescriptions and guidelines [of linguistic conduct] become bona fide norms at the point when language users recognize them as expectations directed at their own linguistic behaviour or that of the others". In order to see what role speakers in a community of practice place on codified norms and what alternative norms may be

[16] This division roughly corresponds to Karlsson's (1995) discussion on correctness norms as opposed to norms that guide our everyday language use in different situations (natural norms, but also genre and situational norms).

constructed, then, we need to focus on the ways speakers construct acceptability (and correctness) in language during interaction.

When norms are divided into declarative and deontic ones, we realise that by quantifying expressions we can find out about what is common, whereas the question of acceptable language use requires a more qualitative approach. Further, the division of deontic norms into prescriptive (codified) and living (mainly non-codified) ones draws attention to the fact that prescriptive norms may not be constructed as relevant in a community of practice. To what extent the speakers in this study draw on prescriptive norms while constructing their living norms is discussed in chapter 7.

2.1.5 Defining language regulation

The norms of language – representations of acceptable linguistic conduct – explored in this study are deontic norms, and the focus, in particular, is on living norms. Language regulation is the discursive practice through which norms are reproduced and through which alternative ones emerge. As was discussed in section 2.1.3, it is important to distinguish speakers' behaviour from their expectations and beliefs. I have thus adopted a two-dimensional approach to language regulation: I focus on (1) the use of language-regulatory mechanisms of managing and monitoring language when interacting with others in the same community of practice, and (2) the ways participants construct normative beliefs about language and (eventually shared) expectations of how language should be used in the community. The language-regulatory mechanims form the interactional dimension of language regulation, whereas the construction of expectations and beliefs forms the ideological dimension (I return to the two dimensions in section 2.3).

With language-regulatory mechanisms, I refer both to the managing and monitoring of one's own as well as one another's language, although this study mainly deals with the latter. Speakers use language-regulatory mechanisms to negotiate acceptable and correct linguistic conduct. Similarly to Bartsch (1987), I distinguish between acceptability and correctness, but for me, both acceptability and correctness are negotiable in interaction (as argued in section 2.1.1). This means that speakers may also negotiate correct usage in interaction, and in the process come to ignore or challenge codified norms. For instance, language corrections are treated as language-regulatory mechanisms. In addition, explicit comments on language during interaction function as a link between the interactional and the ideological dimensions, since the comments make visible speakers' expectations and beliefs.

My focus on the construction of beliefs and expectations follows on from the discussion in section 2.1.3 where a distinction was made between normative beliefs and expectations of language use. I see the two as forming part of speakers' language ideologies, but they are kept as separate concepts. Language ideologies I define as "entrenched beliefs about the nature, function, and symbolic value of language" (Seargeant 2009: 346; see Woolard & Schieffelin 1994: 55). They constitute (communally) shared, although at times debated, notions of language that, as Pietikäinen (2012: 441) puts is, "are rooted in their historical contexts, [but] are always locally produced and individually experienced". I do not consider language ideologies to be subjective, stable experiences (see Woolard 1998: 5–6), but rather to be constructed and reconstructed in interaction (for a similar approach, see Laihonen 2008: 669, 2009).[17]

2.2 Language regulation as the construction of living norms

What the above discussion implies is that people do not just follow prescribed norms, but that living norms are constructed in interaction with other community members. This is in line with social constructionism, which sees human reality as being reproduced and created anew in everyday activities, rather than being the product of forces that people cannot control (see Rampton 2003). It can thus be seen as a reaction against more deterministic views about norm adherence (cf. Bourdieu 1991). This not only means a focus on language-regulatory practices as the creation and reproduction of living norms, but it also means that language ideologies (and thus people's expectations and beliefs) are seen as discursive constructions, instead of seeing them as stable and fixed. As proposed by Mulkay (1979; see also Gilbert & Mulkay 1984) in his approach to scientists' discourse:

> It seems more appropriate to portray the 'norms of science', not as defining clear social obligations to which scientists generally conform, but as flexible vocabularies employed by participants in their attempts to negotiate suitable meanings for their own and others' acts in various social contexts. (Mulkay 1979: 72)

[17] For discussion of the different conceptions of *language ideology*, see for instance Woolard (1998), Blommaert (2005: ch. 7) and Mäntynen et al. (2012).

Most norms are not sets of binding constraints; but rather they are negotiated in every act – linguistic or otherwise. The negotiation means that prescriptive norms such as codified language standards can be contested, which in turn means that living norms may not conform to the codified standards. To further discuss the relationship between prescriptive norms and living norms, I now turn to language standardisation processes (section 2.2.1) as opposed to vernacular norm-formation and the construction of living norms relevant for a community of practice (section 2.2.2).

2.2.1 Language standardisation processes

English has undergone processes of language standardisation that have gradually led us to the current situation where we have several codified standard Englishes, some more widely-spread than others (compare, for instance, Standard American English with Standard Malaysian English). For English, there has never been a language academy, such as the Académie fançaise in France or the Institute for the Languages of Finland, which would be responsible for providing rules or guidelines for the use of English. Instead, standardisation has been instigated by individuals and institutions, whose work was only later interpreted as authoritative (Locher & Strässler 2008: 6). What the standardisation process has meant is the promotion of uniformity in language form, with uniformity seen as a means to ensure intelligibility (Milroy 2001: 531; Milroy & Milroy 1985: 23). Moreover, stardardisation has led to the development of an understanding that some forms of language are correct and others are not (Milroy 2001: 535). This is what Milroy (2001) calls the ideology of the standard language. The assumptions of uniformity and correctness versus incorrectness are then promoted and maintained, for instance, in educational institutions, the media, and in dictionary and grammar books that codify the standard language, which, in the process, comes to be regarded as the legitimate form of the language. But how, through what processes, does the legitimate form become embraced or resisted (see Cameron 1995)?

Approaches such as the one associated with the writings of Bourdieu take a 'top-down' view on the formation of a standard language. Bourdieu (1991) has suggested that specific socio-historical conditions have established a particular set of linguistic practices as dominant and legitimate (e.g. Standard English as the legitimate form), and this legitimate language is then *imposed* by state institutions upon the socialised habits (or habitus) of an individual (Agha 2003: 269). The habitus is "the experientially sedimented set of dispositions to act" (Agha 2003: 269), which means that, by virtue of the habitus, individuals are seen to be predisposed to act in certain ways, which in turn suggests the reproduction of the legitimate language. However, even though there is no denying that individuals can reproduce the legitimate language "imposed" from above, Bourdieu's understanding of habitus leaves little room for the transformation of such conduct. According to him, the habitus is "transmitted without passing through language and consciousness" (Bourdieu 1991: 51), which means that the individual is seen as a passive recipient of institutional influences. Bourdieu's approach also appears to conceal the processes behind the production of legitimate language, and the role that individuals play in the production (see Agha 2007: 229–230). Following Bourdieu (1991), then, language regulation would be a process of (mainly) reinforcing social norms associated with the legitimate language.

However, the norms of a standardised variety, too, emerge as a result of social conduct (Piippo 2012: 208). The norms of such a variety rely on linguistic description, and the linguistic descriptions are what can be used for subsequent language planning to determine acceptability and correctness. The key is, though, that the norms become relevant only when accepted by the speakers (see Cameron 1995). Also, as Agha's (2003; 2007: ch. 4) analysis of the processes that led to the emergence and spread of 'Received Pronunciation' shows, the promotion of the legitimate language is not a top-down process where individuals are steered by institutions; but rather a process that depends on the activities of the individuals who are linked to each other through institutions as well as discursive interactions (Agha 2003: 232). This implies that 'legitimate' and 'valued' forms of language can and do change as they are not only reproduced but also created anew in interactions. Agha (2003: 264–265) also shows that recognising and being able to produce legitimate language are two different things. What speakers value and recognise as legitimate may not correspond to how language is actually used. This is also evident in the divergence of varieties and dialects of English and other languages, despite the apparent pressure towards uniformity from standard languages (see e.g. Milroy 1992: 82; Švejcer 1987: 126).

It then appears that we need to separate language-regulatory practices from processes of assigning value to language use, which would appear to be more of a question of normative beliefs about language. The division suggests that people can value standard language the highest even if they do not use it themselves, or, as will be argued in chapter 7, even if what they expect to encounter in interaction relies on a different set of standards. The question then is, to what extent, in which circumstances, and which speakers reproduce existing standards of English, and thus turn prescriptive norms into living ones.

2.2.2 Formation of living norms

We have now established the importance of standardisation and its product, the standard language, as a mindset that makes us distinguish between correct and incorrect in language use. Yet, we persistently use language in ways that according to the standard are incorrect. This suggests that we build norms of language within our communities, and that these living norms deviate from the prescriptive norms of the standard language. According to Milroy (1992: 82–83), living norms (or communal norms as he calls them) are a result of speakers agreeing to a certain usage. His analysis looks into a set of linguistic variables that are correlated with a set of social categories (e.g. social class). The findings imply that, on the one hand, the variables distinguish dialects from each other, and on the other, that there are variable norms within communities. By quantifying variables and by comparing the scores between different social categories, it is possible to see tendencies, and what appears to be common and uncommon usage for representatives of the different categories. It also highlights the normality of variation within a community, which is an important point to keep in mind in the light of the standardisation processes that call for uniformity of language (see e.g. Huumo, Laitinen & Paloposki 2004; Milroy & Milroy 1985). However, as was discussed in section 2.1.4, common usage as shown in statistics does not automatically translate into deontic norms of language (e.g. we may commonly use one form but still consider another one to be correct). In addition, statistics do not necessarily correspond with speakers' experiences of what is common and what is not (see Andersen 2009: 20–23).

Milroy's (2001) approach, then, does not explain how social meaning becomes attached to particular forms and through what processes agreement about the 'consensus norm of usage' in a community arises (Johnstone & Baumgardt 2004: 117). Such processes have been the focus of a series of studies concerning a dialect called "Pittsburghese", or rather the enregisterment of a set of linguistic forms as a dialect called Pittsburghese (see Johnstone 2011). Agha (2003), who has introduced the concept of enregisterment[18] uses it to describe processes that have led to the social recognition of a prestige pronunciation model; Johnstone and her colleagues use the concept to describe the processes by which people come to share conceptions of a *non*-standard variety and what it means to the speakers to speak that way (Johnstone & Baumgardt 2004: 116). One such process is termed by Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004: 115) vernacular norm-formation, which is seen to be embedded in interactional, ideological and historical

[18] Agha (2003: 231, also 2007: 190) defines enregisterment as "processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms".

contexts. The study looks into an online conversation dealing with the local dialect of Pittsburghese, and focuses on how the three contexts help shape explicit norms for the dialect (or the conception that there is one: Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004: 119) argue that no such dialect exists in terms of the dialect having distinctive linguistic features). Johnstone and Baumgardt's (2004: 140–141) study shows how the participants both implicitly and explicitly talk about features that count or do not count as Pittsburghese and what it means to speak the dialect – a practice that illustrates (mainly) overt, metalinguistic dialect norm formation. An important observation is that not everyone has the authority to make claims about Pittsburghese, and that the authority is negotiated in the conversation. The participants of the online conversation, then, draw boundaries of not only what Pittsburghese is, but also who is justified to draw the boundaries and therefore to act as authority of Pittsburghese. Both Agha (2003) and Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004) take a retrospective look into how we have come to the situations where RP is recognised as a prestige pronunciation model and where Pittsburghese is seen to exist respectively. In addition, with their focus on a recent online conversation, Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004) can illustrate the creation and reproduction of norms in action. This implies that while the concept of enregisterment may be most useful when we know what the product of enregisterment is, that is, what the enregisterment has led to, we could also start from the action itself. We could, then, consider what normative frameworks are constructed in interaction within any community of language users.

Such an emergent perspective to norms of language has been adopted, for instance, by Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009; see also Mäntynen 2012). Their study written in the context of multilingual media studies focuses on collaborative game-playing and fan fiction writing activities. The findings suggest that gamers and fans recycle and exploit resources offered by the games, and in doing this, they negotiate norms (and policies) relevant to them in the activities they are engaged in. Thus, the participants do not merely reproduce "existing" norms of language, and nor are they sanctioned for not conforming to such norms. Rather, they construct and reconstruct norms appropriate to their community. Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh's (2009) study focuses on more tacit practices of norm development compared to Johnstone and Baumgardt's (2004) explicit talk about language. It explores the ways in which gamers and fans repeat, imitate and parody game characters' speech styles. In the case of fan fiction, in particular, Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009: 280–281) are able to show that this recycling and modification of language forms and patterns are shaped by and shape a shared normative framework established and maintained by the fan fiction writers themselves. Not only do writers play with the language forms and patterns, but the way they do this is also commented on by other fans, which foregrounds the living norms of the community (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh 2009: 278).

Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009) adopt the notion of *policing* to describe the process of norm-formation. The notion derives from Foucault (2007), and it has been extended to the domain of language by Blommaert et al. (2009), who argue for a more actor-centred approach to language policies in the field of media in multilingual contexts. The writers define policing "as the production of 'order' – normatively organised and policed conduct – which is infinitely detailed and regulated by a variety of actors" (Blommaert et al. 2009: 203). The actors of language policing range from highly institutionalised agents to micro-level consumers of new media products (e.g. internet and computer games). The notion of policing shifts attention away from exploring (official) language policies as products to the analysis of the construction of the policies, and thus it encompasses processes of language policy building ranging from the production and spread of official policies to constructing normativity at the level of interaction. We can see that policing covers a wide range of processes and actors of language policy making. However, the close analogy of the concept with the term *policy* brings to mind official language policies, which seems ill-suited to the kind of communal norm development discussed in Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009) – as well as in this study. Thus, instead of talking about policing, the concept used in this study is language regulation.

The above discussion shows that norm-formation can be analysed as a complex process where speakers both reproduce norms and create them anew. Prescriptive norms are born in processes of standardisation. This is illustrated in Agha's (2003) study where he takes a retrospective view of processes that led to assigning a particular usage "legitimate". The existence of the legitimate form, however, does not automatically mean that it is used; rather, it is often applied as a yardstick for correct usage in many contexts. The codification and the ensuing promotion of the standard through, for instance, dictionaries and educational institutions are what set it apart from (uncodified) living norms that arise and are regulated within communities of practice (see Piippo 2012: 208). The vernacular norm-formation explored by Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004) resembles standardisation of a language, but the norms thus constructed concern a specific dialect rather than a language. Also, the norms are constructed within the community where the dialect is spoken, and they are not regulated by instances outside the community. What is "legitimate" for the speakers of the dialect may thus differ from the standard language. Such living norms are also constructed by gamers and fan fiction writers in Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh's (2009) study, which moves the attention to smaller communities of practice. This follows a more general call for the analysis of emerging practices that produce "legitimate" usage in particular sociolinguistic contexts (Blommaert et al. 2009; see Piippo 2012).

This approach is also what informs this study, which seeks to understand the ways the students and teachers regulate language in interaction, and construct living norms in the specific sociolinguistic contexts, based on their beliefs about language and expectations of language use. In order to understand where living norms are constructed, however, we need to take a closer look at the concept of community of practice and consider how it differs from speech community (section 2.2.3). Also, before turning to the dual perspective to language regulation in section 2.3, I take a look at the concept of accommodation in relation to the concept of norm (section 2.2.4). I do this by discussing Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), particularly focusing on the theory's approach to norms and how it relates to the one taken in this study.

2.2.3 Concept of community of practice

In the above, I have argued that norms of language are to be seen as a combination of linguistic-interactional behaviour and speakers' normative beliefs and shared expectations of others' behaviour. This means that the concept of language norm cannot be reduced to recurrent interactional behaviour only, nor can it be equated with normative beliefs (or expectations), since beliefs may or may not result in the appropriate action (see Bicchieri & Muldoon 2011). The question arises, however, how beliefs and expectations come to exist[19], and who can be seen to share them. In the following, I discuss this question by drawing on the concepts of speech community and community of practice, specifically relating the discussion to ELF.

Initially, the concept of speech community was used to refer to those speaking the same language (Bloomfield 1933). Following this definition, the whole of the English-speaking world could be seen to form a single speech community. Such an all-encompassing concept, however, is analytically problematic, since it raises the question of linguistic uniformity: how alike ought utterances to be in order for the speakers to form a speech community (Patrick 2002: 582)? Later, Hymes (2003 [1972]) and Labov (1966, 1972a, 1972b) emphasised shared norms as the defining criterion for the existence of a speech community, which means that a speech community is a social, rather than a linguistic entity (for detailed discussions on the development of the concept see Patrick

[19] According to Bicchieri and Muldoon (2011), this is also generally speaking an undertheorised aspect of (social) norms.

2002; Rampton 2003). Despite the similarities in emphasing shared norms, the two approaches can be seen to differ in other respects.

For Hymes (2003: 36 [1972]), the concept of speech community is mainly an ontological one:

> Speech community is a necessary, primary term in that it postulates the basis of description as a social, rather than a linguistic, entity. One starts with a social group and considers all the linguistic varieties present in it, rather than starting with any one variety.

The researcher (ethnographer) starts by identifying resources used in a social group, after which s/he can define the speech community as the set of speakers who appropriately exploit these resources (and norms). This, however, renders the concept redundant: Since a speech community is seen to be consistent with a set of norms, the definition is partially circular in that a speech community has to be conceived of as both the result and the cause of the norms (McKirnan & Hamayan 1984: 159–160; see also Rampton 2003) – the result because we can only define a speech community by determining shared norms, and the cause because shared norms are the prerequisite for the existence of a speech community.

Labov's definition of speech community is similar to Hymes's in terms of the emphasis on shared norms, but his approach is more empirically-rooted. He is concerned with not only shared norms but also linguistic uniformity as the patterned variability of linguistic structure:

> The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage. (Labov 1972a: 120–121)

Labov's definition has been criticised for not taking into account divergence within communities (see Patrick 2002: 586–587). Patrick (2002: 286), however, points out that rather than require uniform adherence to norms, Labov emphasises reference to a set of shared norms, which allows for divergence within communities. What remains problematic with the definition, though, is its empirical emphasis: Only with careful research can it be determined whether a group of people forms a speech community

(Kauhanen [Piippo] 2006: 37). Further, when different variables are found to have different social distributions, and people in different regions share some features but not others, the boundaries of a speech community become blurred and the map of the speech community needs to be revised (Rampton 2003).

Since both Hymes's and Labov's definitions take shared norms as the prerequisite for a speech community to exist, the concept only lends itself to analysing well-established communities and the norms followed in them. It can say little about the different stages of group or community development, especially the early stages where shared norms are not a given. Moreover, since a set of shared norms are taken to determine the existence of a speech community, the concept cannot say much about the emergence and change of norms within the community. What we thus need is a concept that does not assume the existence of shared norms.

The concept that lends itself well to this purpose is community of practice[20]. It was coined by Lave and Wenger (1991) and further developed by Wenger (1998) as an integral part of a social theory of learning. The concept was introduced to sociolinguistics and gender studies by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992: 464), who define the concept as follows:

> A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations—in short, practices—emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a community of practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages.

Instead of requiring shared norms, a community of practice is thus defined based on mutual engagement in a joint endeavour. This means that shared norms are not considered a prerequisite for the existence of a community of practice, as they are for the existence of a speech community. In addition, the concept draws attention to practices around which the members have gathered and which the members construct during their mutual course of action. Membership in a community of practice is thus not inherited "by birth, accident or adoption", as is membership in a speech community (Swales 1990: 24);

[20] Among the first studies to suggest using the concept of community of practice in ELF studies is House (2003). Further discussions about the concept and its usefulness include Seidlhofer (2007), Dewey (2009) and Ehrenreich (2009).

but rather it is based on the practices that the members engage in and that in turn form the membership itself.

The negotiation of norms can be seen as one such practice. Since the practices are seen to emerge in the course of a mutual endeavour, the concept can be used to describe norm development also in the early stages of community development. In addition, it is in accordance with the developments in social sciences, where social constructionism has gained ground against more deterministic (or modernist) approaches (see Rampton 2003). In social constructionism, human reality is no longer seen as the product of forces that actors cannot control (as, for instance, suggested by Bourdieu (1991)), but rather it is "extensively reproduced *and at least partially* created anew in the socially and historically specific activities of everyday life" (Rampton 2006: 25, original italics; see Berger & Luckmann 1971; Giddens 1976, 1984). In this framework, interaction among members of a community of practice is to be seen as a site for both reproducing and creating anew its practices – and norms.

Wenger (1998: 72–85) uses three criteria to define communities of practice: mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. Mutual engagement means that participants get together to interact with each other and build relationships. Joint enterprise refers to a joint goal or purpose, and it entails that the participants create relations of mutual accountability. With shared repertoire, Wenger (1998) means, for instance, the construction of shared linguistic and symbolic resources, over time, negotiated within the community of practice.

The first two criteria appear to hold for the data used in this study. Each study event (a seminar course and two series of group work meetings) entails that the participants gather together around a joint goal of completing a course or finishing a group work presentation for their studies. The participants create relations of mutual accountability in that all members are expected to contribute to the joint goal, and they start building relationships in the course of their meetings.

However, the third criterion of shared repertoire is slightly more problematic with its suggestion of shared linguistic resources (and ultimately shared language norms). Since the time-span of the study events is limited to a few weeks and a few meetings, the question arises: how long does it take for a shared repertoire, especially in the sense of shared linguistic resources (with the associated norms), to develop, and thus a community of practice to materialise? So far, it seems that the discussions around the concept of community of practice have concentrated on fine-tuning the definition, and considering what criteria a "group" needs to fulfil in order to be called a community of practice. Attention has also been given to how new members are taken on board and what it requires from the new members to be socialised into the community of practice. However, less attention has been paid to how communities of practice come into being, and how long it takes for one to materialise. Wenger (1998: 96) merely points out that a community of practice "takes a while to come into being, and it can linger long after an official group is disbanded". He differentiates between a community of practice and a task force or a team by saying that a community of practice is based on learning rather than reified assignments that begin and end (Wenger 1998: 96). A community of practice thus incorporates the idea of learning from the experts in order to join the community.

In the case of international study programmes and the teaching in the programmes, some of the practices are determined beforehand by the teachers – as representatives of a subject and a university. For instance, assignments that students are asked to complete during a study event are typically decided in advance, and they come to guide the practices adopted later on in the study event. Study events are thus built around specific assignments, and they have a clear beginning and an end, which means that they may not form communities of practice in themselves. Rather, they could be seen to feed into a programme-wide or university-wide 'academic' community of practice. However, since negotiation of shared practices does take place within the study events suggesting a development towards shared norms, it seems reasonable to treat the events as communities of practice coming-into-being – even if they may never develop into fully-fledged communities of practice with shared repertoires. I am thus modifying the concept in this regard in order to incorporate the idea of overlapping communities with fluid boundaries. The point is that communities of practice do not develop in a vacuum, but rather practices get developed and norms emerge across different study events. We may thus end up with several, partly overlapping communities of practice.

A welcome exception to the scant attention paid to the *development* of communities of practice is Smit's (2010) study with its longitudinal take on the language practices in an Austrian Hotel Management Programme. Smit's (2010: 96) study focused on three phases: (1) the introductory phase, which covered the first two weeks of the programme, (2) the months 3–5 of the first semester and (3) the third semester, which took place a year later. She reports changes in each phase, also during the first one, but describes the second phase as the one where the participants developed their shared repertoire of linguistic resources (Smit 2010: 401–402). It seems, then, that for such a shared repertoire to develop, more than a few weeks are needed. However, it could also be hypothesised that the speed and depth of constructing a shared linguistic repertoire depends on the importance of the joint endeavour to the participants – even a short endeavour requires the emergence of shared practices, which could lead to the development of a shared linguistic repertoire.

What makes the concept of community of practice useful for this study is that it draws our attention to practices that are (made) relevant in specific communities. In terms of language-regulatory practices, the concept thus provides a means to conceptualise emerging communal norms, and to consider the regulatory practices in relation to the practices of the community rather than in relation to some external conceptions of normativity. Ehrenreich (2009: 146) concludes her ethnographic study of business ELF communities of practice suggesting that, for the business professionals, the

> process of being socialized into international business CofPs [i.e. communities of practice] involves leaving behind traditional notions of appropriateness as experienced in ELT [i.e. English language teaching] classrooms during secondary and tertiary education and adjusting their use of English to what is required and therefore 'appropriate' in these professional communities.

What is relevant and appropriate is thus defined, negotiated in the community of practice. By using *community of practice* as an organising concept, we thus change our perspective to see that what matters in a specific community may have little to do with prescriptive language standards. What is important for the participants is to learn to function in the specific community in a way that is appropriate and acceptable there, and what, then, matters are the living norms of that particular community arising from their practices.

2.2.4 Norms and accommodation

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is an extended version of Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) that derives from the 1970's, starting with Giles's (1973) work on accent convergence.[21] The theory was devised to account for motivations underlying adjustments in people's speech styles, particularly the cognitive and affective processes underlying speech convergence and divergence – that is, making one's speech respectively more or less like that of one's interlocutor(s) (Thakerar, Giles & Cheshire 1982: 207). The focus on motivations "underlying" adjustments in people's speech styles

[21] For a summary of the developments of the theory, see Gallois, Ogay and Giles (2005). For previous studies on accommodation and ELF, see Jenkins (2000), Cogo & Dewey (2006), Cogo (2009), Hülmbauer (2009), Seidlhofer (2009b), Rogerson-Revell (2010) and Sweeney & Hua (2010).

suggests intentionality of accommodation. Gallois et al. (2005) also talk about accommodative strategies[22], a term that similarly implies intentionality.[23] At least two main (psychological) motivations guiding speech behaviour can be distinguished: (a) facilitating comprehension and (b) identity maintenance or development (Thakerar et al. 1982, Gallois et al. 2005: 139). As Gallois et al. (2005) point out, both of these concern the amount of distance or difference expressed through communication: Oftentimes facilitating comprehension means increasing similarity through convergence; in other situations it may require increasing dissimilarity (e.g. L2 speakers exaggerating their foreign accent in L1–L2 interaction in order to lower their interlocutor's expectations of their pragmatic skills). Identity maintenance and development, then again, may mean identification with the group one is talking to or identification with some other group.

In CAT, interactional encounters are seen to be situated in a sociohistorical context. This means (a) that interactants bring their history into the interaction and that this initial orientation affects the extent to which they are motivated to accommodate to others or not; and (b) that interactants evaluate each other's (accommodative) behaviour and construct future intentions for interacting with their interlocutor(s) based on these evaluations (Gallois et al. 2005: 135–136). Within the immediate interactional situation, then, speakers are seen to draw from their psychological accommodative stance, that is, their motivation and intention to accommodate (Gallois et al. 2005: 135–136). This is seen to influence the speakers' accommodative behaviour, but the stance, and thus, the accommodative behaviour is subject to change by way of influence from the interlocutors' behaviour (Gallois et al. 2005: 135–136). The actual accommodative behaviour is further interpreted by the interlocutor(s), but the interpretation does not necessarily coincide with the intention of the speaker.

In this study, accommodation is explored at the level of communicative behaviour (section 5.2.3), which means that the focus is on its use and the consequences the use may have, rather than on speaker motivations guiding the accommodative practice. While I adhere to the communicational framework described in CAT (see Gallois et al. 2005: 135), I do not focus on the cognitive side of accommodation. However, the use itself, as

[22] To highlight my focus on communicative behaviour, rather than speaker motivations, I talk about accommodative practices, not strategies.

[23] It should be noted, though, that, in CAT, intentionality appears to refer to both conscious and unconscious behaviour, in that "in addition to consciously generated behaviors [sic] such as self-disclosures, language choice, and certain lexical choices, communicators' purposes, intentions, and affective orientations to others may also be […] produced at low awareness levels" (Street & Giles 1982: 218, see also Giles, Coupland & Coupland 1991: 25). This means that even the more unconscious behaviour is seen to be an aspect of speaker intentions.

well as speakers' interpretations of their behaviour (see chapter 6) can be seen to be connected to their motives and intentions.

In CAT, the immediate interactional situation, where we can observe accommodative behaviour in action, is seen to be norm-constrained, but interactants' history and initial orientation are seen to affect the application of norms (Gallois et al. 2005: 138). Norms are thus considered a part of the societal and situational context, which lays emphasis on norms that interactants take into interaction on the one hand, and perceived situational norms on the other. These, in turn, are seen to place constraints on the forms accommodation can take, and they may even override accommodative tendencies, as in situations where hierarchical role relations make convergence inappropriate (Giles & Coupland 1991: 76).[24] Norms are thus seen to restrict accommodation in that speakers are seen to draw on their preconceived normative notions as well as norms they perceive to be valid in the situation; but not much attention is paid to interactants recreating norms in interaction, and accommodation as a practice to do this (cf. Garrod & Anderson 1987, Garrod & Doherty 1994). This seems to reflect the cognitive orientation of studies such as Thakerar et al. (1982), which imply that communicational goals reside in the heads of speakers only. However, as Giles and Coupland (1991: 87, original emphasis) point out, such an orientation "ignores the many occasions when convergences or divergences are *collaborative* acts reflecting *emergent* goals". This means that despite the tendency to focus on norm perceptions of the speakers (as in e.g. Gallois & Callan 1991), there is room in CAT for an interpretation of norms, too, being collaboratively negotiated.

This interpretation is supported by Garrod and Doherty's (1994) study (see also Garrod & Anderson 1987), where the interactants were found out to establish new practices by accommodating to specific linguistic items, which means that accommodation not only reconstructs norm perceptions but can potentially construct new ones. The study was conducted in experimental conditions, where two groups of people were asked to play a co-operative maze game. In the first group, the subjects always played with the same partner, and in the second, the subjects switched partners and thus formed a small community of players. The results show that the speakers modified their language to suit the local requirements of the communicators, and thus

[24] In my interactional analyses, I draw on CA, an approach that has very different starting points compared to CAT. According to CA, context is limited to what is displayed in the sequential unfolding of utterances, or to something that is mutually achieved (see Blum-Kulka 2005: 276–277), which means that the interactional situation is what counts. In CAT, then again, also elements outside of the interactional situation can be relevant. I explain my approach to spoken interaction in section 4.2.1, and chapter 5 includes more detailed descriptions of the applications of the different approaches.

accommodated to specific description schemes needed in the interaction. In addition, the speakers in the second group not only co-ordinated language on the local level accommodating to the person they were playing with, but they also appeared to retain the most popular scheme from previous encounters. They thus drew on previous knowledge (at least partly) shared in the community of players and co-ordinated on a more global level. Garrod and Doherty (1984: 214) suggest that this is best seen as "producing a sufficiently stable precedent to act as the basis for common knowledge", which, as the writers further suggest, means that the co-ordination process (or convergence) may actually be a crucial precursor to establishing a convention or a norm in the first place, and conventions and norms function as a means to fix the language once the community has achieved an initial degree of 'conceptual' stability.

What we can expect to find in the study event interactions, along the lines of Garrod and Doherty (1984), is similar stabilisation of some of the lexical items (see section 5.2.3). On the one hand, we can expect accommodation based on local co-ordination sensitive to the immediate constraints of salience of lexical items, and the need to solve communicative turbulence. On the other hand, later in the same interaction and especially in the later encounters, we may witness repetition of the successes, which can be seen to reinforce the use of specific items. Accommodation can thus be seen as an online process that displays speakers' immediate situational needs, and reinforcement of that implies the formation of an emerging norm.

2.3 Methodological framework: two dimensions of language regulation

When exploring a language, such as English, which has gone through the process of standardisation, we need to deal with the prescriptive norms this process has brought with it. At the same time we cannot forget the living norms constructed in communities of practice. Now, Milroy (2001) has suggested that standardisation processes lead to what he calls an ideology of the standard language, or a belief according to which some forms of language are correct and others incorrect. Such ideologies can be seen to be so widespread that it would be surprising not to see their influence on people's expectations – and behaviour. In fact, norms of language would look very different if people did not draw, at least partly, on the ideology of the standard language. However, to what extent people actually draw on this or other ideologies when constructing their notions of language is an empirical matter. In addition, it should be taken into account that people's beliefs about language do not necessarily correspond to their expectations of how it is (or should) be used in specific contexts. This means that people can recognise prescriptive norms and draw on them to describe accurate (or valued) language use, whereas the expectations people have of how language is and should be used in a specific context, suggest something else. For example, standard language forms may be drawn on for accuracy, but in interaction, dialectal usage is expected. We thus need to explore not only people's beliefs about language, but also how they expect people to use language in specific contexts.

Then again, people's beliefs and expectations do not necessarily tell us how they actually use language, and what norms of language are constructed in the course of interaction. This calls for a focus on language use. Such a focus turns our attention to the sites where living norms are negotiated, constructed and reproduced.

The approach adopted in this study combines these two planes of analysis. Language regulation is thus approached from a dual perspective of interactional and ideological dimensions. To visualise the approach, let us take a look at table 2.1.

Table 2.1 The dual perspective on language regulation

Interactional dimension	*Ideological dimension*
empirically attestable behaviour and intervention to others' behaviour: *reproduced* and *emergent* aspects of practice that emerge as alternatives over the course of action	speakers' language ideologies (i.e. expectations and beliefs): *schematic* aspects of practice speakers have access to before interaction

(adapted from Hanks 1996: 233)

As we can see in table 2.1, the ideological dimension refers to the schematic aspects of language regulation that speakers take with them to the interactions. These include speakers' beliefs about language, and more importantly for the interaction they are about to enter, their expectations of how to use language in the specific context. That language ideologies are described as schematic means that the expectations and beliefs speakers take with them to the interactions are indeterminate or unfixed in the sense of being constantly renegotiated (cf. Hanks 1996: 233).

The interactional dimension refers to the regulatory practices that are used over the course of action, and through what codified norms are reproduced and through what alternative norms emerge. With emergence, I thus refer to the construction of living norms, that is, norms relevant for the community of practice, in interaction, and the possibility that such construction changes participants' expectations of language. Whether the living norms come to affect participants' beliefs about language is a more fundamental change. Language regulation, then, is the construction of living norms, which is seen as interplay between the two dimensions: as interplay between the schematic aspects of practice and the reproduced and emergent ('new') aspects of practice (cf. Hanks 1996: 233). Language regulation is the construction of norms of language, that is, the construction of shared expectations of acceptability in language and its use.

In the following, I describe the two dimensions in more detail (sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3). Before that, however, let us take a look at what Seargeant (2009) calls *language regulation scenarios* to discuss in what ways the two dimensions can be seen to coincide.

2.3.1 In-between the two dimensions

Seargeant (2009: 347) defines language regulation as "the attempt to relate actual language practice to normative standards". He then further argues that of primary interest in exploring language regulation "are those ideologies that are articulated by means of a discourse *of* the language rather than those that find expression in the metapragmatics of everyday usage, and thus remain mostly implicit" (Seargeant 2009: 349, original italics). His approach, then, only takes the explicit ways of regulating language into account: those parts of the interaction where language becomes the subject of the interaction, and where language ideologies and language use coincide. Seargeant (2009: 347, 353–354) calls these situations *language regulation scenarios*, and maintains that they provide us with sites where the interrelation of ideological beliefs and language use can be analysed.

In terms of my study, such sites are seen to serve as links between actual language use, and the participants' ideologies of language constructed in the research interviews. In fact, students' and teachers' comments on language during the study event interaction are seen to similarly construct their language ideologies, either suggesting that their expectations of language use (and normative beliefs) were not met or that they were. Language commenting, then, is a means to explore to what extent the speakers reproduce in interaction the ideologies they articulated in the interviews. It should, of course, be noted that the speakers may sometimes construct different beliefs and suggest different expectations in interaction as opposed to the ones they constructed in the interviews. This points towards the emergent aspects of language regulation. However, concentrating on explicit language regulation scenarios alone would mean that the more tacit language-regulatory practices would go unnoticed.

It thus seems that Seargeant's approach can be applied only in so far as language regulation is considered from an ideological dimension. But as Seargeant (2009: 357) also acknowledges, language ideologies (both beliefs and expectations) may not be in accord with actual language use, which already shows that there has to be more to regulation than explicit language-ideological expressions. Consider, for instance, language commenting, which often functions as a way to explain why the regulation took place, rather than as a regulatory mechanism as such. If we were to stick with the explicit expressions of ideologies, as suggested by Seargeant (2009), we would not be able to explore such mechanisms of language regulation that are influenced by the participants' language ideologies, but do not explicitly refer to the ideologies, or such mechanisms that are in conflict with the ideologies. We may then need to consider not only the ways participants explicitly express and in the process construct their language ideologies in spontaneous interaction, but also the ways they explicitly intervene with each others' language use without referring to ideologies as such, as well as the more subtle ways of approving or disparaging language use. Further, if we maintain the distinction between beliefs and expectations, we can better understand behaviour that is not in accordance with the language ideologies that Seargeant (2009) talks about.

2.3.2 Ideological dimension

The ideological dimension of language regulation focuses on the language ideologies (beliefs and expectations of language and its use) that students and teachers construct in the research interviews – and to a certain extent in spontaneous interaction as well (section 2.3.1). For one, the focus is on the ways the interviewees construct expectations about how language is and should be used in ELF contexts. For another, the analysis turns to the interviewees' beliefs that manifest in the interviewees' descriptions of English. The point is to analyse whether and in what ways the beliefs and the expectations coincide in order to see how the interviewees tackle possible discrepancies between their beliefs about language and their experiences about its use in ELF contexts. In addition, I analyse the student and teacher reports separately in order to consider whether the groups share beliefs and expectations, or not. I also include an analysis of English instructor views (see chapter 4) and compare the instructors' views to the perspectives of the students and teachers. The interviews can thus shed light on the schematic aspects of language regulation, but they do not tell us about the ways the students and teachers (and English instructors) use language. For this, we need to turn to the study event interactions. Also, interviews do not tell us about the ways the speakers comment on language when communicating amongst themselves, which means that to an extent, the ideological dimension is relevant in spontaneous interaction, as well. This is where Seargeant's (2009) language regulation scenarios become relevant.

2.3.3 Interactional dimension

It is important to note that while Seargeant's (2009) approach fits under the ideological dimension of language regulation with its focus on explicit ways of expressing regulation, his separation of actual linguistic practice and ideologies implies that we can also discern an interactional dimension of language regulation. This means that there may not be a causal connection between speakers' language ideologies and regulatory linguistic practice; and that the interactional dimension not only includes explicit commenting on language, but also other, more tacit language-regulatory practices.

What I mean with language-regulatory practices is the negotiation of situationally acceptable and accurate linguistic conduct; the ways interactants manage and monitor each other's language use. Such regulatory practices are seen to contribute to the construction of living norms. The practices focused on in this study are:

- language correcting
- commentary on language
- embedded repairs
- reformulations and mediation
- lexical accommodation

All the above practices shed light on interlocutor reactions to a speaker's language use, with lexical accommodation also suggesting changes that speakers make to their own language based on their interlocutors' usage. The first two regulatory practices are explicit ways of regulating language, and can thus be used to discuss the interrelation of the actual regulation and the participants' beliefs and expectations. They thus fall under Seargeant's (2009: 347) language regulation scenarios where language is the focus for social practice. First and foremost, however, they tell us about the boundaries of acceptability constructed in interaction. In addition, they shed light on questions of language expertise and authority: who can take on the role and act as language regulator, and what norms and standards may be drawn on when doing the regulating. The practices can thus give us important insight into the norms of language relevant to the community of practice.

Embedded repairs, and reformulations and mediation are more tacit language-regulatory practices that do not explicitly take up language. The practices, however, tell us about the ways in which interlocutors react to speakers' linguistic conduct. Such behaviour deepens our understanding of the scope of acceptability in the interaction. Lexical accommodation, then again, is used as an example of a language-regulatory practice that shows how a speaker's language may be influenced by a co-interactant's language use. The practice illustrates the potential for the emergence of new forms, and thus also the potential for change in the scope of acceptability. By focusing on some of the more tacit language-regulatory practices along with the more explicit ones, it is possible to see when explicit norm construction and correctness are deemed important and relevant, and when the very same norms can be stretched.

The interactional dimension of language regulation, then, sheds light on the living norms constructed in interaction, whether in accordance with the interview accounts of the ideological dimension or not. Together the two dimensions describe the complex interplay of prescriptive and living norms on the one hand, and notions of language and linguistic behaviour on the other. Only when both dimensions are considered is it possible to consider what the living norms – or what could be called a "communally shared normative framework" (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh 2009: 281) for language use – constructed and maintained in a community of practice could look like. In this study, because the study events are relatively short-lived, it is questionable whether a shared framework can be seen to develop; yet it is possible to consider practices shared across the study events, which imply some sharedness of the norms (see chapter 7). The main focus of this study is on the *processes* of language regulation.

2.4 Summary

We have established in this chapter that language regulation is the discursive practice through which acceptable and correct language is constructed (i.e. reproduced and created anew) – and thus also language norms. Regulation refers to the negotiation of acceptability and correctness in interaction as well as in talk about language. Living norms are the norms that are relevant for a community of practice, and that have been made relevant by the members of the community. They can be contrasted with prescriptive norms, which include codified language standards. Prescriptive norms, too, are constructed through the processes of language regulation, but rather than emerge as the result of regulation in interaction (as do living norms), they rely on linguistic description, and the promotion of a description as a prescription. If prescriptive norms are reproduced in interaction through language regulation or they are constructed as relevant in talk about language, they become part of a community's living norms.

Building on the theorisation of norms of language, I approach language regulation from two directions: (1) by looking into language-regulatory practices in interaction and (2) by analysing students' and teachers' (and English instructors') talk about language. The approach thus separates linguistic behaviour among the participants (i.e. the actual use of language-regulatory mechanisms in interaction, and the beliefs and expectations of language constructed through them) from their talk about language in research interviews (i.e. beliefs and expectations of language constructed in the interviews).

Having described the approach to language regulation, I now turn to what it means to approach the data from an ELF perspective.

3 English as a lingua franca

In this chapter, I explain what it means to approach the data from an ELF perspective. First, I take a look at how ELF has been conceptualised in earlier studies, and consider the importance of approaching the data as interaction in ELF (section 3.1). It is argued that treating the data as ELF interaction is crucial for the bottom-up approach to language regulation. This is followed by a discussion about academic English, with a particular focus on the use of English for English-medium instruction (EMI) in higher education (section 3.2). In section 3.3 I discuss the contribution of this study to ELF research.

3.1 Defining ELF

A lingua franca, as defined by Thomason (2001: 269), is

> [a] language of wider communication – that is, a language that is used for communication between groups who do not speak each other's languages, as well as between native speakers (if any) of the lingua franca and other groups […]. A lingua franca is by definition learned as a second language by at least some of its speakers.

A lingua franca is thus defined by its function as a common language of communication between speakers who do not share an L1. Within ELF research, this is how most scholars define ELF (see Jenkins et al. 2011: 283) and how ELF is conceptualised in this study, too. Some studies, however, take a narrower view, and define ELF as a contact language used for communication between non-native speakers (NNSs) of English from different linguacultural backgrounds (e.g. Firth 1996; House 1999; Seidlhofer 2001). This means that the studies exlude native speakers (NSs) of English from ELF communication. For instance, Firth (1996) gives the following definition for lingua franca use of English: "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture and for whom English is the chosen *foreign* language of communication" (Firth 1996: 240, orginal emphasis). Seidlhofer (2004: 211) has called this kind of lingua franca English "ELF in its purest form". However, since NSs of English are part of international communities of practice, as also Seidlhofer (2004: 211) points out, I see NSs of English as a *natural* part of ELF communication, and consider it important to explore what the presence of NSs of English means for ELF communication.[25]

By definition, most speakers of ELF (or any lingua franca) are plurilingual: the lingua franca is an additional language, or in some cases an L1, that forms one part of a speaker's linguistic repertoire. Monolingual NSs of English make an exception. In order to give more weight to ELF speakers' plurilingual repertoires, some ELF scholars (Jenkins 2000; Smit 2010) have suggested alternative solutions to talking about L1 and L2 speakers of English[26], but since the suggestions have not received widespread acceptance, in this study, I retain the well-established distinction between L1 and L2 speakers. At the same time, however, I shift attention to the negotiation of communal practices, and treat the participants as bi- or plurilingual speakers of English[27], who can all have a say in the construction of living norms for the community of practice. What becomes important, then, is whether the participants orient to the distinction of L1 and L2 speakers (of English), either making the distinction relevant or not.

3.1.1 Language users in their own right

Two fundamental differences can be found between mainstream paradigms in L2 research and an ELF perspective to L2 use: (a) the treatment of L2 speakers as learners of English as opposed to users of ELF, and (b) the treatment of deviations from ENL as errors as opposed to differences. The first difference means that whereas in mainstream L2 research L2 speakers are mostly seen as language learners, and treated as such also when analysed in communicative situations, in ELF research, when using English for communicative purposes, L2 speakers of English are seen as users of English in their own right. That the focus is on language use, rather than language learning, does not mean that language learning could not or would not take place in ELF interaction (see Firth 2009), or that the L2 speakers of English in the interaction could not consider themselves as learners of English and attend English-language classes outside the interaction. However,

[25] In fact, NSs of English are included in all datasets of the ELFA team's research projects.
[26] Jenkins (2000: 9–10) and Smit (2010: 50–52) argue for alternative solutions to talking about L1 and L2 (or native and non-native) speakers of English. Jenkins (2000: 9–10) proposes that we use the following terms: (1) monolingual English speaker (MES) for monolingual NSs of English, (2) bilingual English speaker (BES) for speakers who have "attained a specified degree of profiency" in two languages, one of which is English, and (3) non-bilingual English speakers (NBES) who are bilingual, but who do not speak English. Smit (2010: 51) ignores Jenkins's third category, and introduces instead the term "multilingual English speaker" (MuES) to refer to a person who speaks more than two languages.
[27] None of the NSs of English in the data used in this study are monolingual speakers of English.

the point is that learning English is not the main purpose of ELF interaction, and thus the speakers in the interaction are users of English, rather than learners.

Considering that more and more English is used as a lingua franca among L2 speakers of English outside English-speaking countries, the sheer amount of ELF communication calls for a focus on ELF in its own right. This further means a shift in perspective in terms of how to treat deviations from ENL, the second main difference between mainstream paradigms in L2 research and ELF. Typically, L2 speakers' English has been compared to that of NSs of English, and any deviations have been considered errors. When the purpose of learning English is to integrate into an ENL community, this is of course perfectly valid. However, when we focus on ELF use, ENL standards are no longer automatically relevant as a yardstick for acceptable and correct English. Rather, we need to focus on negotiated communal practices, and measure the "quality" of English used in a specific community against the practices of that specific community (see Canagarajah 2006) – not its closeness to an ENL variety.

3.1.2 Similar to dialect contact

As language use, ELF resembles dialect contact (Mauranen 2011). In ELF settings, much like in dialect contact situations, speakers are exposed to several 'lects', or parallel ways of talking English (Mauranen 2011, 2012: 29 calls these similects). The difference is, though, that dialect contact often takes place in situations where a dialect speaker has moved to a different dialect area, and the ensuing contact is between speakers of the two dialects. In fact, dialect contact studies have tended to focus on the movement of individuals, and changes in the language (use) of the inviduals as affected by the dialect spoken in the new environment (see Trudgill 1986; papers in the *Journal of English Linguistics* 2010). In ELF encounters, then again, the 'target' lect is not one but several. When talking about ELF, we are not just dealing with individuals entering established communities with their established norms as is often the case with dialect contact (see papers in JEngL 2010; cf. Blommaert 2010: 6, 12), but we are also talking about the coming together of individuals and groups of individuals with their different, as Blommaert (2010) calls them, "mobile linguistic resources".

When ELF is conceptualised as the coming together of speakers with different linguistic resources, we can better understand why the concept community of practice is useful for describing ELF encounters (see Ehrenreich 2009). As was established in chapter 2, a community of practice is "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464). The coming together of people means that their linguistic resources come into contact, and in ELF encounters this is particularly intriguing in terms of the construction of living norms in the communities.

What becomes interesting for ELF research, then, is to consider in what ways the speakers' resources (of English) are adjusted to the ELF interaction, and what (living) norms are constructed through the process (see chapter 2). When there is no clear 'target' lect, there may not be enough exposure to one kind of lect in order for the speakers to change their ways of speaking accordingly – or there may not be any need for that. Also, with no clear 'target' lect, we could expect more explicit negotiation of acceptability and correctness of language to occur in interaction.

3.2 Academic English and English-medium instruction

This study focuses on a form of academic English that has become more and more common since the 2000s, that is, English used for instruction in international higher education. Because English is the lingua franca of today's academic world, in order to understand academic English, we need to focus on how it is used as a lingua franca within the international research community (Mauranen 2006a: 147). This means that by examining academic ELF, we are at the same time shedding light on academic English. Higher education is one context where academic English is used, and it is the place where future scholars learn practices of using English for academic purposes. We might then expect to see teachers guiding their students in matters of appropriate academic conduct – including the students' use of English. EMI thus provides intriguing data from a language regulation perspective: we are talking about a form of academic English, but at the same time about an educational context, where future scholars are exposed to and where they are taught practices of using English for academic purposes.

My focus is on spoken ELF in EMI settings. Talk, for instance, in the form of discussions, lectures and presentations, plays a central role in the ordinary activities of university students and teachers. In addition, on the whole, speech tends to be more open to new norms than writing and to show broader non-standard diversity (Mauranen 2012). Speech is also a key medium in regulating writing, as the talk about student writing in my data shows (chapter 5).

Why academic English then? For one thing, academic practices are rather demanding (Mauranen 2006a: 148–149). For instance, the students in this study were required to prepare presentations, write scientific reports and take part in related discussions. They were required to express abstract ideas verbally, in a high-stakes educational context. By taking part in the kinds of academic practices mentioned, students gradually adopt appropriate ways of speaking and writing in their respective academic communities of practice – and in the process, contribute to creating and reproducing what is seen as appropriate. Having acquired a university education, the students are then the ones who spread 'academic' ways of speaking and writing in society.

Second, if we think about the influence that academic language exerts on standard varieties, often called 'educated' varieties (Mauranen 2006a: 148), what is constructed as appropriate practice, and acceptable and correct language (use) within universities can turn out to be highly relevant for society as a whole. Because of the influential status of academic language use, it thus makes sense to look into language regulation in academic ELF, rather than, for instance, in casual conversation.

Academic practices are also inherently international, and consequently less connected to a national basis. This implies that we can expect the dominance of ENL models to diminish (Mauranen 2012). If we further consider that everyone is at first a novice in academic genres (Braine 2002; Mauranen 2006a: 149, 2012; Zamel & Spack 1998), and that more and more scholars use English as their L2, rather than L1, we could similarly expect a reduced importance of ENL norms for good academic English. These expectations raise important questions concerning the relevance of ENL norms for speakers of ELF, and the role of L2 speakers of English in reproducing such norms and constructing alternative ones.

What we need to keep in mind is that EMI is a form of institutional discourse. This means that the interactions explored in this study are characterised by, for instance, specific institution-relevant roles of the participants and constraints on what is considered an allowable contribution in the interaction (see Drew & Heritage 1992; Heritage 2005; Raevaara, Ruusuvuori & Haakana 2001). At the outset, the participants have different institutional roles: some are teachers or mentors, others are students and one is an English instructor. While these roles may not always be made relevant in the interaction and while they can take different forms, the roles can be seen to frame the interaction. For instance, teachers are responsible for designing the structure of a course and thus to a certain extent the interaction itself; and as the analysis illustrates (chapter 5), in the teacher-led course, a teacher acts as the chair person and allocates speaking turns, whereas turn-taking is less restricted in the discussion groups. All the events, then, are institutionally regulated in the way they are set up (e.g. specific tasks given for students), but the interaction takes different forms within the limits of the institutional practices.

3.3 Contribution of this study to ELF research

As a research field, ELF can be placed within the paradigm of Global Englishes, in which all Englishes are accepted in their own right, rather than evaluated against ENL standards (Jenkins et al. 2011).[28] As Seidlhofer (2009a) points out, it appears that we are witnessing similar developments in the establishment of ELF as we did with the establishment of World Englishes:

> Issues of *ownership* of the language, of norm-dependence vs. *norm development*, as well as of *acceptance* and assertion of *identity*, are arising with reference to ELF now as they have been for other Englishes for quite some time. (Seidlhofer 2009a: 239, original emphasis)

The two issues most central to this study, ownership of English (Widdowson 1994) and norm-dependence versus norm development have been dealt with in earlier ELF research (e.g. Haberland 2011; Jenkins 2009; Seidlhofer 2011; see chapter 7). However, the discussion on the ownership of English has mainly taken place on a conceptual level with arguments against NS ownership of the language (e.g. Seidlhofer 2011), and norms and language regulation have received little explicit attention in empirical research, even if ELF research findings may "document ELF users' degree of independence of ENL norms", as Seidlhofer (2009a: 242) puts it. Studies on ELF have indeed shown that ELF speakers do not merely reproduce ENL norms. To take a few examples: Hülmbauer (2009) shows that ELF speakers accommodate to non-conventional forms; Pitzl (2009, 2012) discusses how reintroducing metaphoricity to idiomatic language is more likely in ELF than in ENL, because in ENL, idiomatic expressions are largely conventionalised (Pitzl 2009, 2012); and Ranta (2006), found that patterns of using the present progressive in ELF deviates from ENL use, and that the 'extended' use of the progressive may be due to expressive reasons. None of these studies, though, focus on the processes of language regulation.

In addition, while language norms are frequently referred to in ELF research and sometimes also discussed to an extent (e.g. Björkman 2011; Jenkins 2009; Pitzl 2012;

[28] This is a somewhat debated issue in that World Englishes and ELF are sometimes seen as incompatible (e.g. Pakir 2009; Rubdy & Saraceni 2006; Saraceni 2008). To me, however, Seidlhofer (2009a) provides a compelling argument for the compatibility of the two. She maintains that both approaches "share the pluricentric assumption that 'English' belongs to all those who use it, and both are concerned with the sociolinguistic, sociopsychological, and applied linguistic implications of this assumption" (Seidlhofer 2009a: 236; see also Jenkins 2009; Seidhofer 2011).

Seidlhofer 2009a, 2011), the concept of norm has remained rather elusive.[29] Norms are often referred to without explaining what the concept means, so for instance, when Jenkins et al. describe ELF as "freed from the STANDARDIZING CONSTRAINTS of a set of norms" (2011: 291, original emphasis), and maintain that ELF talk is produced in a "NON-NORMATIVE MANNER" (2011: 292, original emphasis), it remains unclear what the writers mean with 'norms' and 'non-normative'. I must assume, though, that the point the writers are trying to make is that ELF speakers are to an extent freed from the constraints of ENL norms. For instance, Jenkins (2006, 2009) argues elsewhere that ELF does not mean the lack of standards, that 'anything goes', and if we are to accept this, we have to expect that some norms of linguistic conduct are negotiated in ELF interaction. Rather than ELF talk being produced in a 'non-normative' manner, then, we can talk about ELF speakers reproducing and creating anew language norms, as argued in chapter 2.

Despite the general vagueness of the norm concept in ELF research, some conceptual discussions can be found. Seidlhofer (2009a, 2011), who has perhaps most discussed norms for ELF, draws on Bamgbose's (1987, 1998) division of norms into three types: code, feature and behavioural norms. Bamgbose (1998: 5) talks about World Englishes, and the importance of codification for norms to become points of reference for usage and acceptance. Bamgbose (1998: 2–3) questions the use of external norms such as ENL norms as the basis for determining norms for World Englishes. He (1998: 2–3) further points out that typically the norm appealed to for determining appropriate or acceptable language is the feature norm, which deals with linguistic features, although of more fundamental importance for distinguishing between varieties of English are their different behavioural norms, which deal with pragmatics and creative language use (e.g. the use of West African English *not on seat* when Standard English would use *not on his/her desk*). Seidlhofer (2009a: 241, 2011: 95–96) extends this idea to ELF and sees particular relevance in the behavioural norms: what, then, becomes important are the functions that particular linguistic features are used for in ELF interaction. Importantly, Seidlhofer (2011: 96) also emphasises the decisive role of speakers in shaping (behavioural) norms in Bamgbose's (1998) approach. As I point out in chapter 2, then, even if Bamgbose's (1998) focus is on codification – and this is also what Seidlhofer (2009a: 240, see also 2001: 150) conceives as a possibility for ELF – the notion of behavioural norm includes the idea of bottom-up norm construction.

Norms also feature in Pitzl's (2012: 36) study on creativity in ELF: different linguistic levels (e.g. morphology and grammar) within a language or a variety are seen as

[29] However, see below for a discussion on Seidlhofer (2009a, 2011), who draws on Bamgbose's (1998) norm types, and Pitzl (2012) who considers norms and creativity in ELF.

normative systems. In Pitzl's (2012) study, then, norms are related to language as a system – a very different approach to norms taken in this study. Pitzl (2012) distinguishes between norm-following and norm-developing creativity. The realisations of the former type of creativity remain within the boundaries of the normative system of a language, and can be seen to result in language variation; whereas realisations of the latter type go beyond what the normative system allows, and can potentially bring about language change (Pitzl 2012: 36). Pitzl explains that the two types of creativity may occur simultaneously, but at different linguistic levels (e.g. *increasement* may be creative at the level of the lexicon, but it conforms to the normative system of morphology), and that this tension between the two types of creativity (or conventionality and non-conformity) is what "ensures intelligibility and functionality of new linguistic output" (2012: 37). From the perspective of language regulation it would be interesting to see how this tension relates to the acceptability of the 'new' linguistic forms.

To sum up, I seek in this study to contribute to the conceptualisation of norms (including the question of ownership of English) within ELF research, and to explore processes that take place in ELF interaction and in talk about language to determine acceptability and correctness in language. In the following, I describe some of the ways in which this study, on the one hand, builds on, and on the other, moves on from earlier research on ELF and L2 use.

3.3.1 From attitudes to expectations

A number of studies have focused on people's attitudes towards ELF, or more generally, different varieties of English with ELF among them (see Jenkins 2007). The studies have been important in observing broader tendencies in people's attitudes, and in discussing the implications that the spread of English has had on people's attitudes towards the language in different parts of the world. What the studies imply is a gradual change in people's attitudes: While L1 varieties appear to be preferred as models; attitudes are more and more favourable, for instance, towards L2 accents of English (e.g. Hakala 2007). However, rather than consult people who regularly use ELF, many of the studies have asked about the views of either practicing or prospective English teachers (e.g. Decke-Cornill 2003, Jenkins 2007, Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2003), learners of English (e.g. Matsuda 2003), or both (e.g. Hakala 2007, Ranta 2004, 2010, Timmis 2002). For these groups, ELF is not an everyday reality and they may not have any experience of ELF communication, which means that it may be difficult for them to imagine what ELF communication is like, let alone what ELF could mean for language teaching (Hynninen 2010). It is thus very different to inquire about the attitudes of those for whom English is an object of study, or who teach it, as opposed to inquiring about the attitudes of those for whom English is a (necessary) means of communication used in lingua franca encounters.

Studies that have explored ELF informants' perceptions (Ehrenreich 2009; Kalocsai 2009; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Smit 2010) tend to emphasise ELF speakers' practical stance towards the use of ELF, as well as socialisation into specific communities of practice – also language-wise. These findings "reflect the difference between language teachers and learners for whom ELF is an abstraction, and ELF users who communicate in the lingua franca on a regular basis and need to adapt to the real-life situations" (Hynninen 2010: 30).

Since my focus is on ELF users, we could expect such practical attitudes towards ELF to prevail in the data. Nevertheless, no matter what ELF users in communities of practice such as the ones analysed in Ehrenreich (2009) and Smit (2010) think about ELF, this does not change the fact that they need to use it. This means that we need to move beyond mere attitudes, and consider how ELF users describe ELF and what they expect it to be like. Ehrenreich (2009: 139–140) reports that her informants take an endonormative stance towards ELF, which implies that the informants share living norms that differ from codified, prescriptive norms of English, and that they expect members of the community of practice to act accordingly. This shows that research interviews can provide us with valuable insights into the expectations that participants have upon entering into interaction in a community of practice. In this study, interviews shed light on such expectations, but as discussed in chapter 2, it is also considered important to separate between participants' beliefs about language, and what they expect of ELF interaction, since these may not coincide. This distinction makes it possible to discuss the possible tension between what the participants conceptualise as prescriptive norms as opposed to the living norms relevant when communicating in a specific community of practice.

3.3.2 From describing usage to describing language-regulatory practices

Descriptive studies of ELF have explored, for instance, accommodation (notably Jenkins 2000, and later e.g. Cogo 2009; Cogo & Dewey 2006; Hülmbauer 2009; Rogerson-Revell 2010; Seidlhofer 2009b; Sweeney & Hua 2010), as well as rephrasing and repairs (Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006b, 2007, 2012: ch. 7; Smit 2010; see also Firth 1996), which can be seen as language-regulatory mechanisms. The focus has been on describing what speakers do to prevent misunderstanding or in what ways the practices contribute to mutual understanding. However, not much attention has been paid to the language-regulatory nature of the practices, which is the focus of this study.

For instance, Mauranen (2007) shows that the pragmatic strategies of self-rephrasing and negotiating topic increased clarity and comprehensibility of expressions (self-rephrasing) and explicitness in discourse (negotiating topic). According to Mauranen (2007), adopting such practices arises from the needs of the interactive situation. Looking at the usage from the point of view of CAT, we could also say that the speakers in Mauranen's (2007) data accommodated to the perceived interpretive competence of their interlocutors – which seemed *not* to result in over-accommodation.

Another example is Cogo (2009), who shows that repetition and code-switching enhanced efficiency of communication. Since these practices do not occur to the same extent in monolingual ENL interaction, what could be suggested based on her findings is that the accommodative practices of repetition and code-switching were (or became) acceptable, perhaps even preferred practice in the interaction. This further suggests that the accommodation functioned as a means to negotiate acceptablity – and that the acceptable (or preferred) practice did not conform to what Cogo (2009: 257) calls "standard native-speakers' norms"[30].

Similar deviance is documented in Firth (1996: 246–247) who illustrates how a speaker in an ELF interaction reused an unidiomatic lexical item from another speaker, which, as Firth observes,

> [a]s well as demonstrating close monitoring of the co-participant's talk, and an ability to re-use the linguistic resources provided in the other party's turn […] demonstrates that participants can learn and use known (and also nonstandard) resources *as they become known-in-common* during the talk itself (Firth 1996: 247, original emphasis).

As Firth (1996) notes, this is in contrast to what Jefferson (1987) found in her study of monolingual talk, where speakers were found to "correct" the other party's

[30] Cogo (2009) argues that using the accommodative practices of repetition and code-switching made the exchanges more intelligible than had the speakers drawn on "standard native-speakers' norms", but she does not explain why the use of these norms would have made the exchanges less intelligible – since had the speakers used "standard native-speakers' norms", it would have been their choice and probably motivated by reasons similar to any norm adherence. Supposedly the main point is that the speakers constructed their own spontaneous "norms", which was found out to facilitate intelligibility.

unconventional forms by rephrasing the errant usage in their turn (so called embedded correction). Similarly, Kurhila (2000, 2003, 2006) has shown that in Finnish L1–L2 interaction, NSs of Finnish made such corrections of the L2 speaker's usage – and that modifications were not done the other way around. This implies that in monolingual and L1–L2 interaction, speakers orient to native language norms; but Firth's (1996) example suggests that this is not necessarily the case with ELF interaction – that rather, it is possible that ELF speakers accommodate to unconventional usage.

This is also what Hülmbauer's (2009) study implies: Hülmbauer (2009) argues that "incorrect" can be effective and that accommodation can be used to develop new shared resources. She claims that such "resources tend to be only valid for the particular situation from which they emerge and cannot be separated from their communicative context" (2009: 327). It is however, questionable to what extent this claim holds, since Hülmbauer's (2009) study is based on separate interactions that could not show otherwise. In this study, accommodation is explored not only in its immediate interactional context, but I also look at the recycling of the items later in the same discussion and across meetings to see whether accommodation can imply the formation of an emerging norm (section 5.2.3).

Although earlier studies on ELF have not focused on language regulation in depth, Mauranen (2006b: 148) and Kaur (2009: 120) do point out that speakers constantly monitor intelligibility. In particular, these studies shed light on the self-regulation of language by focusing on how misunderstandings are prevented in ELF interaction. In addition, Smit's (2010) data demonstrate changes in repair practices across time as well as specificities in the verbal realisations of the repairs. Her findings show a considerable decrease in misunderstandings over the period of one year, and she even concludes that only "[a]fter a few days, the students and teachers already encountered significantly fewer problems of intelligibility" (Smit 2010: 397). This means that at least receptive accommodation starts early, and suggests that traces of a shared repertoire of linguistic resources being formed can be found very early on. Smit concludes that the changes in repair practices mean that the "participants [are] forming a community of practice with its own interactional expectations and communicational conventions" (Smit 2010: 225). This implies that repairs can function as regulatory practices that contribute to the construction of a community of practice. Smit (2010: ch. 7) also analyses interactive explaining in her English-medium lectures data, which sheds light on the language expert roles taken on in the interaction. Who takes on and who is allocated the role of language expert in ELF is an important language-regulatory question (see chapters 5 and 7). Smit's (2010) study thus incorporates language-regulatory elements, but she does not explicitly discuss the forming of a community of practice from the perspective of constructing acceptability and correctness in interaction.

House (2003: 567) and Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006: 172), then again, show that ELF speakers sometimes carry their L1 communicative norms into ELF interaction. Both studies conclude that this does not cause misunderstandings. Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006) further talk about the "habitat factor", which emphasises the influence of the location of the interaction on the reproduction and construction of norms. Since their data consist of a discussion recorded in Jordan between three Arabic speakers and an Austrian who was to a certain extent familiar with the local culture, it can also be that not only the location but also the fact that three of the four speakers were local resulted in the adoption of their L1 communicative norms. Be that as it may, as Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006: 172–173) also point out, resorting to one's native language norms does not appear to be an option in more heterogenous ELF encounters, which require negotiation of shared ground (House 1999; Meierkord 2000). What this process entails and what kinds of living norms are constructed in (specific) ELF interactions, then, calls for a study on language regulation.

3.3.3 From language regulation in L1–L2 interaction to regulation in ELF

Conversation analytic studies on L1–L2 and L2 interaction (e.g. Firth 1996; Firth & Wagner 1997; contributions in Gardner & Wagner 2004; Hosoda 2006; Kurhila 2003; Seedhouse 2004) have shown that L2 talk is 'normal'; that "participants design their turns and the actions housed in those turns with a view to their recipients and the ongoing activity, regardless of linguistic expertise" (Kasper 2006: 87). The studies advocate an approach to L2 use where the L2 speaker is not seen as a deficient communicator who seeks to reach the 'target' competence of the (idealised) L1 speaker – something that Firth and Wagner (1997) critise in second language acquisition (SLA) research. A distinction, however, is made between what participants *register* as erroneous, and errors that can be shown to have *interactional relevance* for the participants (Hosoda 2006: 32; Kasper 2006: 87; Kurhila 2003). This appears to retain the idea of a 'target' competence, even if it may not be shown to be interactionally relevant. For instance, Kurhila (2003: 57) talks about deviations from the native language standard, and the correction of linguistic *deficiencies* in the L2 speaker's talk. This is understandable, since all language corrections in her data were made by an L1 speaker, which means that only an L1 speaker could take on the role of language expert and act as a language regulator. Kurhila's (2003, see also 2000, 2006) data consist of institutional L1–L2 talk in Finnish, but similar findings have been reported in for instance, Hosoda (2006) for Japanese and Brouwer, Rasmussen and Wagner (2004) for conversations in German, English and Danish. The studies thus imply that in L1–L2 interaction, despite the 'normality' of L2 talk, L2 speakers are expected to orient towards native language norms. What happens in ELF interaction is one of the questions looked into in this study: the question of who takes on the role of language expert in ELF interaction in discussed in chapters 5 and 7 (see also Hynninen 2012; Smit 2010).

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have described the ELF approach adopted in this study. ELF was discussed in relation to mainstream paradigms in L2 research as well as in relation to dialect contact. Since academic language use is influential and relatively demanding, it was argued that academic ELF is well-suited to analysis of language regulation. Further, since the data come from EMI contexts, the study has the additional advantage of dealing with expert-novice situations. In section 3.3 I then discussed the contribution of this study to ELF research, particularly drawing attention to the often elusive concept of norm in ELF research, as well as the shift of focus to language regulation. The data and the methods for collecting and analysing the data are introduced in the following chapter 4.

4 Material and methods

This study approaches language regulation from two related dimensions, from an interactional and an ideological dimension. It seeks answers to (1) the ways language regulation is carried out in ELF interaction, and (2) how English and its regulation are perceived by speakers of ELF. The findings are then considered in the light of norm construction. To approach these questions, I have designed an integrated approach, which takes into account ELF users' perspectives in addition to focusing on ELF talk. This approach complements earlier studies on ELF that have tended to look into either ELF talk or people's notions about ELF. To integrate the two aspects, the data collection was ethnographically informed: the data were collected from EMI settings at the University of Helsinki by recording course and group work sessions, by collecting texts written for the purposes of the study events, and by interviewing students and teachers who attended the sessions. In addition, the data include interviews with English instructors. I describe the data and their collection in more detail in section 4.1. The main data I draw on in this study are course and group work interactions and the related research interviews. The interactions are analysed for language-regulatory practices and the interviews for students' and teachers' (as well as English instructors') beliefs and expectations of language use in ELF interaction. The methods of processing and analysing the data are described in section 4.2, where I also explain how the findings of the interactional and the interview analyses are brought together in an analysis based on tertia comparationis found in the two analyses (cf. Sørensen 2008, 2010).

4.1 The data

In order to explore language regulation from different angles, the data collection was ethnographically informed (see Blommaert & Jie 2010). In all, the collected data include the following types of data:

- audio recordings of interrelated sessions of three study events supported by field notes
- written data (e.g. learning diaries) produced for the purposes of the study events

- semi-structured thematic interviews with students and teachers attending the events, as well as with three English instructors

The recordings of the study event interactions and the research interviews form the main types of data, and they are used to shed light on the participants' actual use of ELF and their perceptions respectively. I describe the data collected in each study event in separate subsections in section 4.1.2.

The data were collected periodically at the University of Helsinki between the years 2007 and 2009, with some interviews done in 2010.[31] I started to collect research material in 2007 as part of the SELF project, in collaboration with Pirjo Surakka-Cooper. After the pilot phase (see section 4.1.3), we recorded a number of different kinds of English-medium study events at the University of Helsinki Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry (during the academic year 2007–2008). The material I collected with Surakka-Cooper amounts to ca. 43 hours of recordings, supported by field notes. In addition, we conducted interviews with several students and teachers (most of the interviews ended up as data for this study), and collected written materials produced by the students as part of their course requirements. The fieldwork was a collaborative effort, which developed into separate research projects in the course of the data collection. Out of the collected materials, I chose two study events, group work meetings of a student group and a teacher-led course, based on the criteria given in section 4.1.1.

In the autumn of 2009, I arranged for further recordings to be made at the Faculty of Biological and Environmental Sciences. At this point, I had developed my research design and narrowed down my focus, and could thus direct the data collection accordingly. I chose to focus on a course where students first attended a number of lectures after which they were assigned to work in smaller groups under the guidance of mentors. I went to record the course session where the students were placed in the smaller groups, and sent out SELF project assistants to record the parallel group work meetings (in total four out of five groups, six meetings for each group, ca. 42 hours of recordings). I focused my attention on one of these groups, some of whose meetings I also recorded and observed myself in order to get acquainted with the group and the

[31] I collected the data with the help of MA students working as research assistants in the SELF project. The recordings and interviews in the first phase I did together with Pirjo Surakka-Cooper. In the later phase of the data collection, I received help from Anni Holopainen, Marianne Hiirsalmi and Ray Carey. The interviews in this phase I conducted on my own, with Anni Holopainen attending some of them. The same assistants, along with Zinaida Merezhinskaya and Niina Riekkinen, also assisted me with the transcriptions of the data.

surroundings. I further conducted interviews with all of the group members. I chose the particular group as data based on the criteria given in section 4.1.1.

Finally, in the autumn of 2010, to widen the perspective of the study, I conducted interviews with three English instructors teaching at the University of Helsinki Language Centre.

To sum up, the three study events explored in this study are (a) group work meetings of a student group, (b) a teacher-led course, and (c) group work meetings of a student group guided by two mentors. Each study event has different participants. All the study events were audio-recorded and observed, event-related texts written by the students were collected (e.g. learning journals and presentation slides), and students and teachers attending the events (along with three English instructors) were interviewed.

In the following section 4.1.1, I describe the data selection criteria and the motivations for focusing on the particular study event interactions and the interviews. Section 4.1.2 describes the kinds of data used and section 4.1.3 turns to the data collection methods.

4.1.1 Data selection: motivations and criteria

The main criterion for choosing the three study events most suitable for the purposes of this study was that the events included discussion, rather than mere monologue, since dialogic interactional data provides more opportunities to focus on interactive language-regulatory mechanisms. This is why lecture courses were not included in the data. In addition, I used the following four criteria when choosing the study events: (1) that English was a necessary lingua franca for in-group communication, that is, the groups were heterogeneous in terms of participants' L1s and countries of origin, and English was the only language all the participants shared; (2) that the events represented different participant group perspectives (students, teachers and also English instructors), (3) that the events were different types of events, and (4) that the teachers and students both agreed to be recorded and to take part in a research interview.

Based on the above criteria, the three different study events represent situations in which (a) students interact among themselves and teachers have no say during the actual interaction (the student group), (b) teachers have a leading role (the teacher-led course), and (c) the students are guided by mentors (the guided group). The first study event, then, was chosen to highlight the student perspective, and it provides an example of a set of interactive situations where the participants in their role as students are on an equal footing. The second study event is quite different as a type of event: in the course sessions, the students gave presentations that were then followed by group discussions managed by the course teacher. The event was thus expected to reveal different aspects of language regulation compared to the two group work events. Also the institutional roles of teacher and student were assumed to come to the fore, and these roles were expected to influence the regulatory practices. The last study event, then again, represents yet a third kind of event, where students similarly to the student group worked in a small group, but this time with guidance from mentors. This event was expected to shed light on the differences and similarities in language regulation particularly in comparison to the student group. The last study event also brings forth a third perspective of language instructors, as an English instructor briefly attended the group. Since it is a typical practice at the University of Helsinki that master's degree programmes receive language support from the Language Centre, the inclusion of this perspective is a natural choice – even if it remains secondary to the teacher and student perspectives. In all, the different study events contribute to gaining a holistic understanding of language regulation in ELF study events. What is more, the chosen study events make it possible to focus not only on interaction between teachers and students (cf. Smit 2010, Suviniitty 2010, 2012), but also between students. This is the case especially with the two group work events.

As to the different types of data, the audio recordings come from interrelated sessions, which means that either most or all study event sessions were recorded. This makes it possible to follow the same participants interacting with each other on different occasions. It also enables analyses of possible changes in the group dynamics and in the ways participants use English. It should be noted, though, that the time-span of the events is relatively short (each event lasted for less than a month, with 3–7 meetings), and thus the main purpose of the study is *not* to analyse data longitudinally. However, even with a short time-span, it is possible to observe changes, and these changes may be important in terms of language regulation (see chapter 5).

The study event recordings are supported by field notes and course-related written materials, such as learning diaries, presentation slides and course instructions. These materials have mainly been used to ease the processing of the data, and they are exploited as memory aids in the analysis. The choice to focus on spoken interaction is explained in chapter 3.

Interviews were conducted in order to give voice to the participants. The value of the interviews lies in their close connection to the study event interactions: the students and teachers as well as one of the English instructors interviewed took part in the study event interactions. The interviews focus on the participants' experiences and perceptions of using English in international settings, specifically in their studies or alternatively in their working environment. The students were inquired about their experiences and views of conducting (part of) their studies in English, and the teachers about their perspectives on and experiences of teaching international student groups in English. The interviews with the English instructors focused on the instructors' views and experiences of giving language support for university students.

4.1.2 Kinds of data

Before moving on to describing the data from each study event in more detail, a few words about the study site are in order. The University of Helsinki has over 35 English-medium master's degree programmes, all of which have been established in the 2000s (E. Koponen, international education adviser, personal communication 25 Jan 2012). With some exceptions, English-medium courses at the university are open to all students at the university, including degree students studying in English-medium programmes, exchange students, and domestic students not studying in the programmes. In addition, students can, within some limits, choose which courses they take and when they take them. This means that teaching groups tend to vary from course to course. The study event groups in this study are rather short-lived and heterogeneous on account of this typical organisation at the university. Course attendance is sometimes compulsory, but for instance lecture course attendance is often voluntary. For instance, the students of the student group attended the same lecture course, the group work being part of the course, but lecture attendance was not monitored. Group work meetings were arranged by the students themselves and were not part of the course as such. Nevertheless, since the students had jointly agreed to meet, they were committed to attend the group work meetings. According to the course rules for the teacher-led course, the students were supposed to be present at least 80% of the meetings. For the guided group, presence was expected, but absences from individual sessions were possible by special arrangement. Because of the voluntary attendance and the free choice of courses, the study events, thus, form at best temporary communities of practice.

Students go through different admission procedures depending on whether they apply for an English-medium programme, or as exchange or domestic students. Among the differences are English-language requirements, which can also differ between faculties and even between programmes of the same faculty. When applying for a degree programme in English, applicants need to pass a language test in English, which means that, already upon entering the programme, the selected applicants are assumed to possess the English skills they need to complete their degree[32]. Also exchange students are expected to prove their skills in English, but different rules apply[33]. This means that students attending a course may have passed different types of language requirements. The resulting variation in the students' English is what the students and teachers need to deal with. This was also the reality in the study events: there was variation in the student status as well as the students' self-reports of their skills in English (see chapter 6). Teachers are not tested for their English skills, but rather it is left for the teachers themselves to evaluate whether they can teach in English or not.

Support in English is integrated in most of the English-medium degree programmes. The institute responsible for providing students (and staff) with language instruction is the Language Centre of the university.[34] The English-language courses and support arranged by the Language Centre are meant for degree (and domestic) students only. For the most part, the language support given in the degree programmes focuses on improving the students' academic writing skills in English, but some attention is put, for instance, on presentation skills. There is variation as regards the amount of support in English offered in the different programmes, whether it is obligatory for the students or not, and to what extent the support is integrated in the actual content classes. In the study events, integrated language support on how to give a presentation in English was given in the guided group. All students in the group, irrespective of their student status received comments from the English instructor.

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[32] In 2012, the admissions website of the University of Helsinki listed the following standardised tests for degree programme applicants: TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), IELTS (Academic International English Language Testing System), CAE/CPE (Cambridge Advanced/Proficiency Examination), tests arranged by the University of Helsinki Language Centre's Language Services and The National Certificate of Language Proficiency. A minimum acceptance score was given for each test. Students who had completed prior education in English could be exempted from the test, depending on where the degree was taken. For more information and current requirements, see <http://www.helsinki.fi/admissions/language_skills> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013).

[33] Exchange students are expected to prove their language skills in English in one of the following ways: by providing a transcript of credits with their language skills in English listed in the transcript, by submitting a language certificate signed by their English teacher or by submitting a required TOEFL or IELTS score (<http://www.helsinki.fi/exchange/howtoapply/index.html#LanguageRequirements>, accessed 10 Feb 2013).

[34] The Helsinki University Language Centre arranges courses in a range of different languages for students from all faculties, and offers custom-made language support in most English-medium degree programmes. Through its Language Services unit the Language Centre also provides the employees of the university with, for instance, courses on teaching in English, as well as translation and language revision services. For more on the Language Centre, see <http://www.helsinki.fi/kksc/english/index> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013). For support in English, see the website of the project Language Support for English-Medium Master's Degree Programmes at <http://h27.it.helsinki.fi/emkt/index.html> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013).

In the following, I describe the data from the different study events. The study events are separate events, with different participants in each.

Study event 1: student group

The first study event is a series of student group work meetings. The data comprise:

- recordings of all three group work meetings with related field notes
- group work presentation slides
- semi-structured thematic interviews with the students
- a semi-structured thematic interview with the course teacher

The group work task formed part of a course on participatory methods in sustainable management of natural resources[35]. The students were assigned by the course teacher to work in smaller groups outside class in order to prepare a 30-minute presentation, and a 10–15-page written report on a topic related to the course theme. The actual group work meetings were thus recorded outside regular course sessions. The students chose a group work topic from a list circulated in class, and were assigned to work with all those who happened to choose the same topic. The members of this group had chosen the topic of comparing participatory and traditional techniques, and eventually met three times in the course of eight days to finish their group work presentation. Finishing the group work task and giving the presentation was a prerequisite for completing the course. The audio-recorded data from the group work meetings amount to approximately four hours and twenty minutes of interaction. When relevant to the analysis (section 5.2.3), I also use the recording of the group's presentation delivered in class, and the ensuing class discussion (the presentation and the discussion amount to ca. 40 min of speech).

While the students in the group were all master's level students, their status varied from exchange to degree students, and they also represented different main subjects. Table 4.1 summarises the language backgrounds and nationalities of the participants, and shows that the students used a variety of different languages, but the only language they

[35] A number of the lectures were recorded, but they did not end up as data (except for the presentation delivered by the chosen student group).

all shared was English. Each participant has been given a speaker code[36], which is later used in the transcribed extracts.

Table 4.1 Student group: participant backgrounds*

Speaker code	*First language*	*Country of origin*	*Other languages*
S1	Finnish	Finland	English, German
S2	Portuguese	Brazil	Spanish, English, Finnish
NS3	English	USA	French
S4	Finnish	Finland	English
S5	Spanish	Spain	English, Latin
S6**	Lithuanian	Lithuania	English, Russian

*The information is based on the students' own accounts that they gave in a background information form and/or their interview. At least the two Finns (S1 and S4) have learned Swedish at school, but neither of them reported to be using the language.
**S6 had decided to drop out of the course, and only attended the first ca. 30 minutes of the first group work meeting.

All of the group members excluding S6 were interviewed (either while the group work was still ongoing or soon afterwards). The students were interviewed individually with the exception of the two Finnish students (S1 and S4), who were interviewed together. In addition, two students were interviewed a second time[37] to inquire about possible changes in their perceptions. Also the course teacher (L1 Finnish) was interviewed.

Study event 2: teacher-led course

The second study event is a teacher-led course. The data comprise:

- recordings of five course sessions with related field notes
- students' written reports and presentation slides

[36] S stands for 'student', T for 'teacher', M for 'mentor' and E for 'English instructor''. The number following the capital letter is the identification code. The letter N in front of the code designates an L1 speaker of English. The letter B in front of the code refers to a bilingual speaker whose L1s are English and at least one other language. Note that members in the different groups are different people even if they may have the same speaker code.
[37] S5 was interviewed again a couple of months and S2 a year later. Only these two students in the group could be reached for a second interview.

- semi-structured thematic interviews with three students and both course teachers

The course deals with agriculture and forestry in tropical and developing countries. The recorded sessions (5 out of 7) consist of an introductory session as well as sessions with individual student presentations and ensuing discussions. In this three-week course, each student wrote a 10–15 page report on a topic related to the course theme, and gave a presentation of up to 30 minutes based on that report. The presentations were followed by comments and questions from the teachers and other students. In total, this amounts to approximately seven and a half hours of speech, supported by field notes, as well as written texts the students prepared for the purposes of the course.

The linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the participants are summarised in table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Teacher-led course: participant backgrounds

Speaker code	*First language*	*Country of origin*	*Other languages*
S1	Catalan	Spain	Spanish, English
BS2	Twi, English	Ghana	(unknown)
S3	Arabic	Sudan	English
S4	Dinka	Sudan	Arabic, English, Finnish
S5	Spanish or Catalan	Spain	(at least) English
S6	Spanish	Spain	English, French
S7	Catalan	Spain	Spanish, English
S8	Arabic	Sudan	English
S9	Catalan	Spain	Spanish, English
S10	Portuguese	Portugal	English, Spanish
NS11*	English	Canada	French, Chinese
T1	Finnish	Finland	English, Spanish
T2	Swedish, Finnish	Finland	English, Thai

* This student chose not to participate in the study, and therefore his speech has not been analysed.

As can be seen in the table, there were two teachers in the course, a Finnish-speaking course leader (T1) and another teacher (T2), bilingual in Swedish and Finnish, who frequently attended the course sessions[38]. The teachers were close colleagues who collaborated in other courses as well, with either one taking the main responsibility and the other providing his expertise when relevant. They were both experienced scholars and experienced users of English, with years of experience working in international contexts and teaching in English. The 11 international students represented 7 different first languages, and the students' backgrounds also varied according to their student status: there were both exchange and master's degree students present, as well as students pursuing doctoral degrees.

Two students (S3 and S8) were first interviewed together while the course was still going on, and these two were joined by a third student (S4) for a second interview after the course had finished. These students readily agreed to be interviewed. The teachers were interviewed individually after the course had finished.

Study event 3: guided group

The third study event is a series of group work meetings guided by two junior scholars. The data comprise:

- recordings of all six consecutive group work meetings with related field notes
- learning diaries and group work presentation slides
- semi-structured thematic interviews with the students and both of the mentors

The discussion group meetings were arranged as continuation to a lecture course on conservation biology. The group meetings took place twice a week for a period of three weeks. The topic of this group was Saimaa seal, and the mentors' task was to guide the students in preparing a 30 minute scientific presentation and a five minute general presentation on the topic, both to be delivered during a weekend seminar. An English instructor also attended two of the meetings to give feedback on the students' English. He was present for part of the second meeting and for the practice run of the students' presentation (i.e. for the beginning of the last meeting). The audio-recorded data from the meetings amount to approximately eight hours and 45 minutes of interaction.

As part of the course requirements, the students of this study event also wrote learning diaries. In addition to interviews, I draw on these learning diaries (two or three from each student) when considering the students' accounts of studying in ELF. In the

[38] To be precise, the teacher attended three of the five recorded sessions.

learning diaries, the students, for instance, reflect on the group dynamics and their own participation in the group. Because of these reflective parts, the diaries are useful supportive data for the analysis of student perspectives alongside the interviews.

The data also include a recording of the group's presentation delivered during a weekend seminar, and the ensuing discussion (the presentation and the discussion amount to about 1 hour 20 minutes of speech).[39] These data are drawn on in appropriate parts of the analysis (section 5.2.3).

The linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the participants are summarised in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Guided group: participant backgrounds

Speaker code	*First language*	*Country of origin*	*Other languages*
S1	Swedish	Finland	English, Finnish
S2	German	Germany	English, Russian, Finnish
S3	Finnish	Finland	English
S4	Spanish	Spain	English
NS5	English	Canada	French
M1	Finnish	Finland	English, German, French, (Swedish)
M2	Finnish	Finland	English, Swedish
E3	English	UK	Finnish

The students were either exchange or degree students studying for their master's or finishing their bachelor's degree. The mentors were junior scholars, one finishing her master's degree and the other about to defend her PhD. Individual interviews with the students and the mentors were conducted after the group work meetings had finished. Also the English instructor was interviewed. In order to widen the English instructor perspective, I further conducted interviews with two other English instructors (L1s Finnish and English) who work with students studying in English-medium programmes and/or staff teaching in English.

[39] This recording was done by one of the students.

Summary of the data

The data of this study are summarised in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Summary of the data

		No. of interviewed individuals		
Study event	*Recording time*	*Students*	*Teachers*	*English instr.*
Student group	4 h 20 min	5	1	-
Teacher-led course	7 h 30 min	3	2	-
Guided group	8 h 45 min	5	2	1
In total	20 h 35 min	13	5	1(+2)

Three study events (with different participants in each) were recorded. In total, this amounts to 20 hours 35 minutes of interactional data (supported by field notes, and written course-material produced for the purposes of the study events). All the study events include recordings of most or all of the consecutive group meetings, which means 3–6 recordings in each study event. In total, 13 students and five teachers and mentors were interviewed. They were all participants of the study events (or otherwise relevant for the event as is the case with the teacher related to the student group). In addition, the data include three English instructor interviews (analysed separately in chapter 6).

4.1.3 Data collection methods

This section describes the data collection. First, I discuss the piloting of the collection methods. I then turn to the recording of the study events, and describe the importance of using naturally-occurring interactional data. The last subsection moves on to the process of conducting the interviews.

Pilot phase

Before embarking on the actual data collection, the collection methods were piloted. A small group of students studying medicine were recorded during three interrelated group meetings and interviewed for their experiences and views of studying in English.[40] The study event, however, was not a good case for the wider study, because all the three students were L1 speakers of Spanish, and English was not a lingua franca between the students, but only between the students and the Finnish-speaking teacher.

The pilot study event being a course in medicine, ethical issues of data collection were highlighted. The course teacher and the students were asked for consent beforehand, and this practice was used in the actual data collection as well. But especially collecting participants' written texts dealing with actual patient cases, as well as gaining access to the students' interaction with their patients became complicated because of patient confidentiality. These problems, however, did not persist for the final data collected from other fields of study.

The interviews were done to test interviewing as a technique as well as to try out interview questions. It became clear that even though the SELF project had already been introduced to the students, it was important to introduce the project again before each interview. The open-ended format of the interviews proved to be practical, but certain question formulations in the interview guide were problematic in that they were too abstract or complicated. These questions were either revised or left out from subsequent interviews. For instance, in example 4.1, the interviewer's question appears to remain on a too abstract level – it would have made more sense to link the question to a specific encounter (e.g. the recorded study event) or to first inquire about the interviewee's daily activities and relate the question to them. These kinds of concretisations of interview questions were developed throughout the process of doing the interviews (see Conducting the interviews below).

(4.1)[41]

IR: what about er have you ever been in a situation where cultural differences would have created misunderstandings,

IE: (w-) n- no i cannot @remember@ but maybe some (yeah) someone say some sentence or and you cannot understand because it's not the same humour for example (in spanish) [(and in another country and)] <IR> [mhm okay mhm] </IR> i mean you say something and (this guy is) sorry i cannot understand but no i cannot say any example (xx)

(pilot interview, IE: L1 Spanish)

[40] I conducted the pilot phase in collaboration with Pirjo Surakka-Cooper.

[41] For transcription conventions, see appendix A.

The interviewer's question in example 4.1 also includes the word *misunderstandings*, which has a negative connotation, and it narrows down the possible reasons for misunderstandings to *cultural differences*. A more informative way would have been to give the interviewee a chance to talk about her experiences of intercultural encounters on a more general level first and only then introduce the possibility of misunderstandings. Listening through the interviews also forced me to focus on my own expressions more. For instance, I tended to repeat *what about (then)*, also found in the beginning of example 4.1. Awareness of such habits helped reduce them in subsequent interviews.

Recording of the study events

The study events in the final data took place as part of the normal course of events in the study programmes, and were thus not arranged for the purposes of this study. Naturally-occurring study events were chosen in order to see what happens in situations where participants use ELF for real-life purposes and where what the participants do has consequences to them. In experimental conditions, it is possible to control external elements (e.g. background noise) and social variables (e.g. linguistic background of the participants), and even to control the interactional situation itself in order to elicit speech that includes phenomena that interest the researcher. However, interaction in experimental settings tends not to have social or interpersonal consequences for the participants, which means that it may not matter for the participants whether and how well they finish a task set by the researcher. Also, the topics are typically set by the researcher, rather than the participants themselves. This means that elicited data does not tell us what actually happens in real life when people come together to communicate in order to achieve specific outcomes that matter to them more than to the researcher. In real-life events, speakers are first and foremost participants in the events, not informants for linguistic study.

I did most of the recordings myself, but also received help from SELF project assistants. The person(s) recording the study events were present during the events, but did not participate in them. The recordings were done with a small Olympus audio recorder that could be placed relatively unnoticed on a side table or a window sill of the recording room, but which also meant that to ease processing of the data, someone had to be present to take notes of the succession of the speakers as well as other notes that could help interpret the events later. This was done as non-participant observation. Only if directly addressed by the participants did I or the assistant take part in the interaction, and then too, the purpose was to keep the intervention to the minimum so as not to affect the course of the interaction too much.

Attending the recording sessions was not only done for the mechanical purpose of helping the processing of the data, but I also wanted to familiarise myself with the groups and the study event practices personally. This is typically done in ethnographic studies to gain an overall image of the practices and to be able to later zoom in and focus the data collection as well as the research itself (Blommaert & Jie 2010). For instance, the student group I recorded for this study was part of a course which I also partly recorded, but the course lectures did not end up as data. The lectures included only little discussion, which means that the material was less suitable for the purposes of this study. The ethnographically-informed data collection (frequent face-to-face contact with the participants) also made it easier to convince the students and the teachers to take part in the research interviews (even if this still remained somewhat of a challenge).

I asked for the participants' consent (see appendix B for sample consent forms) in the beginning of the first events, which means that the participants were aware of the recordings taking place. I identified myself as a researcher of English and a representative of the SELF project dealing with English as a lingua franca and studying in international settings (the same goes for the project assistants). It is clear that this language expert background may have prompted the participants to pay more attention to their language, but this did not change their reasons for attending the study events. In addition, recording several sessions from the same speakers surreptitiously would have been impractical and ethically problematic, and asking for consent only afterwards would have risked the whole process had the participants felt cheated and denied consent. In relation to everyday conversational data, though, it has been argued that only surreptitious recordings provide totally natural speech (e.g. Warren 2006). This is plausible especially considering the beginnings of conversations that would have to be interrupted by the asking of consent. Moreover, in conversations, participants are free to choose the topics to be discussed, and the presence of a recorder may well affect the choice of topics. However, while the participants in this study occasionally refer to the recording or the presence of the researcher(s) in the room, which shows their occasional awareness of the recording, this does not change their need to pursue the aims of the study event. It might then be argued that the kind of specialised discourse analysed in this study is not as easily influenced by the recording process as conversational data. Moreover, the successive recordings are likely to have reduced the effects of the recording process on the discourse (see Smit 2010: 94–95).

Conducting the interviews

Some of the interviews were done by me alone, and some I did in collaboration with a SELF project assistant. The interviews for the student group work and the teacher-led course I conducted with Pirjo Surakka-Cooper so that we were both present and active in the interview situations. We also collaborated in doing the speech event recordings, which means that the interviewees knew us beforehand. In these interviews, both interviewers posed questions, although either one or the other tended to take the lead. The rest of the interviews I conducted on my own; some of the sessions were, however, attended by Anni Holopainen who had done related study event recordings and who took an interest in interviews as a research method.

Most of the interviews were conducted with one interviewee, but I also tried pair and group interviews to see whether they would make the situations more informal and discussion-like. An interview with two Finnish students from the student group work turned out to support the assumption as the students fuelled each other's responses. Interviews with students from the teacher-led course further suggested that interviewing more than one student at a time may be beneficial if the students have trouble expressing themselves in the language that the interview is conducted, since the students can rely on each other for translations and clarifications. However, pair and group interviews do not necessarily give the interviewees equitable representation. To ensure that all participants had equal opportunities to express themselves, I then conducted the interviews with the members of the guided group individually.

The interviews were conducted mainly in English, but Finnish was used with those interviewees whose L1 was Finnish and who thus shared the L1 of the interviewer(s). This reflects the practice of the study communities: those who shared an L1 (primarily) used their L1 when communicating with each other, and otherwise the choice was English or some other shared language.

All the interviews conducted for this study are semi-structured thematic interviews designed around the themes of studying and working in an ELF setting (see appendix C for the interview guides). The interviews were audio recorded, and after each interview, I wrote down notes about the interview situation, including perceptions of the interaction (e.g. what was it like to conduct the interview, how did the interviewee(s) seem to react to the interview). The notes provide brief accounts of each interview as a speech event, and are thus important in interpreting individual responses as parts of the interviews as a whole (see Briggs 1986: 104).

The interviews followed pre-prepared guiding questions, a so-called interview guide (see Dörnyei 2007), but the format was open-ended, which means that I (or my co-interviewer) could adapt the interview to the situation, reacting to the interviewee's comments. As suggested by Dörnyei (2007: 137), the interview guides were used to ensure that the topic was properly covered, and they also included suggestions for appropriate question wordings and offered useful probe questions and comments to bear in mind. The aim was also to keep the interviews as informal as possible so as to ensure that the interviewees could explain their experiences and perceptions freely. For the same reason, I did not seek to be "neutral" in the sense that I would restrict from reacting to the interviewees' responses, but rather tried to encourage the interviewees to share their experiences freely giving them carry-on and reinforcement feedback typical of normal spoken communication (for feedback in interviews, see Dörnyei 2007: 142). It is thus acknowledged that an interview is a communicative situation where both the interviewee's and the interviewer's contributions influence the course of the interaction.

I developed the interview guides during the data collection. This is in accordance with ethnographically-informed data-driven research where the collected material steers the research towards certain directions and where fieldwork is not only data collection, but also a learning process for the researcher (Blommaert & Jie 2010). For instance, my experiences of interviews with participants of the student group and the teacher-led course suggested that it was hard for the participants to respond to some of the questions because they remained on a too abstract level. As a solution to better ground the interview questions to the interviewees' daily lives, I asked the interviewees from the guided group to fill in two clock faces representing the hours of the day (see appendix D), and mark in the clock faces what they do during a typical day, with whom and what language(s) they use in the activities (see Satchwell 2005, Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva 2009). The responses were then used to inquire more about the interviewees' use of English. Further, questions directly related to the discussion group meetings that the interviewees attended were done more systematically than in the earlier interviews. These changes appeared to make it easier for the participants to talk about their experiences.

I now turn to the methods of analysis.

4.2 Methods of analysis

Language regulation includes both the managing and monitoring of language during interaction as well as speakers' notions of language. This means that language regulation spans from the level of language use to the level of ideologies. Even if the two levels overlap to a certain extent (i.e. language ideologies, in the form of beliefs and expectations, are constructed in the talk about language during interviews, as well as in the course of interaction), they are analytically distinct. Interactional behaviour can be compared to the ideologies, but since there is no causal link between the two, the behaviour cannot be used to explain the ideologies, or vice versa. This means that different methods of analysis are needed to tackle the different types of data and to approach the different aspects of language regulation. This should also reduce the risk of letting interpretations of one type of data affect interpretations of another type of data.

I analyse the study event interactions for the carrying out of language regulation by applying metalinguistics, conversation analytic repair and accommodation theory. The interviews I analyse for participant views by combining elements from discourse analysis and interactional approaches to discourse. The following sections describe the analytical methods in more detail. I start by discussing the methods of analysing language-regulatory practices in study event interaction (section 4.2.1), and then move on to the analysis of interviews (section 4.2.2). In section 4.2.3, I describe how the two planes of analysis are brought together.

4.2.1 Study event interactions

The speech events were transcribed following the SELF project transcription instructions, but a slightly modified version of the transcriptions is used in the extracts of this book to increase their readability (see appendix A for the transcription conventions). In the analysis, I used sound files alongside the transcriptions in order not to miss possible important details left out in the transcriptions.

My approach to analysing spoken interaction is based on the understanding of language and social interaction as mutually interpenetrating and jointly constituted, which means that language is seen to be shaped by the actions we use it for. I view communication as a situated, moment-to-moment sense-making practice in which speakers, as Rampton (2006: 24) puts it, (a) seek to construct utterances so that they are roughly in line with their recipients' understanding of the social world and their communicative history together, (b) provide and draw on various verbal and non-verbal signs to steer their interlocutors, and (c) continuously monitor their interlocutors' reactions. In exploring regulatory practices, the analysis focuses on the third aspect of monitoring one another's reactions during interaction.

I draw on CA to the extent that close attention is paid to talk as situated social practice. However, contrary to CA, I do not see context to be restricted to what is displayed in the sequential unfolding of utterances, or to something that is mutually achieved (see Blum-Kulka 2005: 276–277). Rather, drawing on ethnographic approaches, the study events are seen to provide a frame of reference for meaning making in the interactions. The ethnographically-informed data collection with non-participant observation is seen to increase understanding of the local practices, which in turn increases the analyst's ability to find most likely interpretations for the occurrence of specific features or phenomena.

The language-regulatory practices focused on are:

- language correcting (i.e. correcting an interlocutor's language)
- commentary on language
- embedded repairs
- reformulations and mediation
- lexical accommodation

I chose these regulatory practices based on fieldwork observations, close reading of the transcriptions and repeated listening of the recordings. The practices by no means form an exhaustive list (for example, speakers' self-corrections and other forms of accommodation also fall under regulatory practices), but they cover a range of different kinds of practices. The first two practices are explicit ways of regulating language, and they define boundaries for acceptability, and particularly, correctness. They can give answers to questions such as who can take on the role of language expert, and what kind of language speakers consider to be unacceptable. Being explicit, they also tell us about participant perspectives on regulation. The last three bullet points represent more tacit regulatory practices, and they shed light on the nuances of acceptability construction, particularly the scope of acceptability. By focusing on a number of different regulatory practices, then, I manage to cover both explicit and more tacit ways of regulating language.

I used different tools to best explore the regulatory practices. My analysis of language correcting draws on conversation analytic studies on repairs (e.g. Egbert 2004; Schegloff 2000; Schegloff et al. 1977), but I only focus on other-corrections, as in example 4.2, where T1 corrects S4.

(4.2)[42]

S4: ((…)) they have different climatic conditions er ranging from (sahara) or semi-arid zone to the tropical zone where annual rainfall is er is 100 or 15,000 millimetre annually but er [beekeeping]

T1: **[not 15,000] 1000- er 1500**

S4: yeah 1500 yeah 1500 1000 and 500 millimetre annually but er it's still in separate areas scattered area(s) ((…))

(V08D3Sp)

I collected all such instances of corrections and classified them into different types of corrections that I then analysed in more detail.

For commentary on language, I draw on metalinguistics and focus on those parts of the interaction where a speaker explicitly talks about language. The analysis looks into instances of metalingual comments (Berry 2005: 8–12), by which I mean overt references to and comments on both one's own and one's interlocutors' language (e.g. *what's that in English*, *when you are pronouncing the word*). All metalingual comments were collected and classified according to who did the commenting, and if the commenting was allocated, who assigned the language expert role to whom. Metadiscourse, or talk about the talk itself (e.g. *as I said before*, *does this sound…to you*), is excluded from the analysis (for studies on metadiscourse, see e.g. papers in Ädel and Mauranen 2010).

For the analysis of embedded repairs, and reformulations and mediation, I again draw on conversation analytic studies dealing with similar phenomena (e.g. Drew 1998; Garfinkel & Sacks 1970; Jefferson 1987; Kurhila 2003, 2006), but I also incorporate aspects of interactional sociolinguistics (Schiffrin 1994) when focusing on a special case of reformulations, that is, mediation (section 5.2.2). These language-regulatory practices represent more tacit ways of regulation. Like language correcting and commenting, they too tell us about interlocutor reactions to language use, and sometimes also about the ways speakers[43] react to the intervention of the interlocutor. This reflects the focus of this study on the ways that language is managed and monitored by co-interactants, rather than how speakers manage and monitor their own speech, for instance, by self-rephrasing (see Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006b). Examples of self-rephrasing can be seen in example 4.2 above: *is er is 100 or 15,000 millimetre* and *[not 15,000] 1000- er 1500*.

[42] In the examples, bold font is used to highlight important segments discussed in the text.
[43] Speaker is here used to refer to the current speaker, and interlocutor to the others present in the interaction and reacting to the current speaker's turn(s). Naturally, the roles of speaker and interlocutor shift during the interaction.

The last regulatory practice, lexical accommodation, however, exemplifies how speakers make adjustments to their own speech. I included this practice to see whether ELF speakers adopt 'unconventional' elements from each other's talk, thus stretching the boundaries of acceptability. The analysis of accommodation makes use of CAT (Giles & Coupland 1991; Giles et al. 1991; Gallois et al. 2005), although the focus is on communicative behaviour, rather than on speaker motivations guiding the accommodative practice.

I describe all the analytical methods in more detail in chapter 5, where I analyse the study event interactions. In the analysis, I focus on each regulatory practice in turn. I do not systematically search for differences between the study events, but rather, I only comment on the differences when they appear relevant in terms of the regulatory practice focused on.

4.2.2 Interviews

In order to systematise the analysis of the research interviews, I first listened to the interviews carefully, and did timed content schemes with partial transcriptions in order to structure the interview contents, and to sketch a broad communicative outline for the interview as a whole (cf. Briggs 1986: 104). At this point, I compared the interview notes with the recording to consider the interviewing process in relation to the interview accounts. I then developed an interview grid based on the interview questions and the topics discussed in the interviews, after which I broadly classified the data under these topics. Sections of the interviews were later transcribed for closer interactional analysis (cf. Rampton 2005: 333). I analysed the interview data in three sets: the student, teacher/mentor and English instructor interviews were analysed separately in order to consider language regulation from the perspectives of the different user groups (chapter 6).

My approach to the interviews combines elements from discourse analysis and interactional approaches to discourse. Similarly to the approach to discourse analysis represented by, for instance, Gilbert and Mulkay (1984), Potter and Wetherell (1987), Wetherell and Potter (1988), Suoninen (1993) and Potter (1996), I focus on what the interviewees say about a phenomenon and seek patterned ways of talking about the phenomenon. I thus analyse interviewees' explicit talk about English, or their metalingual comments, and seek patterns in their talk about the topic. The metalingual comments are seen to form interpretative repertoires that manifest interviewees' beliefs about English and expectations about its use. With interpretative repertoires I mean the employment of repeatedly occurring descriptions and expressions about the same topic in different participants' talk (see Potter & Wetherell 1987: 168–169; Talja 1999). For instance, in the analysis (chapter 6), we can see that different interviewees repeatedly describe ELF in relation to 'correct' ENL, which points towards the existence of one relatively internally consistent interpretative repertoire, whereas the same interviewees also describe ELF as 'what we do' suggesting a different, somewhat contradictory perspective, and thus another interpretative repertoire. An interpretative repertoire in this study, then, is constructed out of a restricted range of repeatedly occurring, similar metalingual comments that occur across participants' talk, and that illustrate different perspectives on English and its regulation.

Often the concept *a discourse* is used interchangeably with *interpretative repertoire* (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 1993: 27; Talja 1999). It has been argued, though, that the concept a discourse is more suitable for studies that, for instance, focus on power relations or institutional practices, whereas the concept interpretative repertoire is more suitable for research where the focus is on variability in everyday language use and where more emphasis is put on human agency (Edley 2001: 202; Jokinen et al. 1993: 27). In addition, it appears that discourses are often used as analytic categories that combine micro and macro levels of analysis and where actual language use is seen to connect with contextual processes, norms and consequences (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 27). Discourses are seen to operate at the same time on the micro level of language use and on the macro level of social context – thus bridging the two levels. The concept a discourse thus suggests an approach in which the focus is on manifestations of macro level processes in language use or alternatively how macro level processes are displayed and negotiated in language use (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 28). For instance, we could ask in what ways standard language ideology is displayed in the interviews conducted for this study. However, such an approach would mean starting from the macro level, rather than from the interview interaction itself. The concept interpretative repertoire does not carry similar baggage of bridging micro and macro levels, which is why I prefer to talk about interpretative repertoires rather than discourses. My analysis of interpretative repertoires can thus remain at the level of interaction, whereas chapter 7 serves the function of bridging the analysis of interpretative repertoires to macro level processes.

I treat interview responses as accounts of experiences and accounts of perceptions and views, which means that they cannot be used to describe and explain participants' actions and beliefs as such (see Gilbert & Mulkay 1984). In this framework, the individual is not taken as a unit of analysis, but rather it is understood that an individual can describe the same topic from different perspectives, and in the process come to rely on different, even conflicting interpretative repertoires (cf. Suoninen 1993; Wetherell & Potter 1988). What the analysis focuses on, then, are "recurrent interpretative practices" (Gilbert & Mulkay 1984: 14) employed by the interviewees, and materialised in their accounts. The analysis considers the content and form of the interviewees' accounts in terms of the differences and similarities within and across the accounts. After this, the analysis turns to the functions and reasons for the occurrence of the repeated patterns in the interviewees' descriptions, and the interpretative repertoires constructed out of them.

To demonstrate the application of the discourse analytic approach in this study, let us take a look at short examples from the data. Examples 4.3a and 4.3b illustrate that when students talked about using English with NSs of the language, 'correctness' became an issue:

(4.3)

(a) ((…)) but er the the the english speakers they can **correct** me ((…))

(GG, S4: L1 Spanish)

(b) ((…)) it's it's it's more difficult you have to be more **concentrated** much more with british with er native speakers for me

(SG, S5: L1 Spanish)

We notice that the accounts include similar metalingual comments that relate to speaking with NSs of English. However, correctness was not reported to be an issue in ELF communication, as suggested in example 4.4.

(4.4)

((…)) everybody speaks a more or less correct english and because everyone understand each other you **don't pay attention** that you are sometimes making some mistakes ((…))

(SG, S2: L1 Braz. Portuguese)

The accounts thus illustrate different perspectives on the use of English, and it further appears that the students employ different interpretative repertoires, one when describing language use with NSs of English and another one when describing ELF communication (see chapter 6 for a more detailed analysis).

The value of this content-based repertoire analysis is that it makes it possible to break loose of the individual as an analytical unit, and further, to approach interview accounts as constructions of interviewee perceptions that can contribute to different interpretative repertoires, rather than point to a fixed position. At the same time, repertoire analysis is criticised for not taking into account the interactional frameworks in which the discourses appear, which is said to lead to "a much more shallow image of human conduct" (Wooffitt 2005: 179) compared to approaches that focus on talk-in-interaction – most notably CA. Wooffitt (2005), for instance, questions the apparent tendency of discourse analytic studies to organise participants' conduct around a limited set of interpretative repertoires that, unlike in CA, do not take into account the intricacies of interaction. While I do not think that a focus on the intricacies of interaction is always necessary (and certainly not all studies set out to explore the said intricacies), the critique is good to keep in mind, especially when taken together with Wooffitt's (2005) further argument: the lack of consistency in discourse analytic studies as regards providing evidence for the presence of an interpretative repertoire. To avoid these pitfalls in this study, I treat the interviews as interactional data, and seek evidence for the existence of the repertoires from both what the interviewees say and from the talk-in-interaction (see Laihonen 2008, 2009), which means that the examples 4.3 and 4.4 shown above are only part of the analysis.

That the interpretative repertoires are treated as interactional products means that I concentrate on the ways that interviewees' descriptions of language are produced and reacted upon in the interview interaction (see Laihonen 2008, 2009; Myers 2004; Schaeffer 1991). A similar interactional approach to research interviews is used by Laihonen (2008: 687, see also 2009), whose conversation analytic analysis on language ideologies in the Romanian Banat shows how the interviewer and the interviewee together construct accounts about language that point to specific language ideologies. Laihonen's (2008, 2009) approach to language ideologies breaks away from a tendency in language ideology research to approach ideology from a macrosociological perspective (see van Dijk 1997: 25). In the macrosociological perspective, language ideologies are considered in a wider context, examining their relation to the history of discursive practices (see Heller 2007; Briggs 2007), whereas my focus, similarly to Laihonen (2008, 2009), is on the construction of interpretative repertoires at the level of interaction (chapter 6).

In chapter 7, though, I consider the regulatory practices and the expectations and beliefs manifested in the interpretative repertoires in relation to questions of language regulation and ELF in an attempt to take the macrosociological perspective into account (section 4.2.3). This means relating the findings to the discussion on norm construction in ELF (see Haberland 2011).

One of the questions that arises when approaching interview data as interactional data is the role of the interviewer as a co-participant in the exchange. Interviewers are often instructed to be neutral in order to avoid affecting the interviewee's comments and to ensure that the interviewee is given a chance to express his or her thoughts freely (see e.g. Dörnyei 2007: 141, Ruusuvuori & Tiittula 2005: 44–51). However, while it is justifiable to seek neutrality and, for instance, avoid leading interviewees to respond in particular ways, as a co-participant in the interaction, the interviewer is also responsible for sustaining the flow of the interaction. This means that the interviewer cannot remain a passive participant who does not react in any way to the interviewee's comments. In this sense, different carry-on and reinforcement techniques such as backchannelling signals or echo prompts (Dörneyi 2007: 142–143) may even be required.

Acknowledging that interviews are interactive situations questions the possibility of ever really achieving neutrality in an interview situation. This has important consequences for analysing the data. First, it becomes crucial to look at the interview interaction as a whole – to consider interviewees' general reactions to the interview and to construct an outline of the structure and contents of the interview (cf. Briggs 1986: 104–105). Second, interview accounts need to be seen as constructed in interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (see Laihonen 2008, 2009), which means that, for instance, interview questions need to be taken into account in order to examine interviewer influence on interviewees' responses (cf. Roulston 2010: 130–147, Ruusuvuori & Tiittula 2005: 44–51). To take an example, interview questions may entail presumptions that guide the interviewee to reconstruct the presumptions, or the questions may presume a specific answer by offering a couple of options for the interviewee to choose from. Example 4.5 below (see also chapter 6) illustrates the way the interviewee (IE) interprets the interviewer's (IR) question as a request to compare NSs and NNSs of English, and in her answer reconstructs this division.

(4.5)

IR: and who do you think is easiest to understand speaking english **is it native speakers or or other**.

IE: **which one** is easier to understand

IR: yeah yeah.

IE: **native (speech)** is usually easier but when they speak so fast and fluently and fast and using all the re- all the resources of the language if you are not that used to the person it's er it's not that easy maybe some (**foreigner people** that) speak good english and speak slowly it's better to understand it's easier to understand

(SG, S2: L1 Br. Portuguese)

In the example, the interviewer suggests that NSs might be easiest to understand, and as we can see in the interviewee's response, she first reconstructs this presumption, but then changes her mind. It seems that the interviewee recognises the native versus non-native distinction, but does not adhere to the presumption in the interviewer's question. We can thus observe some interviewer influence, but the example also shows that interviewees do not necessarily hold on to interviewer presumptions.

By considering the interactional context of the interviewees' accounts, then, we can get a better understanding of how interviewee perceptions are constructed. This in turn enriches the repertoire analysis, and increases its reliability, as the interviewer is made visible and her role in constructing, creating and maintaining language ideologies is taken into account.

4.2.3 Integrated approach: analysis based on tertia comprationis

The two levels of analysis, that is, the analysis of ELF interaction with focus on regulatory practices and the analysis of the research interviews with focus on the construction of beliefs and expectations of language, are seen as complementary viewpoints on language regulation. Both analyses deal with micro-level language regulation: the ways speakers regulate language in interaction and speaker reports about language. The last part of the analysis (chapter 7) is where these findings are brought together and where they are linked to more macro-level questions of norms and ELF.

Typically, in contrastive analysis, it has been important to establish prior to the analysis that the two (or more) entities to be compared share some qualities in order for them to be comparable in the first place (e.g. James 1980). This common quality of the entities according to which the entities are compared is called tertium comparationis. Any differences found between the entities, then, become significant against this background of 'sameness'. For instance, in comparative corpus studies, it is important to establish a degree of sameness in the corpora used in the comparative analysis (Connor & Moreno

2005). However, in my study, I follow Sørensen (2008, 2010) in that the common denominator is established as a result of the analysis. That is, even if we can say that the study event and interview data are comparable, for instance, on account of the participants being the same, the common denominator was not established prior to the analyses, but rather it was established based on the findings of the analyses. This means that the notion of tertium comparationis is modified in this study to refer to common aspects in the findings of the two analyses, that is, what Sørensen (2010: 56–57) calls "organising patterns" that cut across the analyses and describe "what is going on" in terms of language regulation (i.e. the phenomenon investigated).[44] The organising patterns can be seen as pivotal questions that arise as a result of the analyses and that need to be answered to explain the phenomenon. In the comparative analysis, then, the findings are considered in relation to these questions. In order to link the findings to wider discussions around ELF and regulation, I have further linked the questions to the ideologies of language maintenance and the NS ownership of English (see chapter 7) – both ideologies relevant for ELF (see Haberland 2011) – and I thus consider the findings of the two analyses in terms of the key questions, and further in relation to the ideologies.

Importantly, I formulated the tertia comparationis as a result of the two analyses, which means that the tertia comparationis are based on empirical investigation and were thus never isolated factors, but rather always already embedded in the analytical dimensions (cf. Sørensen 2010: 75). The benefit of this tertia comparationis approach is that I skip comparing the findings of the interaction and interview analyses directly to each other, which reduces the risk of explaining findings in one analysis with those of the other. This is important because no causal relation can be expected between the way people interact and how they perceive the interaction. At the same time, however, I retain the possibility of comparing the findings and looking into the different aspects of language regulation highlighted in them. In the process, I get a comprehensive view of language regulation and norm construction at the micro level of ELF users and ELF use.

[44] Sørensen (2008, 2010) developed her approach for the purposes of multi-sited ethnography, and she thus seeks for organising patterns across field sites. In her discussion of the comparative method, Sørensen (2010) takes her multi-sited ethnography on media harm (related to computer games) in regard to children as an example. In the study, she collected her data from three field sites. Sørensen (2010) describes how she discovered two organising patterns of media harm by analysing the ethnographic descriptions of the field sites for common mechanisms for the existence of media harm. These organising patterns were (a) a duality of presence and absence of media harm and (b) constructing a friendly environment. Both organising patterns functioned as a tertium comparationis. They were found in all three field sites, that is, they were attended to by the participants in all the field sites, and thus made media harm comparable across the different sites. In this study, however, I have looked into language regulation in one field site only, but from two different analytical dimensions. The organising patterns are thus sought in the findings of the study event and interview analyses.

In addition, the introduction of the macro-level element (i.e. the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies) into the analysis balances the otherwise bottom-up, micro-level analysis.

4.3 Summary

This study takes an integrated approach to language regulation, which means a focus on regulatory practices used in ELF interaction, as well as on participant perspectives on language and regulation. The data come from three study events, the main types of data consisting of study event interactions and research interviews. The analysis of the interactions focuses on language-regulatory practices; the methods used in the analysis are drawn from different interactional approaches to language. The interviews I analyse for student, teacher and English instructor perspectives; the analysis combines elements from discourse analysis and interactional approaches to discourse. The findings are then brought together in a comparative analysis were the findings are considered in relation to macro-level ideologies in an attempt to consider the construction of living norms in ELF interaction on a more general level.

The following chapters focus on the analysis of the study event interactions (chapter 5) and the interviews (chapter 6). Chapter 7 brings the two analyses together, and discusses the findings in the light of norm construction in ELF.

5 Language-regulatory practices

This chapter focuses on language regulation in interaction. It looks into the negotiation of acceptability and correctness of language by exploring: (1) explicit regulation and the construction of boundaries between unacceptable (or incorrect) and acceptable language, and (2) more tacit regulation and the scope of acceptability. The first part focuses on language correcting and commentary on language (section 5.1). It is concerned with, on the one hand, what speakers consider to be 'correct' or wholly adequate, and on the other, what falls outside the scope of acceptability and is seen as 'incorrect' and unacceptable. In order to shed light on the norms constructed in the regulation process, I thus concentrate on what is corrected and commented on, by whom, and in what circumstances. In the second part, I consider the scope of acceptability in more detail. I focus on more tacit interlocutor reactions to language than outright corrections and language commenting, that is, embedded repairs, and reformulations and mediation (section 5.2.2), as well as adjustments speakers make to their own language in the form of lexical accommodation (section 5.2.3). My focus on the different regulatory practices is the result of close analysis of the collected material. The aim of the chapter is to consider the construction of the boundaries and the scope of acceptability in the interaction. The chapter explores each regulatory practice in turn.

5.1 Explicit regulation: drawing boundaries of acceptability and correctness

Explicit judgments of others' language in the form of language correcting, as well as language commenting on a more general level bring forth participants' notions of language and what they consider to fall outside the scope of acceptability. Produced in spontaneous interaction, rather than asked about in interviews (see chapter 6), the comments illustrate what notions of language are made relevant in the ELF interaction. This helps us distinguish between notions that speakers draw on while communicating in the study events and those that remain without grounding in the study event interactions. In addition, we may consider in what ways the notions relate to more macro-level language ideologies (see chapter 7).

The clearest means of drawing boundaries between unacceptable and acceptable language is to correct others' language. Other-correcting is an explicit way for the participants to negotiate the boundaries of acceptability, and unlike self-rephrasing, which sheds light on the ways that speakers monitor and modify their own language (see Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006b), other-correcting tells us about the ways that a speaker's language is evaluated by a co-interactant. In order to consider the co-construction of the boundaries of acceptability in interaction, then, in this section I focus on interlocutor reactions to a speaker's language. In a later section (5.2.3), I return to the issue of self-regulation when looking into lexical accommodation.

The analysis in this section[45] is divided into two: correcting spoken language (section 5.1.1) and commentary on English (section 5.1.2). In the analysis, I focus on what kind of language is corrected and commented on and in what circumstances, and who does the correcting and commenting and thus takes on the role of language expert.

5.1.1 Correcting spoken language

To consider the boundaries between unacceptable and acceptable spoken English, this section turns to instances where spoken language is corrected by interlocutors. Such intervention with a speaker's language reflects the interlocutor's notions of correctness, and defines what is considered 'correct' and 'incorrect'. This sheds light on the boundaries of acceptable English: what is corrected and what not, in what circumstances corrections are done and who does the correcting.

Language corrections as a form of other-repair

I define language corrections as instances where an interlocutor changes a linguistic detail in the previous speaker's turn. In CA, such corrections fall under the category of other-repairs, or instances of interaction where participants temporarily stop the course of action in progress in order to solve some communicational 'trouble' (Brouwer et al. 2004; Schegloff 1992; Schegloff et al. 1977; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby & Olsher 2002). In the case of outright corrections, then, the correcting forms a side sequence in the interaction. This is illustrated in the example (5.1) below.

(5.1)

S5: [yeah (there) are economics] but of course er i haven't write i haven't numbers or a study yeah it's something like er (O) it's about **O-N-G** yeah **O-N-G** er

[45] Some of the findings in this section along with some of the examples used here are further discussed in Hynninen (2012).

S2: **N-G-O**

S5: **N-G-O yeah O-N-G is in spanish sorry**

S2: [(that's okay)]

S5: [N-G-O yeah] N-G-O and er they have a lot of pages but of course nothing about er numbers.

(SG, V07A1GW)

In the example, S5 refers to a non-governmental organisation with the acronym ONG, which is then corrected by S2 to NGO. The correction is followed by S5's acknowledgement of the correction, and his explanation that he mixed up the Spanish and English versions of the acronym (S5 is an L1 speaker of Spanish). S2's L1 is Portuguese and she also reported speaking some Spanish, which may have helped her in deciphering what S5 meant with ONG. However, we can see that S2 still corrects S5. The correction is done towards ENL, but it is made by an L2 speaker of English. It is possible that in this case S5's hesitation (*ONG yeah ONG er*) may have justified the correcting for S2.

From the example we can see that the correction creates a side sequence in the interaction: the correction is followed by S5's repetition of the 'correct' item, that is, before returning to the topic, the participants negotiate which linguistic item to use. As in the example, studies in CA (e.g. Jefferson 1987: 90; Schegloff et al. 1977) have shown that corrections are typically followed by repetition of the correction, or if the correction is rejected, repetition of the original item (also known as the 'repairable').

In CA, especially in relation to L1–L2 interaction, corrections have been treated as a subgroup of repairs, referring only to instances where an interlocutor replaces an 'erroneous' linguistic item used by the speaker – 'erroneous' meaning incorrect when compared to ENL standards (see Brouwer et al. 2004). Repairs more generally refer to all instances where an interlocutor produces an alternative version of what a speaker has said. In addition to linguistic repairs (i.e. corrections), this includes repairs that, for instance, deal with the factual content of a speaker's utterance. Since such repairs do not concern language regulation, this study focuses on linguistic repairs only.

In L1 interaction, it is assumed that everyone speaks the same language and knows how to speak it, which means that the norms of speaking are in a way given, and errors can be defined as deviations from these norms. With L2 speakers present, however, the norms can be problematised. In L1–L2 research, such problematisation is usually not done, and the approach adopted relies on a pre-determined definition of correctness norms, often equated with a NS's understanding of 'normal language use' (see Brouwer et al. 2004; Kurhila 2003: 44). These studies also seem to exclude instances where a correct form is replaced by an incorrect one, which means that an incorrect form used as a repair is not counted as correcting. If we, however, want to approach interaction from the perspective of what participants construct as correct, we cannot automatically assume that they follow some pre-determined correctness norms. We thus need to start by considering all instances where an interlocutor *changes* a linguistic item in a speaker's turn and where these instances create a side sequence in the interaction – thus suggesting that the change is treated as a correction by the participants.

Since my focus is on items that are modified, instances where an interlocutor anticipates what a speaker is trying to say, for instance, by completing a speaker's utterance, and where the intervention thus takes place without modification, are excluded from the analysis (see example 5.2). These include instances where the speaker seems to hesitate as if searching for a word, which is then followed by interlocutor intervention. This is illustrated in example 5.2.

(5.2)

S2: but but should we set up (xx) (possibly) do something else because i just read um that there has been P-V-A put down in 2006 that predict er wh- er **what is it um, population viability, an-**

M2: **analysis**

S2: **analysis yeah** and that predicted that the kind of er positive um fut- future (xx) that it is the population's going to become more stable ((…))

(GG, B09C2GGW)

In the example, S2 hesitates with the term *population viability analysis*, which can be seen in the use of the hesitation marker *um* and the two pauses. This triggers M2 to intervene in S2's turn by offering the missing element of the term, which is then acknowledged by S2 repeating the offered item. These instances were not counted as corrections, since they do not correct an item already expressed by a speaker; but rather anticipate what the speaker is trying to say and apparently help him or her out.

Also, other-initiations of repair (e.g. Egbert 1997, Schegloff 2000), such as non-understanding signals and confirmation questions as requests to repeat or reformulate an utterance have been excluded from the analysis of corrections (cf. section 5.2.2 on reformulations). Such initiations may be instances of monitoring the speaker's language, but they may also indicate trouble in hearing or understanding the contents. It thus appears that although they sometimes function as a language-regulatory practice, they do that only in part.

The focus, thus, is on linguistic other-repair, or language corrections, that is, linguistic repairs that are done by the interlocutor either without initiation from the speaker as outright corrections (other-repair) or with initiation from the speaker as self-initiated corrections (self-initiated other-repair). Let us now turn to the data analysis.

Types of corrections

Instances of outright language corrections of spoken English as well as self-initiations were scarce in the data. Table 5.1 shows the number of language corrections found (outright corrections and self-initiated corrections) and their distribution into three types of linguistic correction: pronunciation, grammar and lexis. Only corrections concerning spoken English are included.

Table 5.1 Number of language corrections (ca. 20 hours of data)

	Outright corrections	*Self-initiated corrections*	*In total*
Pronunciation	7*	1	8
Grammar	4	1	4
Lexis	9	11	20
In total	20	13	33

* 5 of these corrections were made in relation to the same pronunciation.

The table shows that language corrections were not common in the data (33 instances in 20 hours of data means one correction in approximately every 36 minutes). However, as we can see, corrections were done even if the speaker did not initiate it, and outright corrections were somewhat more common than those initiated by the speaker.

As to the types of language corrections, we notice that most corrections concerned lexis. This is in line with Smit's (2010) study on student-teacher interaction in English-medium lectures. In Smit (2010), outright and self-initiated corrections were more common than in this study (the 49 instances given in table 5.2 are from 6 hours and 33 minutes of data, which means one correction in approximately every 8 minutes), but the distribution of the different types of linguistic correction is similar. As illustrated in table 5.2, in Smit (2010: 202–209), language corrections concerned lexis in 19 out of 27 instances and only 8 concerned pronunciation or grammar, and a similar uneven distribution could be seen in relation to self-initiated corrections, with all but one instance concerning lexis.

Table 5.2 Number of comparable language corrections in Smit (2010: 202–209)

	Outright corrections	*Self-initiated corrections*	*In total*
Pronunciation	3	1	4
Grammar	5	0	5
Lexis	19	21	40
In total	27	22	49

There thus appears to be a tendency to focus more on lexis than other linguistic aspects. Then again, lexis can be difficult to classify as a purely linguistic category: as Smit (2010: 182–183) points out, it can be impossible to distinguish between repairs focusing on lexical, instead of factual elements, which means that double categorisation may be in place. In this study, all borderline cases have been included as lexical corrections (see example 5.3). Considering that most linguistic corrections in my data and in Smit's (2010) data concerned lexis – a category which may overlap with factual repairs – it appears that even less attention may have been put on language as opposed to meaning than what the numbers suggest. Thus, the emphasis on lexis instead of pronunciation and grammar corrections, as well as the sheer scarcity of corrections implies that, in the study events, it was generally not acceptable to correct someone's speech and it was generally not necessary to do linguistic corrections in order to achieve mutual understanding.

The scarcity of correcting is in line with earlier studies on ELF interaction. For instance, Smit's (2010: 202) findings show that repairs were common, but that there was a proportionately higher amount of interactional repair due to, for instance, mishearing, and factual repair dealing with content, rather than language (in total 72.4% out of all the repairs), compared to linguistic repair (27.6%). Also, if we focus on only the two categories explored in this study (i.e. outright corrections and self-initiated corrections) in Smit's (2010) data, and look at the distribution of repairs given in table 5.3, we see that slightly over half of the language corrections were done by the interlocutors (49 instances out of 94 were other-repairs), which further means that such corrections formed only ca. 14% of all the repairs in Smit's data. Linguistic other-repairs thus appear to be relatively uncommon in ELF (see also Mauranen 2006b).

Table 5.3 Distribution of repairs in Smit (2010: 202–209)

	N	*% out of all repairs*
Linguistic repairs		
• Other-repairs (self-initiated and outright corrections)	49	14.4%
• Other types	45	13.2%
Non-linguistic repairs	247	72.4%
In total	341	100%

Interestingly, the scarcity of correcting is in line with studies conducted on L1–L2 interaction. For instance, in Kurhila (2003, 2006), NSs did linguistic corrections, but a lot of 'erroneous' use was left uncorrected, which places correcting in a minor position in the interaction. What is more, most corrections were found to be embedded ones, that is, they did not form a side sequence in the interaction (Kurhila 2003: 137; see Jefferson 1987; section 5.2.1). Chun, Day, Chenoweth and Luppes (1982) further show that NSs correct L2 speakers' language, but only marginally in relation to correcting their factual errors: factual errors were corrected in ca. 90% of the cases, whereas language (word choice, syntax and omissions) were corrected only in ca. 8% of the cases. Although the correcting in Chun et al. (1982) is restricted to NSs, the interactional relevance of correcting appears to remain small, which lends support for studies that suggest the "normality" of L2 talk (Wagner and Gardner 2004). The scarcity of linguistic corrections in this and Smit's (2010) study suggest the same for ELF interaction. This is in contrast to language classroom interaction, where linguistic corrections have been found to be prominent (e.g. McHoul 1990). ELF thus differs from interaction in language classrooms in that linguistic form is given (much) less attention.

What was corrected and by whom?

Sometimes linguistic form, however, matters in ELF interaction as well. What, then, was corrected and by whom in my data? In the following, I look at lexical, pronunciation and grammatical corrections of spoken language, and end by focusing on examples of unconventional language that was left uncorrected.

Lexical corrections formed the biggest group. In example 5.3 (reproduced from chapter 4, example 4.2), the correction is done by a teacher (T1) during a student's (S4) presentation.

(5.3)

S4: ((...)) they have different climatic conditions er ranging from (sahara) or semi-arid zone to the tropical zone where annual rainfall is er is **100 or 15000 millimetre** annually but er [beekeeping]

T1: **[not 15000] 1000- er 1500**

S4: yeah 1500 yeah 1500 1000 and 500 millimetre annually but er it's still in separate areas scattered area(s) ((...))

(TLC, V08D3Sp)

We can see that the lexical correction is a correction of facts: the correction concerns the amount of annual rainfall in a specific area. This means that while this is counted as a lexical correction, T1 did not intervene in order to correct lexis as such, but in order to correct the contents.

The correction in example 5.1 (reproduced below as 5.4 for convenience) more clearly focuses on lexis. The example is from the student group, where no teachers were present.

(5.4)

S5: [yeah (there) are economics] but of course er i haven't write i haven't numbers or a study yeah it's something like er (O) it's about **O-N-G** yeah **O-N-G** er

S2: **N-G-O**

S5: **N-G-O yeah O-N-G is in spanish sorry**

S2: [(that's okay)]

S5: [N-G-O yeah] N-G-O and er they have a lot of pages but of course nothing about er numbers.

(SG, V07A1GW)

In this example, the acronym ONG is corrected by S2 to NGO. S2 is an L2 speaker of English, but as we can see in the example, she takes on the role of language expert. She introduces the acronym in English, apparently to ensure mutual understanding in the group.

Also in the following example (5.5), an L2 speaker of English acts as language expert.

(5.5)

S5: we have (**an excurse**) on on on on saturday yeah

S1: yeah

S4: mhm

S1: **the field trip**

S5: **yeah** and where we are going to g- to go

S1: i don't know

S4: to porvoo and askola

(SG, V07A3aGW)

In this example, the correction is delayed as it only occurs after minimal responses by both S1 and S4. Since S5 does not take the floor after the minimal responses, S1's turn could also be seen to function as a verification of understanding, a paraphrase of *an excurse*, rather than a correction. The marked lexical item is changed to a standard one, but the change is done by an L2 speaker of English.

Many other-corrections initiated by the speaker dealt with field-specific terms, as illustrated in example 5.6.

(5.6)

S7: ((…)) or two or three centimetres per day it's very very quickly. (xx) (the growth). okay , so erm is **i i don't know is in (english is)** ((monomic)) (plant) to have the both sex in the same plant ((monomic)) **in english**

T2: jaa it's monoecious

S7: **monoecious**

T2: mhm

S7: okay (so it's a) monoecious plant

T2: but we could stop here the very strange thing with maize is that male and female ((…))

(TLC, V08D5Sp)

In the example, the student explicitly expresses that he does not know what to call a specific type of plant, and the teacher then provides the requested term. These kinds of instances placed the teachers in the position of not only experts in the field but also of language experts. Similarly, the mentors were asked about the English names of Finnish associations in the guided group (example 5.7).

(5.7)

S3: i think er <FINNISH> suomen luonnonsuojeluliitto </FINNISH> **what's that in english**

M2: i think it's the finnish association for nature conservation

S3: **okay** they they complained to EU couple of years ago i don't know was that any help or has EU decided anything

(GG, B09C3bGGW)

In this example, the student explicitly asks for a translation of a Finnish association before continuing on the topic. The findings thus to an extent correspond to Smit (2010: 362–365), who found out that teachers were relied on for subject-related terminology.

In the guided group, also the presence of the English instructor (E1) was made use of. In the second meeting, E1 stayed a while to observe the group, and during this time we can see a slight increase in questions concerning unfamiliar words in English. Typically these kinds of questions occurred only once during a meeting, whereas three questions were directed at E1, twice exploiting E1's knowledge of Finnish, as in example 5.8.

(5.8)

S1: ((…)) protection of the species and er then um to focus er research on the seal so that's like the four main points and under the f- first one with the the (anthropogenic) facts there's lots of stuff about er the fishing and using these **what could a <FINNISH> katiska </FINNISH> be in finnish er i mean english (xx)**

E1: **traps** i would say [(maybe) **fish traps**]

S1: **[trap] a fish trap okay** instead of the net so that's like the most important thing under this (anthropogenic) thing but er just like um to sort of (xx) the focus on the other bits as well like getting people involved and (xx)

(GG, B09C2GGW)

The example shows how E1 was used as a dictionary, and thus a language expert. E1 also attended the beginning of the last session of the group work in order to comment on the students' mock presentation. He mainly gave general advice on presenting, and commented on some of the students' language (e.g. pronunciation as in example 5.9).

(5.9)

E1: mhm <NAME S3> just before you sit down you did really well with the terminology and stuff (there) but just a couple of words to to keep (an an ear at o-) one was survival (xx) (incorrect) survival (but) the other one was strict strict protection i think you pronounced it /straikt/ or something like that (but they are the only two that) might confuse someone if they are (a bit) **mispronounced** (the others were fine I think) just strict protection

(GG, B09C6GGW)

In this example, the correction is given in the form of advice, which was typical of E1. In general, E1's presence seems to have increased the participants' focus on language.

As we saw in example 5.9, E1 paid attention to the students' pronunciation, but otherwise pronunciation corrections were rare in the data. The rest of the pronunciation corrections occurred in the teacher-led course, focusing on one particular lexical item, as illustrated in example 5.10 where T2 intervenes in S7's pronunciation of *maize*.

(5.10)

S7: ((…)) (there are two principal) classes of of /maıs/ is the er both are the most in- cultivated in around the world er this yellow /maıs/ and white the white /maıs/ is principally use- used for the human (xx) and the yellow /maıs/ is used for the [(a- anim-)]

T2: **[kindly] pronounce it /meız/ so because it would be repeated** we are talking about

S7: [/meız/]

T2: [/meɪz/] not /maɪs/

S7: excuse me please /meɪz/ (xx) /meɪz/ so yellow one is used for the (er nutrition of the a-) animals (not the) people, ((…))

(TLC, V08D5Sp)

We can see that the student's pronunciation of *maize* evokes the word *mice*, which is treated as improper in a presentation dealing with maize (*kindly pronounce it maize*, *would be repeated*). Considering that the teachers did not intervene with S7's – or any other student's – pronunciation otherwise[46], there seems to have been high tolerance for variation in pronunciation. The lack of pronunciation corrections in the group-work events, except those done by E1 in the guided group, further support this conclusion.

Similarly to pronunciation corrections, correcting grammatical form was rare. Example 5.11 comes from the first course session of the teacher-led course where the students chose presentation dates and topics.

(5.11)

S9: i'd like also to present on the **22**

T1: **22**$^{\text{nd}}$ yes

S9: **22**$^{\text{nd}}$ and <FIRST NAME S9>

(TLC, V08D1S)

In the example, T1 corrects S9 by replacing the cardinal number used by S9 with the corresponding ordinal number, which is then repeated (and thus accepted) by S9. Again, the correction appears to make use of ENL norms, but it is done by an L2 speaker of English.

What was left uncorrected?

In all, the examples above show that corrections were made towards ENL norms. However, a lot of usage deviating from ENL norms was left uncorrected. This is

[46] S7 kept going back to the corrected pronunciation and the teachers ended up correcting him also later in the interaction, and even suggested that S7 talk about corn instead of maize. However, corrections were always related to the pronunciation of maize, and no other lexical item. Also, on one occasion, another student specifically asked how to pronounce a word.

illustrated in the examples below. In example 5.12, S4 talks about the boundaries of reserve areas.

(5.12)

S4: do you know the (xx) effect (xx) maybe this is a reserve or you can't fish inside but you you you can fish er outside the line <SU-M2> [mhm] </SU-M2> [this] this part is is a problem (partly) because there are (er) **a lot of fish a lot animal** here <SU> [(mhm)] </SU> [(xx) (reserve)] okay this is safe but the animal (there) don't know [(this is the reserve they don't know)] <SU> [(mhm)]</SU> this area but er **the biggest concentrate are** around the reserve i think this is a problem but this this is a reserve this's a good place this is okay but this is more **destroyed** (xx) <SU> [(xx)] </SU> really maybe the reserve is is better when **(you) is** like this this is the most protected area this is a middle this is a do you know <M2> [mhm-hm] </M2> [i] mean **is is better when you is different levels**

S2: okay (i think i understand)

S4: but this the impact of the (fishing outside) the reserve is is is less

S3: yeah er er er and i have actually read that quite [many saimaa seals]

S4: [i don't i don't]

S3: **are died** quite near these er conservation areas

S2: ah okay

(GG, B09C4GGW)

In the example, when compared to Standard English, we can see two students using grammatically incorrect forms, but no attempt on the part of the interlocutors to correct the usage. Instead, there are a number of minimal responses that appear to support S4; and S2's reaction in the last line shows her focus on the contents, rather than S3's language. Then again, the example also shows that S4 seeks for verification that the others have understood him (*do you know*), and he does a lot of rephrasing. This implies that he may be insecure about his English. Interestingly, S2's comment (*okay (i think i understand)*) indicates that she was slightly uncertain whether she understood S4's point, which implies that there was a risk for non-understanding – perhaps linked to the non-standard usage. Then again, S3 clearly had no trouble in understanding S4, and her turn appears to function as a kind of mediation (see section 5.2.2) between S4 and S2. What we can see is that language correcting was not the means used to achieve mutual understanding. This suggests tolerance of variation and that the scope of acceptability was wider than that of correctness. The analysis of corrections of spoken language showed that when correcting, the speakers relied on their notions of ENL, which suggests that correctness was defined in relation to ENL norms and deviations from that were seen to be incorrect and unacceptable. However, considering that such 'deviant' usage was most often left uncorrected, as illustrated in Example 5.12 above, it appears that 'incorrect' was not necessarily unacceptable.

Example 5.13 further shows the focus on the outcomes of the interaction. The students are going through their presentation slides and in the example, S1 comments on one of her slides.

(5.13)

S1: [because] i i'm not sure if that is used like before it's more like now they are using it (and) like i think that that the governments and researchers have use(d) it like with **this traditional methods** mostly and sometimes these development (a-) agencies because **the(re) haven't been so long time** this **developmenting** going [on]

S5: [but erm] you you you must er explain it tomorrow

S1: yeah [but]

S5: [okay]

S1: is that okay

S5: [mhm-hm mhm-hm]

S1: [if i say it that way] yeah i didn't write all the things i tried it to be like really short

S2: yeah (you should have things to say in the presentation)

(SG, V07A3bGW)

We can see that S1 uses non-standard lexis and grammar, but these are not pointed to by the other students. For instance in examples 5.4 and 5.5, language correcting was done to ensure mutual understanding, but as can be seen in this example (5.13), the 'deviant' forms do not cause communicative turbulence. It thus appears that such deviations are considered a normal part of the interaction, which widens the scope of acceptability beyond that of correctness.

Similarly, in Example 5.14, S5 uses non-standard expressions. The group has been talking about the operating system Linux and the predominance of Microsoft Windows, and in the extract, S5 argues against the one-way flow of influences from the US.

(5.14)

S5: we need to avoid the er the all (**informatical**) market **becames** from USA yeah

<P: 07>

NS3: did you know that the creator of linux lives in the united states

S2: [@really@]

S5: [(i'm sure)] (i'm sure) [(i'm sure)]

NS3: [he lives] in <NAME OF STATE> actually yeah

SS: @@

(SG, V07A3aGW)

This example again shows that grammatical deviations from Standard English are not focused on. Moreover, we can see that also the NS of English in the group let such deviations pass. In fact, most corrections in my data were done by L2 speakers of English, even if a NS was present in all the study events. This implies a difference between L1–L2 interaction, where only NSs have been found to correct (cf. contributions in Gardner and Wagner 2004), and ELF interaction, where L2 speakers can take on the role of language expert.

Summary: corrections

In sum, most corrections dealt with lexis, and they were done by L2 speakers of English. When not initiated by speakers, corrections were mainly done to increase the likelihood of achieving mutual understanding (see examples 5.4 and 5.5). The students most often addressed the teachers, mentors and the instructor of English (E1) when insecure about their English. This is understandable since many of the self-initiations concerned field-specific lexis (cf. Smit 2010). Outright other-corrections imply a similar division of authority roles in that in the teacher-led course, the teachers did nearly all the corrections, and in the guided group, the mentors and E1 did most of the corrections. Since the teachers and the mentors were L2 speakers of English, the findings differ from studies concerning L1–L2 interaction, where it has been found that only NSs do linguistic corrections (e.g. contributions in Gardner and Wagner 2004; Hosoda 2006; Kurhila 2003, 2006). What, for instance, becomes clear from Kurhila's (2003) analysis is that in L1–L2 interaction, the NS is the linguistic authority and that L2 speakers seem to try to conform to the NS and his or her norms. Kurhila's (2003) data mainly came from institutional settings where the NS (of Finnish) held an institutional position and the L2 speaker (of Finnish) did not. Since the L2 speakers (of English) who did most of the correcting in my data also held institutional authority positions, it could be that correcting is related to institutional roles rather than the speaker's L1. However, since the student group was an all-student group, in this case an institutional authority was not an option. The students in this group sought the NS student's advice on written form (see section 5.1.2), but corrections of spoken English were mainly done by the L2 speaking students (see examples 5.4 and 5.5). This implies a difference between ELF and L1–L2 interaction concerning the construction of language expertise. Although ENL was used as the model for correct language use, L2 speakers took on the role of language experts even when NSs of English were present.

The scarcity of correcting and the generally tolerant attitude towards non-standard forms suggest acceptability of variation in linguistic form and a focus on the outcomes of the interaction. This also blurs the boundaries between unacceptable and acceptable language. Even if the correcting of speech mainly drew on ENL, which implies that correctness is mainly considered in reference to (one's perceptions of) ENL norms, a lot that deviates from these models goes uncorrected, thus widening the scope of acceptability. It thus appears that the scope of acceptability is wider than that of correctness. In fact, we may even talk about prescriptive and performance rules (Schmidt and McCreary 1977), where prescriptive represents the correct speech (often seen as optimal), and performance represents all that is acceptable even if it falls short of what speakers consider to be correct (or the optimum).

5.1.2 Commentary on English

As Gordersch and Dretzke (1998: 13) suggest, people's linguistic behaviour can be divided into three: (1) how people think they use language, (2) how they think they ought to use language, and (3) how they actually do use language. In terms of language regulation, we are interested in finding links between 1 and 2 as well as between 2 and 3. Also, it appears that we need to make a further distinction between notions that speakers have of their own language and notions that they have of others' language, since this may have an effect on their notions of how language ought to be used. In section 5.1.1, I looked into actual usage in the form of language corrections, which already sheds light on speakers' notions of correctness. In what follows, I turn to explicit commenting on language, which further brings forth speakers' notions of language use: both how they think they use language and how they think they ought to use it. The section thus relates to the repertoire analyses of chapter 6 in that I explore speakers' talk *about* language. The difference is that the commenting analysed in this section takes place in the naturally-occurring study event interactions, whereas chapter 6 focuses on the research interviews and thus elicited talk about language.

What I mean with explicit language commenting are metalingual, rather than metadiscursive, comments (Berry 2005: 8–12; section 4.2.1). My focus, then, is on those instances of the interaction where language is taken up as a topic, not talk about the talk itself. For instance, a student might refer to his or her English skills in the interaction, and thus make a metalingual comment. The questions focused on are:

(1) What kinds of notions of their own and each other's English do speakers construct through language commenting?
(2) Who or what are constructed as language experts?

The first question sheds light on how speakers think they use language and how they view each other's language, and the second question deals with speaker perceptions of how language ought to be used. In the following, I first explore the more general type of commenting on language, where students commented on their own or their fellow students' English, and then move on to commenting that concerned students' written texts (presentation slides or reports). The latter type of commenting was done by both students and teachers. I deal with it separately in order to shed light on the differences constructed between the regulation of spoken and written language.

Commenting on one's own English

Most comments on one's own English were found in the student group. In their comments, the students most often expressed insecurity in using the language. This was done, for instance, by directly referring to the (felt) limitations of one's English, as illustrated in example 5.15, where a student (S2) expresses difficulty in translating from her L1 Brazilian Portuguese into English, and considers this a limitation of her command of English.

(5.15)

S2: so i didn't find anything in books but erm in my country it's a developing country where these participatory methods has started with the (paulo freire is a) the one who first said something about this <S1> okay </S1> this is erm, it's hard to say because i have only material **in my own language** and **i'm not that good in english** <SU> eh </SU> **to translate things** [but] <SU-1> [yeah] </SU-1> we could try to do something in this way that erm, before before starting this erm participatory methods in brazil th- erm regarding to to helping the rural people <S1> yeah </S1> erm they they start how to this do to do this extension how to bring new technologies to developing the rural area(s) so they idea was okay i have the the technology here and i go to the the rural area <SU-1> yeah </SU-1> and i give it to them and it has to work because it's [good] <SU-1> [mhm] </SU-1> how can it be wrong <SU-1> [yeah] </SU-1> [so] they thought it would work but then nothing worked even though [they] <SU-1> [yeah] </SU-1> have good technologies they have put money but [the] <SU-1> [mhm] </SU-1> the people didn't accept it because nobody had asked them what to do so then they started to think that there was something wrong why is it so difficult to to, developing (a) rural program then they have started to to try to find the the problems and they have started this participatory methods talking to the people asking them what's what is your opinion about the place where you live why you didn't use that technology that we gave to you and then they ha- they started doing this erm this rapid how do they call this rapid rural (one) <SU-1> [(right) yeah yeah] </SU-1> [these questionnaires there] there there's a special name in the literature [(xx)] <SU-1> [yeah] </SU-1> something like that, rapid rapid rural (approach) or something like this

S6: erm yeah (xx)

S2: and the teacher has said the name **i don't** <S6> [but erm] </S6> **[know (if the word is)] correct in english**

S6: you mean this a- participatory rural appr- approach or something

S2: yes

S6: okay when you make this all (this)

S2: (this) question(s). and maybe we can try to compare how was it before and and and how it it's now because now erm about participatory methods i'm sure you have find some good materials because they have they always say about this techniques but they [don't say] <S1> [yeah] </S1> about before or [what] <S1> [yeah] </S1> was [before]

SU: [mhm]

(SG, V07A1GW)

The comment S2 makes about her language use (*i'm not that good in english to translate things*) implies that she relates strongly to her first language (note the way she talks about *my own language* contrasted with translating into English). S2 thus perceives English as a foreign language that is not her own and that limits her expression (cf. chapter 6). However, the example also shows that after expressing her insecurity, S2 goes on to explain her ideas and continues uninterrupted, seemingly without difficulties for quite a while (ca. 2 min). The expression of insecurity appears to function as a disclaimer: because she has to use English, she may not be able to bring forth all her expertise.

Towards the end of the example, we have a different kind of expression of insecurity, as S2 initiates repair by asking the others for help with a special term. Here S2 refers to a gap in her lexis and seeks for the 'correct' expression in English (*i don't know (if the word is) correct in english*). We see that the self-initiation is followed by S6's suggestion, after which S2 again takes the floor. It is clear that the repair sequence slows down the interaction, but it appears that the insecurity remains with the one term.

Insecurity was also expressed in the form of confirmation checks. In example 5.16, the students talk about asking the course teacher to clarify the group work task instructions.

(5.16)

S5: and for tomorrow i i think that we need (to) show to the teacher **yeah** for example er all my information that i have about my sentences about my my what is the relative importan(ce) **yeah** and and ask her okay this is the idea that you want that you are talking about that you want tha- that we speak about that, **do you understand**

S2: [yes]

S5: **[because my english]**

SU-4: [yeah]

S5: **[is] not [very good i know]**

S2: [if you have] if you (already have) something of course i- it's good to show to her but <S5> [yeah] </S5> [but] (d- don't go so) deeply because if you're going the if we are going the wrong way it's a waste of time to <S1> yeah </S1> to prepare something only to to show to her and then she say no it's not correct

(SG, V07A1GW)

We can see that similarly to example 5.15, English is constructed as problematic (*not very good i know*). S5 expresses uncertainty in terms of whether the other students understand him (several occurrences of the confirmation check *yeah* as well as the explicit confirmation question *do you understand*). In previous ELF research, confirmation checks have been found to be in use to guard against miscommunication (Mauranen 2006b: 136–137), and that seems to be taking place here as well. In addition, the abundance of confirmation checks along with the explicit statement, *my English is not very good i know*, implies that S5 is insecure about his English. However, two students (S2 and SU-4) confirm that they have been able to follow S5 and this can also be seen in S2's turn, which directly relates to what S5 said.

The expressions of insecurity in the above examples suggest that the two speakers are not satisfied with their English and that they are aware of the limitations of their command of the language. The speakers construct a divide between 'good' and 'not good' English, and place their own English towards the 'not good' end of the continuum (cf. chapter 6). The students thus show acute awareness of their perceived lack of command in English relative to some implied target or norm. In example 5.15, we saw that S2 contrasted her English with her L1, which means that a division is constructed between L1s and L2s. The contrast appears to function as a disclaimer, where one's 'deficient' command of English is seen to hinder one's performance in the group, and this is also when the contrast is constructed as relevant. However, both of the above examples illustrate that communication was not hindered. In example 5.15, S2 simply continued speaking, and in example 5.16, S5's co-interactants showed no signs of trouble in understanding him – quite the contrary. It thus appears that the subjective experience of not speaking English well enough may not correspond to how the interlocutors view it. The students' metalingual comments concerning their 'not very good' English construct the English as unacceptable, yet the fellow-students' reactions imply that the usage falls within the scope of acceptability.

While, in the above, the speakers constructed insecurity of using English, a few of the language comments also indicated confidence in one's command of the language. These expressions were rare in the data, implying that speakers did not feel the need to explicitly express confidence. The example (5.17) comes from the guided group, where S3 offers to translate a text from her L1 Finnish into English.

(5.17)

S1: (i think) there's been research done on the botnica subspecies and i think that would be interesting to bring into this project as well <M1> mhm </M1> do you think you can find it (if you've) seen it once

S3: yeah i (read it) @@ and i can send it for you **if it's in finnish i can translate it**

S2: yeah or then y- you can [(xx)] <S3> [or i can] </S3> straight away (xx)

S3: yeah

(GG, B09C2GGW)

The example shows that the source materials the students used were not always in English (see also example 5.15), which reflects the multilingual nature of the environment.

In the data, only students commented on their own language, and most such comments were found in the student group. Also, the students whose L1 was English tended not to comment on their English[47]. The expressions of insecurity illustrate that at least some students perceived their own English to be in need of improvement, but the implied target or norm remained abstract in the comments.

Commenting on other participants' English

Students' comments on their own language showed awareness of the (possible) limitations of their English. Language awareness also becomes evident in the ways the students made the NS status relevant in the group by commenting on each other's language.

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[47] However, compare example 5.24, in which NS3 responds to the other students' expressions of insecurity by commenting on his own language.

In the student group work, NS3 was separated out as a NS of English. At one point in the second meeting, when the group talked about whether they needed more information on traditional methods or not, S5 realised that NS3 was a NS of English, which caused him to lament on his own English (example 5.18).

(5.18)

S2: <FIRST NAME NS3> do you think we need to to find more information about the traditional methods or it's okay from this study case,

NS3: er, i think it will maybe be okay from the study case i can maybe do some explaining er a little further than what the study case says

S2: mhm-hm

NS3: but i think they'll mention maybe some traditional previously at least traditional methods as well so

S5: <ADDRESSING S2> **i think that he's** <REFERS TO NS3> **english speaker** yeah and he's not going to have problems for to speak and speak and speak but but (xx) i think so yeah

NS3: @no@

S5: i think

<P: 05>

S2: [we are all **learning** together <FIRST NAME S5>

S5: [@@ in in in half in in half hour of exposition in english i can speak i need to speak and to talk all my life yeah

S2: [@@

S5: [for half an hour i need to (talk) about all my life

S2: er for me it's going to be the **first presentation in english** so, (there's a little)

<P: 15>

(SG, V07A2GW)

In the example, S5 reacts to NS3's turn by shifting attention to the upcoming presentation situation, and in the process draws attention to NS3's L1 status. We can see that S5 distances himself from NS3 by referring to NS3 in third person (*I think that he's*) and by addressing S2 while doing the commenting. It is also notable that although commenting on NS3's NS status, S5 actually expresses concern about his own English. By comparing his English to that of the NS, S5 shows awareness of the differences in the group members' English. What is more, he highlights the difference between L1 and L2 use of English, and the implications of this difference: for L2 speakers of English, the language may cause additional trouble, whereas NSs are seen to have no problems at all. NS3 reacts to S5's comment with a *no*, spoken through nervous-sounding laughter, and S2 seeks to soften S5's comment by saying that they are all in the same boat, *learning together*. S2 further shares her own anxieties about presenting in English, which illustrates that she recognises S5's concerns.

Interestingly, NS3's use of *study case* instead of the Standard English version *case study* does not interfere with S5's rendition of NS3's L1 status. NS3's accommodation, then again, appears to tell more about his unwillingness to draw similar distinctions compared to those made by S5 between L1 and L2 use and users. Rather, it seems that NS3 wants to be part of the group, and the bringing up of the language issue is not appreciated, since it separates out NS3.

In another example (5.19), we again have S5 taking up the L1 speaker status of NS3, this time in relation to the order in which the group members were to present in the group work presentation. The students had already decided that S1 and S4 start. In the example, they discuss whether S5 or NS3 should speak next.

(5.19)

S5: and the next you or me

NS3: yeah

S5: you

NS3: sure

S5: uh-uh

NS3: @unless you wanna go@

S5: no no me because i (now) actually i can remember that **you speak english a little bit better than me** yeah and if i speak after you i am going to **looks like stupid** okay

SS: @@

S5: i think it's better if i speak before

NS3: @okay@

<P: 14>

S5: no but if you prefer

NS3: no it doesn't matter @yeah@

S5: thank you very much

(SG, V07A3aGW)

The example shows that S5 was worried that his English, again compared to that of NS3's, would make him look 'stupid' in the actual presentation of the group work, which implies that on some level he was concerned that people would judge him on account of his 'not very good' (see example 5.16 above) English, rather than on what he would say. Language was thus seen to affect overall credibility in the presentation situation, rather than, for instance, presentation skills that were not mentioned once in this group's meetings.

In contrast to the orientation to one's own English as problematic, Suviniitty's (2012) informants reported that problems in ELF interaction reside in the interlocutor, rather than in their own English. Since Suviniitty's (2012) findings are based on a questionnaire study, it may be that compared to expressing one's opinion in a questionnaire, face-to-face contact makes it more difficult, or improper, to blame others for their lack of command in the language. In interaction, especially of the group work type, where it is important to reach a common goal, it may also be more productive and polite to be honest about how one feels about one's own English, whereas blaming others for not understanding would threaten the others' face.

In all, the students' comments on language show that at least some students who spoke English as their L2 reported insecurities in using English. The comments imply a division between 'my own' L1 and English as an L2, and it becomes evident that some students considered it problematic that they had to use English. The insecurity was constructed in relation to the NSs of English in the group, as well as more generally towards an implied target or norm. The commenting functioned as a disclaimer: the students reported that they were not able to express themselves fully, since English is their L2. In terms of language regulation, this means that the NSs of a language are seen as the experts of that language.

Commenting on written texts

In the study event interactions, speaking and writing were treated differently in terms of language regulation. For one, it was more common for teachers and students to comment on and to correct the language of written texts (students' presentation slides and reports) than one another's speech. For another, the scope of acceptability was wider for speech than for writing: comments on written texts more often concerned correctness and in this sense, defined acceptability on a narrower scope, whereas linguistic corrections of speech were rare (section 5.1.1). Considering that the primary concern of speakers is to achieve outcomes, it would have been surprising had the speakers focused on linguistic forms any more than would have been necessary for the achievement of their outcome. Yet, this poses interesting questions in terms of writing versus speech and the correctness notions attached to each. In the following, I turn to those instances of the study event interactions where the metalingual commenting and the related language corrections deal with written language. I am thus concerned with the commenting of students' written texts that took place during the interactions, not the marking of the texts.

In the group-work events, the students produced presentation slides. One member in both of the events was a NS of English, and both times the NS was allotted the role of proof reader on account of being a NS of English, as can be seen in examples 5.20–5.23 below. The first example is from the last session of the student group right before the students started to go through their presentation slides together.

(5.20)

S5: it's (very) important the grammar and the vocabulary yeah

SS: [mhm]

S2: [(well)] i think if if you <REFERS TO NS3> see something you can help us with the english [because **it's not (exactly) good**]

S5: [i hope i hope yeah]

S2: to have some **big mistake showing** [@@]

S1: [[@yeah yeah@]]

S4: [@@]

(SG, V07A3bGW)

The example shows that all of the L2-English-speaking students agree on the importance of correcting the English in their slides, and the task of correcting is allotted to NS3 – the NS of English in the group. NS3 is assigned the role of language expert on account of his NS status, and correctness is thus seen in relation to ENL norms (good language is constructed to be grammatically and lexically 'correct'). The students evaluate their own English as *not (exactly) good* and express concern about mistakes. This implies that the students are insecure about their command of English, and they appear to link correctness to credibility in the presentation situation.

Similarly, in the guided group, the NS of English in the group was asked to work as a proof reader, and was thus assigned the role of language expert, as seen in example 5.21.

(5.21)

S3: and for example if you check(ed) the language it (would) be easier to, **speak (right)** <NS5> mhm-hm </NS5> **like @right@ right way**

(GG, B09C5GGW)

In this example, S3 is concerned about speaking correctly in the presentation situation, and again the reference point is ENL. We can also see that in addition to separating out the NS, the comment reflects the L2-English-speaking students' focus on the deficiencies in their English (see examples 5.15, 5.16, 5.18 and 5.19 above).

NS5's learning diary further shows that she took on the role of language expert, although she gives credit to the other students as well:

(5.22)

I was mostly responsible for editing out the spelling errors in the presentation, although this was a group effort as we read through the slides.

(GG, B09CLD3, NS5)

As we can see in the above examples, proof reading was allotted to the students whose L1 was English, which means that these NSs of English were given the power to decide on what was acceptable language to be put into the groups' slides. This further shows that the students considered NSs of English as having the resources to produce correct written English. What is more, the L2-English-speaking students expected the NSs to correct their English, without questioning the NS's ability to do that. This expectation could be taken to reflect their notions of the ease of using one's L1; that it is unproblematic for a NS to do language corrections. Judged by the following interview comment from NS5 (example 5.23), this appears to be a typical practice:

(5.23)

well i'm the english speaking person in the group [@so@] <IR> [mhm] </IR> you know it's er it's kind of just assumed by everyone in my group that I'll edit it all at the end <IR> mhm-hm </IR> so and in some ways it can be kind of tuff <IR> well i'm sure yeah </IR> certainly adds to my workload

(GG, NS5: L1 Can. English)

While correcting was expected of NSs of English, NS5's comment illustrates that it may not be as simple and easy as the L2 speakers appeared to assume. The expectation also puts pressure on the NS students, who are looked upon as language authorities, whether they are comfortable in that role or not.

Assigning the role of proof reader to NSs of English also constructs a division between L1 versus L2. However, we can also witness solidarity expressed on the part of NSs. This is illustrated in example 5.24, where NS3 corrects one of his own presentation slides, which causes the others to laugh and triggers him to acknowledge his own linguistic fallibility.

(5.24)

<P: 10>

SS: @@ [@@]

NS3: [see even i make mistakes (you know) @@].

S5: (xx)

NS3: yeah @@,

(SG, V07A3bGW)

In the example, the expression of solidarity refers back to the L2-English-speaking students' comments on making mistakes (example 5.20), and in doing this, it deconstructs the division of L1 versus L2.

Despite this fluctuation, in the group-work events, there was a strong tendency to draw on NSs of English as linguistic authorities when written English was concerned: correctness in relation to ENL was constructed as important and the L2 speakers of

English expressed uncertainty in reaching these correctness goals. In the guided group, the NS authority was also reinforced by the presence of an English instructor (whose L1 was English). The English instructor (E1) visited the group twice, once during a regular session and once to listen to and comment on the students' mock presentation. In the latter occasion, he commented on the group's presentation slides as follows:

(5.25)

E1: yeah **there's a b missing** there remain submerged

NS5: yeah **i haven't gone through** the whole thing yet for grammar @@ [and spelling]

E1: [(xx)] (sit down then maybe think it through)

NS5: yeah

E1: okay

(GG, B09C6GGW)

In the example, we can see E1's focus on correctness in relation to ENL spelling conventions. The example also shows that NS5 has accepted her role as the appointed proof reader in the group (***i** haven't gone through)*. Both the choice of NS5 to be the proof reader and the presence of the English instructor thus illustrate orientation to ENL as a correctness norm.

The teacher-led course paints a different picture of regulating written language. In the course, most language comments were made by the L2-English-speaking teachers and in relation to the students' written reports. Two students in the group were NSs of English (a student with Canadian English as his L1 and a student bilingual in Twi and West-African English), but they were not referred to when language was taken up, nor were they appointed the role of language expert. Rather, the teachers of the course took on that role. The willingness and ability of the teachers to do that may be explained by their extensive experience of working in international contexts, whereas their authority as teachers may have affected the distribution of language expert roles in the course.

In commenting on students' written texts, the teachers gave explicit advice to students as to how to use English and what is appropriate and correct practice in their field. In example 5.26, we see T2 taking up a language issue related to a student's (S8) report and presentation.

(5.26)

T2: land tenure arrangement actually er er sudan has quite good policy for that the only thing is that as as one of our colleagues in s- in khartoum said last week there's good policy but poor laws <SS> @@ </SS> so so the implementation (still needs) improvement **could we take a few language questions here**

T1: yes please

T2: er er <FIRST NAME S8> **correctly** used the the th- th- the name of the country as the sudan remember that this is the the name of the country the sudan like the gambia there are a few country names where you have the although the modern usage is (to omit it) the only thing you have to be **con- consequent** either you always say the sudan the sudan or then without the but there are this is one of the few country names where where it is

S2: [so why (is it why is it)]

T2: [er and th- the] government uses it's the republic of the sudan that's (the) **official name of the country**

BS2: so why do they use the

T2: th- we **you have to ask linguists** there are er like the gambia (it) because it [refers to]

T1: [or the netherlands]

T2: what

T1: the netherlands

T2: jaa f- er plural names are natural you know why it is but er but er gambia it's because the river **rivers always have the** so that follows a- and sudan it there was something similar it was the sud was th- the wet area and then the sudan came from the sud probably this is the <T1> [mhm yeah okay] </T1> [explanation] this is my my **my understanding** but it's also **correct** to say without the [nowadays] <S2> [mhm-hm] </S2> especially in scientific contexts

(TLC, V08D5Sp)

In the example, T2 draws on his understanding of the usage of the definite article *the* in front of the proper noun *Sudan*, and ends up saying that it is important to remain consistent in either using *the*, or omitting it. By suggesting that the *modern* usage is to omit *the*, he challenges the official usage of the country name, as well as his explanation as to why it is (or used to be) customary to say *the Sudan*. This switch in the understanding of what is correct illustrates acknowledgment of language variation. We also notice that T2 refers to linguists as the authorities in the matter, but nevertheless provides the students with his own explanation, and thus takes on the role of language expert. What is notable is that the teacher contrasts the grammar rule generally taught in English language classes (*rivers always have the*) with usage in *scientific contexts*. He thus draws on codified standards in his reference to the grammar rule, but his comment also implies that usage in scientific contexts legitimises 'new' language norms (Hynninen 2012; see chapter 7). He can thus be seen to accept usage in scientific contexts as norm-providing.

The following example (5.27) draws boundaries of what counts as English in the first place.

(5.27)

T1: ((…)) er okay while you formulate questions and comments er let me just take up up some of the issues that came to my mind when i was i was listening to to the presentation an- and read the report er since this course er is in english er try to er er utilise the the possibilities that the the the **spell checking** er facilities of the programmes provide by so doing you could er you could er e- relatively easily **correct some of the some of the er some of the words so that they are er they are english in english** because er er in a few places including the the er the nutritional value on page in in in that [table] <S1> [(yeah)] </S1> on page nine

S1: yeah i [see]

T1: [the] the er the text th- th- the words there are in spanish well okay [(we) **most of us**] <S1> [(xx)] </S1> **understand** because they're the the spanish and english are not that far from each other but in in in principle er **you should utilise the the the the english terms** and the same applies to to er some of the terms, ((…))

(TLC, V08D2Sp)

In the example, T1 focuses on the use of Spanish words in a student's (S1) report. Even though T1 understands the words (*most of us understand*), he considers it inappropriate to use them in a report that is supposed to be in English. Language mixing is thus not seen as acceptable, even if it is comprehensible. In this example, correctness in English is constructed against another language. The teacher acts as a self-appointed linguistic authority, drawing on his understanding of what counts as English. In drawing on established spelling conventions, then again, he constructs correctness in relation to Standard English.

Another instance of language commenting is found in example 5.28, where T1 comments on a term that he does not recognise to be English.

(5.28)

T1: ((…)) and try to refer to to try to utilise the standard **standard terms** in in er er as they are in english. er jaa another term that was is here in page 11 er up er there you use the word **palmetto** i don't know whether this is something **derived from spanish** or or i guess so but er

T2: but bu- could i [explain more]

T1: [yes please]

T2: **palmetto is also an english word nowadays**

T1: is it

T2: it has been **adopted in the english language** and and it refers to to to (it is) it should read here the (terminal) bud actually it's a bud but it's very (destructive) because when you take the bud the tree will die so you get this er piece of edible food and then the whole tree dies so many palms can be used for palmetto an- and it's it's very it's used as as salad and there are even some other palms that are much more er used for that particular purpose but **especially in american english that word is [now]** <T1> [mhm] </T1> **er now common**.

T1: er, er yes then er, some usual comments er on the use of references ((…))

(TLC, V08D4Sp)

We can see in the example that the boundaries between English and other languages are not always clear and need to be negotiated. In the example, T1 and T2 disagree about the use of the lexical item *palmetto*. Contrary to T1, T2 thinks that the term is English, and claims that it is *common* in American English. T2 (and possibly T1 when he refers to *standard terms*) thus draws on ENL, explicitly referring to American English and implying that he accepts *palmetto* as an English term because it is used in this specific variety. Language is here regulated by resorting to one's familiarity with contemporary use of American English.

However, the following example (5.29) shows that ENL as a correctness model can also be explicitly discouraged.

(5.29)

T2: and let's take a little er but important le- language thing you have the date on the first page so **please use the international way of writing dates** 26 february 2008 that is not english that's not ame- that's not british that's not american but that's the international standard no no 26th no T-H there but 26 february 2008 that is used by the united nations like this nothing else so so i i i i just repeat it is not the standard in any existing language but **that is (the) international standard in official documents and we can well adopt it**

(TLC, V08D4Sp)

T2 clearly distinguishes the international standard for writing dates from those that, according to him, are used in British and American varieties of English, and encourages the participants to adopt the international standard. This is an indication of the importance of following the developments in the global field, and in this way it even implies an acceptance of the developments taking place in the English language outside NS communities.

Based on the above, regulation of written English is not as straightforward as it may first appear. In the group-work events, proof reading was assigned to students whose L1 was English and thus also the role of language experts, which implies orientation to ENL. This was reinforced by the presence of E1 in one of the events. However, the teacher-led course shows that L2 speakers can also take on the role of language expert, and define boundaries of acceptability based on their understanding of ENL norms, and also other relevant norms (especially examples 5.26 and 5.29). The findings further illustrate that the boundaries of acceptability are negotiable and changeable, as we saw in relation to *the Sudan* vs. *Sudan* (example 5.26) and *palmetto* (example 5.28). Interestingly, then, for writing, correctness and acceptability appear to go together, with the participants mainly drawing on ENL norms, but also constructing alternative, new norms, which means that not only acceptability but also correctness notions sometimes differed from those attached to ENL.

Summary: commentary

The findings show that language commenting took different forms. First, comments of one's own language were almost exclusively done by students. When the students commented on their own language, they mostly focused on their command of English. These comments tended to reflect the speaker's insecurity in using English. Second, both teachers and students commented on each other's language, which either took the form of advice to other speakers or reference to a speaker's NS status. In their more general metalingual comments, students constructed a difference between L1 and L2. The contrast became meaningful in the interaction, for instance, when students perceived their 'not very good' English to hinder their ability to communicate with the other group members. Through this kind of metalingual commenting, students' constructed their English as unacceptable, but the other students' reactions that showed mutual understanding illustrated acceptability of that kind of English. In part, the findings demonstrate reliance on ENL as a correctness model, but they also show the willingness of especially the L2-speaking teachers to act as language experts. The authority to correct written English in the interactions was either assigned to the NSs of English in the groups (by allocating them the role of proof reader) or taken on by the teachers.

5.1.3 Summary: boundaries

The findings of the analyses focusing on language correcting and commenting show that language regulation was done in order to achieve mutual understanding, but also to define boundaries between unacceptable and acceptable (or correct) language. This implies that ELF does *not* mean that 'anything goes'. The analyses on language correcting and commenting show that the L2 users of English were the ones who made language relevant in the first place (cf. Knapp 2002). They were the ones who did most of the language corrections in the interaction. They were the ones who separated out the NSs of English in the group-work events, either by comparing the NSs' English to that of their own or by allocating them the role of proof reader. And they were the ones who expressed concern about (or confidence in) their own English.

In all, we can discern four types of language expertise in the data (as I also point out in Hynninen 2012): (1) expertise-based, which relates to the professional role and subject expertise of the speaker, (2) L1-based, which means that the expertise is assigned to a NS of English, (3) negotiation between speakers, where any of the speakers can do the commenting, and (4) expertise of the language professional, which means that an English instructor was treated as the language expert. These expert roles are discussed further in chapter 7.

Considering that the NSs of English tended to refrain from correcting their fellow students' speech (see section 5.1.1), it appears that it is considered inappropriate for NSs of English to draw attention to language or the differences in the command of English in ELF interaction (cf. Knapp 2002) – unless, of course, they are asked to do that or can be seen to possess institutionally appointed linguistic authority (as in the case of the English instructor, E1). It may also be that the NSs of English were not comfortable taking on the role of language expert (cf. example 5.23).

The analysis illustrates reliance on ENL as a correctness model, although the boundaries of what is English were not always clear, a lot of non-standard usage was left uncorrected, and ENL was not always drawn on as a model. Even though NSs of English were sometimes allotted the role of language expert, the picture that emerges is one where language regulation was primarily the responsibility of L2 speakers of English. Even if the L2 speakers oftentimes relied on their notions of ENL, the fact that they acted as language experts already implies a different kind of balance between the NSs and L2 speakers of English in ELF as opposed to L1–L2 interaction, where linguistic corrections have been found to be done by NSs only (e.g. contributions in Gardner and Wagner 2004).

A difference can also be interpreted between prescriptive rules (i.e. what is considered incorrect vs. correct) and performance rules (i.e. what is considered acceptable vs. unacceptable). Correctness was mainly constructed in relation to ENL norms; yet there was wide acceptance of variation, also of non-standard forms of English. This means that the scope of acceptability was wider than the scope of correctness.

In the following section (5.2), I consider acceptability by focusing on more subtle ways of reacting to a speaker's language. These include embedded repairs, and reformulations and mediation (section 5.2.1 and 5.2.2). Section 5.2.3, then again, turns to adjustments speakers make to their lexis.

5.2 Tacit regulation: the scope of acceptability

Language correcting and commenting are explicit ways of drawing boundaries between unacceptable and acceptable language, but we can also find more subtle ways of regulating language in the data. Instead of outright corrections, speakers may embed (language) repairs in their turns, which means that individual items of a prior speaker's turn are modified without taking them up for discussion. Section 5.2.1 below discusses embedded repairs in the light of linguistic acceptability and correctness. In addition, speakers sometimes reformulate (parts of) previous turns and in doing the rephrasing modify the prior speaker's language. This is looked into in section 5.2.2, with particular focus on a subgroup of reformulations, called mediation (Hynninen 2011). Both of these sections focus on interlocutor reactions to a speaker's language, whereas in the last analysis section (5.2.3), I turn to lexical accommodation as an example of how people regulate their own language.

5.2.1 Embedded repairs

From a language-regulatory perspective, repetition can be seen to indicate acceptance of the repeated items. Repetition has been found to be typical in ELF, and it has been found to be used in order to ensure mutual understanding and to show cooperation (Cogo 2009; Cogo and Dewey 2006; Lichtkoppler 2007; Mauranen 2006b, 2009c), and especially when a speaker self-repeats, avert comprehension problems (Kaur 2009). What is more, for instance, Cogo (2009) shows that also repetition of unconventional forms can be found in ELF data. Repetition in ELF thus mainly deals with forms that are accepted in interaction, and this aspect is looked into in section 5.2.3, which concentrates on lexical accommodation.

If the repetition is an other-initiation of repair, in contrast to pointing towards acceptance, the initiator of the repair may be questioning the linguistic form of the expression, and reject the repeated item. This is typical of language classroom interaction, where teachers, along with using other types of other-initiations focusing on language, have been found to repeat 'incorrect' items in order to prompt the pupils to self-repair their 'errors' (e.g. Kasper 1985; McHoul 1990: 355; Seedhouse 2004; van Lier 1988). However, while other-initiations, such as repetition, are used in ELF interaction, Smit (2010: 222) concludes that initiations in ELF are not used to correct linguistic 'errors' in the sense suggested in research on language classroom interaction, but rather they are used to indicate genuine communication trouble.

Now, if we wish to find out about the scope of acceptability and the boundaries between unacceptable and acceptable language in ELF, we may want to focus on items that are modified, rather than repeated. In section 5.1.1, we already looked into outright corrections of spoken language, which are the clearest case of defining acceptability in speech. But speakers can also modify a prior speaker's words without making the modification the focus of attention. Such modifications have been called embedded corrections (Jefferson 1987; see also Brouwer et al. 2004; Kurhila 2003).

In Jefferson (1987), embedded corrections refer to situations where correcting is done discreetly, without focusing attention on it, that is, embedded corrections refer to situations where the correction does not form a side sequence. The example (5.30) below from an L1 conversation between a salesperson (Sa) and a customer (Cu) illustrates embedded correction in Jefferson's (1987) data.

(5.30)

Cu: Mm, the **wales** are wider apart than that.

Sa: okay, let me see if I can find one with wider **threads**

((looks through stock))

Sa: How's this.

Cu: Nope, the **threads** are even wider than that.

(Jefferson 1987: 93, my emphasis)

We can see that the interlocutor changes a linguistic item in the prior speaker's turn (*wales* to *threads*), but this is done by incorporating the change into a turn that is not occupied by the doing of the correction, but rather by the progress of the interaction. The example further illustrates that the first speaker adopts the correction. This often happened in Jefferson's (1987) data, although there were also instances where the first speaker did not take up the correction, but rather used the repairable (i.e. the original item) again.

In Jefferson (1987), embedded corrections appear to deal with alternative, perhaps preferred, expressions (her examples show, for instance, the following word pairs: *the police – cops*, *tomorrow eve – tomorrow night*) or special terminology (as in example 5.30 above). This shows that acceptability is negotiated in L1 interaction, and that the negotiation does not need to focus on incorrect items or constructions, but rather speakers can negotiate about the *most* acceptable expression for the specific interaction. It might then make sense to consider whether embedded corrections should be called 'corrections' at all. Brouwer et al. (2004) who discuss the phenomenon in L1–L2 data use the term *embedded repair* (even if alongside *embedded correction*), which to me is a better solution, since repair (in CA) refers widely to any kind of modifications that do not necessarily focus on correcting. In the following, I thus talk about embedded repairs.

Brouwer et al. (2004) found that embedded repairs in their L1–L2 data from different types of conversations[48] concerned "recognizable *non-native-like constructions*" (Brouwer et al. 2004: 88, original italics). Correcting was not common, but when it took place, it was done by NSs who then corrected the 'non-native-like constructions'. What is more, Brouwer et al.'s (2004) analysis suggests that the turn that was repaired was often trouble-marked by speech perturbation, which implies that the L2 speakers were insecure about the language. However, it should also be pointed out that the speakers tended to continue their turns past the trouble, and thus, did not orient to the trouble (Brouwer et al. 2004: 87).

In contrast to Jefferson (1987), Brouwer et al. (2004) did not find instances of the first speaker taking up the repair either acknowledging or rejecting it (see also Kurhila 2003: 137). Embedded repairs in Brouwer et al. (2004) were identified by the extended turn following the trouble source and the recycling of linguistic elements in the extended turn. In my ELF data, almost all the embedded repairs resembled the ones in Brouwer et al. (2004), that is, the first speaker did not take up the repair. This is illustrated in the following example (5.31).

(5.31)

S4: (but) you can't use mercury. (not) you can u- use mercury **in the factory** no (or now)

NS5: no no you can't use [mercury **in the factories**]

S4: [yeah but] you can't [but t- the mercury is is (increasing)]

NS5: [not since not since 55] like not since 1955 (xx)

(GG, B09C4GGW)

[48] Brouwer et al.'s (2004: 75) data come from L1–L2 conversations between companies (mainly on the phone) and from everyday, face-to-face migrants' conversations in English, German and Danish.

In the example, S4 shows slight hesitation in formulating his turn. NS5, then, responds to S4's question with an extended answer: she does not respond by a simple *no*, but by partly recycling items from S4's turn and by embedding a repair (*in the factory* to *in the factories*) in her response. In the following turn, S4 does not react to the repair, but rather specifies his point (i.e. mercury is no longer used in the factories, but it is still increasing in the environment). Because of S4's use of both *can't* and *can* in his first turn, it may have been necessary for NS5 to display how she understood S4 in order to produce a relevant turn. In fact, Brouwer et al. (2004: 82–85) suggest that embedded repairs were sometimes used to reduce ambiguities, and thus to ensure mutual understanding. What is more, in Example 5.31, an L2 speaker of English produces the trouble source turn, and the embedded repair is done by a NS of English.

However, in contrast to Brouwer et al. (2004), it appears that embedded repairs were done even if the turn that was later treated as the trouble-source turn was not necessarily trouble-marked (e.g. by speech perturbations). Also, the repairs were not only done by NSs of English, and also 'native-like' constructions could be repaired. What does this, then, imply when considered against Brouwer et al.'s (2004, see also Kurhila 2003) analysis on L1–L2 interaction where embedded repairs concerned 'non-native-like constructions' only?

Let us first take a look at an example where the embedded repair follows a similar pattern to Brouwer et al. (2004): in example 5.32, the embedded repair is done by a NS of English and the modification concerns S3's deviation from ENL.

(5.32)

S3: **we can woke up at six**

SS: [@@]

S1: [no thank] [you]

NS5: **[we] can get up at five** the way i normally do

(GG, B09C6GGW)

In the example, NS5 recycles elements from S3's turn, but replaces the expression deviating from ENL norms *can woke up* with a Standard English expression *can get up*.

In Example 5.33, in contrast, the embedded repair is done by an L2 speaker of English, and it is the modification that deviates from ENL norms.

(5.33)

S2: i'm sorry i'm very **slow** with this

S1: yeah it's @okay@ i was **slowly** too @@

S2: @@ where can i

(SG, V07A3aGW)

In the example, S1 modifies *slow* to *slowly*, which in this context is a deviation from ENL norms. Examples 5.32 and 5.33 function in a similar fashion, with the repair embedded in a turn where the interlocutor switches the attention to herself. In example 5.32, NS5 describes her own routines of getting up at five in the morning probably as a reaction to the other students' laughter that they should get up as early as 6 a.m. And in example 5.33, S1 shares her experiences with S2, and also shows understanding in the process. The embedded repairs thus occur in similar contexts irrespective of the direction of the modification.

What is more, in neither of the above examples (5.32 and 5.33) does the speaker express trouble in expressing herself. This is true also of example 5.34, where the repair is done by an L2 speaker of English.

(5.34)

S3: or then we could complain to **EU** that (xx) species [(xx)] <M2> [mhm] </M2> it's going to extinct

S2: yeah **the EU** is i think it's already making pressure on finland to protect the saimaa seal <M2> mhm </MS2> but i don't know what exactly they use as pressure if they just keep saying it or if they actually (xx) take away er s- s- subsidies for nature conservation i don't i don't (know)

(GG, B09C3bGGW)

In the example, S3 uses the acronym EU without the definite article, which then appears in S2's turn as an embedded repair. S3's turn does not show signs of insecurity (such as pauses, false starts or repeats), and nor do the interlocutors show difficulty in understanding S3. Instead, M2's minimal response and the beginning of S2's turn (*yeah*) illustrates that even if S3's turn includes usage that deviates from ENL norms (*apply to EU*, *it's going to extinct*), the message was understood. Yet, in her response, S2 modifies *EU* to *the EU*, which seems to function as an embedded repair.

Example 5.35 is a similar case, where an interlocutor acknowledges a speaker's turn and builds on what the speaker is saying, but this time the embedded repair concerns an expression uttered by a NS of English.

(5.35)

NS5: they're **on paperwork** they're natura [2000] <S3> [yeah] </S3> areas however no one's actually doing anything <S3> yeah [(i think that)] </S3> [to make] actual conservation @(happen there)@ </NS5>

S3: yeah it is **on the paper** and they are doing the [plans] <M1> [yeah] </M1> for how <M1> [i think it's] </M1> [how this] is really done

M1: it's good that you say that like clarify it <S3> eh </S3> (xx) (this thought)

(GG, B09C6GGW)

In the example, S3 gives an extended acknowledgement of NS5's turn (*yeah it is on the paper*), and in doing this, modifies NS5's expression (*on paperwork*)[49]. We might be tempted to call the modification an approximation of NS5's expression, but with its similarities to example 5.33 above, we need to consider the option of embedded repair as well.

In all, the modifications do not point towards outright rejection of a certain expression, especially since they are embedded in a turn and thus not taken up separately. However, they are not repetitions that would imply acceptance of an expression, either. What the modifications, then, do is increase the variation in the expressions used. Now, the question is whether the embedded repairs where the modification deviated from ENL norms are unintentional breaches, or whether they suggest a different normative orientation? All such modifications were done by L2 speakers of English, but modifications towards ENL norms were done by both NSs and L2 speakers of English. This means that L2 speakers fluctuated more in terms of the direction of the modification. While this could be interpreted as a sign of the L2 speaker's deficient command of English, it can also be interpreted as a sign of relaxed normativity and the maintenance of one's idiolect. Also, since the first speakers did not take up the embedded repairs and confirm acceptance or rejection of the modification, the target norm is not self-evident. Rather, the fluctuation appears to widen the scope of acceptability beyond ENL norms.

[49] 'On paperwork' appears to refer to documents related to the Natura 2000 network of nature protection areas.

5.2.2 Reformulations and mediation

In addition to embedded repairs described above, reformulations that sum up the gist of a prior speaker's turn function as language-regulatory mechanisms. With reformulations, I mean the rephrasing of a speaker's turn or parts of it by an interlocutor, that is, the rephrasing of a stretch of talk in modified form. Reformulations are means through which interlocutors may make explicit their sense of "what we are talking about", or "what has just [been] said" (Drew 1998: 32). Reformulations, as understood in this study, then, refer only to rephrasing done by an interlocutor, not speakers' self-reformulations as a response to interactional trouble (cf. Bremer and Simonot 1996). As argued in Kurhila (2003: 218–221), reformulations project confirmation or rejection by the speaker, which facilitates the identification of the phenomenon in the data.

In NS talk, reformulations (or formulations as they are called in CA) have been found to occur only rarely in everyday talk, but more frequently in institutional interaction, where they are also used for various functions (Drew 1998; Heritage 1985). For instance, Drew (1998) shows that in radio call-in programmes they are used to construct controversy, in news interviews to encourage interviewees to elaborate a particular aspect of their answers, in psychotherapeutic sessions to check the understanding of the therapists' implicit meaning and in industrial negotiations to propose a settlement. In contrast, in L1–L2 talk, reformulations appear to be used as a remedy for interactional trouble (Kurhila 2003).[50]

Below, I take a few examples of reformulations to illustrate its use in my data, but the main focus is on a subcategory of reformulations, that is, mediation (Hynninen 2011).

Reformulations

The first example (5.36) illustrates a situation where the reformulation functions as a confirmation check. In the example, S3 talks about an article that she has read for the group work meeting.

[50] It should be noted, though, that in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies, reformulations have often been investigated *as* a problem-solving strategy, and that the definition of reformulation may also cover speakers' self-reformulations after an interlocutor has indicated trouble in understanding (see e.g. Bremer and Simonot 1996).

(5.36)

S3: okay then, about the seal, lost my paper again, er, then i found this one it is about baltic er ringed seal and it seems that er thirties and er in late eighties and beginning of nineties there (were) er **quite warm winters** and during that time pups **were killing** quite much and just really big percents,

S2: **sorry during that (warm-up)** it was erm <S3> the [er w-] </S3> [proved] that or or (well) people could count that er more saimaa seals **(were) dying**

S3: yeah

S2: (okay)

(GG, B09C3aGGW)

In the example, S2 checks whether she understood S3 correctly by rephrasing the gist of S3's turn. S2's turn ends with a rising intonation, which means that she may not have been sure about S3's use of *killing* (which, in addition to being used in a non-standard way, was articulated quietly). In this case, the repair was thus embedded in the reformulation (*killing* to *dying*).

The reformulation resembles what Kurhila (2003: 221, see also 2006) calls candidate understandings in L1–L2 interaction, that is, the paraphrasing of (parts of) a previous utterance in order to check for understanding or to resolve interactional trouble. According to Kurhila (2003), such a practice is less obtrusive than other-initiations (such as an interlocutor asking for repetition or rephrasing), which lay the burden back on the speaker. The practice thus illustrates a tendency in L1–L2 interaction to display understanding rather than non-understanding (Kurhila 2003: 300). Example 5.36 suggests a similar tendency in ELF interaction. It should be noted, though, that candidate understandings indicate a need to modify the speaker's language, which means that even if the focus is not on repairing the language, the interlocutor proposes a modification. This, then again, resembles embedded repairs (section 5.2.1).

Example 5.37 is a different case. In the example, S4 talks at length about the problems that he sees in the conservation of the Saimaa seal.

(5.37)

S4: but one one thing about the the presentation i i have er a problem with the the reason for conservation (the the) seal <SU> mhm </SU> but i don't i don't found er any paper about the the role the the seal inside ecosystem er there are (role of course) [(is)] <M1> [mhm] </M1> (the the the most predator for fish) but not er i think the the (xx) (without without the seal) n- n- no change <M1> [@@] </M1> [i think (that)] no okay of course [(it's) no but]

M1: [(yeah but la- not largely)]

S4: i think that the problem is that the the humans <M1> mhm </M1> er make the same role than the seal

SU: mhm

M1: mhm yeah

S4: the fisherman is the same role than the than the seal <M1> mhm </M1> because when you er put (off) the ecosystem the humans make the the same role because er this is the reason i think (the the) ecosystem (not change of course change without the animal) <M1> mhm </M1> but i don't for example when you read about the the bear (or the) other animal (when) er this animal (in) ecosystem is important because (xx) (ratio for she's a predator or it's the) food for other animals but the seal in this case i think no i think the arctic seals <M1> [mhm] </M1> [yes] but it (er the the) polar bear or whatever but in this case i don't (xx) i don't (found anything) relevant,

M1: so [are you]

S4: [(xx)] (but i think) [(it's)]

M1: [mhm] so it's hard to justify why to conserve it

S4: yeah i i think it's important conserve it (but) biodiversity [(xx)] <M1> [mhm] </M1> of of course (you don't) okay (xx) it's important (to die) you know

M1: yeah @@

S4: but i i think when i i (say thi- tha- this) the last week i i think er maybe there are are important role (inside) ecosystem (but i) @(don't found)@ [@(anything)@] <M1> [(mhm)] </M1> @@

(GG, B09C5GGW)

In the example, M1's reformulation sums up what S4 said, and by doing this, M1 makes it explicit how she understood S4's point. Yet, there is no embedded repair in the previous example's sense. It thus appears that the reformulation regulates the interaction rather than the language.

In the following example (5.38), T2 explains when gum arabic can be collected from acacia trees, which is then followed by S10's reformulation of T2's main point.

(5.38)

T2: mhm so it stops the exudation stops and it solidif(ies) it it's it's er it's sticky when it comes out so you have to wait the water evaporates and you can collect (as) tears they are called tears and they are hard li- like those you see here in the samples so you collect them at this stage not when it's er gluey er sticky i-

S10: **so you collect it when it's solid**

T1: [yeah]

T2: [(is) solid]

S10: solid

T2: it dries

T1: yeah

T2: it dries and then it's easy to pick

(TLC, V08D5Sp)

The example shows that the reformulation by S10 is done with the help of an antonym (*gluey/sticky* to *solid*), and that the modified element is repeated (and thus accepted) by T2. The reformulation functions to ensure mutual understanding, in that the reformulation is S10's interpretation of the prior turn. The practice adds explicitness to the discourse (cf. Mauranen 2012: ch. 6) and introduces an alternative lexical item that clarifies the matter at hand. This shows that part of language regulation is to offer alternative expressions that clarify the discourse.

We saw in the examples that both students and teachers did reformulations, and that reformulations took place between students as well as between students and teachers. Reformulations are an important part of negotiating mutual intelligibility, and because of the language modifications, they also shed light on acceptability construction in the interaction. In order to consider the role of reformulations in regulating language in more detail, I now turn to a subcategory of reformulations, mediation.

Mediation[51]

Mediation can be described as third-person intervention, a form of speaking for another where a third person mediates between two other speakers. The term has been used by Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp (1986) to talk about (non-professional) interpreters who mediate between speakers of different languages, and who, as interpreters, speak for the other interactants. Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp's (1986: 156–160) findings show that the interpreters often ended up dealing with two discourses: on the one hand, they worked as intermediaries between the other speakers, and on the other, as participants in the interaction. This dual role was seen to lead to the partial failure of the encounters, since the intermediaries did not always succeed in achieving the mediation in such a way that the participants' interactional goals were achieved (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp 1986: 156–160). Since in interpreting, the speakers do not share a common code, they rely heavily on the interpreter, but as I argue in Hynninen (2011: 966), what is of interest in the practice of mediation in ELF encounters is what happens when the language of mediation is shared by all the interactants.

To illustrate mediation in my data, let us take a look at the following example (5.39), where a student (S7) asks another student (S3) a question related to S3's presentation.

(5.39)

S7: mhm in reference to fire (suppression) there are some kind of organisation like <SIC> firemens </SIC> or er forest people forest prevent or fight with fire

S3: **sorry (i'm) [(i don't understand)]**

T1: [er well] what the speaker would like to know is er we- no not the speaker but the er **your fellow student would like to know** is that is there an organisation <S3> mhm </S3> er or a system that that er that is operational in the sudan for fire suppression are there guards or are there watch towers or or what kind of mechanisms are there in place for fire suppression

((…))

S3: er er fao organisation and er, er the responsibility of er fighting er fires or fire er in general er er er is er F-N-C or er forest fire cor- corporation in sudan er is the responsible for fires or er any er topic related to fires

(TLC, V08D3Sp, parts omitted for convenience)

[51] This part builds on Hynninen (2011) where I focus on the practice of mediation in ELF.

In the example, S3 reacts to S7's question by expressing non-understanding. This is followed by the teacher (T1) rephrasing S7's question and thus acting as an intermediary between the two students. We can see that the intermediary speaks for S7 in the sense that he rephrases S7's question on behalf of S7. The mediation thus functions as a means to help S3 understand S7. After the mediation, S3 answers the question posed by S7, which proves that the mediation was successful. Mediation thus progresses in the following way:

(1) turn by A (trouble-source[52])
(2) (other-initiation by B)
(3) rephrasing of A's turn by C, i.e. mediation
(4) reaction from B

Stage 2 is in brackets, because it is not necessary for mediation to take place (as will be seen in the analysis below). Sometimes mediation can also be followed by evaluation or elaboration of B's turn by C, as described in Hynninen (2011: 974). In all, the progression resembles what conversation analysts call repairs, with the exception that the other-repair (mediation) is made by a third person C (Hynninen 2011: 974), and that the mediation is done in the form of a reformulation.

In Schiffrin (1994), speaking for another is considered an act in which a speaker takes the role of another, and in that role, acts as an animator (Goffman 1981) for the other person. With the intermediary rephrasing another speaker's utterance and thus speaking for this other person, mediation can be seen as a form of speaking for another. However, speaking for another can also take other forms than mediation. For instance, a speaker may answer for another person or explain another person's remark. This is exemplified in the following example (5.40) taken from Schiffrin (1994: 107, my emphasis).

(5.40)

Henry: Y'want a piece of candy?

Irene: No.

Zelda: **She's on a diet.**

[52] It should be noted that the turn becomes a trouble-source only retrospectively, after other-initiation of repair and/or the mediation. It could also be argued that intermediaries do not necessarily treat the trouble-source turn as problematic, but rather the mediation may be prompted by the interlocutor's non-understanding signal.

Debby: Who's not on a [diet.

Irene: [I'm on- I'm on a diet

and mother [buys-=

Zelda: [You're not!

Irene: = my [mother buys these mints.=

Debby: [Oh yes I amhhhh!

Zelda: Oh yeh.

In the example, Zelda's remark *She's on a diet* functions both as an expansion of Irene's reply to Henry (*No*), and an explanation for the refusal. The remark is done by a third person (Zelda), who thus speaks for another speaker (Irene). Since the third person does not rephrase (or repeat) a prior speaker's utterance, but rather expands and explains another speaker's utterance, these kinds of instances are not counted as mediation in this study. Mediation thus requires that the intermediary conveys (parts of) what another person has already said.

In Hynninen's (2011) data, mediation is limited to occasions where a third person intervenes in the interaction by rephrasing another person's question that is addressed to someone else. This kind of mediation was found in the teacher-led course, which, in this study, is analysed from the perspective of language regulation. I then compare these findings with mediation in the multiparty discussions of the group-work events. In the group-work events, mediation takes other forms than in the teacher-led course, and they thus shed new light on the practice. In the following, I focus on mediation as a language-regulatory practice, first by exploring the data from the teacher-led course and building on the analysis in Hynninen (2011), and second, by expanding the analysis to the group-work events.

In Example 5.39 above, mediation occurred after a speaker expressed non-understanding. Mediation can thus be used in order to regulate language in such a way that it becomes more understandable for the person who indicated the non-understanding (and possibly other interlocutors as well). What is of interest, then, is what the intermediaries do to make language more understandable, and further, what does mediation imply about acceptability in ELF interaction.

Let us return to the earlier example (5.39) of mediation to consider the linguistic choices of the intermediary. The example is reproduced below, this time without omissions, as Example 5.41.

(5.41)

S7: mhm in reference to fire (suppression) there are some kind of organisation like <SIC> firemens </SIC> or er forest people forest prevent or fight with fire

S3: sorry (i'm) [(i don't understand)]

T1: [er well] what the speaker would like to know is er we- no not the speaker but the er **your fellow student would like to know** is that is there an organisation <S3> mhm </S3> er or a **system** that that er that is operational in the sudan for fire suppression are there **guards or are there watch towers** or or what kind of **mechanisms** are there in place for fire suppression

S3: (er okay), er er you mean er or- organisation er

T1: yes [what th- for for inst- what what o-]

S3: [(in science in science or)]

T1: what **organisations** are responsible (of) fire (r- suppression) how are these **organisations** present <S3> yeah </S3> present in the in in the field in a country like sudan which is which is a huge huge area

S3: er er fao organisation and er, er the responsibility of er fighting er fires or fire er in general er er er is er F-N-C or er forest fire cor- corporation in sudan er is the responsible for fires or er any er topic related to fires

T1: er you see you mean forests national <S3> yeah </S3> forests national [corporation yeah yeah]

S3: [national corporation].

<T1 WRITING ON FLAP BOARD>

T1: that is the one which you have in the paper also ((…))

(TLC, V08D3Sp)

In the example, T1 starts the mediation by positioning himself as an intermediary (*what … your fellow student would like to know*), after which he rephrases S7's question. We can see that T1 recycles items from S7's turn (*organisation*, *fire suppression*), but that he also seeks to clarify S7's reference to organisation by using (near) synonyms and examples. First he offers the alternative expression *system* and later, after providing examples of means that can be used to fight fire (*guards*, *watch towers*), he uses the term *mechanisms*. In providing these alternative expressions and by adding the examples, the mediation increases the chances that S3 is able to answer S7's question. The mediation is followed by S3's clarification request, after which T1 further clarifies the question, but this time we can see that he recycles the lexical item *organisation* used by S3, and no longer provides alternatives. This shows that T1 starts with the assumption that S3's non-understanding signal is a sign of linguistic trouble, and when mediating, T1 seeks to explain what S7 meant with organisations for fighting fire, whereas after the clarification request, T1 can safely assume that the term itself is familiar to S3. Interestingly, S7 did not show further response to S3's efforts, but after T1's elaboration and a request for further comments, S7 did pose S3 another question.

The following example (5.42) further exemplifies the mediation practice. In the example, S10 asks a question to which S8 is to provide an answer, but again mediation occurs before the question is answered.

(5.42)

S10: mhm you mentioned er agroforestry systems my question is er wh(ich) types of crops are mixed with these trees that they can benefit from the er presence of the acacia in the soil so which type of crops they use for instance in sudan

T1: jaa which which **agricultural** crops <S8> yeah </S8> are being er mhm **cultivated together** with acacia [**senegal**]

S8: [yeah] er with acacia senegal er (int- intercropping) the crops er with acacia senegal are sorghum er ground nut er sesame and er i think er [(xx)]

SU-4: [millet] millet millet

T2: millet

SU-4: millet

S8: [millet (xx) (millet)]

T2: [sorghum an- and (xx) millet are the most common] so food grains <S10> mhm </S10> food grains <S10> mhm </S10> and that's very important and that food is is then consumed locally tree crops er sorghum (xx) millet sesame ground nut (karkadeh) you could do (those take those yeah)

(TLC, V08D5Sp)

The mediation in this example takes place, although no verbal indication of non-understanding is given. However, S8 had expressed trouble understanding some other students' questions earlier in the interaction, which may have automatized T1's reaction to mediate. In the mediation, T1 rephrases the question by using an alternative expression (*cultivated together*) to sum up S10's point. We can also see that he specifies two of the lexical items by adding a modifier in front of and after the item (***agricultural** crops*, *acacia* ***senegal***). Just like the alternative expressions in this and the previous example, the specifications add explicitness to the discourse. This supports earlier findings on ELF, which have shown that so called co-operation and explicitness strategies are foregrounded in ELF discourse, and that reformulations increase clarity and help avoid misunderstandings (Mauranen 2007: 257, see also Mauranen 2012). Mediation can further be seen as an enabling strategy, since the role of the intermediary is not only to rephrase a prior turn to add clarity and avoid misunderstandings, but also to enable an interlocutor to take part in the interaction – in the above examples, as an expert on the topic s/he had just presented on.

Example 5.42 also illustrates how the teachers in the seminar course at times elaborate on the student's answer after the mediation (see T2's reference to food grains), which further increases explicitness in the discourse. Sometimes such elaborations also include evaluation of the student's contributions, as in Example 5.43 below. The elaborations also show that at least in some occasions the teachers would have been able to answer for the student who the question was posed to, but instead of doing this, they acted as intermediaries. It should be noted, though, that mediation was not always successful in the teacher-led course: when the mediation did not help, the teachers did answer for the student (Hynninen 2011: 971–972).

Example 5.43 shows that both of the teachers acted as intermediaries. In the example, the mediation (between BS2 and S7) is eventually done by T2.

(5.43)

BS2: mister chairman one more question

T1: er to the topic

BS2: yes

T1: yes please yeah [quickly]

BS2: [er] i would like the sp- the speaker to er (in) his own er suggestion how to deal with the constraints (of these worms and er maize diseases)

T1: er

S7: excuse me [(xx)]

T1: **[in what] sense**

T2: **(he asked) how to control the pests**

BS2: pest an-

S7: how to control

T2: [yeah]

BS2: [and] diseases

S7: mhm (e- w- with) (xx) mhm erm mono- monogrowth is is very very difficult to control the (the) (xx) and the insects because the growth of the insects increase exponentially but in if i think if there are a mixed er crops i- is better and the biological control is i think i- is possible

T2: and it's correctly er emphasised that this is a serious problem think of locusts if you locusts land on your maize maize field so so nothing can be done actually there is absolutely nothing you can do(ne) millions billions of locusts land an- on your field and then the striga the witch weed that you mention here is so bad in sub-saharan africa (it) destroys crops or decreases the yields and it's almost impossible to get rid of it witch weed striga para- parasitic plant in mi- maize field,

(TLC, V08D5Sp)

In the example, the non-understanding signal by S7 prompts both of the teachers to mediate. T1 starts, but is interrupted by T2, who then rephrases BS2's question. The rephrasing again makes use of alternative expressions (*control*, *pests*) that clarify the original question. The lexical item *constraints* is used in an unconventional sense, and in the mediation, it is replaced by another item (*control*). We can also see that BS2 accepts T2's use of *pests*, but still emphasises that *diseases* are different. There is thus a risk that the mediation can change the idea or direction of the original question, but since the mediation is done in a language that all the participants understand, corrective moves can easily remedy the situation (unlike in interpreting, see Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff 1986).

In the group-work events, mediation was not as common as in the teacher-led course. Some instances of mediation could be found in the guided group (from which the following examples come from), whereas there were hardly any occasions in the student group. The first example (5.44) illustrates in what ways the mediation (in most cases) differed from the instances in the seminar course. In the example, the group returns to a topic discussed in their previous meeting, and one of the mentors, M1, who did not attend the previous meeting, expresses trouble understanding a student (S3).

(5.44)

S2: here in the because the EU erm habitat directive that it says that the seal should be protected but didn't we erm discuss last time that it's actually not protected

S3: yeah it's in the next slide [(that)] <S2> [uh-huh] </S2> it's great <S4> [@@] </S4> [that there are] 11 areas that are for <S2> okay </S2> saimaa seal @but@ as you can see (that that dark) er green er in i- in that upper bar is (the) natura two thou- thousand areas that are already existing o- or something,

M1: can you explain it again i don't know how to read it

S3: oh okay that dark green er (this) conservation area is executed <M1> [mhm-hm] </M1> [(so)] they [have done] <NS5> [so] </NS5> something there

M1: [(yeah)]

NS5: [(about)] six per cent

S3: about yeah er light green is er state land conservation n- not executed [and] <M1> [mhm-hm] </M1> white is private land conservation not executed

M1: yeah but how does this relate to saimaa seal these numbers or

S3: er well this is (a) whole finland <M1> [mhm] </M1> [so] that's not the er, not just right but er it gives a a some kind of picture about how natura areas @(are)@ (are er) taken care of

M2: **so even though there are these natura 2000 areas that are planned to to protect saimaa seal but they are not like implemented so they have no status in practice**

S3: yeah and in this table i collected some of the er saimaa natura areas and there you can see how much of those areas are (protected) and how much not

<P: 07>

M1: okay

<P: 14>

NS5: so most you know er number of laws that are that are in place to protect the saimaa seal but how most of them are not actually enforced, and then er climate change how the seal needs ice and snow for dens and breeding

<P: 27>

(GG, B09C5GGW)

In the example, M1 asks S3 to clarify her point (twice). The mediation (by M2) takes place only after S3 has given an answer to M1's question, and the mediation thus clarifies the answer, not the question. Also, the mediation is followed by S3's turn, which acknowledges the mediation and continues from what she said earlier. The mediation thus progresses in a slightly different fashion from the mediation in the teacher-led course:

(1) turn by A
(2) reaction from B (trouble-source)
(3) rephrasing of B's turn by C, i.e. mediation
(4) B continues and/or confirmation by A

If we look at the mediation itself, we notice that the rephrasing in example 5.44 is done in a similar fashion to the examples from the teacher-led course. M2 uses specification (*natura 2000 areas*), and she replaces the expression *not executed* used by S3 with *not like implemented*. In addition, she rephrases her own mediation (*so they have no status in practice*). The key characteristic of mediation is thus explicitation: on the one hand, language is regulated towards more unambiguous expressions, and on the other, mutual understanding is sought by offering alternative expressions and examples that increase possibilities for the interlocutor(s) to decipher the intended meaning.

In example 5.44, after M1 has already acknowledged S3's answer, NS5 rephrases the main point again, which shows that rephrasing of previous utterances takes place outside the framework of mediation, as well (see also examples 5.36–5.38 above).

Another example from the guided group illustrates that not only mentors took on the role of an intermediary, but also some of the students. In example 5.45, S4 explains about one option for protecting the Saimaa seal, and after M1 expresses reservations of the protection efforts, S1 steps in to mediate.

(5.45)

S4: [but er] (what's) in this paper er (put) the the net trawl(ing) is a problem (what is) but you know in the but i think not is the same but do you know the artificial er (xx) is is like a (Q) a big (Q) with the iron when you you say okay this area is protected you (can't) fish (here) <M1> mhm </M1> (if) you put er inside the in the inside the the water this (if er) one boat er er (corrose) <M1> [mhm] </M1> [is] broke is more is i think is is better than oh you you can't fish here if you er you fish er you pay no no if you fish you break your boat

M1: well doesn't it harm the animals then (or is it)

S4: no no not's a problem for animals is it the same tha(t) in in mediterranean sea with <LATIN> (posidonia oceanica) </LATIN> do you know it's [(xx)] <M1> [(xx)] </M1> it's a er these [area]

S1: [it's a] it's a sea grass [basically]

S4: [yeah]

M1: [ahh (yeah)]

S1: [**and the thing that he's talking about] is** that you put something in (the) water <S4> yeah </S4> that it's

S4: it's a

S1: it's like a rock and you hit the rock

S4: yeah it's er it's like [a]

M1: [(but)] how can you put like rocks in a (row) so that you can't pass it by a boat

S1: well you just put them here there and everywhere and then [it's too dangerous to sort of pull your boat]

S4: [no no (xx) (th- th- this) (xx)], you put this is this is the block <M1> mhm-hm </M1> and this is the (xx) for animal not a problem

S2: does it float [(on the water)]

M1: [ah so you've got] [most of the] <S4> [yeah] </S4> okay (so most of) (xx)

S4: an- but for the the lake where the net is <M1> mhm </M1> the er the open the the (starter) net (it's it's) you you it's impossible if you drive er er the boat is broke you know okay this area is protected you (can't) fish here <M1>

mhm </M1> if you try you know er you you mus- you mustn't fish you you go to fish here okay maybe you broke your boat (it's) more expensive buy a new boat than <M1> mhm </M1> maybe pay i don't [know]

(GG, B09C2GGW)

In the example, S1 mediates between M1 and S4. We can again see that the mediation clarifies an answer, rather than a question, and that S4 continues to explain his point after S1's mediation. However, there is a brief reversal of roles, as S1's mediation prompts a further clarification question from M1, which is then answered by S1. After the mediation, the intermediary thus spoke for S4, who, nevertheless, continued his point after the intervention.

In mediating, S1 first rephrases S4's point by a general description (*you put something in the water*), which she then clarifies by using an example (*it's like a rock and you hit the rock*) to describe S4's point about fishermen breaking their boats if fishing in protected areas. It appears that the mediation simplified the original turn, which may have caused S4 to further explain his point.

Summary: reformulations and mediation

The brief overview of reformulations shows that, in my data, reformulations were done to check for understanding (as in Kurhila's (2003, 2006) study on L1–L2 interaction), but that reformulations also served in providing alternative expressions that clarify the discourse. A closer look at a subgroup of reformulations, mediation, illustrates co-operative behaviour as well as speakers' focus on the outcomes of the interaction. While answering for another may exclude the person who is spoken for from the interaction, an intermediary enables interaction between two speakers. Also, by taking on the role of intermediary, a speaker shows that s/he has understood the other person even if the person who the turn was addressed to may have indicated non-understanding. This reduces attention to language, since it demonstrates that the turn was understandable at least to one of the interlocutors. However, if mediation is needed, it means that achieving mutual understanding requires language regulation.

In the mediations, the intermediaries tended to recycle some parts of the trouble-source turn and rephrase others, which gives some indication as to what was considered key to achieving mutual understanding. The rephrasing implies that the particular items were considered possibly problematic. The alternative expressions offered, then again, increased the likelihood that one of the alternatives was understood, which then enabled the discussion to go on. Also the other means of regulation (specifications and giving examples) functioned to increase explicitness and unambiguity. Mediation thus illustrates an alternative practice – perhaps a more acceptable practice to correcting and initiating repair – which shows speakers' focus on the outcomes of the interaction, but which also draws attention to items that are considered in need of language regulation. Mediation is thus a means to regulate language by rephrasing key items in order to achieve mutual understanding. The rephrasing, however, does not mark these items as incorrect, but rather widens the scope of acceptability by offering alternatives to the original items used.

5.2.3 Lexical accommodation

This section concentrates on lexical accommodation as a language-regulatory practice that illustrates adjustments that speakers make to their own language. The focus is on accommodation, because it can show how speakers take up others' linguistic usage, and thus sheds light on the ways that a co-interactant's language can affect a speaker's language. Speakers can either reuse a lexical item used by a co-interactant (i.e. accommodate to another speaker) or reject the item (i.e. either maintain their own speech habits or emphasise divergence from the interlocutor). Lexical accommodation is considered both in its immediate interactional context and in terms of recycling lexical items within a group discussion and across group meetings.

Accommodation as the immediate repetition and recycling of lexical items

Accommodative practices are usually divided into speech convergence and divergence (e.g. Giles et al. 1991: 62–67). Convergence means making one's speech more similar to that of the interlocutor(s), for instance by adjusting one's pronunciation, and divergence means making it less similar and thus accentuating differences between self and other. A third term, maintenance, is often used to describe situations where a speaker maintains his or her own speech style, but does not accentuate differences as in divergence. This terminology has been revised in Gallois et al. (2005), where accommodation is used to refer to regulation of communication in order to appear more like each other, which means that the interlocutor or the interlocutors are treated as ingroup members, whereas non-accommodation refers to regulation in order to appear more distinct. In terms of modifying one's speech, accommodation basically means convergence. Non-accommodation, then again, can take different forms (Gallois et al. 2005): (1) counter-accommodation (or divergence), that is, speakers maximise the difference between themselves and their interlocutors; (2) under-accommodation (or maintenance), that is, speakers maintain their own behaviour without moving towards their interlocutors and (3) over-accommodation (or negatively perceived convergence), that is, accommodation to stereotypes of interlocutor groups, which often takes patronising forms, such as foreigner talk.[53]

In this study, I partly adopt the new terminology, and talk about *accommodate to* in the meaning of *converge*. The new terms listed under different forms of non-accommodation are used interchangeably with the old ones, as they seem to correspond to a sufficient degree. However, since in over-accommodation, a speaker actually tries to accommodate, although fails to do so in a way that would please the interlocutor, it is not really a case of non-accommodation, but rather failed accommodation – and this is how it is treated in this study. I use the terms to refer to accommodative practices, not speaker intentions or interpretations.

The following analysis focuses on lexical accommodation, that is, the reuse and recycling (accommodation/convergence) or rejection (divergence and maintenance) of lexical items used by co-interactants in the interaction. The analysis explores lexical accommodation in its immediate interactional context, but also considers the recycling of lexical items within one group discussion and across group meetings. For one, this means a similar focus to, for instance, Cogo (2009, see also Cogo and Dewey 2006), who explores other repetition (of both lexical items and other features) by looking into the immediate interactional context as in the example (5.46) from her data below:

(5.46)

Chako:	my [specific interest in point
Sila:	[yeah
Chako:	when did language i mean … **because [of revolution**,
Sila:	[mhm mhm
Chako:	did language change?
Sila:	yeah [it's it changed
Chako:	[specifically intentionally

[53] For over-accommodation in ELF interaction, see Carey (2010).

Sila: → **because of revolution** ↓ but it also changed from the beginning of the twentieth ce[ntury

Chako: [yeah

(Cogo 2009: 262, original emphasis)

This kind of immediate repetition is a clear indication of one speaker accommodating to another, and it can be taken as an acceptance of the phrase used. However, Sila's use of the zero article (*because of revolution*) seems to remain temporary, since Cogo (2009: 263) points out that the speaker has a tendency to use definite articles in other contexts. The accommodation thus shows that Chako's formulation (*because of revolution*), which deviates from Sila's general tendency of using the definite article, is accepted by Sila, but that later on, Sila continues to stick to her preferred tendency. This supports Hülmbauer's (2009: 327) claim for the situationality of such usage.

However, the main purpose of my analysis is to see whether the use of lexical items (especially the use of items that deviate from ENL) is limited to immediate accommodation, as in the above example from Cogo (2009), or whether they are kept in later use and thus recycled at a later point in the same discussion or in other meetings. While immediate accommodation can show alignment to another speaker and acceptance of certain usage, recycling of items would suggest that the speakers may be constructing patterns of acceptability (and perhaps also new norms).[54]

Before turning to the analysis, it is important to consider the criteria for treating the recycling of a lexical item as accommodation, since if a speaker uses an item previously used by another speaker, s/he may not necessarily be accommodating, but simply using an item that she would have used anyway without the prior use of the word in the interaction. The immediate interactional context can be taken to demonstrate accommodation, but when there is no immediate repetition, it is more difficult to prove that we are actually talking about accommodation. If no immediate context can be found

[54] Accommodation is often divided into short-term and long-term accommodation (Trudgill 1986), where long-term accommodation can be seen as the product of short-term accommodation processes. Since this is not a longitudinal study (even if the data come from interrelated speech events), I do not mean to make claims about long-term accommodation, which would require showing that the accommodation has led to a more permanent change in the speakers' language (see Trudgill 1986). However, for my purposes, the term short-term accommodation is too broad, because it covers both the immediate repetition of items and the recycling of items later on in the same or interrelated discussions. Since this difference is important in terms of language regulation, I do not talk about short-term accommodation, but rather refer to immediate repetition or reuse of lexical items as opposed to the adoption and recycling of items.

to support the claim, the analysis is supported by other means (i.e. unconventionality of the lexical item and the increase in its preference of use).

Analysis

The analysis first takes a look at instances where the group members can be found to settle for one lexical item. The first set of examples comes from the guided group and concerns the adoption of a code-switched lexical item in the group. In example 5.47, we can see that S1 refers to a Finnish organisation with its Finnish name[55].

(5.47)

S1: ((…)) and then i had a look at **metsähallitus** which would be maybe the forestry

M2: **it's the forest and park services**

S1: okay

M2: (i think)

S1: okay well forest and park services er they have some more stuff quite a lot of stuff um i found ((…))

(GG, B09C2GGW, 2nd occurrence of metsähallitus)

We can see that S1 also attempts to translate the name, but one of the mentors intervenes to do it for her. M2's translation offers an alternative way to refer to the organisation, but only Metsähallitus was used later on, which suggests that the Finnish name became the preferred variant in the group. This is exemplified in example 5.48, which further shows that the term is used not only by a Finn (S3) but also by a NS of German (S2) in the group.

(5.48)

S2: yeah i think that it was unpublished but <M2> [right] </M2> [maybe] maybe there's still some way to get it maybe W-W-F or or **metsähallitus** has it and we can get it (from there) i don't know

[55] Interestingly, the Metsähallitus website does not translate the name of the organisation into English (see <http://www.metsa.fi/sivustot/metsa/en/Sivut/Home.aspx>, accessed 10 Feb 2013).

S3: i think somewhere in **metsähallitus** er they sa(id) that five more deaths per year and species will be gone or something like that

(GG, B09C2GGW)

In this case, S2's adoption of the Finnish name cannot be explained by immediate accommodation; rather, S3 is the one who accommodates to S2, and S2 has adopted the lexical item from an earlier stage in the discussion. We can also see that the usage persists across group meetings, as M2 talks about Metsähallitus in the fourth meeting (example 5.49).

(5.49)

M2: yeah it says that the- these areas that are within (these) lines they are, erm areas where the the ministry of a- agriculture and forestry has set some fishing regulations <S2> mhm-hm </S2> and this is where **metsähallitus** has implemented some regulations over, these state-owned water areas and then (light) grey is (this) voluntary regulations that have been agreed with with (co-ops) there

(GG, B09C4GGW)

We can thus see that the use of *metsähallitus* has become preferred use in the group. This shows that code-switching in ELF can result in the adoption of lexical items outside the English language.

Similarly, unconventional lexical items can be adopted as the preferred ones. In one of the meetings, S1 started talking about *cottage people* (i.e. people holidaying in a summer cottage)[56], as illustrated in examples 5.50 and 5.51.

(5.50)

S3: yeah but our minist- ministry of agriculture and forestry is thinking that (it should be voluntary), so that's the problem @@ <SS> (xx) @@ </SS> yeah

[56] In Standard English, the closest equivalent is *cottager*, which according to Collins English Dictionary can mean either of the following: (1) a person who lives in a cottage, (2) a rural labourer or (3) (chiefly in Canadian English) a person holidaying in a cottage, especially an owner and seasonal resident of a cottage in a resort area (<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/cottager>, accessed 10 Feb 2013). The third meaning is what is intended here.

S1: i think the problem that um fish that they want to catch like **cottage people** in saimaa they are these small little (xx) things and you won't really be able to [catch them] <NS5> [(no)] </NS5> because they're good they're tasty

NS5: but they're so tiny

S1: yeah but that's [(why you need lots of them)]

SS: [(xx)] @@

(GG, B09C2GGW)

The first of the examples (5.50) shows that the lexical item is not paid attention to by the other group members. Rather, the immediate turn following S1's turn is NS5's comment on the kind of fish the *cottage people* would like to catch.

The second example (5.51) illustrates the continued use of the lexical item.

(5.51)

S1: i was just thinking maybe we could sort of (the) whole presentation could be about different ways of protecting the animal <SU> mhm </SU> so and then we could just sort of take different examples of different techniques and maybe not focus so much on the (gill nets) and all that because that's sort of well looked into and maybe in that five-minute presentation we'd focus on the (gill nets) and sort of talk to the **cottage people** saying we know this is bad so stop doing it and then make the rest of (our job) easier

(GG, B09C2GGW)

In the data, there are no occurrences of immediate repetition of *cottage people* that would indicate lexical accommodation, but because of the unconventionality of the item, it is likely that NS5 and S3, who used the item later in the same meeting (examples 5.52 and 5.53 below), adopted it from S1. Let us look at example 5.52 first.

(5.52)

S2: it it looks like we are going to set up this the design for the (xx)

NS5: well the five-minute presentation are we have we basically decided that that's going to be er (you know) focusing on the fishing issue of, **cottage people** <SU> [(yeah)] </SU> [because] if so you can start (on a) power-point presentation full of (pretty pictures of) (xx) seals

(GG, B09C2GGW)

The short pause in NS5's turn right before *cottage people*, which implies slight hesitation of using the item, suggests that her use of the item was influenced by S1. What is notable is that NS5, as a NS of Canadian English, uses the item in the first place, since in Canadian English, *cottagers* is the conventional way of expressing the meaning intended here.

Example 5.53 shows yet another speaker using the same unconventional lexical item.

(5.53)

S3: and people try to start some in some forum some discussion about this and they @@ take the opinions of the @@ what could saimaa **cottage people** think <SU> @@ </SU> (xx)

(GG, B09C2GGW)

That three different speakers used the same item in the same session without anyone proposing alternative expressions suggests that the item was accepted in the group. This lends support to Firth's (1996) and Hülmbauer's (2009) findings of the reuse of unconventional lexical items in ELF, but it further implies that such items can be kept in later use and recycled beyond the immediate interactional context.

In the group's presentation, though, we notice that NS5, the NS in the group, talks about *cottagers* rather than *cottage people* (example 5.54):

(5.54)

NS5: ((…)) we know that this changing every few months might be difficult for people to remember so we have proposed erm making, a promotional calendar that would be distributed to all of the **cottagers** around lake saimaa and the people living in savonlinna that would have lots of pretty pictures as well as remind them each month ((…))

(GG, B09CSgp: Presentation)

Even though the unconventional item became the accepted form in one of the meetings, it thus seems that there are conflicting forces at play. In this case, NS5 accommodated to the group; but in the presentation, which is a different register from the group-work study event, she appears to have returned to her own idiolect.

The following set of examples suggests another path for starting to prefer a specific lexical item, in this case *IMPLEMENT* as opposed to *EXECUTE*. Example 5.55 starts with M1 asking S3 to clarify a chart illustrating conservation areas of the Saimaa seal.

(5.55)

M1: can you explain it again i don't know how to read it

S3: oh okay that dark green er (this) conservation area is **executed** <M1> [mhm-hm] </M1> [(so)] they [have done] <NS5> [so] </NS5> something there

M1: [(yeah)]

NS5: [(about)] six per cent

S3: about yeah er light green is er state land conservation n- not **executed** [and] <M1> [mhm-hm] </M1> white is private land conservation not **executed**

M1: yeah but how does this relate to saimaa seal these numbers or

S3: er well this is (a) whole finland <M1> [mhm] </M1> [so] that's not the er, not just right but er it gives a a some kind of picture about how natura areas @(are)@ (are er) taken care of

M2: so even though there are these **natura 2000 areas** that are planned to to protect **saimaa seal** but they are not like **implemented** so they have no status in practice

S3: yeah and in this table i collected some of the er saimaa natura areas and there you can see how much of those areas are (protected) and how much not

(GG, B09C5GGW)

In the example, after M1's request, S3 explains about the implementation of conservation areas illustrated in the chart (a topic first discussed in a previous session that M1 did not attend), but M1 indicates trouble understanding the relevance of what S3 is saying. S3 then starts to explain her point again, with M2 intervening with a mediation turn (see section 5.2.2). What is noticeable in this example is that S3 uses the lexical item *EXECUTE*, whereas M2 replaces the item with *IMPLEMENT*. We thus have a case of divergence, which, however, does not seem to take a stand as to the acceptability or accuracy of the usage. Rather, it appears that the mediation turn requires an alternative item to increase the likelihood that the others (in this case M1 in particular) understand the point S3 is trying to make. As we can see, M2 also clarifies that S3 talks about *natura 2000 areas* rather than just *natura areas*, and she specifies that the conservation areas concern the protection of the Saimaa seal. Increasing explicitness in this way was a key element of mediation turns analysed in section 5.2.2 (see also Hynninen 2011).

In the last group work session, the students gave a mock presentation that was commented on by an instructor of English (E1). This is illustrated in example 5.56.

(5.56)

S3: ((…)) so that means that it the seal should be protected in everywhere and breeding and (resting) areas are protected and it's nice we have eleven natura areas for saimaa seal that is nice but as you can see these are almost all of the natura areas and how many seals are there er we have two national parks then we have private conservation areas and lastly last we have areas that are not **executed** percent of those so we have eleven areas for saimaa seal yeah

M1: so is this like er there's a certain size of the area and then fourteen percent of the area which should be protected (for) like linnansaari is protected

M2: mhm yeah

S3: yeah

M1: so how can they be natura areas if they are not protected at all

NS5: they're on paperwork they're natura [2000] <S3> [yeah] </S3> areas however no one's actually doing anything <S3> yeah [(i think that)] </S3> [to make] actual conservation @(happen there)@ </NS5>

S3: yeah it is on the paper and they are doing the [plans] <M1> [yeah] </M1> for how <M1> [i think it's] </M1> [how this] is really done

M1: it's good that you say that like clarify it <S3> eh </S3> (xx) (this thought)

E1: mhm

S3: yeah

M1: [(or) (xx)]

E1: [would you care to also clarify] (what) the last (column) is not **executed** it was a little bit confusing for me the others were very clear but **i wasn't sure what not executed means in this case**

S3: er that they have and i read about er these areas they said that ways to **execute** this conservation area and the situation now mostly not **executed** ninety-nine percent so [the the]

N55: [[(so)]]

E1: [okay so the] conservation measure is not **put into [practice]**

S3: [huh]

NS5: yeah

E1: (so it means) the conservation measures haven't been

S3: done yeah

E1: **implemented** okay

S3: maybe (**we could put implemented**) [(or something)]

E1: [yeah] (but) it might be an idea to just to

NS5: [**change it to implemented** or something like that]

E1: [(xx) (**how you could say that** or) [(something)]]

M1: [yeah] an- and couldn't you just take the the column with conservation area because there's nothing in there <SU> mhm i [agree] </SU> [out] of it so that it [it's easier to]

((…))

S3: er ways for protecting the seal are already there er there are many kinds of laws which should be done in natura areas but mostly they are not **executed** as usual. </S3>

E1: mhm <NAME S3> just before you sit down you did really well with the terminology and stuff (there) but just a couple of words to to keep (an an ear at) (xx) one was survival (xx) (incorrect) survival (but) the other one was strict strict protection i think you pronounced it /straikt/ or something like that (but they are the only two that) might confuse someone if they are (a bit) mispronounced (the others were fine I think) just strict protection

M1: do we want to go through the slides then ((…))

(GG, B09C6GGW)

As we can see in the example, in her part of the presentation, S3 again talks about conservation areas that are not *executed*. This time E1 takes up the matter (*would you care to also clarify*) and first asks S3 to explain what she means by it. Following S3's answer, where she continues using the lexical item *EXECUTE*, E1 suggests alternative ways of expressing the same thing (*put into practice*, *implemented*). The latter is taken up by S3 in the following turn, as well as by NS5, who intervenes to suggest the adoption of *IMPLEMENT* instead of *EXECUTE*. Interestingly, E1 does not suggest changing the lexical item, but rather to think of how to explain the idea. Here we thus have the English instructor picking up a lexical item that he had trouble understanding, but he is not the one suggesting that the item should be changed. Rather, that is how S3 and NS5 interpret E1's intervention.

The continuation of the exchange in example 5.56 shows that S3 persists in using *EXECUTE,* but in the group's actual presentation and the ensuing discussion, it appears that S3 has adopted the item *IMPLEMENT*. Example 5.57 is from S3's part of the presentation.

(5.57)

S3: ((…)) and this is really nice thing we have 11 natura areas for the saimaa seal but the odd thing is that even in natura areas inside those areas saimaa seal populations can decline and you will see why this is (in) the next slide

SU: i'm sorry

S3: erm here are er saimaa natura areas for the seal here and how many seal individuals are there and then what is the status of the area or how many per cent of area has which kind of status er in first we have national parks so there are two national parks in saimaa er strictly er protected cons- er nature conservation areas none er private conservation areas we have some per cents and areas which actually are not **implemented** are the main er er main areas so in these areas they know what they should do but er these laws are not **executed** and what are these laws er in this next slide er so these are the ways how to er **execute** these measu- or protection measures in natura areas so there are quite many laws but as you just saw they are not **implemented** in those areas so basically these are er you don't need to follow these laws in those area they are in paper and some day they could come in those areas but not yet.

(GG, B09CSgp: Presentation)

As can be seen in example 5.57, in her presentation, S3 uses both *IMPLEMENT* and *EXECUTE*. The switch to *EXECUTE* occurs when she is about to switch slides (*in this next slide*). In both of the slides, she used *EXECUTE*, which may have influenced her choice of words. Example 5.58 shows that when answering one of the questions from the audience after the presentation, S3 again uses *IMPLEMENT*.

(5.58)

TU: ((…)) then i would like to ask you a question that when when you talk about the protection areas what this protection includes wh- when i s- when i say that let's protect this area what it means

SU: [(with the)]

S2: [excluding people] from the area

SS: [@@]

NS5: [with the] current conservation or with our plan

TU: in your plan

S3: well we have already these laws already er we it's hard to create new laws so it's faster and easier (then with) all the old laws which we we already have but they are not **implemented** so we use those and also er maybe we like have er have more like bigger areas but laws are already there

TU: okay okay ((…))

(GG, B09CSgp: Discussion after presentation)

This suggests that the intervention by E1 – followed by S3 and NS5's interpretation of changing *EXECUTE* to *IMPLEMENT* made S3 adopt *IMPLEMENT*. Considering that she was the only one in the group to use *EXECUTE* in this meaning[57], it appears that the group preference was for *IMPLEMENT*, but that it only became a normative issue when E1 took it up. This suggests that the group members accepted diversity in the use of the lexical items, but the acceptance was reduced based on E1's comment and how the students interpreted his intervention. The set of examples further exemplifies how the mentors tended to focus on contents, and worked to establish mutual understanding,

[57] It should be noted, though, that NS5 used *EXECUTE* twice in the last session when reading S3's slides. This took place in the beginning of the session when the group members' slides where put together before the mock presentation. That NS5 (or anyone else for that matter) did not intervene with the use of *EXECUTE* suggests acceptability of the lexical item.

whereas the presence of the English instructor shifted the group's attention to language (see section 5.1.1).

In all, the analysis so far shows that the group members accommodated to specific lexical items used by the other members, also to items that deviated from ENL (for similar findings in the ELFA corpus, see Mauranen 2012: 50). We can see how group preferences arise out of immediate communicational needs. The need to fulfil these needs can also be observed in the following set of examples (5.56–5.58), which shows how an unconventional lexical item was adopted to replace a more conventional one, that is, the item *MOTORSLEIGH* was used instead of *SNOWMOBILE*. The lexical item *SNOWMOBILE* was used by NS5 in the second session, but in the third group session, only two students (S2 and S3) and one mentor (M2) were present, and as can be seen from example 5.59, the participants were not sure which lexical item they should use.

(5.59)

M2: i guess what we discussed last time would be that (t-) the system would be such that during the the breeding or the the season when the pups are in the dens <S2> mhm </S2> you would need to regulate the, how do you call it **a motorsleigh** is it **a motorsleigh**, this

S2: **ah the [a motorsleigh]** <M2> [the snow] </M2> okay the the thingie that er **jet ski,**

M2: no not exactly **it's like a sleigh** <S2> mhm-hm </S2> but it you don't have horses pulling it but you have this motor

S2: **okay mhm-hm yeah yeah i k- i know what you mean i don't know what it's called** yeah they're very loud and [(xx)] <M2> [yeah] </M2> like (xx) but without

M2: yeah and th- they go on snow <S2> mhm-hm </S2> so that would be a thing to to like prohibit access to these places where where the the dens are likely to be <S2> mhm-hm </S2> and then during like during the breeding season there would be need to regulate access to the breeding sites of the seals <S2> mhm-hm </S2> in order to avoid disturbance <S3> mhm-hm </S3> and then during the summertime when when the pups are young and moving then the then the thing to regulate would be net fishing

S2: mhm-hm, so that would yeah that would be kind of dynamic too

(GG, B09C3bGGW)

M2 suggests *MOTORSLEIGH*, which is immediately accepted by S2 who repeats the item. The lexical item is a calque that is shared by Finnish and German: both *motor* and *sleigh* are shared in the two languages (*moottorikelkka* in M2's L1 Finnish and *Motorschlitten* in S2's L1 German). This suggests that M2's use of *MOTORSLEIGH* is likely to be due to L1 influence. Since the item is a calque shared by Finnish and German, however, it stands a good chance of overriding the ENL form. This finding is in line with Hülmbauer (2009: 338), who argues for a similar case of making use of plurilingual resources. After some additional clarifications, the speakers are convinced that mutual understanding is achieved and the discussion continues.

Later in the same discussion, S2 uses *MOTORSLEIGH* (example 5.60), which shows that she has adopted M2's use of the item from earlier in the discussion.

(5.60)

S2: or wh- er it could be enough for us already just to say that we want to stress that this is needed maybe <M2> [mhm] </M2> [we] don't need to to find out if it is done or not because i think this is what this guy already did (xx), er, and the second point that if the saimaa seal is (counted in) regional planning, that is also i think (we know already from this) er, then the er regulation of of skating winter fishing and **er those er motorsleighs** (@) <M2> mhm-hm </M2> maybe we could we could er come up with with (a) regulation and er pretend to write a law or anything (@) that we could suggest in the [presentation]

M2: [yeah]

S3: mhm-hm

M2 [mhm-hm]

S2: [i-] in both the presentations <M2> mhm-hm </M2> er, (that) could be a task for someone for next time, or <S3> (eh) </S3> (@) or not </S2>

S3: maybe at least be some start

(GG, B09C3bGGW)

The example illustrates that, in this discussion, *MOTORSLEIGH* became the accepted lexical item. However, both M2's expressions of insecurity in example 5.59 (*how do you call it*, *is it a motorsleigh*) and S2 first in example 5.59 saying that *i don't know what it's called*, and then in example 5.60 hesitating before the use of MOTORSLEIGH (*er those er*) suggest that it is not considered exactly right.

What is more, in the following group-work meeting, the group returns to using *SNOWMOBILE*, which implies that the use of *MOTORSLEIGH* remained temporary (example 5.61).

(5.61)

S3: ((…)) and they have found this information that er in <FINNISH> saimaa </FINNISH> er the buffer area should be 500 metres from **snowmobiles** and one hundred metres for er pedestrian or skiing (and) that kind of things, ((…))

(GG, B09C4GGW)

There are no instances of S2 or M2 using *SNOWMOBILE* in this fourth meeting, though, but S3 is the one who first introduces the item into the discussion (example 5.61). This implies that she may have checked or simply come up with the conventional item after the third meeting – and *SNOWMOBILE* was the item used from that on.

In this case, the unconventional lexical item was thus used as a means to compensate for a lapse of memory (or knowledge). The participants in the third meeting were aware of not using the "correct" item, which suggests that they drew on ENL as a correctness norm; but for the purposes of the exchange in the meeting, *MOTORSLEIGH* served its purpose.

While the accommodation practices in the guided group resulted in the adoption of a specific lexical item within a session or even across sessions, in the student group, different lexical items with the same referential meaning were used alongside each other. Table 5.4 shows the distribution of the instances for CASE STUDY, STUDY CASE and CASE across the three group work meetings. We can see that different students preferred to use different items when referring to the same thing – even within the same group discussion. The item CASE STUDY was preferred by NS3, S4 and S6, whereas STUDY CASE was preferred by S2. S5 used both STUDY CASE and CASE, and S1 alternated between CASE STUDY and CASE.

Table 5.4 Number of instances of *CASE STUDY*, *STUDY CASE* and *CASE* in the student group*

Student	*CASE STUDY*	*STUDY CASE*	*CASE*	*Total*
S1	5	1	5	11
S2	1	26	6	33
NS3	12	2	0	14
S4	8	1	2	11
S5	0	10	13	23
S6	15	0	1	16
Total	41	40	27	108

* Only instances of CASE that refer to study cases/case studies have been included, i.e. instances that occurred in combinations such as *in that case* are not included.

Out of these different options, STUDY CASE deviates from ENL, but was readily used by both S2 and S5, without anyone correcting their usage. Instead, we can see NS3, a NS of American English, accommodating to S2's use of the unconventional form (example 5.62).

(5.62)

S2: <FIRST NAME NS3> do you think we need to to find more information about the **traditional methods** or it's okay from this **study case**,

NS3: er, i think it will maybe be okay from the **study case** i can maybe do some explaining er a little further than what the **study case** says

S2: mhm-hm

NS3: but i think they'll mention maybe some traditional previously at least **traditional methods** as well so

(SG, V07A2GW)

In the example, S2 asks NS3 for his opinion about the need to find more information dealing with the group work task. We can see that there is no attempt on NS3's part to correct S2's unconventional use of *STUDY CASE*. Rather, NS3 reuses the form. NS3's turn is an answer to S2's question where S2 offers two options to choose from, and NS3 recycles the second option. He thus not only reuses the lexical item *STUDY CASE* but also the construction (*it's okay from this study case* becomes *be okay from the study case*) and another lexical item (*traditional methods*). The extract thus illustrates the way the students accommodate to each other's language. This kind of alignment increases communicative effectiveness by increasing explicitness in talk. What is more, since the accommodation in the extract is towards an unconventional form by a NS of English, it also implies the flexibility of linguistic form, which in turn widens the scope of acceptability beyond ENL norms in the interaction.

Cogo (2007) and Cogo and Dewey (2006) have shown that speakers in ELF interactions tend to accommodate to each other's language by repeating elements from previous turns. This we saw in example 5.62, where we could also observe slight modification of some of the elements. However, contrary to some of the examples from the guided group, accommodation appears to have remained immediate, since the students soon switched back to their own preferred usage. This can be seen in Example 5.63.

(5.63)

S6: [(yeah absolutely)] take some **case study** and <S1> [yeah] </S1> (just) analyse (it)

S2: (yeah) that's what i thought that we should take some **case studies** <S1> [yeah] </S1> [because] if if not we cannot compare <S1> yeah th- </S1> [things]

S1: [this] first question here <READING> what resources are there and where are they </READING> so it's much easier to do [it in one]

NS3: [(if we have something) (xx) (yeah)]

S1: yeah one place so

NS3: yes

S1: in <SIC> brazilia </SIC> what (they) are there and

S2: but do you think the teacher was expecting us to do some **study case** or or what because i couldn't understand what is the real idea of this this (task)

S4: i think it was to **compare** the participatory and traditional methods, [just]

S6: [but] but the way how you **compare** might be like whatever you like it doesn't mean that you cannot take **case study** and compare the methods

NS3: so we could take like **a case study** and say compare participatory methods to these economic and ecological methods just [within] <SU-4> [mhm] </SU-4> that **case study** specifically

S1: yeah

(SG, V07A1GW)

In the example, the students discuss how to approach their group work task. S2, who tended to use the form *STUDY CASE* (see table 5.4 and example 5.62) accommodates to S6 by reusing the form *CASE STUDY* (*should take some case studies*), but soon afterwards returns to using *STUDY CASE* (*expecting us to do some study case*). We can also see that S6 does not adopt the form *STUDY CASE* used by S2 (*you cannot take case study*). This may be because S4's turn comes in between S2 and S6's contributions, and so it appears that rather than accommodate to S2's turn, S6 accommodates to S4's turn by repeating the word *compare*. NS3, then again, uses his preferred form *CASE STUDY* at the same time accommodating to S6 (*could take like a case study*). The fact that NS3 uses an article before *CASE STUDY* and S6 does not could be taken to mean that NS3 is correcting S6, but it can also be taken as a sign of NS3 using his own idiolect, especially so because his turn seems to be forward rather than backward-looking: the turn begins with *so*, which is followed by a suggestion that builds on what S6 is saying, with no implication of seeking to point out "deficiencies" in S6's linguistic contribution.

We can see from examples 5.62 and 5.63 that accommodation takes place both towards the form *CASE STUDY* and towards *STUDY CASE*, but the students still prefer to use either of the two options or the third form *CASE* (see table 5.4). Even though the students sometimes accommodate to each other's preferred lexical items, none of the forms thus becomes the preferred one for the group as a whole, and idiolectal preferences are maintained. By accommodating to each other's language in this way, the students accept linguistic variation, which implies that they are not accommodating to one specific norm or standard, but that they are rather negotiating acceptable usage on a case by case basis. Since the variable usage is not subjected to convergent group norms, it could also be argued that the norm constructed here is that of acceptability of variation in language form. As to the practice of accommodation affecting linguistic form, we saw that accommodation took place both ways, leaving room for linguistic variation and change.

Summary: lexical accommodation

The analysis shows that the group interaction included not only immediate repetition of lexical items, but also recycling of items during the same group discussion and across meetings. This suggests that the use of the lexical items (some of which were unconventional) may *not* remain situational (cf. Hülmbauer 2009). Rather, in line with Garrod and Doherty's (1994) study, speakers also accommodate to lexical items used earlier in the same discussion as well as in previous discussions – which indicates group formation and possibility for group norm development. The participants tended to prefer conventional lexical items in that they, for instance, hesitated to use *MOTORSLEIGH*. However, unconventional items were accepted in the interaction, something we saw in the way the speakers repeated and recycled such items used by their co-interactants. Mauranen conjectures that unconventional forms are more likely to remain in a speaker's linguistic repertoire in the absence of negative feedback, since when there is no negative feedback, "there is no reason to look for alternative expressions" (2012: 131). Considering that the analysis of lexical accommodation illustrated positive reinforcement of (also) unconventional lexical items, it seems that there might be even fewer reasons for the unconventional forms to be removed from a speaker's linguistic repertoire. What is more, it is notable that also the NSs of English in the groups accommodated to unconventional lexical items and that their unconventionality was not necessarily taken up. This lends support to Carey's (2010; see also Rogerson-Revell 2010; Sweeney & Hua 2010) study where NSs of English were found to accommodate their English in ELF interaction, unlike what has been suggested, for instance, in Jenkins (2000).

Immediate accommodation to unconventional lexical items was found in both of the study events, but the members of the student group tended to maintain their idiolectal preferences. The group's accommodative practices could thus be characterised by acceptance of variation. This shows that not everything is subjected to group preferences and that divergence may mean maintaining one's idiolect rather than attempting to correct unconventional language use. Unconventional usage may thus be acceptable and fall within the scope of acceptability.

5.3 Summary: language-regulatory practices

In this chapter, I have looked into the negotiation of acceptability and correctness of language. First, I explored explicit regulatory practices and the construction of boundaries between unacceptable and acceptable language, after which I turned my focus on more subtle regulatory practices and considered the scope of acceptability.

We saw that L2 speakers of English were the ones who made language relevant in the first place. They did most of the language corrections (even if NSs of English were present), and they were the ones who took up language as a topic in the form of metalingual commenting. Four kinds of language experts could be found in the data: (1) teachers who had expertise in the relevant subject, (2) students who were assigned as experts on account of their L1 status, (3) speakers (whether students or teachers) who took on the expert role on their own (negotiated expertise), and (4) language professionals. The findings show that the teachers took on the role of language expert even if they were L2 speakers of English and even if they were not English instructors. The English instructor (E1), then again, had linguistic authority both as a NS of English and as a language professional. NSs of English could act as language experts on account of their L1, but the findings show that the role was allocated to the NSs in the group by the L2-English-speaking students. Since language was also corrected by some of the students who did not belong to any of the preceding categories, we can conclude that the role of language regulator was negotiable in the interaction. That the L2 speakers of English acted as language experts, even if they mainly relied on their notions of ENL norms in doing the corrections, implies that NSs and L2 speakers of English are more balanced in ELF than in L1–L2 interaction, where correcting appears to be the responsibility of NSs only (e.g. Hosoda 2006; Kurhila 2003, 2006).

The analyses show that corrections were mainly done when intelligibility was at stake, but also to draw boundaries between unacceptable and acceptable English. The language in written texts was corrected more often than spoken language, and when spoken language was corrected, it mostly concerned lexis. Corrections mainly dealt with expressions that were seen to deviate from ENL or words that were seen to be from another language. However, most of the unconventional use of English was left uncorrected. Also, the presence of the English instructor in one of the groups was found to increase the group's focus on language.

As to what kinds of boundaries were constructed, the findings illustrate a difference between spoken and written language. For spoken language, correctness was attached to (notions of) ENL norms, whereas the scope of acceptability was much wider. This means a division of prescriptive and performance rules. The reliance on the primacy of ENL was reflected in the students' comments on language, where the L2 speakers of English sometimes compared their English to that of the NSs present (or to an implied norm), and in the process constructed their English as problematic. In contrast, for written English, correctness and acceptability went together. The participants mainly drew on (their notions of) ENL norms, but they also encouraged adopting an 'international standard', which means that correctness notions did not only follow those attached to ENL.

The more subtle language-regulatory practices could be seen to widen the scope of acceptability. On the one hand, the findings provide further evidence for the distinction between a narrower scope of correctness as opposed to a wider scope of acceptability. On the other hand, they imply that acceptability is *not* simply determined based on established ENL norms, but rather that the scope of acceptability is wider. If we look at the findings in more detail, we notice that, for one thing, embedded repairs showed fluctuation in the orientation of the repairs, which pulled English to different directions and increased variation. Second, intermediaries rephrased key elements, which in turn increased chances for mutual understanding. The rephrased elements were not treated as incorrect; rather they were alternative expressions. Third, lexical accommodation illustrated that unconventional items were accepted in the interaction, and even recycled across meetings. This implies that acceptability does not correspond to the correctness norms constructed in the groups, which supports the conclusion of prescriptive versus performance rules. The analysis on lexical accommodation also showed maintenance of idiolectal preferences, which similarly to embedded repairs increased variation, and can be seen to widen the scope of acceptability beyond ENL norms. The analyses thus show that ELF speakers tolerate variation, but that they also regulate English, and in the process draw boundaries of correctness on the one hand, and boundaries of acceptability on the other. Mostly, correctness was constructed in relation to (notions of) ENL, but we also saw new norms of acceptability emerging.

In the following chapter 6, I focus on participant perspectives on ELF and language regulation by exploring the research interviews conducted with students and teachers attending the study events analysed in this chapter. In addition, the chapter analyses the English instructor interviews.

6 Interpretative repertoires of language and its regulation

Research interviews were conducted with the teachers and a number of students who attended the interactions analysed in the previous chapter 5. In this chapter, I focus on these interview accounts in order to shed light on the schematic aspects of language regulation, that is, the interviewees' notions of language and what they see as acceptable and correct English. The accounts are analysed for the construction of such notions by considering the following aspects (cf. Gordesch and Dretzke 1998: 13; see also section 5.1.2):

(1) How do the interviewees describe the way they and other speakers use English?
(2) How do they describe the way they *ought to* use English?
(3) What interpretative repertoires of language and its regulation do the interviewees employ when talking about English?

I use these questions to analyse how the interviewees describe ELF and how they perceive themselves and others as ELF speakers, and what they construct as the appropriate target norm(s). In the analysis, I focus on the interviewees' metalingual comments in order to discern interpretative repertoires used by the interviewees (section 6.1). An interpretative repertoire is constructed out of a restricted range of repeatedly occurring metalingual comments. Thus, when I talk about the construction of interpretative repertoires in the data, I mean that the interviewees repeatedly describe English and its use from specific perspectives, and that this points towards the existence and use of specific interpretative repertoires. Student and teacher interviews are analysed separately in sections 6.2 and 6.3 respectively. In addition to the student and teacher interviews, I explore English instructor interviews (section 6.4), with focus on the instructors' descriptions of students' English, and their reports of the kind of English they (aim to) teach. The accounts are used to widen the perspective of the language-regulatory situation at the university.

Before turning to the analysis, I briefly explain my approach to the interview data.

6.1 Interviews as interactional data

The interview analysis combines elements from discourse analysis and interactional approaches to discourse as described in chapter 4. Similarly to some discourse analytic studies (e.g. Gilbert & Mulkay 1984; Potter 1996; Potter & Wetherell 1987; Suoninen 1993; Wetherell & Potter 1988), I consider repeated patterns in the interviewees' talk about English. I do not categorise the interviews based on individual interviewees and their notions, but rather I focus on recurring metalingual comments in the accounts. Whether the accounts reflect or build on more widely recognised notions of language is an empirical question, and needs to be established in the accounts (e.g. by interviewees drawing on established normative authorities). I thus seek to avoid apriori assumptions about the relevance of supposedly recognisable, conventional notions, or ideologies of language. Instead, I use my ethnographically informed approach as support for the analyst position. I see the interviews as accounts of actions and beliefs, and assume that different, even contradictory views can be constructed within an interview.

The analysis further incorporates elements from interactional approaches to discourse. This means that I treat the interviews as interaction where the interviewee and the interviewer co-construct notions of language (see Laihonen 2008, 2009). This is done to make the process of analysis more transparent by, for instance, discussing the role of the interviewer in the interaction (see e.g. section 6.2.1).

That I analyse the interview data for interpretative repertoires, but at the same time treat the data as interactional enables me to focus on what the interviewees say (i.e. their metalingual comments) and to give depth to the analysis (i.e. to consider the interactional organisation of talk and its possible influence on the commenting). This further makes it possible to answer to some of the critique against discourse analytic studies where especially the identification of interpretative repertoires is said to be inconsistent, and the mere identification of the repertoires to provide less of the nuances of human conduct than analyses where interaction is taken into account (Wooffit 2005: 179–183).

In addition, while it can be hypothesised that the interview accounts (and the interpretative repertoires discerned in the accounts) may guide the ways interviewees use language to communicate, this cannot be assumed at the outset. Comparisons to the analysis in chapter 5, then again, can shed light on this question. This is the topic of chapter 7. It should be noted, though, that I consider both of the data types (study event interactions and interviews) primary. The analysis approaches language regulation from different viewpoints that help construct a more varied picture of the phenomenon than a focus on only one type of data would have been able to provide.

I developed the interview guides during the course of this study. The later guides were generally more focused and the interview questions better grounded to the interviewees' daily life as well as the related study event (chapter 4).[58] Since the interviews were semi-stuctured thematic interviews, the 'same' questions were worded differently on each occasion and follow-up questions were posed depending on the interviewee's answers. In the analysis, I discuss the construction of shared notions of language despite different question formulations in relation to the teacher interviews (section 6.3).

I also developed interviewing practices in the course of this study, which resulted in trying out pair and group interviews, and in using one or two interviewers (chapter 4). In addition, follow-up interviews were done with some of the students. The different types of interviewing practices are taken up in the analysis of this chapter when considered relevant for the construction of interpretative repertoires. Follow-up interviews conducted with some of the students are considered in terms of whether they show systematic change when compared to the first interviews. The analysis first turns to the student interviews.

6.2 Student interviews[59]

In total, 13 students who attended the study events were interviewed: all students in the group discussions and three students attending the teacher-led course (chapter 4). Below, I analyse the interview accounts for emerging interpretative repertoires (concerning student notions of English and the use of ELF).

The section is divided into two, following the organising questions given in the chapter introduction: First, I explore student descriptions of the English used in ELF encounters to see how they describe the English used in such contexts, and how that may be seen to differ from other kinds of usage. Second, I consider what the descriptions imply about acceptability and correctness in language use and the norms the students seem to orient to. Both parts of the analysis focus on the construction of interpretative repertoires used to talk about English. Each section moves deeper in the analysis: when students describe their experiences of ELF, their accounts construct certain interpretative repertoires, but the descriptions also point towards questions of normativity that build

[58] Interview guides can be found in appendix C, where examples are given from guides used in the early stages of this study as well as those that were used later. Appendix D includes the clock face activity used in the later student and mentor interviews.

[59] This section builds on Hynninen (2010), where I present the preliminary analysis of the student interviews.

new repertoires. This layeredness of the analysis is also reflected in the way the examples are expanded: first I take short examples of student answers to illustrate the building blocks of interpretative repertoires; but later on I consider longer stretches of talk and discuss the co-construction of interaction in order to consider the nuances of the repertoire construction.

6.2.1 We speak a modified version of English: repertoire of clarity and simplification

The first stage of the analysis considers student descriptions of the English used in lingua franca encounters. The key linguistic means students used to describe ELF were adjectives and adverbs related to clarity and simplification such as 'simple', 'simplified', 'easy' and 'clearly'. Example 6.1 illustrates the practice with two short examples from the data.[60]

(6.1)

(a) ((…)) we er we speak er er **simple** english ((…))

(TLC, S3: L1 Arabic)

(b) ((…)) it's easy with (the) non-natives because we try to to to speak all the time in **easy** sentences <IR> mhm </IR> in **clear** sentences ((…))

(SG, S5: L1 Spanish)

The description *simple English* in the first example (6.1a) implies a contrast to English that is not simple. A more explicit construction of a similar contrast can be seen in the second example (6.1b). In this example, the pronoun 'we' is used to refer to NNSs of English (the interviewee identifies himself as part of that group), and the use of *easy* and *clear* expressions is attributed to the use of English among such speakers. This kind of comparison was typical in the data, with differences constructed between NSs and L2 speakers of English. Alternatively, ELF was contrasted with ENL, which was seen to be 'real' and 'natural' as opposed to 'simple' and 'easy'. Example 6.2 illustrates how such comparisons were done.

[60] Important details in the accounts are given in bold font.

(6.2)

> ((…)) yeah it's not the **real** english that we speak we speak some some er **modified** version of it that kind of fits everyone's language level <IR> uh-huh </IR> and like if <COUGH> yeah this is like what we do and the **real** english is somewhere there <IR> uh-huh </IR> except for some exception some people speak it very fluently but <IR> uh-huh </IR> most of us don't

(GG, S2: L1 German)

We can see that the account constructs a difference between ENL as *the real English* and ELF as a *modified version of it*. ELF speakers' varying command of English is taken up and *language level* seen as the determining factor for the modifications. The evaluation of ELF as a modified version is returned to later in the analysis (section 6.2.2).

In the accounts above, the students showed awareness of the need to adapt one's language in ELF encounters. How they reported to be doing that is illustrated in examples 6.3–6.6. Descriptions of language adaptations generally reflected students' descriptions of what ELF is like, and we can see that similar vocabulary was used to describe the adaptations (e.g. 'speak clearly', 'simplify'). Example 6.3 is a case in point.

(6.3)

> ye- yes er er actually i avoid like i **avoid** using like er **long sentences** and er (this) (xx) (sometime) and er **unnecessary words** (but) <IR> [alright] </IR> [but] not too **not too simplified** er the the the word but also to to to convey the exact meaning yeah and t- easy to to to to get

(TLC, S4: L1 Dinka)

In this example, the reported modifications (e.g. avoiding *long sentences*) reflect the students' descriptions of ELF (e.g. speaking *in clear sentences*, example 6.2). The account suggests that such modifications are a conscious choice, and that they are seen to contribute to mutual understanding (*easy to to to to get*). The following account (example 6.4) similarly points towards consciously modifying one's language.

(6.4)

> IR: have you noticed that you would er adapt your own language in e- according to the y- to the person who you're speaking to
>
> IE: yeah yeah

IR: i- in what ways

IE: erm, for example i **make more of an effort to speak correctly** when i s- talk to a native English speaker <IR> really alright [@@] </IR> [@@] and erm, when i yeah yeah i think that's basically my my er effort to adapt <IR> mhm-hm </IR> my language like to to adapt to the **language skill** of the person i talk to

(GG, S2: L1 German)

The account further illustrates how the students often reported that they do adaptations depending on the interlocutor's command of English. Expressions such as 'adapt to the language skill' or 'level on English' were used. In example 6.4, adaptations are not only reported to be done to simplify language, but also to polish it: when speaking to NSs of English, the student reports to be *mak[ing] more of an effort to speak correctly*. Interestingly, this implies that correctness (seen in relation to ENL) is not seen as necessary in ELF contexts, which further implies that notions of acceptability and correctness can take different forms in ELF than in NS settings. This observation is returned to later in section 6.2.2.

The following two examples (6.5 and 6.6) further exemplify attention to one's interlocutor's command of English. Both accounts are from an interview with a NS of English.

(6.5)

[depe- d-] if i('ve) had a a previous experience i would maybe er know w- you know er if i need to try to make things a little more **clearly** or if i can be a little **more vague** <IR> mhm </IR> and er er i think i would certainly er depending on the person's **level on english** i would certainly adjust my my language use

((…))

as far as (me is in) <IR> mhm </IR> english er. maybe i would try to speak a little more **clearly** that er and perhaps er **this (maybe) sound bad** but perhaps i would er s- **slow my speech down** just a little bit <IR> mhm </IR> and that it all depends on the individual you are talking to of course and er if something do- doesn't come across clearly i might try to **rephrase** it er differently (yes)

(SG, NS3: L1 Am. English)

In the above account, the adverb *clearly* is used three times in reference to modifying one's English, which reflects attention to clarity similar to the earlier examples. What this account brings forth, though, is the question of when modifications are considered to be acceptable. In suggesting that the slowing down of his speech may *sound bad*, the student expresses uncertainty of whether this is acceptable. This could mean that the interviewee assumes that if he as a NS of English modifies his speech, this underestimates the L2 speaker's command of English, and could be seen as a face-threatening act (see Goffman 1967, Brown and Levinson 1987).

The final example on modifying one's English draws attention to simplification (example 6.6).

(6.6)

> ((…)) and er i tend to some of the some of the spanish students have trouble understanding me as well as one or two of the french students if i'm not speaking french with them <IR> mhm-hm </IR> so i i try to **simplify** things a little <IR> mhm-hm </IR> er especially in the group work situations <IR> mhm-hm </IR> whereas if i'm out with my climbing friends erm like for example <NAME> and <NAME> spent three years in the US <IR> mhm-hm </IR> so their grasp on English is very good <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> [i] can just [@@] <IR> [mhm-hm yeah] </IR> speak as freely as i like with them
>
> ((…))
>
> just **explaining my way around concepts** rather than you know er i wouldn't just throw out a word like antidisestablishmentarianism in class [you know @@] <IR> [@@] </IR> er things like that ((…))

(GG, NS5: L1 Can. English)

The example again reports adaptation based on the interlocutor's command of English, and that the adaptations done in ELF contexts are seen to mean simplification.

We can now establish that the students' descriptions of ELF and its use construct an interpretative repertoire of clarity and simplification; in other words, when the students described ELF and its use, they repeatedly commented on aspects of clarity and simplification, which points to the existence of a specific interpretative repertoire. The analysis shows that ELF was considered to be different from ENL: it was described by using adjectives such as 'simple' and 'clear' as opposed to ENL which was seen as 'real' and 'natural'. Modifications of English in ELF settings were mostly described as simplifying and clarifying one's speech – based on the interlocutor's command of English. We also saw that both NSs and L2 speakers of English reported doing modifications, and that the modifications were described in a similar manner. Interestingly, though, those students who reported most difficulties in using English tended not to report modifying their own language, which implies that language skills play a role in the process. The need for adaptations also on the part of NSs of English has been established in earlier ELF research (Jenkins 2000: 227), although little research has been done on their actual role in ELF interaction (for exceptions see Carey 2010; Knapp 2002) and whether NSs of English taking part in ELF interaction are aware of the need for language adaptations. What the analysis here shows is that the NSs present in the study events were aware of this need, and that they also reported doing modifications.

For the most part, the repertoire of clarity and simplification was constructed by drawing on the division between NSs and L2 speakers of English. In the following, I take a closer look at the interactional construction of this difference. In the first example 6.7 (expanded from example 6.1b), the interviewer returns to the division taken up by the interviewee earlier on.

(6.7)

IR: ((…)) you mentioned earlier that you find it easier to speak with non-natives or easier to understand non-natives [than natives]

IE: [mhm-hm]

IR: or native speakers do you do you have any idea why (xx)

IE: ((…)) i have said that i have (a) friend from from britain here and huh it's i- impossible to understand him yeah it's easy with (the) non-natives because we try to to to speak all the time in **easy** sentences <IR> mhm </IR> in **clear** sentences but it's not the same for him he speak all the time er **naturally** <IR> mhm-hm </IR> yeah and there are a lot of words a lot of er sentences a lot of er specific words that for us we don't know yeah <IR> mhm </IR> er it's e- for me it's enough with the **normal vocabulary** that can you imagine the the different words that don't appear in the dictionaries (xx) ((…))

(SG, S5: L1 Spanish)

The account illustrates the way in which naturalness of speaking one's L1 is constrasted with the use of *clear sentences* and *normal vocabulary* among L2 speakers: Understanding other L2 speakers of English is considered easy, whereas the naturalness is seen to make understanding NSs of English difficult. In the account, then, a difference is constructed in the ways NSs use English (*naturally*) as opposed to how L2 speakers use it (*speak … in easy sentences in clear sentences*).

The differences in talking to NSs as opposed to L2 speakers of English in example 6.7 were first taken up by the interviewee, but this was not always the case. Rather, the division was sometimes prompted by the interviewer, which implies that the division may not necessarily be prominent for ELF. When asked about such differences, however, the distinction was recognised and reproduced by the students, as illustrated in example 6.8.

(6.8)

IR: and who do you think is easiest to understand speaking english is it native speakers or or other.

IE: which one is easier to understand

IR: yeah yeah.

IE: native (speech) is usually easier but when they speak so **fast** and **fluently** and **fast** and using all the re- **all the resources** of the language if you are not that used to the person it's er it's not that easy maybe some (foreigner people that) speak **good** english and speak **slowly** it's better to understand it's easier to understand

(SG, S2: L1 Br. Portuguese)

We can see that the interviewer's question assumes two things (cf. Hynninen 2010: 34): (a) that some speakers are easier to understand than others, and (b) that the main dividing line goes between L1 and L2 speakers. Considering the wording of the interviewer's question (the specific term *native speakers* vs. the unspecific term *other*, as well as the order of the terms), we may argue that the question further presupposes that the interviewee might consider NSs of English easier to understand than NNSs. The example shows that the interviewee reproduces the assumptions by retaining the comparison, and we can also see that the interviewee first aligns with the presupposition that NSs of English might be easier to understand. The interviewer's assumptions thus seem to guide the interviewee's answer. However, the interviewee quickly changes her mind in terms of the ease of understanding NSs of English, and the influence of the interviewer is thus diminished. What becomes clear from the example is that native speech is constructed as natural (*they speak so fast and fluently and fast and using all the re- all the resources of the language*), similarly to example 6.7 above. The point is, thus, not that the accounts construct a division between NSs and NNSs of English as such, but how the students conceptualise the division. That students describe ENL as natural, fast and fluent and hence more difficult to understand than ELF – described as a modified version of English (see example 6.2) – implies that this kind of NS use of English in an ELF setting is treated as inefficient and even undesirable.

Yet, this does not mean that the students would describe L2 use of English without its problems. If the principle of clarity is broken, trouble of understanding is seen to ensue – irrespective of whether the interlocutor is a NS or an L2 speaker of English. This is shown in example 6.9.

(6.9)

> i think that for me i think (it's) er (it's) just **clearly speaking** (that is the main important) <S3> yeah </S3> i think even with non- non-native speaker you might have some problems <IR> mhm </IR> when like if there are some word are **incorrect** or something like that or that sense yeah **(influence by) native er language** yeah yeah even i think these elements might have their influence yeah in communication <IR> mhm </IR> especially i think in the first time and **you cope with it** (yeah)

(TLC, S4: L1 Dinka)

So far, ENL has been constructed as going against the call for clarity, but this example takes up *incorrect* words and L1 influence as possible moot points. In addition, we can see that the interviewee takes up adapting (*you cope with it*). Now, although NSs of English were often constructed as more difficult to understand (as we saw in examples 6.7 and 6.8), the repertoire of clarity and simplification only partly builds on the division of NSs versus L2 speakers of English. Rather, it appears that adaptation is expected from everyone. Let us consider a longer stretch of talk from one of the interviews to illustrate this and what it implies about the repertoire of clarity and simplification (example 6.10).

(6.10)

IR: was (xx) was it always easy for you to understand the other participants <I.E. THE OTHER GROUP MEMBERS>

IE: no, in most cases it was (though) but erm s- i don't know sho- sh- c- if i should i say names or would it [help (xx) @(xx)@]

IR: [sure @@ it might be easier for me to kind of @localise the problems@] [@@]

IE: [@@] erm yeah i found it **very difficult** to understand <NAME S4> the spanish [guy]

IR: [alright] yeah

IE: and erm i also found it **difficult** to understand <NAME S3>

IR: mhm-hm

IE: erm yeah and the other two girls they **spoke very clearly** to me and the tutors too

IR: yeah why do you think it was difficult to understand the two students you mentioned

IE: ah the the **accent**

IR: [uh-huh]

IE: [it was] yeah the accent i- and because it was so difficult to understand the accent at least in <NAME S4>'s case i <IR> mhm-hm </IR> i don't even know if it was the **vocabulary** as well @eh@

IR: aha alright

IE: [yeah]

IR: [yeah] and er ehm did you try what did you do to try to understand them (or)

IE: erm i i had to **concentrate a lot and i listened very carefully** <IR> mhm </IR> and that was it <IR> yeah </IR> basically yeah <IR> yeah </IR> so it would have been more difficult to understand them if it had been a er er loud surroundings for example

IR: mhm-hm mhm-hm yeah yeah yeah did you ever feel that the others did not understand you

IE: yeah [@@] <IR> [@@] </IR> erm but er yeah when i for example said what i had done as a homework or like what i wanted to present to the whole group <IR> hm-hm </IR> and er, then i wh- when i looked around at people's faces i didn't know if they d- if they were thinking about the topic or if they hadn't understood me <IR> mhm-hm </IR> and i **missed kind of a feedback** on that <IR> mhm-hm </IR> it would [have been] <IR> [alright]

</IR> good to directly hear wh- to to see people nodding <IR> nodding [@@] </IR> [or saying going like this] just to to get (a sign)

(GG, S2: L1 German)

The example displays a series of questions and answers concerning mutual understanding in one of the study events (guided group). The interaction proceeds in question-answer sequences, with the interviewer giving minimal feedback within the interviewee's turns as well as before continuing with the follow-up questions. We can see that the interviewee describes having had trouble in understanding two students in her group apparently because of their accents, which is contrasted with the others in the group speaking *very clearly*. This supports the earlier findings of attention in ELF settings being on clarity (e.g. Mauranen 2007); yet it also shows that the repertoire of clarity and simplification needs to be understood as not only building on descriptions of what ELF is like, but also on notions of what makes it understandable. Even though the interviewer is the one who takes up the question of understanding, the student is the one who constructs a difference between *very difficult to understand* because of a speaker's accent and speaking *very clearly*. It should be noted, though, that the student does not construct a difference between NSs and L2 speakers of English: the two students singled out were an L1 speaker of Spanish and an L1 speaker of Finnish. Also, the NS of English in the group is not singled out when referring to the others in the group. Thus, the repertoire of clarity and simplification does not seem to build on the L1–L2 speaker division as such, but rather on the expectation that everyone adapts.

The student's answers to the interviewer's follow-up questions in example 6.10 further illustrate the students' willingness to adapt their listening. The example thus shows that adapting is not only constructed as a means to modify one's own speech, but also listening. The account also takes up the interlocutor's role in showing understanding (*missed kind of a feedback*, *good to ((…)) see people nodding*). This adds a new dimension into the repertoire of clarity and simplification, namely that of the interlocutor. It is not only about speaking clearly but also about adapting one's listening and showing understanding as an interlocutor.

In all, ELF was mainly described as simple and clear and thus understandable, and the students reported willingness to adapt their speech and listening. These repeated ways of describing ELF were found to construct the interpretative repertoire of clarity and simplification. The 'simplicity' of ELF was contrasted with the 'naturalness' of ENL, and the repertoire was for the most part constructed around the distinction of NSs and L2 speakers of English and the differences in their use of English. NSs were generally seen to be more difficult to understand, although the students also reported difficulties in understanding L2 speakers of English, which shows that the distinction was not clear-cut. This became evident especially in relation to the accounts dealing with adapting one's speech and listening.

6.2.2 We forget to use it properly: repertoires of correctness of ENL and normality of ELF

The analysis above shows that the interpretative repertoire of clarity and simplification only partly builds on the differences constructed between NSs and L2 speakers of English. What we see in this section, though, is that the division plays a role in the ways students describe how they *ought* to use English. Correctness was attached to NSs and ENL, which can be observed in the use of attributes such as 'correct' and 'proper' as opposed to 'mistakes' in the accounts.

In the first example (6.11), the interviewee compares ELF encounters to encounters with NSs of English. The example is from the second interview[61] with the student. In the first interview, the student described challenges she faced when using English, and expressed concern about making mistakes. In the follow-up interview, she reported more confidence in her English, as illustrated in example 6.11. Similarly, the other students who were interviewed twice reported in their second interview that their English had improved or that it had become easier to use English. Interestingly, NSs of English were constructed to be more difficult to understand both in the first and the second interviews.

(6.11)

IR: ((…)) yes so has your English now improved i mean presumably you've done all your courses (th-)

IE: i think so because i have used it a lot especially at the university but at the same time i feel that because here it's not an english er country <IR> mhm-hm </IR> everybody speaks a **more or less correct english** and because everyone understand each other you don't pay attention that you are sometimes making some **mistakes** especially pronunciation or <IR> [mhm] </IR> [or some] grammar **mistakes** but everyone is understanding you but when i had the chance to talk to somebody from america or from some other english-speaking country then i realise that i have bad english <IR> mhm

[61] Four students were interviewed twice (see chapter 4).

</IR> if i have to pronounce (ev-) everything **correctly** and try to make me er to to m- to make the other understand me well @@

(SG, S2: L1 Br. Portuguese)

The account illustrates that the students constructed ENL as the yardstick in evaluating what is correct; but at the same time, such correctness was not considered to be an issue when using English in ELF settings. Rather, in example 6.11, it is reported that *mistakes* are not paid attention to, and instead, comprehensibility is what is constructed as important. This means that correctness is seen in relation to ENL, but that such correctness is not considered necessary nor attended to in ELF settings: comprehensibility in ELF is not seen to require correctness. The account also illustrates the descriptive nature of the student accounts: the students did not make strong normative claims when talking about ELF. In example 6.11, we can see that the formulation 'have to' is used when referring to interaction with NSs of English (*if I have to pronounce (ev-) everything correctly*). What gets constructed here, then, is normality of ELF.

The following example (6.12, expanded from example 6.2) similarly connects correctness with ENL, and also implies that in ELF encounters this kind of correctness is not attended to.

(6.12)

IR: you said that you prefer to listen to native speakers er is it different for you to use english with native speakers compared to other non-native speakers

IE: y- yeah

IR: how [is it]

IE: [er like] if you mean my own [views]

IR: [yeah]

IE: of the language

IR: yeah

IE: yeah it's erm not this basic communication tool but it's actually a language that has er l- it is th- or then i kind of get er get reminded of the fact that english is a native language for many people

IR: aha

IE: because i think it is so different it must be so weird for for native speakers to come here and hear everyone using english somehow just to like survive in the social b- surrounding and, yeah because this way we exchange students often forget to to use it **properly** i think

IR: what do you [mean (by using)]

IE: [and and] erm like to to learn it as a as a real language and not this erm erm yeah i already tried to describe it as as a basic language [tool or just some] <IR> [mhm-hm mhm-hm mhm-hm] </IR> **tool of communication**

IR: yeah

IE: erm <P: 07> i think e- b- this using english as an exchange student in this international community makes us erm **degrade** english

IR: mhm-hm (what do you) [(mean by it)]

IE: [@and@] because we we just use it but we we don't use it **properly** and we don't erm erm yeah we eh i don't know how to how to s- say it how to express it. yeah it's not the **real** en- english that we speak we speak some some er **modified version** of it that kind of fits everyone's language level

IR: uh-huh

IE: and like if <COUGH> yeah this is like what we do and the **real english** is somewhere there

IR: uh-huh

IE: except for some exception some people speak it very fluently but

IR: mhm-hm

IE: most of us don't

(GG, S2: L1 German)

In the account, the student describes English used in ELF settings as *some tool of communication* and a *modified version* of ENL; whereas ENL is described as the *real English*. The student further evaluates ELF by saying that *this international community makes us erm degrade English* and *we just use it but we we don't use it properly*. The account thus constructs a clear difference between ELF and ENL (*it is so different*): even if the interviewer asks about differences in using English with native as opposed to other non-native speakers, we can see that the interviewee is the one who takes the initiative of offering her views about the language, and she is the one who brings in the evaluative aspects of using English *properly*.

In the account, the student takes the position of NS of English when constructing the difference between ELF and ENL, and from this position, she comes to the conclusion that L2 speakers ‘forget’ to use English ‘properly’, and thus ‘degrade’ English. These kinds of value judgements on language are associated with an understanding that some forms of language are more correct than others, and they thus reconstruct what Milroy (2001) calls the ideology of the standard language. With her value judgements, the student constructs ENL as the correct way to use English; but at the same time, she also constructs ELF reality as something where this kind of correctness is not relevant, and thus comes to question ENL norms for ELF (see Cameron 1995). From the perspective of a NS of English, ELF appears to degrade English, but from the perspective of an L2 speaker of English, ELF is “what we do”. The account thus illustrates how different positions and perspectives can be taken within the course of one interview and how different interpretative repertoires can be constructed simultaneously (see Suoninen 1993). What we can discern in both of the above examples (6.11 and 6.12) is the construction of two interpretative repertoires: those of correctness of ENL (i.e. ENL seen as correct) and of normality of ELF (i.e. correctness according to ENL norms not seen as crucial for ELF) where ENL is contrasted with ELF reality.

If we take a look at a later excerpt from the interview from which example 6.12 is from, we can see the division constructed between ELF reality and proper ENL more clearly (example 6.13).

(6.13)

IR: yeah or just er ‘cause you’ve been saying that er er that we should speak proper english

IE: yeah

IR: er so do you connect this proper english to to the kinds of englishes that are used that are used in in native contexts, or co- or would it be possible to kind of have have a kind of international english in your opinion [(xx) yeah]

IE: [i think] **we already have an international english** and erm, it is probably, er, (is it inevitable) not it’s not po- well it is **the only way it can er it can be used** [because] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> i mean we all we won’t be able to speak like an english english native speaker if we don’t live in the country or study it <IR> mhm-hm </IR> but er yeah i don't know if i answer your question [@@]

IR: [@(yeah yeah)@]

IE: but erm yeah i think we already have it and er, yeah

(GG, S2: L1 German)

In the account, the existence of *international English* is taken up and it is constructed as something that is defined by its function as a lingua franca, not its being a native language. We can see that the interviewer specifically asks about the existence of international English and thus provides the interviewee with the term; but we can also see that this makes perfect sense to the interviewee. Similar findings of students' marking the distinctiveness of the English they are using (as opposed to ENL) have been reported by Kalocsai (2009), who studied Erasmus exchange students in Hungary.

The above accounts illustrate students' orientation to correctness (related to ENL) on a conceptual level, but the students construct this in contrast to actual ELF use. However, further analysis of the data shows that such correctness in ELF settings is still oriented to in terms of written English, as well as when talking about learning English. The following example (6.14) indicates a tendency to use NS students as proof readers (see also section 5.1.2 with examples from study event interaction).

(6.14)

well i'm the english speaking person in the group [@so@] <IR> [mhm] </IR> you know it's er it's kind of just **assumed** by everyone in my group that I'll edit it all at the end <IR> mhm-hm </IR> so and in some ways it can be kind of tough <IR> well i'm sure yeah </IR> certainly adds to my workload

(GG, NS5: L1 Can. English)

The account implies that NSs of English are expected to act as proof readers simply because they are NSs. For written English, then, correctness is constructed in relation to ENL and it is seen as important.

Students also reported that NSs of English were utilised as unofficial language teachers. Example 6.15 illustrates this from a NS's perspective.

(6.15)

IR: do people expect you to correct their speech

IE: er well **a lot of people encourage me to** <IR> mhm-hm </IR> erm my roommates especially one of the first things they said was if i am saying something wrongly please tell me <IR> mhm-hm </IR> i said okay well incorrectly would be better [@@] <IR> [@@] </IR> erm wrongly is is not quite (a word) [@@ so] <IR> [@@ yeah] </IR> i know exactly what you mean but incorrectly is the term [@@] <IR> [mhm-hm yeah] </IR> erm but i find especially in class especially with erm <NAME> for example does not take it well at all <IR> mhm-hm </IR> because he is **a native english speaker** he's australian but he tends to make a lo::t of errors [in his work] <IR> [uh-huh] </IR> erm and he takes great offence ((…))

(GG, NS5: L1 English)

In the account, the student reports that L2 speakers of English ask NSs of English to correct their speech, but the account also implies the difficulty of judging when it is appropriate to correct – and who has the authority to do that. As we can see, the student reports correcting her fellow NSs of English, as well (at least their written work). This blurs the division of NSs versus L2 speakers, and illustrates the negotiability of language expertise (see chapter 5).

However, especially those students who expressed difficulties in using English tended to construct it as better for their learning to speak with and listen to NSs rather than L2 speakers of English. In addition, for most of the L2-English-speaking exchange students interviewed, learning English was one of their motivations for coming to Helsinki.[62] In the accounts, the focus on learning English becomes clear, as illustrated by the following Example 6.16.

(6.16)

IR: is it different for you to er speak with er native speakers of English compared to other non-native [speakers]

IE: [yeah] <COUGH> but er the the the **english speakers** they can **correct** me <IR> mhm-hm right </IR> (and this) is better <IR> mhm-hm </IR> and (see) when they speak with me maybe if i don't understand they speak more slow or <IR> mhm-hm </IR> or try explain me ah what i want to [say]

[62] Officially, students applying for an exchange student status at the University of Helsinki are required to have "very good language skills" upon entering the university and, with some exceptions, they are required to prove their language skills upon application. See <http://www.helsinki.fi/exchange/howtoapply> (Accessed 10 Feb 2013) for more details.

<IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> (bla bla bla) <IR> mhm-hm </IR> but with the others maybe the level (of) english is something like me and okay maybe okay is impossible to explain @(xx)@

IR: @alright@ do the native speakers do they correct you <IE> yeah </IE> when you speak

IE: yeah i want

IR: you want them [(to okay)]

IE: [yeah yeah] i say okay please **correct** me <IR> mhm-hm </IR> but i i know it's all the time okay not it's good or for the other (you know) <IR> mhm-hm </IR> okay (xx) teacher <IR> yeah </IR> (is or) please **correct** me if you want @but@

IR: mhm-hm yeah

(GG, S4: L1 Spanish)

In this account, the interviewer refers to the difference between NSs and NNSs of English, which is then followed by the student's answer, where the division is reconstructed, and correcting taken up. The account shows willingness to improve one's English, and preference for one's English to be corrected is raised. The interviewer's follow-up question reproduces the interviewee's reference to NSs of English (or *English speakers*), but it remains unclear whether the teacher(s) referred to in the student's answer would necessarily be NSs of English. It is anyway clear that interlocutors' level of English is constructed to make a difference (cf. sections 6.2 and 6.3). This is the case in the following example (6.17), as well.

(6.17)

IE: and even i i i know that it's much better to speak with er native people than with non-native because with non-native speakers we have (imagine) i don't know er we use 300 words maybe less i don't know <IRs> mhm </IRs> maybe less and if you want to learn especial with phrasal verbs <IRs> mhm </IRs> that they are horrible <IR-2> @eh@ </IR-2> er the best way it's to speak with native

IR-1: so is it good then in a way that if you speak with a native and they speak words that you don't necessarily understand do you think it's then good for your learning

IE: mhm yeah because mhm when you are speaking with non-native <IR-1> mhm </IR-1> they will understand <IR-2> mhm-hm </IR-2> almost always <IR-2> mhm-hm </IR-2> yeah and you have n- you have not to do you have not to do big **efforts** <IR-1> mhm </IR-1> but when you are speaking with natives <IR-2> [mhm-hm] </IR-2> [you have] to take care always about your pronunciation and to to use this kind of accent <IRs> mhm-hm </IRs> yeah for but if you speak with italian or austrian or dutch <IRs> mhm </IRs> they will understand you almost always <IR-2> mhm-hm </IR-2> but it's not the same with british or with americans

IR-2: mhm-hm

IR-1: right so you think it's good that you kind of have to maybe explain yourself or or ask for clarification from [them]

IE: [yeah] you have to do many **clarification** and **repeat** many times when you are speaking with natives <IR-1> yeah [yeah] </IR-1> [yeah] and to follow the conversation it's it's it's more difficult you have to be more **concentrated** much more with british with er native speakers for me

(SG, S5: L1 Spanish)

In this account, ENL is constructed as more versatile and accurate, and speaking with NSs of English to require more concentration and effort, which is considered better for learning English. For one, ENL is thus constructed as the desired version of English. For another, we can see that expressions of obligation (*you have to take care always about your pronunciation, you have to do many clarification, you have to be more concentrated*) are used when referring to speaking with NSs of English, whereas speaking with L2 speakers is described as *not* requiring too much effort (see example 6.11). This supports the observations made earlier about the construction of normality of ELF.

All three previous examples (6.15–6.17) illustrate how the students tended to turn to NSs of English as models for language learning, rather than to other L2 speakers. However, it remains unclear to what extent the division is really constructed between NSs and L2 speakers, and to what extent it may be a question of a speaker's command of English (example 6.16). We saw that interviewers, too, constructed the division (by for instance asking the interviewees about the division) and thus did not question its relevance. Then again, the students did orient to this distinction, and they constructed ELF and ENL as different (section 6.2.1).

What, then, do the student descriptions of language imply about acceptability and correctness, and the norms the students seem to orient to? In all, the accounts construct a repertoire of correctness of ENL, where ENL is conceptualised as proper, and as the desired way to use English (cf. chapter 7). The attributes 'correct' and 'correctness' were always used in relation to ENL. In this sense, NSs of English were treated as language authorities. At the same time, however, descriptions of ELF encounters treated such correctness as irrelevant (except for at least some writing tasks). This implies that on a conceptual level, correctness in relation to ENL is constructed as important also for ELF speakers, but the repertoire of correctness of ENL is constructed in contrast with actual ELF encounters. ELF encounters were described as situations where English is modified and where correctness is *not* paid attention to. Rather, what was constructed was normality of ELF. This reflects what we saw when discussing the repertoire of clarity and simplification. When the descriptions of language are considered from the perspective of acceptability and correctness, we can discern a new repertoire of normality of ELF, where ELF reality is distinguished from the conceptualisation of correctness (seen in relation to ENL). We thus have two conflicting repertoires at play here: those of correctness of ENL (with NSs of English and ENL as the correctness models) and of normality of ELF.

In the following, I consider this distinction in more detail by focusing on accounts where the students talk about expressing themselves in English. Mostly, such accounts dealt with trouble in expressing oneself; in fact, expressions of confidence were rare. These findings are thus similar to what was found in the interactional data (section 5.1.2). As illustrated in example 6.18, we can see how trouble in expressing onself in English tended to be described in reference to correctness of ENL and feelings of embarrassment.

(6.18)[63]

IE-1: mul on vähän sama juttu että mä aina aina **pelkään** sitä että nyt mä sanon jonkun **väärin** vaik et vaik et niinku tos meidän ryhmässäkin ni ei kukaan oikein puhu **täydellisesti** paitsi ehkä @<NAME NS3> mut@ mut tota jotenkin se alkaa vaan **nolottaa** et jos huomaa että ääns jonkun **väärin** tai tai sano jonkun ihan **väärän** sanan

IR: miks se on noloa

IE-1: en mä tiiä

[63] I have translated the examples from student interviews that were conducted in Finnish into English. Since the analysis of the examples 6.18 and 6.22 deal with interaction, the Finnish original is given alongside the English transcription. All original Finnish transcriptions can be found in appendix E.

IR: @@

IE-2: se on jotenkin niin kiva osata p- puhua [silleen (niinkun kieliopin)]

IE-1: [se ei oo niin sujuvaa ku sit ku] puhuu suomeks

IE-2: nii niin no e- ja joutuu miettii paljo [enemmän sit] <IE-1> [niin] </IE-1> mitä sanoo

IE-1: ku tietää et mitä haluu sanoo ni sit se pitää kääntää viel päässä englanniks ja sit yrittää hakea @niitä sanoja@

* * *

IE-1: it's pretty much the same with me i'm always **afraid** of saying something **wrong** even though for instance in our group no one speaks **perfectly** except perhaps @<NAME NS3> but@ but it just makes you feel **embarrassed** if you notice that you pronounced something **incorrectly** or used a completely **wrong** word

IR: why is it embarrassing

IE-1: i don't know

IR: @@

IE-2: it is just so nice to be able to speak [like (grammatically)]

IE-1: [it's not so fluent compared to] speaking in Finnish

IE-2: ye- well and you have think [a lot more about] <IE-1> [mhm] </IE-1> what you say

IE-1: when you know what you want to say then it has to be translated into English in your head and then try and find @those words@

(SG, S1 and S4: both L1 Finnish)

Example 6.18 is from a pair interview. The example illustrates that two interviewees can easily fuel each other's responses, which, on the one hand, may result in a more varied answer: after the first interviewee has indicated that she does not have an explanation for being embarrassed of saying something wrong, the second interviewee comes in and the two end up co-constructing an answer. This could be seen as the construction of a shared view that would then manifest in the use of a shared interpretative repertoire. On the other hand, the tendency of speakers to seek agreement (Pomerantz 1984) may mean that one person's views may override those of the other, which means that the interviewees would rather be constructing an illusion of shared views. In the case of this interview, however, it appears that both students got a chance to express their ideas – as also suggested by the example (6.18).

In the example, insecurity of using English is constructed in relation to (1) correctness of ENL (several references to saying something *incorrectly* or *wrong* and speaking *grammatically*, and the reference to the NS of English in the group speaking *perfectly*), (2) speaking in Finnish (the interviewees' L1), and (3) processing difficulties (*has to be translated*). The insecurity of using English thus relates to felt difficulties in expressing oneself, but the account also illustrates that insecurity may be related to feelings of embarrassment. This, then again, appears to build on the idea of an idealised NS that is used as a yardstick and the authority of correct language use. The construction of insecurity in one's ability to express oneself in English thus points towards the existence of the repertoire of correctness of ENL.

The use of English in example 6.18 is also compared to using Finnish (*not so fluent*), which illustrates that what gets constructed is the ease of using one's L1 as opposed to an L2. Such constructions can be found in the following example (6.19), as well.

(6.19)

> ((…)) i don't know not only about english but it's not po- it's not possible to to express all the things you want to say in (an)other language that's **not yours** (because) many times they do not th- in other language in english there is no(t) the same word or you have to use a different way to say something but in the end you are saying something different you are not saying what you want to say in the beginning you you change [ideas] <IR> [mhm] </IR> but i don't think it's particularly to english it's it's a case that have to speaking a- another language that's not yours ((…))

(SG, S2: L1 Br. Portuguese)

In this account, a difference is constructed between the ease and naturalness of using one's L1 and the restrictions of expressing oneself when using an L2. Thus, insecurity of using English is here constructed in relation to the assumption that an L2 always limits one's expression. In the account, we can further see how the interviewee closely connects languages to NSs of the languages (*language that's not yours*), and thus grants NSs a special status (see chapter 7).

Confidence was rarely expressed explicitly, although instances such as the one illustrated in example 6.20 did occur.

(6.20)

mhm usually 'cause i don't really mind which language <I.E. SWEDISH, FINNISH OR ENGLISH> <IR> [right] </IR> [so] usually just depending on who(m) i'm talking with <IR> mhm-hm </IR> i just choose the one that they're most sort of comfortable using ((…))

(GG, S1: L1 Finn. Swedish)

In this account, no clear preference in using a specific language is constructed, but rather the choice of language – among Swedish, Finnish and English – is left for the interlocutor, which constructs confidence in using all of the three languages. However, the preference for using a specific language did not necessarily mean being fully comfortable with the language, but rather a possibility to practice it. This is illustrated in example 6.21.

(6.21)

IR: <IN REFERENCE TO THE INTERVIEWEE'S CLOCK ACTIVITY> do you prefer to use either of the languages

IE: er between English and [Spanish]

IR: [yeah]

IE: here i prefer use English

IR: mhm-hm why

IE: is is @eh@ i need for **improve** my english <IR> [mhm] </IR> [okay] for me so so much easy speaking (in) spanish there are <IR> mhm-hm </IR> lot of spanish here <IR> mhm-hm </IR> but i try and don't er maybe the er we are forest (xx) people and one italian friend(s) or whatever [i] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> we we try er speak in english <IR> mhm-hm right </IR> not always (easy) but

IR: yeah yeah ((…))

(GG, S4: L1 Spanish)

In the example, the student reports that Spanish is easier for him, but that he prefers to use English in order to practice it. He thus expresses insecurity of using English, but willingness to overcome the insecurities through practice. Since it was a conscious choice of the students to come to Finland to study in English (and in the case of the Finnish students, to attend courses in English), the willingness to practice English reported in the accounts is not surprising. This willingness shows that despite constructing insecurity, the student accounts also construct agency.

This is further illustrated in the following example (6.22). The example is from a student who said she preferred to use her L1 Finnish, but who also said that she did not mind taking courses in English. In the example, the student talks about her difficulties of expressing herself in English.

(6.22)

IR: onks sulla sit ollu päinvastasia tilanteita joissa sä oot huomannu että että toinen ihminen ei ymmärrä mitä sä yrität it- itse sanoa

IE: joo näitähän riittää kyllä @@

IR: oisko sulla joku esimerkkitilanne

IE: er, no varmaan justiinsa siis tässä meidän <NAME OF STUDY EVENT> kurssilla kun keskusteltiin ryhmäläisten kanssa niin kyllä siellä (oli) monesti sellasia tilanteita että tuota minä yritän selittää jotain mitä varsinki semmosia jota ei ehkä itsekään pysty suomeks niin jotenkin niin selkeästi selittämään <IR> mhm-hm </IR> ja sitten englanniks on ehkä vielä sitten **vaikeempaa** <IR> mhm-hm </IR> varsinkin semmosten hyvin niinkun **abstraktien** asioiden selittäminen esimerkiks mä yritin selittää tätä et meillä oli tää dynaaminen suojelu <IR> mhm-hm </IR> niin sit mä yritin jotakin selittää et meidän pitää todella niinkun tehdä pesäeroa siihen kun mikä on normaalia suojelua ja dynaamista [suojelua] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> jotenkin sellasta kun ne on käytännössä samoja asioita mut se pitää jotenkin korostaa niitä <IR> joo </IR> eroja <IR> joo </IR> semmosten **abstraktien** asioitten selittäminen (on vähän)

IR: joo, miten sä yrität sitten selvitä siitä tilanteesta

IE: **selittää** vaan niin kauan että jotain ymmärtää <IR> joo </IR> sitten pitää ehkä joskus **jättää vaan hautumaan** ajatusta kanssa et <IR> joo </IR> antaa olla **ja sit** <IR> joo </IR> **joskus jatkaa**

IR: joo onks joskus sellasia sellasia tilanteita et sä mieluummin jätät ihan et sä et sano mitään tai että niin että jättää asian siihen

IE: joo joo sekin oli just se- semmonen tilanne et selitän tätä kaks kertaa kahtena eri päivänä ekana päivänä kun en osannut selittää ni sitten tokana päivänä jatkoin

IR: joo menikö se sitte läpi @@ tai et ymmärskö muut [(xx)]

IE: [joo sit mul oli niinkun] sit he he niinkun tekivät niinku sattumalta yks meidän jäsen teki vähän niinku mitä mä tarkotin ni sit mä sanoin et tätä mä niinku yritin [selittää et täs on tää pointti]

IR: [juu juu juu joo joo] ((...))

* * *

IR: conversely have you experienced situations where you would have noticed that the other person does not understand what you are trying to say

IE: yeah plenty of those @@

IR: can you think of an example situation

IE: er well in this our <NAME OF STUDY EVENT> when we discussed in the group there were a lot of such situations where I try to explain something especially things that you may not be able to explain so clearly in Finnish either <IR> mhm-hm </IR> and then in English it may be even **more difficult** <IR> mhm-hm </IR> especially with like explaining **abstract** things for instance I tried to explain that we had this dynamic conservation <IR> mhm-hm </IR> so I tried to explain something that we really need to make a distinction between what is normal conservation and what is dynamic [conservation] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> something like that because in practice they are the same but the differences need to be emphasised somehow <IR> yeah </IR> explaining such **abstract** things is a little

IR: yeah, how do you then try to cope with the situation

IE: just **explain** until something gets understood <IR> yeah </IR> then sometimes you may have to let your thoughts mature <IR> yeah </IR> **leave it at that** and then <IR> yeah </IR> **continue at some point**

IR: yeah are there situations where you would rather leav- that you don’t say anything or that well that you just leave it at that

IE: yeah yeah this situation was just like that that I explain the thing twice in two different days when I wasn't able to explain it on the first day I continued on the second

IR: yeah did it then go through @@ or did the others understand you [(xx)]

IE: [yeah then I had like] they as it happens one of our members did a bit like what I meant and so I said that this is what I tried to [explain that this is the point]

IR: [yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah] ((...))

(GG, S3: L1 Finnish)

The interviewee reports having experienced *plenty* of situations where she has noticed that others have not understood her, and in describing an example situation, she suggests that the reason might be the difficulty of expressing especially abstract ideas in English. The account thus shows that English was sometimes constructed as a hindrance to express one's thoughts. What is more, this was reported to lead to situations where things were left unsolved for the time being. In the example, insecurity of using English is constructed in relation to an L1: explaining abstract ideas is described as *more difficult* to do in English than in Finnish. Yet, we can see persistence on the part of the student who reports to *explain until something gets understood*. Thus, the account illustrates how agency is constructed despite the reported difficulties. What is more, the account does not take up correctness or refer to NSs of English, but rather describes challenges of using English and how they are overcome.

We can then conclude that, on the one hand, the students appear as supporters of correctness norms attached to ENL and that the accounts construct a repertoire of correctness of ENL. Insecurities of using English expressed in the interviews were for the most part constructed in relation to ENL and NSs of English as well as limitations of using an L2. Also, the accounts show that embarrassment of using English was related to students' constructions of the correctness of ENL. On the other hand, we could see how the student accounts constructed agency despite the reported difficulties with English. Despite the orientation to correctness of ENL, then, ELF reality was described to operate on different principles, and we could see a repertoire of normality of ELF emerging.

6.2.3 Summary: students' interpretative repertoires

The students interviewed for this study used English in lingua franca situations on a regular basis and could thus draw on their experiences of what ELF is like. The student accounts were found to construct three interpretative repertoires: (1) a repertoire of clarity and simplification, (2) a repertoire of correctness of ENL, and (3) a repertoire of normality of ELF. The first of these repertoires was built on descriptions of ELF as a simple, modified version of ENL. When the descriptions were considered from a normative perspective of how the students described they ought to use English, the repertoire of correctness of ENL was discerned. NSs of English were seen to possess the *real* English that was considered to be the best model for learning the language, and insecurities of using English were described in relation to ENL. The students thus reconstructed traditional assumptions of NS ownership of language (chapter 7), and relied on ENL norms. Interestingly, however, the student accounts showed that this kind of correctness was not conceptualised as an issue in ELF encounters, but rather the students reported that *mistakes* were not paid attention to (see Kalocsai 2009). This led to the separation of a third repertoire of normality of ELF, which was shown to work against the notions of correctness represented in the repertoire of correctness of ENL. The interpretative repertoires thus point towards a tension being created between the experiences students reported of ELF interaction and their notions of correctness. The accounts thus construct a difference between students' expectations of interaction (their reported experiences of ELF interaction) and their normative beliefs of language (their notions of correctness) – a distinction discussed in chapter 2. The distinction, then again, implies a separation of the scope of acceptability and the scope of correctness: ELF use is seen as acceptable but not correct, because correctness is attached to ENL.

We can thus conclude that the students resemble Jenkins' (2007) English instructors (see also section 6.4) in their reliance on the repertoire of correctness of ENL, but the use of the repertoires of clarity and simplification and normality of ELF demonstrate that the students can also be seen to take a similarly practical view on ELF as do the informants in, for instance Kalocsai (2009) and Smit (2010). The informants in these two studies were found to treat ELF as a tool that needs to be modified accordingly, much in the spirit of the repertoires of clarity and simplification, and normality of ELF. For instance, in Smit (2010: 138), students describe ELF as different from ENL, and the findings suggest that the informants attach different correctness norms to ELF as opposed to ENL. What the findings of this study show is that despite their practical approach to ELF, and the reported agency in their use of English (cf. Cameron 1995), the students also uphold assumptions of the primacy of ENL in constructing a repertoire of correctness of ENL. This was done even if what was described to work in ELF communication was in contrast with the attributes attached to ENL. This, in turn, created tensions between correctness norms constructed in the accounts and what was seen to matter in ELF communication.

6.3 Teacher and mentor interviews

This section focuses on the research interviews with the course teachers, the mentors of the guided group, and the teacher of the student group that worked on their presentation among themselves. The teachers of the teacher-led course were experienced users of English who had both taught in English for years, and who regularly conducted research in different parts of Asia and Africa. English was the primary language they reported to be using with their international colleagues and in their fieldwork. The third teacher was less experienced as a teacher, but had done fieldwork in Asia, communicating with the locals and her international colleagues via interpreters and by using English. The mentors were junior scolars, one just about to finish her master's, the other just about to defend her PhD. Both had conducted part of their studies in English, and the doctoral student had conducted her fieldwork in Africa, where she used English and French with the locals and her international colleagues. One of the teachers was bilingual in Swedish and Finnish, the rest NSs of Finnish. All the interviews were conducted in Finnish and the interview samples have been translated into English.[64] In the following, I refer to both the mentors and the teachers as teachers – unless it is deemed important to distinguish between the two.

The section first explores teachers' descriptions of ELF by focusing on the ways that the teachers describe students' as well as their own English. The analysis then looks into what the descriptions imply about acceptability and correctness in language use and the norms the teachers seem to orient to. This includes considering the teachers' perceptions of their role in intervening in the students' language use. The analysis focuses on the construction of interpretative repertoires in the accounts. I start by taking shorter examples from the data that illustrate the overall orientations of the teachers, but quickly move on to longer accounts where the complexities of the accounts can better be seen, and the interviewer's questions are made visible. In the analysis, I further discuss the development of the interviews during data collection in the light of differing question formulations.

[64] The original Finnish transcriptions of the examples can be found in appendix E.

6.3.1 The whole scale is in use: repertoire of variation

In their comments on students' language, the teachers tended to focus on students' command of English, which was construed as varying. Students' English was described with attributes such as 'unacceptably weak' as opposed to 'pretty good', and 'the whole scale' was seen to be in use. This is illustrated in the following short examples from the data (example 6.23):

(6.23)

(a) ((…)) I don't know whether you have noticed but my or probably you have noticed that some of the students here have **unacceptably weak** language skills ((…))

(TLC, T2)

(b) there was this one Spanish boy who had a pretty like a strong accent in his speech but when you concentrated a bit then you could make out what he wanted to say pretty well, then the others there had **pretty good** language skills

(GG, M2)

(c) ah well yes the linguistic abilities can be seen in that **the whole scale is in use** yes so that some well, er how should I put it that the abilities to use English are such that you should actually spend one winter in a language course before you attend a course because, at least judging by a person's written competence ((…))

(TLC, T1)

We can see that the short examples construct variation of language skills. In the first and third examples (6.23a and c) weak language skills are described as a problem (*unacceptably weak*, *should actually spend one winter in a language course*); whereas in example 6.23b, the teacher describes how she adapted her listening in the guided group to make sense of a difficult accent. We can see that language is reported to make a difference, and that the teachers express worry about the adequacy of students' language skills.

The variation constructed in the accounts was also reported to have consequences for teaching. Poor language skills were described as problematic for studying, and to cause more work for teachers, as seen in the following example (6.24). Most trouble was attached to written English.

(6.24) (expanded from Example 6.23a)

IE: ((…)) I don't know whether you have noticed but my or probably you have noticed that some of the students here have **unacceptably weak** language skills ((…))

IR: does it then cause practical problems that the language skills are [weak]

IE: [yes] <IR> [what kinds] </IR> [and we] don't have money perhaps the university might have like proof reading services but in practice I am the one who **corrects** the English in master's theses ((…))

(TLC, T2)

After the clarification question, the teacher draws attention to students' written English. It is reported that some students do not reach the linguistic standards expected of master's theses, and we can see that the teacher presents himself as a language authority who corrects the English in the theses[65] (see section 6.3.3). Weak language skills are thus constructed to cause more work for teachers. The focus on written English becomes apparent in the following example (6.25) as well.

(6.25) (expanded from Example 6.23c)

IR: does it also show like in these works that students do that

IE: ah well yes the linguistic abilities can be seen in that **the whole scale is in use** yes so that some well, er how should I put it that the abilities to use English are such that you should actually spend one winter in a language course before you attend a course because, at least judging by a person's written competence but there are different cultures so that or I have noticed that many who **manage pretty well** orally they then er in their own universities they may not have a similar tradition and then they simply **do not master** the language in a way that they could somehow logically er answer write an essay er so they are then, like constructions of en-dashes or similar from which how should I put it sometimes you have to **use a bit of imagination** to get the gist of it but **the**

[65] It should be noted, though, that the teacher who reported doing this also suggested that he is an exception and not all teachers are willing to proof-read the language of their students' theses. This is also the impression I got from the English instructor interviews (see section 6.3).

scale is wide of course and then many of for instance our sudanese exchange students there in two months you can already see **remarkable progress** so that when they come here, should I say well of course it's also a bit of shyness but they don't say much and their delivery feels a bit **inadequate** but then in two three months they can improve it a lot and that is of course positive from a teacher's perspective,

(TLC, T1)

The account constructs variation in language skills (*whole scale is in use, scale is wide*). Most trouble is constructed in relation to written English, although this is not treated simply as a question of language skills, but also of students' ability to write according to academic conventions. What is notable, though, is that the teacher reports to seek meaning even in those texts that may not fulfil the linguistic expectations (*use a bit of imagination to get the gist of it*). He also softens his statements about weak language skills by attributing some of the trouble to shyness, and by talking about the improvements he has seen in students' language skills (*remarkable progress*, *improve it a lot*). This implies that language is constructed to have instrumental value, that is, language form is not the focus of attention, but what the student is trying to say. Such a practical stance is what is reported in, for instance, Smit (2010), too.

Yet a third example (6.26) illustrates how most linguistic trouble was constructed in relation to written English, whereas spoken English was mainly described to be good enough.

(6.26)

IR: what about then do language skills you have for instance quite a lot of presentations in English and such so do language skills come up in these presentations

IE: no **the biggest worry is in wri- in writing** everyone can, present well and then some of the chinese have been odd cases freaks of nature, who in practice can't really communicate at all orally but they write perfect English so how's that possible, ((…))

(TLC, T2)

In the account, excluding some *freaks of nature*, students are described to have the biggest problems with writing in English (cf. section 6.3).

However, the teachers did report on effects of the differing command of English for the teaching situations, as well. What the teachers reported doing was to adapt to the situation, for instance, by explaining difficult words or repeating unclear topics. This is illustrated in examples 6.27 and 6.28.

(6.27)

IR: especially if we talk about discussions like in lectures or seminars what if in some situation you notice that a student just cannot understand what you are talking about what then

IE: well actually er, mhm in a single lecture or teaching situation you can't focus on it very long it actually the discussion then it ends there we have to go on now it is the topic can be **repeated a couple of times** and then well the student either understands or does not understand then you have to go on with the topic the presentation continues or the lecture continues or something like that in some cases then if the student returns to the topic after the lecture you can have a short discussion but there isn't often much more you can do

(TLC, T1)

In example 6.27, the teacher describes how time constraints in teaching situations limit the possibilities of solving non-understandings. Then again, we can also see that the teacher reports that an unclear topic can be *repeated*, which shows willingness to work out non-understandings within the suggested time constraints. In section 5.2.2, we saw how this worked in practice in the form of mediation. Similarly, in example 6.28, the focus is on solving non-understandings.

(6.28)

IR: yeah what about then in teaching situations when the groups can be very like heterogeneous and big so how does the communication does it cause problems

IE: er people do have the courage to ask nowadays if they don't understand that's the bright side and then you can see dictionaries rustling all the time when you are giving a lecture and when the noise gets really strong then I **explain the words separately** that we have just been talking about, and I use the blackboard a lot I write single words on the board <IRs> yeah </IRs> , we had in indonesia a field course and we examined the ecology of the leopard in in its natural environment that was fun but half a day we spent on practicing how to pronounce leopard I said it's leopard leopard and then everyone repeated in chorus leopard leopard leopard since the topic of the whole course was leopard and I thought it was **important they knew how to pronounce it [@(correctly)@** @@]

(TLC, T2)

We can see that the interviewer specifically asks about communication problems in teaching situations, and the teacher then reports to explain words that his students may not be familiar with and to intervene in students' pronunciation. This account illustrates the willingness of the teachers to take on the role of language expert (cf. chapter 5). In this account, pronunciation is judged to be very important in relation to a central term used in a course. The language expertise is thus primarily tied up with the interviewee's role as a teacher, and a professional in his field, although the linguistic authority is also constructed in the teacher's judgment of the students' level of English (e.g. *you can see dictionaries rustling*). The question of the teachers taking on the role of language expert is explored further later on in the analysis.

In all, we have seen that the teachers construed variation of students' language skills, and reported this to have consequences for their own work (e.g. correcting language in master's theses, explaining words). The repeated ways of speaking about variation construct an interpretative repertoire of variation, which builds on the descriptions of the (mainly) students' differing command of English. The talk about the consequences of the variation to the teachers further show that the teachers reported to be taking on the role of language expert. The analysis now turns to teachers' accounts of their own English, as well as English in more general.

6.3.2 It is the usable language anyway: repertoires of usability of ELF and richness of one's L1

When talking about their own language, the teachers reported that using English as a teaching language was natural for them – even if some insecurity was also expressed. The naturalness was constructed by drawing on the habit and need of using English when doing research anyway, whereas insecurities were described in relation to one's L1. Example 6.29 illustrates the construction of naturalness of using English.

(6.29)

IR: if you think about teaching on a more general level what is it like to teach in English,

IE: @@ I'm trying to think whether I have ever taught in another language than in English not really like a real student group I have taught something in Finnish (xx), I don't know I think it's in our field **very natural because everything is in English anyway** <IR> yeah </IR> so I don't don't many things for me would be much more difficult to teach in Finnish <IR> mhm-hm </IR> so I don't know if it would be maybe easier for undergraduate students to understand if it was in Finnish but

(GG, M1)

In the account, the teacher takes up the extensive use of English in her field, and reports that teaching in Finnish might be more difficult for her because she is so used to using English. In another account (example 6.30), similar issues were raised even if the interviewee said she would prefer to use Finnish.

(6.30)

IR-1: yes so about the course the <NAME OF COURSE> what was it like to teach it since it was like your first big or whole course that you coordinated and otherwise

IE: er well mhm I don't in general it's so that in general I don't like giving lectures that much well I don't know who necessarily would like it if you are not like used to doing it but then of course I do always think that to do it in English is like even a bit, that **I would rather talk in Finnish** <IR-2> ah </IR-2> if I had the choice of course <IR-1> yeah </IR-1> , then again the topics are such that you anyway go on and on about them in English all the concepts and things so, mhm **eventually so I don't know if it would make much of a difference** I mean in that sense

(SG, T3)

We can see in the account that despite her reported preference for Finnish, the teacher ends up suggesting that the language probably would not make much of a difference. However, the account does illustrate some unease in using English as opposed to one's L1. A similar comparison is given in the following example (6.31).

(6.31)

> ((…)) I do notice that even though I have taught in english for 15 20 years and in addition to that worked worked for almost 10 years abroad using mainly English (xx) there is still **a lot to learn** <IR-1> mhm </IR-1> so that I still have to because of my **inadequate** language skills to use <IR-2> mhm </IR-2> sometimes paraphrases and stuff like that <IR-2> mhm </IR-2> so that I can't reach the level of **accuracy** <IR-2> mhm </IR-2> that I could in my mother tongue but this is probably something that you **can't get rid of** <IR-2> mhm </IR-2> <P: 05>

(TLC, T1)

In the example, the teacher reports of his extensive experience in using English for different work-related purposes, but despite the experience, he describes his English as 'inadequate' and compares his English with his L1 Finnish. The distinction constructed here between L1s and L2s incorporates an assumption about the precision and flawlessness of using an L1, which manifests as reported limitations of using an L2 (see section 6.2). However, we can see that the teacher frames his insecurities as *something that you can't get rid of*, which constructs acceptance and also normality of the situation.

Teacher comments describing the use of ELF show that the teachers acknowledged the usefulness of a shared language, but also emphasised the need for other languages. The following examples (6.32–6.34) illustrate the construction of a shared interpretative repertoire irrespective of differing question formulations. The first example (6.32) describes ELF as a *common factor*.

(6.32)

IR: what about then english in general as a global language since your field is so international if there was no global language or a lingua franca it could make it more difficult

IE: well yeah it is something of a <SIGH> it is the **common factor** and then not everyone speaks it well at all and few as their mother tongue but it is the the usable language anyway but not the only on- in our fields then there are regions where you have to be able to speak something else as well Western Afri- the dry regions of Western Africa and some others as well you have to be able to speak French and in Latin America it would be pretty difficult without Spanish ((…))

(TLC, T1)

The interview question in example 6.32 includes the assumption that a global lingua franca automatically makes communication easier. The interviewee acknowledges the importance of a lingua franca (*common factor*), but implies that the situation is not as simple as it may seem: he takes up the variation in the command of English and also raises the importance of other languages. The account thus constructs the importance of English in a plurilingual framework, which seems to cast doubt on the interviewer's assumption.

Since the teachers represented fields where fieldwork is typically conducted outside Finland, and often in rural areas of, for instance, Asia and Africa, it is clear that English as the shared language of academia was not seen to be enough. This is further illustrated in example 6.33.

(6.33)

IR: well what do you think about the fact that English has become more and more common in these international programmes and as a teaching language

IE: we do need a **common language** there is no doubt about that but at the same time we have to remember and especially we do remind our students all the time that it is not enough <IR> mhm </IR> that you have to have one more strong international language ((…))

(TLC, T2)

As we can see, the interviewer asks about the teacher's views concerning the spread of English in international study programmes, rather than the use of a global language in the teacher's field (as in example 6.32). Still, we can see that the answer constructs similar views to example 6.32 concerning the need for a common language and the importance of being able to use other languages as well.

The following example (6.34) illustrates yet a different question formulation: the interviewer asks about the spread of English on a more general level.

(6.34)

IR: well if we move on a to a more general level then what do you think about English having spread so widely around the world

IE: . <CLEARS THROAT> well it is of course good in the sense that people have a **shared language** because it is like, terrible if you can't communicate but then of course it does probably affect the quality of the language <IR> mhm </IR> somehow <P: 06> that expressions and <IR> mhm </IR> and phrases and idioms and such from other languages get mixed up in it and then it anyway the output cannot be as rich as it can be in your mother tongue

IR: mhm-hm how would you justify your position

IE: . well it just feels like that you in your mother tongue you acquire the expressions easier and suck them from the environment <IR> mhm </IR> and then in a foreign language they somehow have to be learned separately <IR> mhm </IR> and maybe then if like the language use especially focuses a lot on like the substance and the topics <IR> mhm </IR> then it may not be like necessary <IR> mhm </IR> to be able to use such **different nuances and** <IR> yeah </IR> **colourfulness** <IR> yeah </IR> that you need in your mother tongue a language that is used <IR> yeah </IR> then at different points in your life

IR: yeah mhm ((…))

(GG, M2)

The account, again, constructs the usefulness and importance of a *shared language*, which means that this notion is shared by the teachers. Despite the different question formulations, the teachers described English similarly as a *common factor* (example 6.32), a *common language* (example 6.33) or a *shared language* (example 6.34). In addition, each teacher took a similar stand towards English: in example 6.32, it was seen as a usable language; in example 6.33, the teacher saw no doubt about the need for a common language; and in example 6.34, it was reported as important for communication. We can thus see that similar notions of language use were constructed in the accounts despite the different question formulations. This shows, then, that the accounts construct a shared repertoire of usability of ELF.

What is more, we can see that aspects of quality were raised in two of the examples: *not everyone speaks it well at all and few as their mother tongue* (example 6.32) and *does probably affect the quality of the language* (example 6.34). These accounts illustrate drawbacks of using a lingua franca. In example 6.34, the teacher constructs the assumption that expressing oneself in an L1 is always richer than expressing oneself in an L2 (see also example 6.31). When asked to elaborate, the interviewee reported that when the focus is on substance, there may not be a need for all possible nuances in a lingua franca. This reflects the practical stance of the teachers towards English as the shared language: even if the teachers expressed some insecurity in using the language (e.g. example 6.31), and the variation in the students' command of English was seen to cause some difficulties in lingua franca encounters (e.g. examples 6.24 and 6.28), English was still seen as the *usable language*. English (or ELF) was constructed as common property, shared, a language that cuts across borders (examples 6.32–6.34). These repeated ways of talking about English thus construct a repertoire of usability of ELF. Simultaneously, though, L1s were connected with subtlety and richness of expression (as shown in examples 6.31, 6.32 and 6.34), which means that the repertoire of usability of ELF appears to operate alongside a repertoire of richness of one's L1.

We have now discerned three interpretative repertoires from the teachers' descriptions of English (including their descriptions of students' and their own English): (1) a repertoire of variation, (2) a repertoire of usability of ELF, and (3) a repertoire of richness of one's L1. In the following section, the focus turns to accounts that can tell us about the teachers' perspectives on how English ought to be used.

6.3.3 I'm sure I would have understood her: repertoire of adequacy

The interpretative repertoire of variation illustrated that, on the one hand, even if students' language was construed to sometimes cause difficulties in understanding, the teachers reports showed a focus on deciphering meanings (e.g. example 6.25: *sometimes you have to use a bit of imagination to get the gist of it*). On the other hand, importance of fixing the language was constructed (example 6.24: *in practice I am the one who corrects the English in master's theses*). In the following, I consider this tension in more detail by exploring the data with a focus on accounts that shed light on the teachers' views on how English should be used.

The following three examples (6.35–6.37) illustrate how language makes a difference for the teachers when intelligibility is at stake. The teachers talk from different positions: as an examiner who has evaluated students' exams (example 6.35), as an examiner who has read students' essays (example 6.36), and as a course teacher (example 6.37). In the first of these examples the interviewee talks about a student who in an exam situation used the last minutes of the exam time for fixing her language.

(6.35)

> ((…)) the <NAME> was funny she only two were left in the exam and she was poor thing still like **correcting** grammar mistakes [@there@] <IR> [oh yeah @@] </IR> @and spelling mistakes@ with correction fluid I thought that oh no I'm sure I would have understood her quite well **without the corrections** @@

(SG, T3)

In the account, inaccuracies of grammar and spelling are construed as *not* to hinder understanding, and they are thus seen as unimportant. Incorrectness of language is reportedly not an issue in evaluating exams. The following account (example 6.36), then again, shows that language is reported to matter in essay writing.

(6.36)

> ((…)) now yes actually in this same course I gave one lecture and then students wrote essays based on it so when evaluating the essays <IR> yeah </IR> I also stressed the English language so that if it was something that you just **can't understand** you couldn't get much of a grade from the essay either

(GG, M1)

In the account, language is reported to influence the evaluation of essays if it hinders intellibility. The focus, thus, is not on incorrectness of surface elements. Rather, language is constructed to make a difference, but only linguistic trouble that hinders understandability is considered crucial. Similar implications can be seen in the following example (6.37), where the focus is on intervening with students' pronunciation during teaching.

(6.37) (continuation of example 6.28)

IR: do you then otherwise intervene in the pronunciation during class [xx]

IE: [if] it yes if it makes you think of a wrong word and then if a very central word that is always pronounced wrong word stress or some. vowel quality or other then I do intervene in it if it's badly **against the language**, ((…))

(TLC, T2)

Two aspects come up in this account: pronunciation is reportedly corrected (1) when it is seen to interfere with meaning, which reflects the correcting practices reported in examples 6.35 and 6.36, and (2) when the pronunciation of a key word is seen to be *wrong* and *badly against the language*. The latter description shows that understandability is not the only reason given for intervening in students' language, but that there are (unspecified) language standards (*against the language*) that are drawn on when evaluating the acceptability of students' language.

In all, we can see that the teachers report to be taking on the role of language experts, and thus do not orient to an anything-goes-policy, where any kind of usage would be accepted; and that the teachers mainly explain interventions in relation to understandability. That some implied standards are considered important, although not necessarily possible to follow, is illustrated in the following example (6.38). The interviewee has just told the interviewers about a colleague who has trouble speaking in English.

(6.38)

IR-1: how do you then act in this kind of situation where you talk to him and

IE: oh I have learned <IR-1> [@eh@ yes] </IR> [just like I had] a half deaf grandmother with whom I was one of the very best friends because no one else could really communicate with her and you had to develop like a new language to talk with her I have learned I mean Thai English Chinese English, and Indian English these variants I think I master pretty well and can understand,

IR-2: does communication in these kinds of situations then require you to change your own language that in a way

IE: yes especially if and yes there is also this that the Chinese person does not understand what I say and it has to be changed to this kind of **simple language** in speech or use **Chinese grammar** in the English language <IR-1> (ah) @@ </IR-1> before he understands it can sometimes feel a bit funny the same with Thai people er well it easily ends up like this although a teacher should be **accurate** and talk **real** language and not give in but if it's colleagues you're talking with not a teaching situation then this is a faster route then

IRs: yeah

(TLC, T2)

In the account, the teacher describes that he has learned to adapt his language, and then explains how he adapts his English depending on his interlocutors (*simple language in speech*, *use Chinese grammar in English*). Interestingly, though, he differentiates between teaching contexts and communication with colleagues, and reports that, with colleagues, it is alright to use the faster route of adapting language as much as needed, whereas in teaching situations, it would be important to use *real language*. Real language is here connected to accuracy and constrasted with using *simple language in speech*, which has certain similarities with the student accounts, where attributes such as 'real' and 'proper' were attached to ENL and 'simple' to ELF (section 6.1). In this account, though, no explicit comparison of ENL and ELF is made. Rather, the formulation that *a teacher* should use real language implies that teachers should show good example for students as language users, and this means orienting to some implied language standards.

Based on experiences of previous interviews where the interviewees gave sporadic accounts of intervening in students' language, the two mentors were directly asked about the intervening in teaching situations. Both of them reported that it is easier and more important to intervene in written than spoken language, and correctness was mainly constructed as important in relation to written English. Example 6.39 illustrates the views.

(6.39)[66]

IR: when would you say that you should intervene in a student's language use or is there any reason to intervene, in like a teaching situation <P: 08>

IE: well it is of course a bit tricky the question in a way that if you for instance notice some like mistakes in speech and then you start correcting them it can affect how eagerly the student then uses the language when the purpose is that we have a shared language and that we can understand each other and then if or then it is more important that you **express yourself** in the first place rather than how **correct** it is, but then again it is also very unfortunate if they if the mistakes are not corrected like for instance in this discussion group had we not corrected mistakes in the presentation slides then they would have ended up in a very **awkward situation** then in the presentation situation or an unfortunate situation and then as a mentor it would have been really unfortunate had we not told them but it is somehow I haven't thought about this much so it's difficult to give a precise and self-explanatory answer

IR: if you then think about spoken and written language do you think there is a difference in mhm intervening in the language

IE: well somehow it is maybe **easier and more important to intervene in written text** so that in spoken it is not that in my opinion relevant whether all the things word order and inflections and small words are in place but then in written they remain there and there is like time to put them in place so then if

[66] The extensive back channelling of the interviewer has been removed from the translation for readability. The same has also been done for examples 6.40, 6.45 and 6.48.

you like correct or evaluate texts it would be good to correct also the language mistakes there

(GG, M2)

In the account, the teacher takes up the difficulty of balancing between the purpose of achieving mutual understanding through using *a shared language*, and the potential embarrassment of mistakes. The interviewer's follow-up question inquires about the possible difference between speech and writing, and the interviewee then gives correctness more emphasis in terms of writing. We can see that written texts are described as more permanent (*remain there*) than speech, and that intervening in the language of written texts is construed as easier and more relevant. As in the previous examples, the standards described for correcting English remain unspecified, although such surface elements as *word order*, *inflections* and *small words* are mentioned to be important when focusing on writing. In all, we can see that the scope of acceptability is constructed to be wider for spoken than written English. In the case of written English, meeting (external) expectations appear to play a role: in the account, the teacher refers to the presentation situation of the group she co-mentored, and the potential embarrassment the students could have faced if their language mistakes in the slides had not been corrected. The importance of correcting is thus not connected to intelligibility alone, but also to meeting expected external criteria of acceptable usage. And these are construed as different for spoken and written English. The construction of the difference between speech and writing is further illustrated in the following example (6.40).

(6.40)

IR: is there a difference if it is about spoken or written English

IE: yes it is somehow maybe easier for me to comment on written english and I have with my colleague who also just defended her thesis that we've read each other's texts a lot so I have marked lots of things in her texts that to me sound wrong even if I am not sure **whether my assumption is correct** either but everything that looks like or sounds wrong I have marked

(GG, M1)

The account again shows how the teachers reportedly relied on their own notions of what is correct English. In example 6.40, the teacher reports doing corrections according to her own intuition irrespective of whether the intuition is correct according to some external standards. Taken together with earlier examples (e.g. 6.24 and 6.37) that displayed similar reliance on one's own notions of correctness, this shows that the teachers constructed willingness to take on the role of experts in English – even though they were not NSs of English or language professionals. The accounts thus resemble the findings of the study event interactions where teachers were found to take on the role of language experts (chapter 5).

In all, two aspects link the teachers' accounts together to form a repertoire of adequacy: (1) that judgments were made on the acceptability of students' English based on the purpose of use, and (2) that the teachers reported to draw on their own, internalised notions of correctness. Intervention was construed as acceptable and justified if intelligibility was seen to be at stake or if the language was deemed inaccurate for the mode and purpose of use (especially speech vs. writing). In the accounts, no specific norms of language were drawn on: in contrast to the students' accounts, NSs of English and ENL did not come up. Rather, correcting was attached to intelligibility and purpose of use, and the teachers reported to be doing corrections themselves. For speech, intelligibility was constructed as crucial, whereas for writing, correctness in relation to expected external criteria could be seen to play a role, as well. For instance, presentation slides were taken as an example of a text that may have to function in a different context than the study event, in which case uncorrected mistakes were seen as a potential source of embarrassment. This implies that criteria expected to be used in the new context may influence judgments of acceptability.

6.3.4 Summary: teachers' interpretative repertoires

In the analysis of the teacher interviews, I focused on the teachers' accounts of English and how it should be used. I explored the teachers' descriptions of students' language use, their experiences as users of ELF (especially in their role as teachers), and their stance towards intervening in students' language. The accounts were found to construct the following four interpretative repertoires: (1) a repertoire of variation, (2) a repertoire of usability of ELF, (3) a repertoire of richness of one's L1 and (4) a repertoire of adequacy. The first three of these repertoires represent different ways of talking about English, and they tell us about the teachers' views concerning what ELF is like. The repertoire of variation was constructed in the teachers' descriptions of the variation in students' English skills, that is, when talking about students' English, the teachers used the repertoire of variation. The usability repertoire portrays how English (or ELF) was seen as a shared language, a natural resource to be used for international communication. It reflects the teachers' practical stance towards English as a shared language – supporting earlier findings of ELF users' views (e.g. Ehrenreich 2009; Smit 2010). Alongside this practicality, a repertoire of richness of one's L1 was constructed, which connected L1s with subtlety and richness of expression. This repertoire was used when contrasting ELF or one's own use of English with L1 use. In all, the accounts did not build ENL as the real and proper English, as was the case with the student accounts, but rather ELF was constructed as a useful and necessary tool that may not need all the *different nuances* typical of L1s.

The fourth repertoire of adequacy builds on teachers' descriptions of how English should be used. Viewed from a normative perspective of when intervention to students' language use was seen to be in order, the accounts illustrated that the teachers tended to take on the role of language experts, and to make judgements about the acceptability of students' English based on its intelligibility and purpose of use. A tendency to expect more accuracy from written English was detected. These accounts constructed a repertoire of adequacy. The accounts imply agency of the teachers as language experts, and thus come to question NS ownership of English (chapter 7) as well as the primacy of ENL norms.

6.4 English instructor views

English instructors represent institutional language regulation. Because English instructors exert an influence on students' (and teachers') language by providing support in English at the university, I have included an analysis of their views in this study. However, the section is shorter than the ones dealing with students' and teachers' views, because it is less central to my research questions concerning the regulation done in ELF settings by actual users of ELF. In addition, English instructor views have already been studied a lot more than student and teacher views (e.g. Jenkins 2007; Ranta 2010). We can thus benefit from the work already done, and rather than repeat what has already been done, focus our attention to exploring new directions.

All of the English instructors I interviewed had experience of teaching courses in English (including academic writing) to international student groups (the experience ranging from a couple of years to a decade or two) and all had also trained staff. Two of the instructors were NSs of English; one was a NS of Finnish.[67] One of the interviewed instructors attended the guided group's meetings on two short occasions, and his role as language expert was analysed in chapter 5 (see also chapter 7). He is one of the instructors at the Helsinki University Language Centre who works specifically for English-medium master's programmes. In this section, I analyse this instructor's views along with those of the two other instructors (interviewed to balance the sample) by focusing on two guiding questions:

(1) In what ways do the English instructors describe students' English?
(2) What kind of English do they report to be teaching?

The first question sheds light on the instructor views concerning the English of their students (section 6.4.1), and the second question focuses on the ways the instructors describe the English they are teaching to these students (section 6.4.2). I consider the accounts in relation to the norms the English instructors seem to adhere to. In the final summary of this chapter (section 6.5), I compare the findings to the repertoire analyses of the student and teacher interviews. The analysis aims to shed light on the complexities of language regulation in the international university. Due to the small amount of data, I have not analysed the interviews for interpretative repertoires.

6.4.1 Descriptions of students' English

All three English instructors described their students' English as varying: students' English skills were seen as *amazingly heterogeneous* and *so varied*, although generally speaking, students' English was considered good. To take a closer look at the instructors' views, let us look at examples 6.41 and 6.42. Example 6.41 is a response to the interviewer's request to describe students' English.

(6.41)

er i don't think there's any simple answer to that really because it's **it's @so varied really@** erm if i had to describe the kind of english they use erm i think for the most parts for most students that i've taught [in finland] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> kind of university students <IR> mhm-hm </IR> er they tend to produce pretty

[67] The original Finnish transcriptions of the examples from the Finnish speaking instructor can be found in appendix E.

pretty understandable @fluent@ english er it may not always be super formal it may not always be particularly well organised <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> [like in] a presentation or in a an essay [or] <IR> [mhm] </IR> a summary on a text <IR> mhm-hm </IR> i- there might be problems there but erm it tends to be pretty good in that [that sense] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> i mean that that it's **you can understand @what the- what they're saying@ so i think** <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> **[that's] good language** [(yeah)] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> er tends to be quite informal <IR> mhm </IR> a lot of the time erm ((…))

(E3)

In this account, the instructor describes the English used by students to be for the most parts *pretty understandable*, and this understandability is constructed as the main criterion for good language. What is more, the instructor attributes 'problems' to the level of formality of students' English and the organisation of presentations and texts. This focus on understandability is also constructed in example 6.42, where an instructor talks about texts written by students.

(6.42)

((…)) but **it varies a lot** <IR> mhm-hm mhm-hm </IR> and I think there are some who produce very, good text not perfect at all it's not like there wouldn't be anything to change but the kind of text that clearly **conveys the message** text that is structurally easy <IR> [mhm] </IR> [and] readable <IR> [mhm] </IR> [and] the small problems that remain do not matter, ((…))

(E2)

The instructor reports of variation in students' English, and similarly to example 6.41, where the instructor constructs understandability as the criterion for good language, this account constructs good texts as texts that can clearly convey the intended message. Both of the examples (6.41 and 6.42), then, emphasise communicative appropriacy over accuracy. The difficulty of balancing between the two, however, becomes apparent in the instructors' comments dealing with the kind of English they (want to) teach (section 6.4.2).

The instructors attributed most trouble to written English, as illustrated in example 6.43, and more formal speech (see example 6.41).

(6.43)

> ((…)) certainly students tend to be stronger speakers <IR> mhm </IR> and stronger readers than stronger writers <IR> mhm-hm </IR> erm **writing tends to be a bit weaker** <IR> mhm-hm </IR> you know kind of the(ir) i mean basic grammar and vocabulary in writing and especially you know being exact and specific and <IR> mhm-hm </IR> being precise and erm that tends to be a bit weaker er kind of how how your writing is organised ((…))
>
> (E3)

The English instructors' conceptions of students' English thus correspond to those of the teachers, who similarly described students' English as varying, and saw writing as the main problem (section 6.3.1, repertoire of variation). In example 6.43, the instructor describes some of the problem areas in student writing, and now that the perspective is on comparing different aspects of students' English skills, we begin to see how communicative appropriacy ties in with questions of accuracy (*basic grammar and vocabulary*, *being exact and specific and being precise*).

6.4.2 What kind of English to teach

As professional language instructors, the English instructors deal with questions of how to *improve* students' English, and speficially how to improve students' use of English for academic purposes. Their starting point thus differs from that of the students and teachers in EMI, who mainly use English as a tool for communication (even if we have seen in chapter 5 and in sections 6.2 and 6.3 that to some extent correctness and improving one's language does play a role for them as well), and from that of an ELF researcher, who focuses on how English is used for communication.

The three instructors approached the question of improving students' use of English in different ways, and the norms they constructed as relevant varied. All three instructors were to some extent familiar with ELF research, and they reported ELF findings to be relevant for their own teaching.[68] Specifically, it appears that seeing EMI as ELF use influences the instructors' approach to teaching. This is most evident in E3's comment (example 6.44):

[68] That the instructors knew that I conduct research on ELF may have factored in, but at least E1 and E2 had also attended one or more international ELF conferences arranged yearly since 2008.

(6.44)

> erm yeah definitely erm i think as a native speaker you have to be aware that (you know what) the content of what you teach should be relevant to the way that the students are going to use it erm (i mi-) i don't know so much about you know kind of lingua franca <IR> mhm </IR> theories of [of teaching] <IR> [mhm] </IR> i've i've read bits <IR> mhm </IR> but for me it makes an awful lot of sense <IR> [mhm] </IR> [i mean] to concentrate on aspects of the english language in y- in the classroom <IR> mhm-hm </IR> that will **aid international understanding** <IR> mhm </IR> erm that seems like perfect sense [to me] <IR> [mhm] </IR> instead of you know teaching the th sound [@which i probably can't even make naturally myself 'cause i'm <NATIONALITY>@] <IR> [@@] </IR> erm you know instead of spending time on that that you work on you know okay pronouncing vowel sounds correctly 'cause they're gonna [affect] <IR> [mhm] </IR> understanding in a <IR> mhm </IR> much greater fashion so <IR> [mhm] </IR> [yeah] absolutely i think ((…))

(E3)

We can see that *international understanding* is what the instructor reports to guide his teaching. The account also shows that the instructor reports ELF findings to guide his decisions of what to focus on in his teaching. However, the difficulty of balancing between the emphasis on communicative appropriacy in international settings and thus English used as a lingua franca, and traditional notions of correctness based on ENL becomes evident in the following comments, where the two other instructors construct the idea of lowering standards for English (cf. Jenkins 2007).

First, in example 6.45, E2 describes the kind of language she wants to teach.

(6.45)

> ((…)) the kind of language in this case English that **can convey a message** it doesn't matter whether it uses British or American English writing conventions and then I think that each field or each subject have their own conventions and these would then be the conventions that a student ideally would learn I have in a way now **given in** that I can very well see that the kind of **completely flawless** the kind of language that language teachers have traditionally reacted to if there is a mistake that kind of language it's **probably impossible to require** in these situations where people use another language than their mother tongue ((…)) I would say that ideally if we think about the Common European Framework of Reference the texts would

be at least B2 level or preferably of course C2 level but few probably reach that level so B2 C1 those are the kinds of levels where **the message is conveyed** to the reader but, what kind of language as good as possible of course but good means for instance that if there are some surface level errors they are not they are disturbing but they are not as bad as a very difficult structure or that there is no cohesion in the text or that the argument is lost in the text so these kinds of what should I call them upper level things are in many ways more important than the lower level things which are of course also important of course they are important too, this is my view we have of course ((…))

(E2)

In the account, E2 emphasises the importance of conveying the intended message, similarly to her description of the kind of language the students use (example 6.42), but at the same time we can see that the focus on teaching English that can convey a message is seen as relaxing traditional correctness notions. The formulation *given in* and the reference to the language skill levels of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) suggest that this kind of correctness is still seen to be ideal, even if correctness in the traditional sense (*completely flawless*) is described as a probably impossible objective. We can thus detect the idea of lowering the standards for English in the account: the instructor constructs good language in relation to the ability to convey a message, but 'good' is not necessarily 'correct'.

Second, the comments of E1 construct NSs as the model language users. In example 6.46 we can see how E1 describes students' English as *lingua franca English*.

(6.46)

((..)) if you go around and listen i- i- **they they <I.E. STUDENTS> are using lingua franca english** it's i- it's a real mishmash of of [language] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> it's sometimes er pretty accurate sometimes er they're using loanwords they are maybe directly translating from their mother tongue so i think E-L-F is is what goes on amongst the students in a classroom **but as a native speaker** it's difficult for me to, or would i even want to to modify the way i speak directly <IR> mhm-hm </IR> i might modify the way i explain things if er students have difficulty understanding a particular concept or idea i might find an alternative approach <IR> mhm-hm </IR> but i wouldn't necessarily call that using E-L-F <IR> mhm-hm </IR> er, er. ((…))

(E1)

In the example, E1 portrays students' English as a *real mishmash of language*, and he interprets ELF as such language use from which he clearly distances himself (*as a native speaker*). The way ELF is constructed in this example, then, differs from the approach taken in this study and in ELF research more generally. In the example, the instructor appears to rely on the purity of native language use as opposed to the mishmash of lingua franca use. Considering that at one point in the interview E1 also reported to "have [his] own native speaker norms", we can understand the importance of the division constructed between NSs and NNSs. The following example (6.47) further illustrates that this division is related to E1's understanding of lowering standards for English.

(6.47)

er at first my my feeling was erm you know of course a a master's thesis is a kind of publication er it's available to others to read from outside and it's a reflection of the university if the l- language is good as well as the content er but i could also see the point of view <IR> [mhm] </R> [of] er others who felt that maybe **there wasn't the time or the resources** to put into making it **perfect english** er so maybe we should focus not on language <IR> [mhm] </R> [but] on perhaps the content and how that is presented so maybe my first kind of scepticism about this has has relaxed a little bit <IR> [@@] </IR> [@and now@] i i can @@ i can see why er maybe the **standards for [language]** <IR> [mhm] </IR> **have to be a little bit lower for [English]** <IR> [mhm] yeah </IR> but i think ((…))

(E1)

In the example, we can see E1 taking up the matter of lowering standards for the English used in master's theses. Considered in the light of the previous example (6.46), the account can be seen to incorporate an understanding of ENL as the highest standard (*perfect English*), and the lowering of the standard for practical reasons (*there wasn't the time or the resources*, cf. example 6.45).

E2's following comment, though, puts the lowering of the standards for English into perspective by taking up the language in master's theses written by Finns in Finnish (example 6.48):

(6.48) (continuation of example 6.45)

((…)) if we wanted to produce like **top texts written by a top native speaker** this is something I suppose we cannot reach that often but if we look at master's theses written in Finnish I doubt that all of them are written in top Finnish either

(E2)

In this account, the instructor places *top texts written by top native speakers* the highest. While this implies that NSs of a language are seen as potentially the best users of the language, it also questions the homogeneity of NS communities: not everyone uses (writes in) their first language equally well.

What becomes evident in the above examples as a whole is that even if all the instructors construct communicative appropriacy as the main guiding principle of English teaching in the ELF context, particularly in the comments of E1 and also those of E2, the increased use of English in academia and the variation in students' English is interpreted to require the lowering of the standards for English. And in this perspective, ENL is seen as the highest form of English, and particularly in E1's case, NSs as the model users of English.

6.4.3 Summary: English instructor views

I have considered the English instructor interviews by looking into the instructors' descriptions of students' English and the kind of English they (want to) teach to their students. The instructors were found to describe students' English skills as varied, which is in line with the teacher accounts (section 6.3.1, repertoire of variation). They gave communicative appropriacy as the main criterion when describing good language and good texts, but at the same time they also constructed this to mean the lowering of the standards for English. It appears, then, that for accuracy, the instructors constructed reliance on ENL norms and to some extent also reliance on NSs of English as model users of the language. Similar findings concerning the idea of lowering the standards for English have been reported, for instance, in Jenkins (2007), who discusses English instructors' attitudes towards ELF. Jenkins (2007: 141) reports that the instructors in her study tended to be "reluctant […] to disassociate notions of correctness from 'nativeness' and to assess intelligibility and acceptability from anything but a NS standpoint". My findings similarly show that the instructors connect correctness to 'nativeness', and this appears to have consequences for the way the instructors interpret the focus on communicative appropriacy as the lowering of the standards for English. However, the instructors also construct international understanding as the guiding principle for assessing intelligibility and acceptability (see example 6.44), which implies a somewhat reduced importance of the NS standpoint.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has focused on the interviews conducted with students and the teachers who attended the study events explored in chapter 5. All the informants had experience of using English in lingua franca settings and they were all actively involved with ELF in their ongoing studies or teaching work. This means that the informants were not forced to rely on their assumptions of such interaction, but rather they could draw on their familiarity of ELF encounters to talk about their views. The analysis set out to explore the schematic aspects of language regulation by considering the construction of interpretative repertoires. This was done with the help of guiding questions focusing on informant descriptions of English and their notions of how it ought to be used.

The interpretative repertoires constructed in the student accounts revealed a tension between ideas of the primacy of ENL and what was seen to matter in ELF interaction. On the one hand, the students constructed a repertoire of correctness of ENL, which places NSs of English as linguistic authorities (cf. chapter 5 and 7). The students reported insecurity of using English, which could be seen to stem from the discrepancy between their notions of correctness as suggested by the repertoire of correctness of ENL and their impressions of not reaching these expectations. On the other hand, the repertoires of clarity and simplification, and normality of ELF were built on descriptions of ELF as a modified version of ENL, in which mistakes were not paid attention to (cf. Kalocsai 2009). This shows that the constructed ideals of language use and students' reported experiences of ELF interaction did not meet in the student accounts. The student accounts thus illustrate how beliefs of language (the constructed ideals) can be different from expectations of interaction (the reported experiences of ELF), as discussed in chapter 2. What this means in terms of the schematic aspects of language regulation is instability of regulatory notions. The students drew on deep-rooted notions of L1 versus L2 use and attached correctness to ENL, but the repertoire of normality of ELF showed that what was described to work in ELF encounters was in contrast with the constructed ideals. The students' regulatory notions can thus be seen to follow two different paths:

one based on a traditional understanding of the primacy of L1 use and another one based on real-life experiences (see chapter 7).

The findings of the teacher interviews resemble the student accounts on a certain level only. The repertoires of variation and usability of ELF show that the teachers used similar ways of constructing ELF reality. For instance, English skills were taken up as the main reason for modifying one's language, which was also raised in the student accounts. We could also see in the repertoire of richness of one's L1 that teachers, too, constructed a difference between L1s and L2s. But this is where the similarities end. As to accounts of how English ought to be used, instead of the two contradictory repertoires of correctness of ENL and normality of ELF constructed in the student accounts, the teacher accounts formed a repertoire of adequacy. The teachers reported to intervene in students' language, and these reports in turn show that the teachers relied on internalised notions of correctness, and did not report to assign the role of language expert to someone else or other instances. This implies agency of the teachers as language regulators (cf. chapter 5), and the questioning of NS ownership of English (see Widdowson 1994; see also chapter 7). Language judgments were reportedly made based on intelligibility and what was considered acceptable for the purpose of use. The accounts show that intervention in students' language was reportedly done mainly to ensure mutual understanding, but also to ensure that texts meet some unspecified external standards – and that these different purposes may require the teachers to draw on different kinds of notions of correctness. However, even if the teachers constructed notions of L1 versus L2 use, they did not draw on the primacy of ENL as the students did. Instead, as shown by the repertoire of usability of ELF, all the intricacies of an L1 were not considered necessary for ELF use. The analysis of the teacher interviews, then, shows that the teachers' accounts are based on different schematic aspects of language regulation than the students'. Their regulatory notions are rooted in practical judgements of adequacy (see chapter 7).

The English instructors approach language from the perspective of *improving* students' English skills (often in terms of writing), and they thus have different starting points compared to the students and teachers. Compared to the repertoire analyses above, the instructors' descriptions of students' English as varied resembled those of the teachers who constructed the repertoire of variation (section 6.3.1). If we then look at the descriptions of the kind of English the instructors reportedly (want to) teach, and compare them to the student and teacher repertoires concerning how English should be used, we can clearly see the difference in perspective. The instructors reported communicative appropriacy to be the main criterion for good language and for good texts, but the ELF use in academia and the reported variation in students' English were constructed to entail the lowering of the standards for English (cf. Jenkins 2007). On the one hand, then, the instructor views resemble the teachers' repertoire of adequacy and the students' repertoire of normality of ELF in that intelligibility is reported as the main criterion. On the other hand, however, the instructor views are closer to the students' repertoire of correctness of ENL, as they talk about the lowering of the standards for English. The question of improving students' English appears to result in a balancing act between acceptability (communicative appropriacy, conveying a message) and correctness (in relation to ENL norms and standards, *my own native speaker norms*), and how to combine the two. Because correctness was largely constructed in relation to ENL norms, acceptability was to a large extent constructed to lower the standards for English. However, one of the instructors (E3, see example 6.44) reported that he uses ELF research findings to focus his teaching on aspects of English that are relevant for international communication. This appears to bring acceptability and correctness closer together in that the focus is on the correctness of those aspects of English that matter for successful ELF communication.

The following chapter 7 brings together the findings from the analysis of language regulation in the study events (chapter 5) and the analysis of the research interviews (this chapter). The findings are explored in the light of wider discussions about language regulation and ELF in an analysis based on tertia comparationis found in the study event and interview analyses.

7 Comparisons: the construction of living norms

The analysis of language regulatory practices in chapter 5 moved on the micro level of ELF interaction, and also the interview analysis of chapter 6 focused on the micro-level construction of interpretative repertoires in the interview accounts. In this chapter, I explore the findings in relation to the ideologies of language maintenance and NS ownership of English. The chapter has two main foci. On the one hand, it functions as a comparative analysis, and aims to shed light on the interplay of the interactional and ideological dimensions of language regulation. This is done by considering the reproduced and emergent, as well as schematic aspects of practice in the analyses of the regulatory practices and the repertoires. On the other hand, I discuss the findings in the light of the construction of living norms, that is, norms constructed as relevant in the study events. The chapter thus not only functions as a comparative analysis, but also as a discussion that brings together the findings of this study. It moves from the micro level of chapters 5 and 6 to a more macro level.

In the comparative analysis, I compare the findings of the study event and repertoire analyses (chapters 5 and 6) to two macro-level ideologies: the ideology of language maintenance and the ideology of NS ownership. The two ideologies relate to common qualities, or "organising patterns" (Sørensen 2010: 56–57) that cut across the previous analyses, and that function as the tertia comparationis in the comparative analysis of the two regulatory dimensions (see chapter 4). Importantly, the tertia comparationis have been formulated as a result of the analyses, rather than prior to them, in the spirit of what Sørensen (2010) calls "multi-sited comparison" as a new method to be used in multi-sited ethnographies. I have focused on one field site only, but from two different analytical dimensions, and I have thus sought for the organising patterns in the study event and repertoire analyses.

In the analyses two questions appear pivotal for both of the analytical dimensions: (a) who regulates or can regulate language, and (b) what regulatory notions speakers construct (i.e. when to intervene in language and what norms or standards to draw on). In the analysis of the regulatory practices, we could see different language expert roles in action, which highlights the question of who regulates language in ELF; and the division of the scope of correctness and the scope of acceptability brings forth the question of regulatory notions. In the repertoire analysis, then again, the questions receive prominence in that the student and teacher repertoires construct different expert roles and also regulatory notions. The two questions, then, function as the "organising patterns" that cut across the analytical dimensions thus making the two comparable. What I have done, however, is to further link these patterns to macro-level language-regulatory ideologies of language maintenance and NS ownership – both ideologies relevant for ELF (see e.g. Haberland 2011; Seidlhofer 2011).[69] In the comparative analysis, then, I consider the findings in relation to these ideologies (see section 7.1).

The decision to use tertia compartionis is grounded in the theoretical discussion about emergent and schematic aspects of language regulation and their complementariness (chapter 2). There is no reason to expect a causal relation between the regulatory practices in the study event interaction and the views expressed in the interviews, and a direct comparison of the findings would run the risk of using one type of findings to explain the other type. An analysis based on tertia comparationis is a solution to this dilemma. By comparing regulatory practices and the repertoires to the ideologies, I can illustrate differences and similarities between the two without directly comparing one to the other. What is more, it brings forth the different aspects of language regulation highlighted in the different data, and the value of combining analysis of the ELF interaction with the research interviews. The introduction of the macro-level ideologies is important for the purpose of taking the analysis to a new level. Through the introduction of a macro-level element into the analysis, I can bring the question of constructing living norms in ELF interaction to a more general level of discussion. This is important considering the bottom-up approaches of chapters 5 and 6.

The macro-level ideologies used in the comparive analysis are introduced in section 7.1. This is followed by the actual comparing in sections 7.2 and 7.3. The comparative sections focus on the study event interactions and the ELF users (i.e. the students' and teachers') interpretative repertoires. In section 7.4, I turn to the construction of living norms in the study events. In this section, I also briefly take up the English instructor views in order to consider how the views position in relation to the ideologies, and ultimately the norm construction processes in the EMI setting.

7.1 Ideologies for comparison

Let us start by considering in what ways the maintenance and NS ownership ideologies relate to the two central questions that function as the organising patterns (see Sørensen

[69] This move would not be necessary in multi-sited ethnographies, which Sørensen (2010) talks about, since they would compare two or more field sites – rather than dimensions of analysis within one field site. For me, the move is important in taking the analysis to a more macro level after the micro level perspective of chapters 5 and 6.

2010) in my data, that is, (a) who regulates or can regulate language, and (b) what regulatory notions speakers draw on. The two ideologies, or (communally) shared notions of language, its nature, function, and symbolic value (Seargeant 2009: 346, 348–349), are often discussed in connection with ELF (e.g. Haberland 2011; Jenkins 2000, 2006; Seidlhofer 2011). For instance, Haberland (2011) considers ownership of English and language maintenance in relation to norms for international English. My purpose in connecting the discussions in the ELF literature to the findings of this study is to move from the micro to the macro level, but also to ground the discussions to ELF use and users' views. I first consider the NS ownership ideology, after which I turn to the maintenance ideology.

7.1.1 NS ownership ideology

The question of ownership of English (see Widdowson 1994) has its roots in discussions about New Englishes as legitimate varieties of their own, rather than imperfect approximations to a native model (Haberland 2011: 940). It is a reaction to the spread of English outside native-speaker communities. Views about ownership vary: traditionally, NSs of English have been seen as the legitimate owners of English (e.g. Quirk 1990; Trudgill 2002), whereas according to more recent views ownership can also be claimed by L2 users of English: by speakers of postcolonial varieties of English, as suggested by Kachru (1996), and also by speakers of ELF, as suggested by Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2011).

Ownership, then, relates to the question: who can take on the role of language expert, and thus decide on the norms others are supposed to follow? It is central to the organising pattern of who regulates and can regulate language in ELF. The question of ownership is important in considering who is seen to be authoritative enough to prescribe how English should be used. If ELF speakers grant the ownership to NSs of English, they will continue using NSs of English (and established standards of ENL) to measure the correctness (and also acceptability) of their usage. This means that ELF communities would *not* be endonormative, that is, they would rely on external norms to determine what is acceptable, on the one hand, and correct, on the other.

Based on the above, we can discern two opposing language-regulatory ideologies, one in which language and its regulation are seen to 'belong' to its NSs and another one in which all who use the language are seen to 'own' it. I compare my findings to the former ideology, to which I refer to as the NS ownership ideology, because NS ownership is almost a common sense assumption – especially in language teaching and assessment (for a discussion, see Davies 2003). In addition, since the two ideologies are opposed, comparing findings to one of them already gives answers in relation to the other.

7.1.2 Maintenance ideology

The question of language maintenance concerns whether one should intervene with the language in the first place, and if intervention is considered important, who should do it and what norms should be used. Language maintenance, then, is relevant in terms of the second organising pattern of what regulatory notions speakers draw on. On the one hand, it deals with the question whether language needs maintenance or not, and on the other, what forms the actual maintenance would take. The argument against deliberate maintenance is one that takes descriptivism to its fullest: all kind of intervention is seen to hamper with the natural development of language. Only changes that come from below are acceptable (i.e. from unconscious behaviour of ordinary speakers or what is inherent in a language), and all else (i.e. deliberate intervention) should be resisted. Those who are in favour of language maintenance, then again, tend to fear fragmentation of the language: that communication would break down if we did not have a common standard. This is directly related to the NS ownership ideology, for instance, in the sense that specifically a NS standard may be called for (see Quirk 1990). This descriptive versus prescriptive opposition (see Haberland 2011) that tends to stay on the axis of whether to prescribe or to leave language alone can be seen to incorporate two ideologies: the leave-your-language-alone ideology as opposed to the ideology of language maintenance.

However, considering that deliberate intervention in language is frequent (think, for instance, of journal editors or dictionary and grammar writers) and that it shapes language (think, for instance, of the adoption of politically correct language and the standardising effects of grammar books), the either-or approach to intervention does not appear to be enough. Here we can turn to Cameron (1995), who shifts our attention away from the descriptive versus prescriptive opposition. Instead, she focuses on practices of what she calls 'verbal hygiene', such as editors' role in enforcing rules for writing, and linguistic training and self-help. What becomes important in this investigation is to consider "who prescribes for whom, what they prescribe, how, and for what purposes" (Cameron 1995: 11). These are relevant questions for ELF as well. Importantly, too, Haberland (2011: 942) points out that intervening in a language does not have to mean the preservation of existing standards. The question, then, is not whether one should intervene in ELF, but rather, which norms and standards are used or should be used.

In the light of the discussion above, the ideology of maintenance (with the question of which norms and standards) appears to be more important for ELF than the leave-your-language-alone ideology. We are thus talking about the importance of maintaining standards. The question remains, though, what are the standards for maintenance of language implied in the maintenance ideology? Often, language maintenance is related to codified norms, or language standards, even if new standards may well be proposed through maintenance practices, as Haberland (2011: 942) suggests. What is clear is that the maintenance ideology incorporates what Milroy (2001) calls the ideology of the standard language. The ideology of the standard language is based on the promotion of uniformity in language form through standardisation, and the consequent promotion of a standard variety as the legitimate form of a language. As Milroy (2001: 547) puts it:

> The establishment of the idea of a standard variety, the diffusion of knowledge of this variety, its codification in widely used grammar books and dictionaries, and its promotion in a wide range of functions – all lead to the devaluing of other varieties. The standard form becomes the legitimate form, and other forms become, in the popular mind, illegitimate.

The ideology of the standard language means that people have a firm, common sense belief that some forms are incorrect and others correct. What is notable in this ideology, though, is that it is considered necessary to teach NSs of the language the canonical forms of their L1, which means that NSs are not automatically experts of their L1, but rather authority falls on a select few (Milroy 2001: 537). The maintenance ideology, and the incorporated ideology of the standard language, thus differs from the NS ownership ideology, in which NSs are automatically seen to possess their L1. The NS ownership ideology draws the line between 'us' and 'them' differently, that is, between NSs and NNSs, whereas the maintenance ideology draws the line between incorrectly and correctly speaking NSs. The NS ownership ideology does not take a stand on the acceptability or correctness of language, but rather deals with the question of who can regulate language, whereas the maintenance ideology incorporates questions of correctness in relation to ENL norms.

The following sections deal with the construction of the NS ownership ideology (section 7.2) and the maintenance ideology (section 7.3) in my data. In section 7.2, I explore whether the NS ownership ideology is supported or contested in the data, and if it is contested, what alternatives emerge instead. To do this, I use the first organising pattern formulated as a result of the study event and repertoire analyses as a guiding question: How is language expertise constructed in the data, that is, who or what are seen to have the right to regulate language? In section 7.3, I consider whether the maintenance ideology is supported or contested in the data, and if the latter, what is constructed as an alternative. The second organising pattern is used as the guiding question in the analysis: In what ways do the students and teachers orient to language regulation, that is, what regulatory notions they construct (when to intervene in language and what norms or standards to draw on)? The main question, then, is to what extent and in which circumstances the students and teachers reproduce the ideologies in the study event interactions and in their interview accounts, and what alternatives are constructed through the use of the regulatory practices and in the students' and teachers' talk about language. In section 7.4, I bring together these findings to discuss their implications to the construction of living norms in the study events.

7.2 NS ownership ideology

The NS ownership ideology upholds that NSs are the custodians of a language. In order to explore to what extent this assumption is supported in my data, I focus on the question: what kind of language expertise is constructed in the study event interaction and in the students' and teachers' interview talk about language. Let us start by focusing on the interaction data.

7.2.1 Language expert roles in the study event interaction[70]

Based on the analysis of language-regulatory practices in chapter 5, I discerned four language expert roles taken on or assigned to others in the study event interaction (section 5.1.3; Hynninen 2012):

(1) Language expertise based on professional role and subject expertise
(2) L1-based language expertise
(3) Language expertise negotiated between speakers

[70] I discuss the findings reported in this section in Hynninen (2012), where I approach the expert roles as instances of Integrating Content and Language (ICL) at the micro level of interaction. Some of the examples and the analyses given in this section thus overlap with the examples and analyses in the article.

(4) Language expertise assigned to the language professional

Below, I take a closer look at each of the expert roles.

The first of the language expert roles is concerned with the speaker's professional role and subject expertise (i.e. expertise in, for instance, biology, not language expertise). Such expertise was found in the teacher-led course and the guided group. We saw in chapter 5 that the students tended to turn to the teachers and mentors if they experienced trouble in expressing themselves, that is, the students asked for help in language related problems, not only substance. This is illustrated in example 7.1.

(7.1)

S6: ((…)) and this is er a very well this is like the typical the most typical plant in western sahara **i don't know the name [(xx)]**

T2: [(calotropis)]

S6: i

T2: (calotropis)

S6: **okay i knew that you could help (me) with this** and this is erm a very important ((…))

T2: the english name is dead sea apple dead sea apple is the [name] <SU> [mhm] </SU> of the (calotropis in english).

(TLC, V08D4Sp)

Most language corrections were found to concern lexis, and in the example we can see that we are actually dealing with terminology – the teacher's area of expertise. The teacher provides the student with the requested scientific term, and later on, with the English name of the plant in question. The teacher's subject expertise thus ties in with language, similarly to what Smit (2010: 362–365) reports in her study. The example further shows how the student relies on getting an answer from the teacher (*i knew that you could help (me) with this*), which illustrates the allocation of the (language) expert role to the teacher.

The teachers also took on the role of language experts even if no one specifically assigned the role to them. They were the ones who did most of the language corrections and commenting of other speakers' language. The following example (7.2) is a case in point.

(7.2)

T2: er er <FIRST NAME S8> correctly used the the th- th- the name of the country as the sudan remember that this is the the name of the country the sudan like the gambia there are a few country names where you have the although **the modern usage is (to omit it)** the only thing you have to be con- consequent either you always say the sudan the sudan or then without the but there are this is one of the few country names where where it is <S2> [so why (is it why is it)] </S2> [er and th- the] government uses it's the republic of the sudan that's (the) **official name of the country**

BS2: so why do they use the

T2: th- we **you have to ask linguists** there are er like the gambia (it) because it [refers to]

T1: [or the netherlands]

T2: what

T1: the netherlands

T2: jaa f- er plural names are natural you know why it is but er but er gambia it's because the river **rivers always have the** so that follows a- and sudan it there was something similar it was the sud was th- the wet area and then the sudan came from the sud probably this is the

T1: [mhm yeah okay]

T2: [explanation] **this is my my my understanding** but it's also correct to say without the [nowadays] <S2> [mhm-hm] </S2> especially **in scientific contexts**

(part of example 5.26, TLC, V8D5Sp)

In the example, the teacher comments on a country name used in a student's presentation and report by sharing his conception of the correct usage of the name. He refers to the official name of the country, and describes his conception of the etymology of the name (with reference to the grammar rule *rivers always have the*), both of which point to the correctness of using the definite article (i.e. *the Sudan* rather than *Sudan*). Still, the teacher suggests two 'correct' options by saying that *the modern usage* is to omit *the*, and that this practice is correct *especially in scientific contexts*. This illustrates reliance on one's own internalised notions of correctness, and since we are not dealing with field-specific terminology, the example further shows the readiness of the teacher to comment on language more generally. As I point out in Hynninen (2012: 19) "what is important is not whether the teacher is 'correct' in his understanding of the usage, but that he is ready to accept 'scientific contexts' as norm providing". The reference to scientific context is important also in the sense that it appears to legitimate the teacher's authority on English. Based on his experience of scientific contexts, as an expert member of the academic community of practice, he is confident enough to make the claim. The teacher thus takes on the role of language expert even if he is an L2 speaker of English and even if he is not a language professional. What is more, he does not turn to either of the L1 English speaking students in the study event for help. Rather, one of the NSs of English (BS2, a NS of Twi and West-African English) is the one who asks T2 to explain why 'the' is used, which is a sign of acknowledging the teacher's authority on English. Expertise-based authority, therefore, does not support the NS ownership ideology.

The second, L1-based language expertise refers to expertise assigned to a NS of English. Such allocation of language expertise was exclusively done by students, who in both of the group-work events, for instance, assigned proof reading of the group's slides to the English-NS student in the group. The analysis of language commenting in chapter 5 also shows that the students who spoke English as an L2 sometimes expressed insecurity in using English, and when they did this, they sometimes compared their English to that of the English-NS student present. This can be seen in example 7.3, where S5 takes up NS3's English skills.

(7.3)

S5: no no me because i (now) actually i can remember that you <I.E. NS3> speak english a little bit better than me yeah and if i speak after you i am going to looks like stupid okay

SS: @@

S5: i think it's better if i speak before

NS3: @okay@

(part of example 5.19, SG, V07A3aGW)

In instances such as example 7.3, NSs of English were assigned to be in an advantaged position, and their English was seen as the model to be aspired to. This implies that the students constructed NS status as relevant and that they assigned the ownership of English to its NSs. We could also see how the students talked about their 'own' language when referring to their L1, as illustrated in example 7.4.

(7.4)

S2: yeah that's what i was saying to them i have material but only **in my own language** and we don't find any literature like this [she found something]

(SG, V07A1GW)

In the example, S2 refers to her native language Portuguese as her 'own' language, which implies a close connection between a language and its NSs. We can thus conclude that the NS ownership ideology was often supported by the language commenting practices of the students as well as the allocation of language expertise to fellow English-NS students.

In addition to the two language expert roles discussed above, the group-work events also gave rise to a third one, authority negotiated between speakers. By this I mean that language authority was not automatically assigned to or taken on by an expert in the field or a NS of English, but rather negotiated in the interaction. This means that anyone could occasionally ask for help, and that the L2-English-speaking students could also act as language regulators. Although the students sought the English-NS students' advice on written form in the group assignments, the L2-English-speaking students sometimes corrected each other's speech, and we also saw that they could act as intermediaries. Example 7.5 illustrates a mediation turn by S1 (who mediates between S4 and M1).

(7.5)

S1: [it's a] it's a sea grass [basically]

S4: [yeah]

M1: [ahh (yeah)]

S1: [**and the thing that he's talking about] is** that you put something in (the) water <S4> yeah </S4> that it's

S4: it's a

S1: it's like a rock and you hit the rock

(part of example 5.45, GG, B09C2GGW)

As an intermediary, S1 is in the position to speak for S4, and her reformulation of S4's turn (omitted here) eventually enables M1 to understand S4's point. Taking on the role of an intermediary can thus be seen as taking on authority for interpreting the interaction. That mediation was done by L2 speakers of English in the data, and that language expertise could also be negotiated otherwise shows that NS ownership ideology was not supported by these practices.

The three expertise roles discussed above paint a varied picture of the students' and teachers' positions towards NS ownership ideology. They illustrate the agency of L2 speakers of English, while at the same time the students were often seen to rely on their fellow English-NS students for expertise in English. The picture becomes even more complicated when we consider the fourth language expert role constructed in the study events, that of the language professional. In the guided group, much of the language corrections and commenting were done by the English instructor, who paid two short visits to the group. During the presence of the English instructor, he was the main language authority the students and occasionally also the mentors turned to (example 7.6).

(7.6)

M1: i guess there's a sort of a problem er (what's) <FINNISH> jokamiehen oikeus </FINNISH>

E1: everyman's [rights]

S1: [everyman's] rights

SU: [yeah]

M1: [(xx)] (xx) in finland because (er) that's sort of if you completely

(GG, B09C2GGW)

The presence of the English instructor in the study event was part of the university's language support services for master's programmes, which can be seen as an instance of integrating content and language, or ICL (e.g. Gustafsson et al. 2011; Wilkinson and Zegers 2007). This means that when the English instructor was present, the students were both users of English whose purpose was to communicate in the group, and learners of English whose language use was monitored by the English instructor. Example 7.6 shows that the mentors, too, used the English instructor as an expert in English. What the example also shows, though, is that S1 offered her help as well, which implies negotiation of the expert role. That the English instructor was drawn on when he was present in the interaction is not surprising, since an English instructor is an institutionally appointed authority in language (and this instructor was also a NS of English), but what is notable is that his presence somewhat increased the group's attention to language. This means that the presence of the English instructor affected the interaction in the group: both the students and the mentors allocated language authority to him (rather than to each other or the English-NS in the group), and language was discussed more. This implies reliance on the standard language ideology, and suggests that English instructors as institutional authorities in English have high regulatory authority. Yet, it should be noted that the English instructor did not deal with terminology or field-specific language practices, which, then again, was the main avenue for the teachers' and mentors' comments and corrections more generally in the study events.

In all, the findings show a tendency for language regulation to be the responsibility of L2 speakers of English. There was no wholesale rejection of NS ownership ideology, though; what is constructed is more complicated than that. What emerges from the data is the role of the expert in the field as opposed to students as learners of the contents and conventions of that field, including those related to language use. This means that rather than a division between NSs and NNSs, what emerges as an alternative is a division between experts and novices. Teachers as expert members of the academic community of practice generally took on and were allocated more responsibility over language use than students as the novice members of the community. The students, although they too sometimes took on the role of language experts, sought advice from their teachers, their fellow students who spoke English as an L1 and the English instructor, whereas the teachers took on the role of language experts and rarely relied on others for language support. That L2 speakers of English acted as language experts is an indication of the speakers' agency in constructing living norms in the study events, and it can also be seen as a first step towards endonormative practices in ELF.

7.2.2 Language expert roles in the repertoires

In chapter 6, I discerned altogether seven interpretative repertoires from the students' and teachers' talk about language and regulation in the research interviews. In the following, I consider to what extent the NS ownership ideology is supported in the repertoires by focusing on the question of what kinds of language expertise were constructed.

Students' repertoires

The students were found to construct interpretative repertoires of (1) clarity and simplification, (2) correctness of ENL, and (3) normality of ELF. The findings show that, firstly, in the clarity and simplification repertoire, the students constrasted ELF with ENL by describing ELF as 'simple' as opposed to the 'naturalness' of ENL. A similar distinction was also constructed between NSs and L2 speakers of English, in that NSs were generally construed as more difficult to understand than L2 speakers of English. The repertoire thus shows that students relied on the division between native and non-native speakers. Second, in the repertoire of correctness of ENL, ENL was conceptualised as the 'proper' and desirable way to use English. Correctness was attached to ENL, and NSs of English were described to speak the 'real' English. In addition, students described insecurities of using English in relation to ENL, and constructed ENL as the model for learning English. The L2-English-speaking students did not report to intervene in each other's language in interaction, whereas the English-NS students reported that they were allotted the role of language experts. This implies reliance on English-NS authority. Together, the two repertoires of clarity and simplification and correctness of ENL, then, indicate reliance on the NS ownership ideology.

However, the third repertoire of normality of ELF shows that correctness as described in the second repertoire was for the most parts treated as irrelevant for ELF communication, and thus also the NS authority of English. ELF reality was distinguished from the constructed notions of correctness. This also links to the repertoire of clarity and simplification where students reported that they modify their speech and listening in ELF situations. Thus, when the repertoires of normality of ELF and of clarity and simplification are considered together, they question the relevance of the NS ownership ideology in ELF situations.

What is constructed in the repertoires, then, is partial support to the NS ownership ideology, but the support is much more evident at the level of students' normative beliefs than in their descriptions of actual ELF interaction, which instead imply normality of ELF. The tension can be summarised by quoting one of the students: "we just use it [i.e. English] but we don't use it properly". The implication in the quote that the English used in ELF situations is somehow less 'proper' than ENL situates NSs as experts of English, and this, then, shows reliance on the NS ownership ideology. Yet, the account 'we just use it' indicates that the ideology is not considered pertinent in actual ELF encounters. In ELF encounters, the NS of English as the language expert is less relevant.

Teachers' repertoires

The analysis of the teacher interviews resulted in the interpretative repertoires of (1) variation, (2) usability of ELF, (3) richness of one's L1, and (4) adequacy. The repertoire of variation was built on the teachers' descriptions of the variation in students' (and their colleagues') English skills, which also included reports of intervening in students' English. The teachers thus reported taking on the role of language expert, which goes against the NS ownership ideology.

In the repertoire of usability of ELF, the teachers constructed English as common property, a shared language that enables communication across borders. In the accounts, they compared ELF with L1 use, which was described to be richer and more nuanced than L2 use, but the nuances were construed as less important for ELF. By talking about ELF in this way, the teachers not only differentiated between L1 and L2 use, but also created different requirements for ELF use as opposed to using one's L1. This means that even if L1s were connected with subtlety and richness of expression (repertoire of richness of one's L1), the NS ownership ideology was not supported in the teachers' accounts.

If we further consider the last repertoire of adequacy from the perspective of language expert roles, we get further support for the teachers' willingness to step in as language experts, which runs counter to the NS ownership ideology. In all, we can thus conclude that even if the ideology of NS ownership was recognised in the repertoire of richness of one's L1, the teachers' reports imply that they do not orient to this ideology in ELF interaction.

Summary

In sum, the student and teacher interview accounts paint somewhat different pictures of the relevance of the NS ownership ideology. In the student accounts, the ideology came out strongly, but only played a minor role in the descriptions of ELF. The students constructed a difference between correctness, which was seen in relation to ENL and NSs of English, and communication in ELF, which was seen not to require such correctness. In some sense, correctness and successful communication were thus contrasted. This means that even if the students can be seen to have constructed L1-based language expertise, this was not seen as necessarily relevant for ELF.

In the teacher accounts, then again, we can see that the NS ownership ideology was recognised (see the repertoire of richness of one's L1), but the reports propose that the ideology is not oriented to in ELF interaction. Comparisons were made between L1s and L2s, not ENL and ELF. And even if some insecurity in using English was expressed by comparing one's English with one's L1, the teachers reported to intervene in students' English, and thus to take on the role of language experts. The expertise was mostly connected to their role as teachers (and their tasks of evaluating exam papers and reports), which implies that what emerges in the accounts is the relevance of expert versus novice roles in the academic community of practice, rather than the division between NSs and NNSs (cf. section 7.2.1).

7.3 Maintenance ideology

Maintenance ideology deals with the relevance of ENL norms for acceptability and correctness in ELF. In order to see whether my data support this ideology, I focus on how the students and teachers orient to language regulation in ELF interaction and in the interviews. In section 7.2, I established that L2 speakers of English took on the role of language experts in ELF interaction, but I did not focus on the norms and standards they drew on. Also, the interview analysis shows that the NS ownership ideology was only partially supported. In particular, the teachers reported to intervene in students' English, which questioned the NS focus of the ideology. That intervention was done and that it was reported to be done show that we are not talking about letting the lingua franca alone. Rather, we need to ask when and what kind of intervention is done. I now turn to the speakers' orientation to regulation in the study event interaction.

7.3.1 Orientation to regulation in the study event interaction

The analysis of regulatory practices (chapter 5) shows that students and teachers treated spoken and written English differently. Explicit regulation of speech in the form of language correcting took place, which shows that not everything was accepted; but it was much more common to let non-standard forms pass. It was established in chapter 5 that the participants constructed prescriptive and performance rules, where prescription deals with what is considered incorrect as opposed to correct, and performance with what is considered acceptable as opposed to unacceptable. The speakers tended to do corrections in relation to their internalised notions of correctness – NSs of English present in the study events were not drawn on, nor were, for instance, dictionaries used. That the corrections dealt with non-standard forms that were corrected to standard versions, however, implies an orientation to correctness notions attached to ENL. The prescriptive rules constructed in the interaction thus support the maintenance ideology, in that (standard) ENL forms were used in the corrections.

Then again, it was established that corrections were scarce, which means that the prescriptive rules were only sometimes drawn on, and instead we could see wide acceptance of variation and the rise of performance rules that covered a wider spectrum of acceptability than the prescriptive rules. Acceptance of variation could also be seen in the more subtle regulatory practices of embedded repairs, reformulations and mediation and lexical accommodation. The analysis of embedded repairs shows that speakers diverged both from non-standard and Standard English forms. This means that the speakers fluctuated in terms of the 'direction' of the modifications, and what we could witness was widening of the scope of acceptability beyond ENL norms. Through mediation, the speakers were found to facilitate communication, rather than to problematise language, which lends support to the performance rules. What the analysis on lexical accommodation shows is that the speakers preferred conventional lexical items, but that they also accepted unconventional ones by repeating and recycling them in their own language use. All these practices highlight situational negotiation of acceptability, and they show that the performance rules constructed in the interaction only marginally supported the ENL norms of the maintenance ideology. What is constructed instead is acceptance of variation. In all, we could argue that the findings lend support to Mauranen's (2012: 231) observation that "as forms diffuse in ELF interaction, standard and non-standard forms do not get noticeably differentiated", and that for expressions to spread, what may be more important than their 'standardness' are their "salience, memorability, and interactional meaningfulness".

Written English was corrected and commented on more than speech, which implies that correctness was construed as more important for writing than speech. Compared to regulating speech, for written English, correctness and acceptability were found to go hand in hand. The findings show that the students allotted the role of expert in written English to those group members who spoke English natively. Yet, the teacher-led course shows that the teachers, too, took on that role and defined correct and acceptable written usage. To illustrate the correctness notions constructed by the teachers' comments, below are a number of short quotes (example 7.7) extracted from examples in chapter 5.

(7.7)

(a) <FIRST NAME S8> correctly used the the th- th- the name of the country as the sudan ((…)) it's also correct to say without the [nowadays] <S2> [mhm-hm] </S2> especially in scientific contexts

(TLC, T2)

(b) try to er er utilise the the possibilities that the the the spell checking er facilities of the programmes provide ((…)) spanish and english are not that far from each other but in in in principle er you should utilise the the the the english terms

(TLC, T1)

(c) try to utilise the standard standard terms in in er er as they are in English

(TLC, T1)

(d) please use the international way of writing dates

(TLC, T2)

The first of the quotes (7.7.a) is an explicit statement of correctness, where the correctness is ultimately judged in relation to usage in scientific contexts. This shows that subject-matter expertise extends to field-specific language use. The second and third quotes (7.7b and c) draw boundaries around what counts as English, and the third quote also takes up the notion of standard. The reference to spell checking (quote 7.7c) implies reliance on codified (ENL) norms, but we can also see that the quotes mainly concern terminology (*English terms*, *standard terms*), thus suggesting reliance on field-specific language norms. The last quote (7.7d), then again, introduces a norm that deviates from ENL norms. We can thus see that in addition to drawing on codified (ENL) norms, the teachers draw on their internalised notions of correctness, which appears to relate to their professional expertise more than any ENL norms. In addition, even if we can see that the teachers to some extent oriented to correctness norms attached to ENL, they were also found to construct alternative 'norms' or regulatory notions (example 7.7: *scientific contexts* and *international way of writing dates*).

In all, the language-regulatory practises show that the maintenance ideology was supported to the extent that corrections of speech and writing to some extent followed correctness norms attached to ENL. For writing, we could witness some fluctuation in the adoption of such norms, and for speech, performance rules were seen to question the importance of the maintenance ideology. What this means is that the maintenance ideology with its reliance on ENL norms was drawn on for correcting practices, but not so for the construction of (situational) acceptability of spoken English. What emerges in the data, then, is a difference between correctness notions that were (mostly) attached to ENL and that supported the maintenance ideology, as opposed to acceptability of language constructed in the interaction. What is more, we saw that when commenting on written English, the teachers drew on field-specific language practices that could deviate from ENL norms.

7.3.2 Orientation to regulation in the repertoires

In the research interviews, differences emerged between the students' and the teachers' orientation to regulation. Below, I take a look at the two groups in turn, starting with the students.

Students

The students' interpretative repertoires were found to construct an ambivalent position to the ownership ideology (section 7.2), and the same is true for maintenance ideology. To start with, the repertoire of correctness of ENL can be seen to support the maintenance ideology: ENL was constructed as the model for learning English, and NSs of English were seen to speak the 'real' English, which was then used by the students as a yardstick for assessing their own English. Also, when describing themselves as learners of English, the students resorted to the maintenance ideology.

Then again, the maintenance ideology is contested in the student descriptions of ELF: First, the repertoire of clarity and simplification shows that what was construed to matter were 'clarity' and getting one's message across, and the students reported that they modify their language to achieve this. Such descriptions were found to be in contrast with the students' descriptions of ENL as 'natural' and difficult to understand. Second, the repertoire of normality of ELF shows that the maintenance ideology with its reliance on correctness notions attached to ENL was not seen to be relevant in ELF encounters where mutual understanding was reported to be reached without speaking 'correctly'. The following two quotes (example 7.8) from examples given in chapter 6 illustrate this:

(7.8)

(a) everybody speaks a more or less correct english and because everyone understand each other you don't pay attention that you are sometimes making some mistakes especially pronunciation or <IR> [mhm] </IR> [or some] grammar mistakes but everyone is understanding you but when i had the chance to talk to somebody from america or from some other english-speaking country then i realise that i have bad english

(part of example 6.11, SG, S2)

(b) because we we just use it but we we don't use it properly and we don't erm erm yeah we eh i don't know how to how to s- say it how to express it. yeah it's not the real en- english that we speak we speak some some er modified version of it that kind of fits everyone's language level

(part of example 6.12, GG, S2)

We can see in the first quote (7.8a) that 'mistakes' are not seen to hinder communication in ELF, and that the speaker describes her English as 'bad' only in relation to NSs of English. In the second quote (7.8b), ELF is described as a modified version of 'the real English'. Both quotes connect correct English with good English, and both correct and good English to NSs of the language. The quotes thus show a reliance on the maintenance ideology by suggesting that a more correct version of English exists than the one the students report to be using in ELF situations; but at the same time we can see that ENL correctness and, thus, the maintenance ideology are not seen as crucial for successful communication in ELF. What the student repertoires construct is reliance on maintenance ideology in the sense that correctness was attached to ENL; but since such correctness was not seen to matter in ELF, we can conclude that the maintenance ideology was only partially supported. What the students reported doing in ELF interaction (for instance, to modify their language and to seek clarity) imply a normative orientation, where the maintenance ideology is pushed aside, and language is regulated according to living norms that do not rely on ENL norms.

Teachers

The repertoires discerned in the teachers' accounts are somewhat inconclusive in terms of the maintenance ideology. The repertoire of variation with the teachers' concern for the students' language skills illustrates the importance the teachers placed on maintaining 'standards', but their accounts of correcting students' English according to the purpose of use and based on their internalised notions of correct English (repertoire of adequacy) imply that the norms and standards drawn on vary, which means that maintaining ENL norms is not necessarily relevant. The teachers also described ELF as a shared language that does not need all the nuances used in one's L1 (repertoires of usability of ELF and richness of one's L1). This means that the teachers not only reported to take on the role of language expert, but that they also construed it as irrelevant to evaluate English used in lingua franca situations according to criteria for ENL use. We can thus conclude that the teacher repertoires do not as such support the maintenance ideology with its reliance on ENL norms, but rather judgements were reportedly made based on the purpose of use, which may or may not require drawing on ENL norms.

Summary

The interview accounts show that both the students' and teachers' descriptions of ELF challenged the relevance of the maintenance ideology for ELF. Yet, the students relied on the ideology in terms of correctness, and the teachers' accounts were somewhat inconclusive in terms of the importance of ENL norms in making correctness judgements. In all, the maintenance ideology was constructed to have some relevance, but only for correctness, and ELF use was not seen to require such correctness, which renders the maintenance ideology less pertinent for ELF. The descriptions of ELF show that the students and teachers expected to encounter variation. The students and teachers also reported that they modify their language accordingly, which implies reliance on a different set of norms. This means that even if the students could be seen to value ENL the highest by constructing ENL as their target model and by constructing importance for the maintenance ideology in terms of correctness, they did not expect adherence to ENL norms in ELF situations. For teachers, adequacy for the purpose of use was important, not maintaining ENL norms as such.

In the following, the findings are considered from the perspective of constructing living norms. The section relates the findings to the interactional and ideological dimensions of regulation introduced in chapter 2, and sums up to what extent and in which circumstances the students and teachers reproduced the ideologies of NS ownership and maintenance, and thus, on the one hand, reliance on NSs as custodians of English, and on the other, reliance on ENL norms.

7.4 Construction of living norms

Based on the findings so far, we can say that there was no wholesale acceptance, or wholesale rejection of the ideologies of NS ownership and maintenance in the data. The students and the teachers approached the ideologies in different ways, and differences were found between regulatory practices used in the study event interaction (i.e. the interactional dimension of regulation), and the repertoires (i.e. the ideological dimension of regulation). In chapter 2, I established that language regulation is a discursive practice through which (living) norms are reproduced and through which alternative ones emerge. In regulating language in the study event interactions and in their talk about language the students and teachers constructed living norms, and in the process they came to construct relevance and irrelevance of 'established' norms of language. Below, I take a closer look at the findings of the comparative analysis in order to build a more comprehensive picture of the construction of living norms in the study events. This means that I also incorporate the English instructor views in the discussion.

7.4.1 Comparisons

In general, talk about language (ideological dimension) was more purist than the actual regulatory practices in the ELF interaction (interactional dimension). In the interaction, speakers assigned language expertise to different actors, which means that the NS ownership ideology was not supported, and the acceptability of variation in the interaction further cast doubt on the maintenance ideology. In the repertoires, both ideologies were to an extent supported. However, differences could be found between the user groups, as I discuss below. Table 7.1 summarises the findings of the comparative analysis in relation to the regulatory dimensions.

Table 7.1 Findings of the comparative analysis related to the regulatory dimensions

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Interactional dimension of regulation</th><th>Ideological dimension of regulation</th></tr>
<tr><td>NS ownership ideology (language expert roles)</td><td>Language expert roles:
Based on professional expertise (self-appointed + student allocation)
L1-based (student allocation)
Negotiated
Language professional’s (institutional/self-appointed + participant allocation)
Language corrections and commenting: experts vs. novices
More subtle regulation: done by all</td><td>Students: correctness in relation to NSs of English (L1-based language expertise) vs. successful communication in ELF
Teachers: professional expertise
English instructors: L1-based and language professional’s expertise</td></tr>
<tr><td>Maintenance ideology (orientation to regulation)</td><td>ENL as correctness model
Wide(r) acceptability of non-standard forms</td><td>Students: belief in the primacy of ENL vs. expectations of ELF interaction
Teachers: adequacy for the purpose of use (possible importance of ENL norms)
English instructors: lowering of the standards for English</td></tr>
</table>

Let us start by looking at the left-hand column, and the interactional dimension of regulation. We can see that several language expert roles were drawn on during interaction. The students tended to turn to their teachers, their fellow students who spoke English natively or, when present, the English instructor, for advice on English. In addition, the students sometimes expressed insecurity in using English by comparing their English to that of NSs of English. The analysis thus shows that during interaction the students drew on the ideologies of NS ownership and maintenance. On the whole, however, the main dividing line was not NSs versus NNSs, as suggested by research on L1–L2 interaction (Brouwer et al. 2004; Kurhila 2003)[71], but rather experts versus novices: The teachers both took on and were allotted the role of language experts by the students. The teachers did not assign the role to a NS of English in the group, nor did they refuse to take on the role. In addition, although L2-English speaking students could do language corrections and, for instance, act as an intermediary, which further blurs the division between NSs and NNSs, there were hardly any examples of students regulating a teacher’s language. The findings thus imply a reduced importance of the NS versus NNS

[71] However, compare Zuengler (1993) who shows that subject matter expertise does influence the dynamics of L1–L2 interaction, as well.

division and an increased importance of expert and novice roles as represented by the teacher and student members of the study events. Now, some differences were found in language regulation between the study events, and in that sense the study events may be seen as separate, partly overlapping communities of practice. However, the connection between language expertise and expert membership as opposed to the novice members' reliance on others' language expertise suggests that shared resources are also used across the study events. This shows that the study events feed into a wider academic community of practice.

To some extent, the findings correspond to Smit's (2010: 362–365) study on English-medium lectures, where metalingual comments were found to be mainly subject specific, and the teachers the experts relied on. The division between experts and novices is thus relevant beyond the context of this study at least in terms of regulating subject-specific terminology. Similarly to the negotiated expertise in this study, Smit (2010: 365–367) also shows that anyone could act as the language expert in order to help out with more general terms and expressions. However, in Smit (2010), a tendency was found to sign over language issues to language classes:

> Whenever the interaction turned to a language issue, it concerned the introduction or explanation of mainly subject-specific terms or expressions. Other aspects of language were not topicalized in any of the 33 lessons analysed in detail, or, if identified as an issue at all, were relegated to the English language classes. (Smit 2010: 408)

In contrast, my findings show that the speakers used a wider repertoire of metalingual comments, and that language issues came to be integrated in the study event interactions also when the explicit focus was on content only.

As to the orientation to regulation in interaction (left-hand column of table 7.1), most often the language comments and corrections were done in relation to students' written texts or oral presentations, and most corrections concerned deviations from standard forms, which were then corrected accordingly. This means that in the interaction, speakers had a tendency to draw on (their notions of) ENL correctness. However, language corrections were not common, and there was wide acceptability of variation, which means that such correctness was not necessarily construed as relevant when making acceptability judgements. What is more, the more subtle regulatory practices show that speakers also accommodated to non-standard forms. Since similar findings concerning accommodation have been reported in earlier ELF research (e.g. Cogo 2009;

Firth 1996; Hülmbauer 2009; Mauranen 2012), too, it appears that the negotiation of living norms in ELF settings is not simply a question of reproducing ENL norms and standards (see also Seidlhofer 2011).

If we then move on to the right-hand column of table 7.1, displaying the ideological dimension of regulation, we can see that the students', teachers' and English instructors' accounts were found to differ in terms of the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies. The students' beliefs about language supported the ideologies of NS ownership and maintenance. The students drew on the ideologies especially when describing their insecurities in using English, which was sometimes done in relation to NSs of English. NSs were seen to speak the 'real' and 'proper' English, and ELF was seen as the modified version of such English. What is more, the students connected 'correct' English with 'good' English, which further reinforced the support for the ideologies, as did the references to oneself as a learner of English. In this sense, the students thus resemble some of the English instructors, who constructed reliance on ENL norms by referring to the lowering of the standards for English and thus also reproduced (and further promoted) the ideologies. The question of lowering standards also comes up in Jenkins's (2007) English instructor (all L2 speakers of English) interviews, where the instructors were found to predominantly grant ownership of English to its NSs.

However, as the student descriptions of ELF show, the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies were not constructed as important for ELF communication. We can thus conclude that the students' notions entertained two mutually incompatible notions: construction of ENL as correct (and at the same time good English) and thereby acceptable, as opposed to construction of ELF as functional and thereby acceptable. This means that the schematic aspects of language regulation constructed in the student interviews were divided into beliefs that supported the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies, and experiences of ELF interaction that did not. We can then see that a distinction (discussed in chapter 2) arises between students' beliefs about language, and students' expectations based on their reported experiences about the use of English in ELF interaction.

The teacher accounts (right-hand column of table 7.1) were found to question both the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies. The teachers' notions about acceptable English corresponded to their expectations of what was needed in ELF interaction (even if the teachers recognised the ideologies in the repertoire of richness of one's L1). No such division of beliefs and expectations in the schematic aspects of practice can thus be found as in the student interviews. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the teachers were more experienced ELF users than the students, who were not only less experienced in ELF but also sometimes constructed themselves as learners of English, and in that sense in need of external authorities on English. In addition, the teachers were experts in their fields, and part of their job as educators of future scholars and professionals is to teach relevant knowledge and skills to novices of the academic community of practice – to a certain extent including practices of using language[72].

In all, there was a clear difference between the students' and teachers' positions towards the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies in the ideological dimension. While the students were found to resemble the English instructors (cf. Jenkins 2007) in their (partial) reliance on the ideologies, the teachers can be seen to resemble Ehrenreich's (2009) ELF-speaking informants, who were found to claim ownership of English in their business community of practice. This implies that speakers' experiences of ELF communication are not only linked to their expectations of language use, but that the experiences are likely to modify the speakers' notions (or ideologies) of language. This interpretation is supported by the finding that even if the students' beliefs of language relied on the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies, the students described their experiences of ELF communication in ways that did not support the ideologies. In this regard, the students could thus be seen to move towards the teachers' position.

What the findings show in terms of constructing living norms in the study events is that the speakers did not simply reproduce ENL norms (i.e. notions of correctness attached to ENL or codified ENL standards). Students' beliefs about language and the English instructor views were found to support the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies, but the students' expectations of ELF interaction and the teachers' repertoires did not lend support for the ideologies. We could see that successful communication in ELF was not constructed to necessarily require correctness attached to ENL: the students reported that mutual understanding was achieved even if 'mistakes' were made, and the teachers' accounts constructed the notion of adequacy. In the study event interactions, correcting language was rare. We also saw that the L2 speakers of English were able to and took on the role of language experts in the interaction. That the teachers in my data had a tendency to act as regulators goes to show that language expertise was partly related to their role as experts in their fields. In addition, there was some fluctuation in the norms used in interaction: we could see references to scientific contexts and an international standard (example 7.7) and the acceptance of non-standard forms (also in the form of

[72] The Language Policy of the University of Helsinki encourages university teachers to set an example for good language usage: "Good language usage is the responsibility of every member of the university community. University teachers should promote high-quality language usage by setting an example. In this respect, all teachers are also language teachers" (UH Language Policy 2007: 46). It should be noted, though, that the policy document is not very well known among the teaching staff (Hirvensalo 2012).

accommodation). This means that there were emergent aspects of practice (chapter 2) that deviated from the ideologies of NS ownership and maintenance. Such emergent aspects could be summarised as (1) the agency of L2 speakers as language regulators, (2) the acceptability of variation, and (3) the evaluation of English based on adequacy rather than closeness to ENL norms.

7.4.2 Living norms: construction of alternatives to ENL norms and standards

Practices within academia such as journal publishers often requiring papers to be checked by a NS of English (see Lillis and Curry 2010) promote the NS ownership ideology. Similarly, the maintenance ideology is promoted through educational institutions and in dictionaries and grammar books that codify Standard English(es), and promote the codified forms as the legitimate forms of English. The promotion of the ideologies, especially through practices such as the above, creates language requirements that scientists and academics need to meet. These practices can be seen to predispose them to act in certain ways. Rather than start from such predispositions, what I have done is to focus on (a) regulatory practices used by ELF speakers and (b) the speakers' notions of ELF. The findings show agency of L2 speakers of English as language regulators and a practical orientation to language norms and standards (especially on the part of the teachers).

The findings illustrate, however, how the ideologies of NS ownership and maintenance were to an extent reproduced. There is thus no denying the partial reproduction of the 'legitimacy' of ENL (or Standard English) and NSs of English as 'owners' of the language. This is what Bourdieu (2000 [1982]) captures in his theorisation of the 'legitimate' language seen as imposed on the 'habitus' of the individual: the (institutional) promotion and reproduction of common sense perceptions to which the NS ownership and maintenance ideologies can be counted. According to Bourdieu (2000 [1982]), certain linguistic practices are recognised as 'legitimate' (e.g. Standard English as *the* legitimate form), not because individuals intentionally accept a 'norm', but because they have gone through "a long and slow process of acquisition" (2000 [1982]: 471), which is then seen to explain regularities inherent in practice. As Hanks (2005: 69) puts it, "[t]he stability of the habitus is not expressed in rules, which Bourdieu rejects, but in habits, dispositions to act in certain ways, and schemes of perception that order individual perspectives along socially defined lines".

However, as Agha's (2003) analysis of legitimation processes show, the promotion of the legitimate language is not a top-down process where individuals are steered by institutions; but rather a process that depends on the activities of the individuals who are linked to each other through institutions as well as discursive interactions (Agha 2003: 232). In addition, Agha (2003: 270) illustrates how metalinguistic processes come to mediate the linguistic habitus, which means that the habitus cannot be formed by factors "transmitted without passing through language and consciousness", as Bourdieu (2000 [1982]) claims. This is what my findings show, too. The descriptions of ELF as different from ENL, and the agency of the L2 speakers in the interaction illustrate that ELF was one legitimate form of English to the participants, even if it was not seen to reach all the nuances of an L1. The construction of living norms thus meant partly letting go of ENL norms and codified ENL standards. In all, the analyses of ELF interaction and the students' and teachers' talk about language demonstrate the complex interplay of dispositions to act in certain ways and speaker agency.

7.5 Summary

The findings of this chapter illustrate the complementariness of the interactional and ideological dimensions of regulation, and thus also the value of the comparison based on the tertia comparationis. The findings show that the informants' talk about language was more purist than their language use in the study event interaction. This may not be surprising considering that NS ownership and maintenance ideologies are promoted at institutional levels of language regulation (e.g. in language teaching and by journal publishers). Also, the English instructors as institutional regulators of language were found to construct views of ELF use as lowering the standards for English, and thus to reproduce (and further promote) the ideologies. Especially the students' beliefs about language could be seen to reflect the English instructors' views. In contrast, the analysis of the study event interaction brought to light the different language expert roles taken on in the interaction and the shifting normative orientations of the speakers. We could see how the regulation to a large extent relied on the division between experts and novices in the academic community of practice, rather than between NSs and NNSs. It appears that the speakers mainly drew on ENL norms when regulating language (and could thus be seen to partly reproduce the maintenance ideology), but in all, language corrections were rare and what emerged instead was acceptability of variation.

The dual approach had also other benefits. The interviews revealed differences between students', teachers' and English instructors' notions (or ideologies) of language and its use – differences that were not accessible via study event interactions. Second, we could see that the teachers took on an agentive role in terms of language regulation both in their language use and the interview accounts, and that their notions of correctness built on the adequacy for the purpose of use. While the students constructed ENL as their target model in their accounts, they too described ELF in ways that questioned the relevance of the notion for ELF use, and thus their expectations of ELF interaction could be seen to move towards the teachers' position.

The comparative analysis thus illustrates the complementariness of the analyses of the study event interaction and interviews, and the interactional and ideological dimensions of regulation. Moreover, by comparing the findings of the two analyses to the ideologies of NS ownership and maintenance, I was further able to show that the construction of living norms in the study events does not mean simply reproducing the ideologies. Rather, the findings show that ELF speakers can and do take on the role of experts in English, thus questioning the NS ownership ideology; and that the emergent aspects of practice (acceptability of variation and notions of adequacy) deviate from the maintenance ideology.

The following and last chapter summarises the main findings of this study. I further consider the implications of the findings, and critically evaluate the design and execution of the study, and provide suggestions for further research.

8 Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I summarise and discuss the relevance of the main findings of this study in the light of the theoretical framework (section 8.1). This is followed by a discussion on the implications of the findings (section 8.2). The chapter ends with an evaluation of the study (section 8.3) followed by suggestions for futher research on aspects of language regulation (section 8.4).

8.1 Summary and relevance of the findings

This study set out to explore language regulation, or the processes of constructing living norms, in (spoken) academic ELF. I have focused on the micro level of language regulation, that is, language-regulatory mechanisms used by speakers in ELF interaction, and the speakers' notions of English and its regulation. With the focus on how language regulation is carried out in interaction and the experiences and views of ELF users, I have been able to consider the construction of living norms and thus also the construction of relevance and irrelevance of established, codified norms for the speakers. The data used in the analyses came from international, English-medium study events (an academic ELF community of practice), which proved to be a fruitful source for a study on language regulation, since they enabled a focus on both novices (students) and more experienced scientists (teachers), and could also be used to shed light on the role of the English instructor in English-medium studies. Below, I summarise the main findings in relation to the three research questions given in chapter 1 and discuss the relevance of the findings.

8.1.1 Regulation in the study event interaction

The first research question was: In what ways is language regulation carried out in ELF interaction? The analysis seeking answers to this question (chapter 5) concentrated on a selection of language-regulatory mechanisms that were found to occur in the ELF interaction: mechanisms that deal with the boundaries of acceptability and what speakers construct as correct or incorrect language (i.e. outright corrections of language and explicit commenting on language) and more subtle regulatory mechanisms that shed light on the scope of acceptability (i.e. embedded repairs, reformulations and mediation, and lexical accommodation).

The scope of acceptability was found out to be wider than the scope of correctness, and we could see that a difference emerged between prescriptive and performance rules (Schmidt and McCreary 1977). The speakers tended to attach correctness to what they conceived to be correct in ENL, whereas acceptability was wider and ENL less relevant to determining acceptability. The findings show scarcity of overt language correcting and a generally tolerant attitude towards non-standard forms, which implies acceptability of variation in linguistic form.

A tendency to intervene in written English, rather than spoken English, was detected. Embedded repairs illustrated fluctuation in the 'direction' of the repairs, and by rephrasing and mediating, speakers offered alternative ways of expressing an idea. These regulatory practices widened the scope of acceptability beyond ENL norms. In addition, we could witness that speakers accommodated to unconventional lexical items and recycled some of these items (cf. Hülmbauer 2009) – the latter suggesting possibility for group norm development (cf. Garrod and Doherty 1994). While mainly (notions of) ENL norms were drawn on for correctness, for instance, scientific contexts emerged as an alternative source for norm construction.

Four types of language expert roles were found in the data: subject experts, L1-based experts, negotiated expertise, and language professionals as experts. The findings illustrate the legitimaticy to intervene in language as an L2 speaker of English, and a tendency for the L2 English speaking teachers to act as the language experts. The findings thus reveal an important difference between ELF and L1–L2 interaction (as studied in e.g. Brouwer et al. 2004) in that they show that L2 speakers of English acted as language experts in the ELF interaction even if a NS of English was present, whereas studies on L1–L2 interaction report of the authority of the L1 speaker (e.g. Kurhila 2001). This implies that a speaker's L1 makes less of a difference in ELF as opposed to L1–L2 interaction, which further emphasises the distinctiveness of lingua franca interaction.

As the different language expert roles illustrate, the NSs of English present in the interaction were sometimes assigned the role of language regulators. This was only done by the students, though, and interestingly, the students drew on the NSs of English largely to check the written form (e.g. of the group's presentation slides), and the NSs were constructed to have no problems at all in using the language and in assisting others with it. This further shows that correctness was largely constructed in relation to ENL norms (prescriptive norms). Then again, the different expert roles, particularly negotiated expertise and the one based on subject expertise illustrate steps towards endornormativity in ELF: L2 speakers taking on and being assigned the role of language regulators.

The findings are thus relevant in terms of shedding light on the micro-level processes of language regulation, both in terms of explicit and more subtle regulatory practices (cf. Seargeant 2009). By shifting attention to the practices of language regulation in ELF, the findings complement previous studies on ELF that have looked into the use and acceptability of non-standard forms (Firth 1996; Hülmbauer 2009; Mauranen 2012), and the extended use of forms such as the present progressive (Ranta 2006). The very focus on regulatory practices in interaction also means that unlike in much of conversation analytic studies (see Schegloff et al. 2002), I did not merely approach correcting as interactional repair used to solve trouble in understanding.

8.1.2 Regulatory views

The second research question "How do speakers of ELF perceive English and its regulation?" was the focus of chapter 6. In the analysis, I concentrated on the interview accounts of the two ELF user groups in the data, that is, students and teachers, and considered the accounts of the English instructors in relation to these two.

The student accounts were found to construct three interpretative repertoires used to talk about language: (1) a repertoire of clarity and simplification, (2) a repertoire of correctness of ENL, and (3) a repertoire of normality of ELF. Notably, the students' expectations of ELF interaction and thus their reported experiences of the interaction (repertoires of clarity and simplification and of normality of ELF) were observed to differ from their normative beliefs of language, that is, their notions of correctness (repertoire of correctness of ENL). The student accounts thus illustrate the distinction between beliefs and expectations, as discussed in chapter 2. Since the distinction was based on beliefs of correctness attached to ENL as opposed to the functionality (and thus acceptability) of ELF, it further illustrates the separation of the scope of correctness and the scope of acceptability (cf. section 8.1.1).

Four interpretative repertoires were discerned in the teacher accounts: (1) a repertoire of variation, (2) a repertoire of usability of ELF, (3) a repertoire of richness of one's L1 and (4) a repertoire of adequacy. In all, the repertoires constructed a practical stance towards language and regulation, similar to earlier findings of ELF users' views (e.g. Ehrenreich 2009). The teachers also reported that they act as language experts and make judgments about the acceptability of students' English mainly based on its intelligibility and purpose of use (specifically repertoire of adequacy). The accounts show, however, that intervention to students' language was also reportedly done to ensure that texts meet some unspecified external standards. These different purposes may then require the teachers to draw on different kinds of notions of correctness. The main conclusion to be drawn from these findings, though, is that the teachers' regulatory notions are rooted in practical judgements of adequacy.

The English instructors, then again, were for the most part found to connect correctness to 'nativeness'. The instructors reported communicative appropriacy (rather than accuracy) to be the core criterion for good language and for good texts, but they often tended to interpret the focus on communicative appropriacy in EMI as the lowering of the standards for English. This reflects the difficulty of approaching the question of how to *improve* students' (and teachers') English.

In all, the findings suggest instability in the speakers' regulatory notions, which seems to derive from the mismatch of traditional assumptions of the primacy of native language use, and the speakers' experiences of ELF interaction. Since the teachers as more experienced users of ELF illustrate the most practical stance towards the use of English in ELF settings, it appears that experience in ELF use relaxes the importance attached to traditional assumptions of correctness. Traditional assumptions were most readily seen in the instructor comments (lowering of the standards) and the students' repertoire of correctness of ENL. However, while the students constructed correctness in relation to ENL, they described ELF interaction in ways that came to question the relevance of this correctness model. The teachers' regulatory notions, then again, were rooted in practical judgements of adequacy, rather than closeness to ENL. The different user groups were thus found to orient to normativity in different ways.

What makes these findings important is that they shed light on ELF users' (and the different groups') experiences and views, not just people's attitudes towards ELF (cf. e.g. Jenkins 2007). My ethnographically informed approach sheds light on the different roles of (university) students, teachers and English instructors in the process of language regulation, which has not been done in earlier studies.

8.1.3 Comparisons and the construction of living norms

The third and last research question "What do the findings imply in terms of norm construction in ELF?" was discussed in chapter 7. On the one hand, the chapter connects the two earlier analyses, and thus the interactional and the ideological dimensions of language regulation, in a comparison based on tertia comparationis found in the study event and repertoire analyses. The comparative analysis further links the micro-level analyses to the macro-level ideologies of NS ownership and maintenance. On the other hand, the chapter functions as a discussion of the two sets of findings, and considers the findings in the light of the construction of living norms in the study events (i.e. the academic ELF community of practice). It moves from the micro level of ELF use and user views (chapters 5 and 6) to more macro level questions of language regulation.

The findings show that, in the study event interaction, speakers allocated language expertise to different actors, and it was possible for anyone to take on the role of language expert, which means that the NS ownership ideology was not supported. L2 speakers of English acted as language experts and thus showed agency in constructing living norms in the study events. Importantly, a division emerged between experts and novices of the academic community of practice, rather than NSs and NNSs of English, which implies a reduced importance of the NS-NNS divide in ELF interaction. Further evidence for this could be found in the teachers' interview accounts: the teachers reported that they intervene in students' language. The students' repertoires, however, constructed partial support for the NS ownership ideology. The accounts constructed primacy of L1-based language expertise, even if this was not seen as necessarily relevant for ELF.

As to the maintenance ideology and the reliance on ENL norms, the ideology was constructed to have some relevance, but only for correctness. In the interaction, the speakers mainly constructed correctness in relation to ENL, and the student accounts constructed the repertoire of correctness of ENL. Also the English instructors appeared to support the maintenance ideology. However, as suggested in the teacher repertoires and the students' repertoire of normality of ELF, ELF use was not seen to require such correctness. This renders the maintenance ideology less relevant for ELF. What further casts doubt on the relevance of the maintenance ideology is the acceptability of variation in the interaction, as well as what we saw in relation to teachers' commenting on students' written texts: the teachers drew on field-specific language practices that could sometimes be seen to deviate from ENL norms.

In general, the findings show that the students' and teachers' talk about language (ideological dimension) was more purist than the regulatory mechanisms used in the interaction (interactional dimension). This goes to show that language use is not necessarily in line with speakers' notions of language (see chapter 2). With the comparative analysis, then, I have been able to illustrate the complexity of language regulation: the differences (but also similarities) between the regulatory mechanisms used and the repertoires constructed in the interviews.

The comparative analysis further shows that the speakers did not simply reproduce the maintenance and NS ownership ideologies. This means that the speakers could be seen to partly let go of ENL norms and codified ENL standards in their construction of living norms. What emerged as an alternative were (1) the agency of L2 speakers as language regulators, (2) the acceptability of variation, and (3) the evaluation of English based on adequacy rather than closeness to ENL norms. That some support for the ideologies could be found in the speakers' language use and their talk about language, then again, illustrates the complex interplay of dispositions to act in certain ways (institutional demands for language use, see section 7.4.2) and speaker agency.

The comparative analysis was important not only in bringing together the findings of this study, and fusing them to form a coherent picture of language regulation in the field site, but also methodologically. The methodological decisions were grounded in the theoretical discussion about emergent and schematic aspects of language regulation and their complementariness. This means that the interaction in the study events and the interviews were seen to represent different dimensions of regulation, which are not in a causal relationship. The comparison of the findings of these two analyses (chapter 7) thus required the use of tools that would enable such a comparison where findings of one analysis would not simply be explained by findings of the other.

The theoretical contribution of this study is partly tied to this methodological originality. I have constructed a dual perspective on language regulation, which combines language use and user views under one framework. In addition, I have connected language regulation to the notion of living norms, which grounds the concept to the micro level of language use and users, and enables a focus on norm construction in a community of practice. With the help of this move, I was able to narrow down the focus to language-regulatory practices and speaker views without denying the importance of top-down, institutional language regulation (such as language planning and policy). By combining the dual perspective with the construction of living norms, I have shown, on the one hand, that the two regulatory dimensions bring forth different aspects of language regulation and norm construction in the community of practice, and on the other hand, that the construction of living norms is a complex process where speakers both reproduce prescriptive norms and thus turn them into living ones, and construct alternative norms.

8.2 Implications of the findings

This study has focused on the micro level of language regulation, that is, the processes of constructing living norms. We saw that speakers drew on established ENL norms and could thus be seen to reproduce them, but regulation was also done in spite of such norms. The findings, then, shed light on what the speakers consider to be acceptable and correct, who can regulate language, and when regulation is needed. This kind of bottom-up regulation is important in showing in what ways speakers make use of and come to question established (codified) norms, and what their stance towards such norms is. This, then, can be used to consider the practical applicability of the norms, and to inform the development of norms and standards for the purposes of language planning and policy, as well as language teaching and testing.

The findings have shown that L2 speakers of English take on the role of language expert in ELF interaction even in the presence of NSs of English. This implies a reduced importance of the division of NSs and NNSs in ELF settings. That teachers were the ones who most readily took on the expert role further implies increased importance of the expert-novice roles of the speakers. This in turn brings forth disciplinary literacy. For the teaching of academic English, then, we might want to take disciplinary literacy as the guiding principle of teaching (rather than 'nativeness').

My findings support earlier studies on ELF that have reported L2 English speakers' difficulties in understanding NSs of English in ELF interaction (e.g. Kalocsai 2009). In the interview accounts, students tended to describe NSs of English as more difficult to understand than L2 English speakers – even if they reported no difficulties in understanding the English NSs present in the study events focused on. However, since the students constructed NSs of English as a group to be more difficult to understand, it appears that NSs, too, would benefit from training in the use of ELF, for instance, with a focus on accommodation skills (see Jenkins 2000; Rogerson-Revell 2010). That NSs were reportedly more difficult to understand further implies that international intelligibility is not necessarily achieved by imitating NSs of English. There are thus grounds for reconsidering the criteria used, for instance, when assessing teachers' competence to teach in English in international settings: English skills cannot be the only component of such assessment, but rather ability to address international audiences. This means that NSs of English would *not* be exempted from the assessment simply because they are NSs. Along with the subtle regulatory practices analysed in this study, for instance Suviniitty's (2012) findings, which show that a number of interactional features (questions, directives and repetition) increase understandability in lectures, are a good starting point for creating such new criteria.

The regulatory practices analysed in this study functioned as a means to increase chances for mutual understanding: they offered alternative ways of expressing the same thing (e.g. mediation and embedded repairs), or made regulation explicit (language commenting and correcting). We could also see that mediation increased the interactants' chances to contribute in a situation where mutual understanding was at stake. This means that the regulatory practices inform us how to achieve successful communication through negotiating acceptability and also correctness in interaction. Differences were found in the correcting practices in ELF as opposed to L1–L2 interaction, which implies that even if similar means may be used across different types of interactions, they may not be used in the same way or to the same extent. The findings can thus be used when training people's communication skills, especially when preparing for communication in ELF, where collaboration and sensitivity to accommodate to one's interlocutors have been found to be key to successful communication (e.g. Cogo 2009; House 2003; Jenkins 2000).

8.3 Evaluation of the study

The strengths of this study are in its focus on both the use and users of ELF, and in its comparison based on tertia comparationis found in the analyses. The first methodological decision of focusing on both ELF interaction and ELF users' views complements earlier studies on ELF, which have, with some exceptions, concentrated on either ELF use *or* user views. The decision further made it possible to approach language regulation from different, complementary perspectives. Second, the comparison of the findings was designed to move the analysis from the micro level of language regulation to macro-level regulatory questions. I formulated the tertia comparationis after the micro-level interaction and interview analyses by searching for common organising patterns in the two (see Sørensen 2008, 2010). The organising patterns were thus grounded in the interactional and interview analyses, which means that they were not chosen randomly. The additional step of relating the organising patterns found in the micro-level analyses to macro-level regulatory ideologies (those of language maintenance and NS ownership of English) further enabled discussion of the findings in relation to regulation outside the field site. What I hope to have achieved with this move is a methodologically sound way of seeking wider relevance for micro-level findings.

I have used data from a higher education context, with the informants being university students, teachers and English instructors. As opposed to professional academic contexts (e.g. conferences), the educational context explored was expected to highlight language as one of the means to socialise students into academia. To some extent, this could be seen in the data in the form of the teachers' active role as language regulators. The expert members of the academic community of practice most readily took on and were most often assigned the role of language experts.

The three study events represented different types of events, all interactive in character. By concentrating on the three events and their participants, I was able to explore ELF interaction in three different settings and to incorporate the views of different participant groups. As is the case with all data collected with ethnographic (or ethnographically-informed) methods, though, the data have their limitations. The focus on the three study events means that the number of the interviewed teachers remained limited. A wider interview study or survey could provide a richer understanding of teacher views on ELF and language regulation, since it would more likely reach teachers with a variety of lingua-cultural backgrounds and differing teaching and research experience. The benefit of limiting the focus of this study, though, is in providing views from those teachers who participated in the interactions looked into.

As to the interviews in general, the main uncertainty relates to the data collection at different points in time, and the consequent development of interview questions, as well as the different interviewing practices. Developing interview questions is typical of data-centred studies, where the study is focused during and between the data collection periods, and this is why developing the questions along the way is useful, if not necessary. However, developing interview questions can also be seen as a limitation in that the interviews did not follow exactly the same guiding questions each time. That I tried out different interviewing practices (pair/group interviews and two interviewers) can also raise similar questions, since not all interviews followed the same pattern. To overcome these limitations, I have explored the interviews as interactional data, which means that in the analysis of the interpretative repertoires, I did not only pay attention to the interviewees' answers, but also considered the interaction in which the answers occurred.

My purpose has been to see what directions ELF speakers may be taking in terms of regulating ELF. With this focus, I hope to have avoided the 'ideologisation' of ELF (for a discussion, see Saraceni 2008); I hope to have avoided statements of what speakers 'need to' or 'should' do in order to communicate with one another, and rather to have illustrated what forms language regulation takes in ELF interaction, and what norms may be reproduced and what alternatives emerge in the process. Ultimately we are interested in who prescribes for ELF speakers, what they prescribe, how, and for what purposes (see Cameron 1995: 11). My findings show agency of L2 speakers of English as language regulators and a practical orientation to language norms (especially on the part of the teachers). They also shed light on the role of institutional regulators (such as language instructors) as seen by the speakers. However, what my focus on the micro level of ELF and ELF users has not explored is how institutional regulatory practices are organised. This means that language norms 'imposed' on academics, such as those required by journal publishers, or guidelines such as university language policies were not analysed. For instance, an analysis of university policies would have added a new layer to my study. However, because of the aim of shedding light on ELF speakers' practices and views, a separate analysis was not deemed necessary. The possible relevance of such policies was expected to come up in the speakers' accounts, and indeed, the findings illustrate the complex interplay of reproducing codified norms as opposed to constructing alternatives.

8.4 Future research

My focus has been on spoken interaction, but we saw in the analysis of regulatory practices (chapter 5) that explicit language regulation during interaction often dealt with written English, and in the interviews (chapter 6), the teacher accounts constructed it more important to regulate written than spoken language. In the accounts, the difference was attributed to the durability of written texts. If we further consider the importance of written texts in academia, there are good grounds for focusing the teaching of academic English on writing. But if we want to ensure international intelligibility, we need new criteria for good texts. The question is not about lowering standards, but rather, modification of the practices. As, for instance, Solin's (2010, 2012; see also Mauranen 2002) research on the implementation of the academic portfolio genre (originally from the US) in Finnish academic contexts shows, the flow of discourse practices across locations creates modified versions of the practices. Even if the informants in this study mostly relied on (their notions of) ENL norms when regulating English, the findings show agency of L2 speakers as regulators, as well as developments towards the acceptance of international standards for texts written in English. A further investigation of academic texts (written by students, but also by established scholars), and the different stages of language regulation these texts go through would, then, be a crucial contribution to research on academic language use. It could shed light on the different degrees of language-regulatory agency that individual writers 'have' in different stages of a writing process, and it could be a means to establish standards for international intelligibility (see Flowerdew 2008; Lillis and Curry 2010).

Such an investigation on the formation of international norms for written academic English could take the form of a textography (Swales 1998), with focus on selected individuals and their written discourse. In a textography, the researcher builds his or her arguments on close analysis of "*textual* extracts" (Swales 1998: 2, original italics) that function as the lens through which the particular study site is seen. Alternatively, the investigation could take the form of a nexus analysis (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2004; see also Norris and Jones 2005 for mediated discourse analysis; Soukup & Kordon 2012 for application of nexus analysis to ELF) that would concentrate on mediated action and seek to improve the field sites under study, or a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1998), where analysis would be done in and across different field sites (see Sørensen 2010). For regulation of written academic English the sites could include journal editors, language services, and professional academics and their texts, which would enable analysis of connections between language-regulatory practices in each site and their influences on each other. With a nexus analysis approach, the study would aim at improving current practices, which in the case of regulating written academic English could mean developing international standards for publishing in English (see Flowerdew 2008).

A fruitful avenue for future research would also be to investigate the construction of acceptability of unconventional linguistic forms in ELF interaction in relation to word formation rules, that is, why for instance 'increasement' may be acceptable but some other form not (see Seidlhofer 2011: 97–109; cf. also Pitzl 2011). This focus would shift attention from the processes of language regulation to what guides the acceptability of linguistic realisations.

An aspect I have not dealt with in this study is the question of access to English-medium university studies, and the speakers' linguistic and communicative skills they need in order to be able to participate in the ELF interaction. Such questions of linguistic inequality have been the focus of much debate in Applied Linguistics, and they have proved important for highlighting linguistic rights and inequalities both within and outside academia (e.g. Canagarajah 1999; Lillis and Curry 2010; papers in Carli and Ammon 2008; Pennycook 1998; Phillipson 2006; cf. Swales and Leeder 2012). In the same vein, Blommaert (2010: 41–47) has called for a sociolinguistics that focuses on mobile linguistic resources (rather than immobile languages). The idea with this sociolinguistics is to analyse how linguistic resources move and what consequences this movement has. It emphasises the importance of realising that languages do not move from place to place as such; but rather, when people move, they take their linguistic resources with them, and these resources are adjusted to the new context. The ELF interaction in this study can thus be seen to represent situations where the speakers' mobile resources come into contact. Blommaert (2010: 6) describes the movement of resources as movement "through different stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language 'gives you away'", by which he means that each space holds its own norms that define which resources are accepted and usable in the specific context – and thus restrict the participation of those who are not familiar with the norms. The focus, then, is on the consequences of mobility, specifically inequalities on a global scale. An example from Wesbank, a community in South Africa, where English is recognised as the resource for spatial and social mobility, but where English is taught according to local norms that deviate from codified (ENL) norms, is given as an illustration of the "systemic inequalities" (Blommaert 2010: 99) that restrict the mobility of individuals. The problem is not that the local norms would be 'wrong', but that people may not have access to norms outside the local context. Ultimately, then, the question is that of access to relevant (language) norms.

The students in this study, however, had already passed the scholarly and language requirements in order to enter the university, which means that for them, the question was no longer of access to the institution itself. Nevertheless, as the analysis of language regulation shows, the question was about access to 'the norms' used within the institution and academia more generally (see Lillis and Curry 2010). But it was not only a question about access to the norms, but also about the (re)negotiation of them in interaction. It is clear that multilingual environments such as the one looked into in this study harbour inequalities in terms of access to the environments. However, particularly in the case of ELF encounters, it is not simply a question of an individual adapting to the set norms of the environment, but rather individuals and groups of individuals (re)negotiating the norms of the environment. This is also wherein lies the potential for the change of language norms.

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Appendix A: Transcription conventions

The transcriptions are based on a slightly modified version of the SELF project transcription guide (see http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/self). Special symbols used in this study are explained below.

Speaker codes:

IR	Interviewer (numbered if two interviewers speak in the example)
IE	Interviewee (numbered if two interviewees speak in the example)
S#	Student
NS#	Student (NS of English)
BS#	Student (bilingual speaker with English as one of the L1s)
T#	Teacher
M#	Mentor
E#	English instructor
SS	Several simultaneous speakers

Transcription symbols:

,	Brief pause 2–3 sec.
.	Pause 3–4 sec.
<P: ##>	Pause, longer than 4 sec.
te-	Unfinished utterances
[text 1] [text 2]	Overlapping speech (approximate, shown to the nearest word, words not split by overlap tags)
C-A-P-S	Capital letters when words spelled out and for acronyms
(text)	Uncertain transcription
(xx)	Unintelligible speech
@@	Laughter
@text@	Spoken laughter
<S#> text </S#>	Back-channelling when marked within another speaker's turn
<NAME S#>	Names of participants in the same speech event
<NAME>	Other names mentioned
<TEXT>	Descriptions and comments between tags
((…))	Omitted text from transcription

Appendix B: Consent forms

The following are model consent/background information forms used in the study: the first one for students, the second one for staff.

SELF – Studying in English as a Lingua Franca (Student form)

SELF is a research project run at the Department of English at the University of Helsinki. The project investigates academic discourses in intercultural contexts where English is used as the medium of interaction. We collect written and spoken data for linguistic research. Personal information regarding the participants will not be made public and all the collected material will be used for research and teaching purposes only.

I hereby give my consent to be recorded:	I also accept that my course assignments are collected for the above mentioned purposes:
Yes ( )	Yes ( )
No ( )	No ( )

Signature: ______________________________

Name: ______________________________

Background Information

1. Age:	≤ 23	( )	2. Gender:	female	( )
	24–30	( )		male	( )
	31–50	( )			
	51 ≥	( )			

3. Student status in Finland:

Masters degree student ( ) PhD student ( ) Visiting student ( )

Exchange student ( ) Other, please specify: ______________

4. Major subject: ______________________________

5. Country of origin: ______________________________

6. Native language(s): ______________________________

7. Other languages you use: ______________________________

8. Completed academic degrees: ______________________________

9. Any other comments: ______________________________

Thank you for contributing to our research!

[Contact information]

SELF – Studying in English as a Lingua Franca (Teacher form)

SELF is a research project run at the Department of English at the University of Helsinki. The project investigates academic discourses in intercultural contexts where English is used as the medium of interaction. We collect written and spoken data for linguistic research. Personal information regarding the participants will not be made public and all the collected material will be used for research and teaching purposes only.

I hereby give my consent to be recorded:	I also accept that my course materials are collected for the above mentioned purposes:
Yes ( )	Yes ( )
No ( )	No ( )

Signature: ______________________

Name: ______________________

Background Information

1. Age:	≤ 30	( )	2. Gender:	female	( )
	31–45	( )		male	( )
	45–60	( )			
	61 ≥	( )			

3. Country of origin: ______________________

4. Native language(s): ______________________

5. Languages you use at work: ______________________

6. Other languages you use: ______________________

7. Title and/or position: ______________________

8. Number of years you have taught in English: ______________________

9. Any other comments: ______________________

Thank you for contributing to our research!

[Contact information]

Appendix C: Interview guides

Below are two interview guides used for the student interviews (guides 1 and 2) and two guides used for the teacher interviews (guides 3 and 4), two from the beginning stages and two that I used for the interviews conducted in a later stage of the study. This is to show how I developed the interview guides during the data collection. The guide used for the English instructor interviews (guide 5) is given after the student and teacher guides.

The interviews were semi-structured thematic interviews, and the guides were designed to cover the same themes with all of the interviewees, with the questions in the guides suggesting relevant aspects to be covered, not a list to be followed literally. During the course of the study, I used my experiences from doing the interviews to think over question formulations and the order and relevance of the themes and questions for the following interviews. The clock face activity referred to in the later versions of the guides can be found in Appendix D. Before the interviews, the interviewees were encouraged to share their views and experiences of using English.

(1) Early version of the student interview guide

Background/Studying in Finland

(1) What made you choose to come to Helsinki/Finland to study and why the specific study programme (name which)? Why did you want to study in English?

(2) How long have you studied here? What has it been like?

(3) What expectations do you have regarding your studies here? / Have the studies met your expectations?

(4) What has been the strangest thing here in Finland, especially concerning your studies? What has surprised you?

(5) Have you used English as your language of study before? Where? (Compare your previous experiences with studying in English in Finland and in international settings.)

(6) What do you think about <PLACE OF STUDY> as a study environment?

Multicultural environment

(7) What do you think about studying in a multi-cultural environment? What makes it extra fun / not so much fun?
(8) In your experience, are there any specific things to keep in mind when communicating in multicultural settings?
(9) Do you expect your way of thinking to change during your studies here? How? / Why not? / Do you think your way of thinking has changed during your studies here? How? / Why not?

Challenging vs. easy situations

(10) In what kinds of situations have you used English in your studies here (e.g. listening to lectures etc., presentations, seminar discussions, group work, asking questions or commenting during lectures, written assignments, organisational things)?
(11) What has been easiest?
(12) What has been most challenging?
(13) Are the situations where you avoid using English? Why?

Using English as the language of study

(14) What would you say are the positive and negative sides of having English as your language of study?
(15) Would you prefer to study in your native language? Why? / Why not? Do you find it more challenging to study in English than in your native language? If yes, in what ways?
(16) What do you think about English being the language of study in many international programmes?
(17) How do you think it will affect your future that you are using English as your language of study?
(18) Where do you expect to use English in the future?
(19) Have your exprectations affected your choices of where to study? If yes, how?
(20) Have they affected your choices of what kind of English you want to use? If yes, how?
(21) What is/was it like to work in the <NAME OF GROUP>?
(22) What was it like to give the presentation? (If presentation given)

Using English in general

(23) If you think about the past week, where have you used English the most (apart from your studies)? What other languages have you used during the past week, if any?
(24) What about written language: what kinds of texts have you written (meaning all texts incl. text messages, e-mails, letters etc.)? Which of those do you enjoy writing the most/the least? Why?
(25) In general, which language or languages do you prefer to use?
(26) In general, do you find it easy or difficult to use English?
(27) When do you enjoy using English the most? When is it fun to use English?
(28) When do you enjoy using English the least? When is it not fun to use English?
(29) If you think about speaking/listening/reading/writing in English, do you think some are easier than others? Why? Are any specific situations particularly challenging (such as talking on the phone)?
(30) Are there situations where you wouldn't want to use English? Can you give an example?
(31) Do you think it is different to use English with native speakers of English compared to other non-native speakers of English? What makes it different/similar?

When you use any language, be it your mother tongue or a foreign language, there is always a possibility that you may not understand what the other is saying or the other person does not understand you.

(32) Do you sometimes find it difficult to understand what others say? Can you think of an example?
(33) In your experience, what kinds of things make it difficult to understand what other people say?
(34) What do you do if you do not understand what others say?
(35) Are there situations where you wouldn't care whether the other person understands you or not?
(36) What do you do if you feel that others have misunderstood you?

(37) Anything to add?

* * *

(2) Later version of the student interview guide

Background

(1) Could you tell us what made you choose to come to Helsinki/Finland to study? And when have you started your studies here?
(2) What made you choose to study in English?
(3) Have you had experiences of studying in English before? If yes, where/when?
(4) What has it been like to study in HU? (Compared to home university/other experiences?)

Clock activity: plurilingualism, using English in different contexts

We asked you to think about a typical day in your life and the different contexts in which you use English and other languages during the day. Have you had time to fill in the clock faces we sent you?
=> If not: Could you fill them in now?
=> If yes, go straight to these:

(5) Was there anything that surprised you when you filled in the clock faces?
(6) Could you tell us about a typical day in your life (i.e. expand on what you have written)?
(7) What languages do you use?
(8) How do you choose the language to be used in different situations?
(9) Do you prefer to use one/some of the languages? Why/Why not?
(10) Are there certain situations where you prefer to use a certain language?
(11) Are there situations where you would not want to use a certain language?
(12) Is it natural for you to mix languages? In what situations do you do that?
(13) Where have you learned each language?
(14) Is it different for you to use English in the different situations you mention? In what ways is it different? What makes those situations e.g. easy/more difficult than other situations?

    a. with friends vs. in class/studies more generally
    b. listening/speaking/reading/writing
    c. different study-related tasks such as writing an essay or a report vs. commenting during lectures, doing group work, giving presentations etc.

(15) Is it different for you to use English with different people? What makes it different/similar?

    a. teachers vs. other students

b. English native speakers vs. other non-native speakers of English

(16) In your experience, what kind of English is hard to follow/understand?
(17) What do you think about studying in a multicultural environment?
(18) What makes it fun? / What makes it challenging?

Group work

(19) In your experience, what was it like to work in the <NAME OF GROUP>?
(20) Did you know any of the other students in advance?
(21) In your experience, how typical was the group work (compared to other groups and group works you have experienced)?
(22) How do you think the group worked together?
(23) What was good about the group work?
(24) Was there something you would have wanted to do differently?
(25) Was it natural for you to use English in the group?
(26) Was it always easy for you to understand the other participants? (Examples where not? How did you try to overcome the situations?)
(27) Did you notice any changes in the group? Did someone take a more active role in the end?
(28) Do you think the presence of the mentors affected the group (work)? If yes, in what ways?
(29) Did you notice that the mentors sometimes used Finnish? In your experience, how typical is this kind of language mixing/code switching? Are there situations where you would do that?
(30) How do you think the chairperson practice (each student at a time) worked in your group?
(31) How was your presentation in <PLACE NAME>? Who was chosen to present? Why?
(32) Do you think some students in the group had an advantage over the others because of their English? If yes, how did this show in the group work?

More on using English etc.

(33) If you think about your studies more generally, what has it been like to study in English?

(34) What has been fun? / What has been challenging?

(35) If you think of the different situations where you use English (e.g. in your studies), have you noticed that you would adapt your language use depending on the situation? If yes, in what kinds of situations and in what ways?

(36) Is it always easy for you to communicate with other people in English? When is it easy/not easy and why?

   a. Do you sometimes find it difficult to understand what others say? (Examples?)
   b. In your experience, what kinds of things make it difficult to understand what other people are saying?
   c. What do you do if you do not understand what others say?
   d. What do you do if you notice that the other person does not understand you?
   e. Are there situations where you would not care what the other person has said?
   f. Are there situations where you would not care whether the other person understands you or not?

(37) When do you think it is fun to use English? / When is it not fun to use English?

(38) Have you noticed a change in your English during your stay in Finland?

(39) What do you think about the position of English in today's world? Do you see any positive/negative sides to the spread of English?

(40) Where do you expect to use English in the future?

(41) Is there something you would like to add? Anything you think we should know about studying in English, but have not asked?

* * *

(3) Early version of the teacher interview guide (translated from Finnish)

Background

(1) Could you start by briefly telling me about your background as a teacher/researcher?

(2) In what kinds of contexts have you used English?
(3) Have you taught elsewhere than in <SUBJECT>?
(4) How long has teaching in English been given in <SUBJECT>?
(5) There are often visiting teachers and students (e.g. from China and the Sudan) in <SUBJECT> courses. What kinds of networks do you have? Does student exchange go both ways?

English (as a teaching/study language)

(6) What do you think about the fact that English is used as the language of teaching in several international study programmes?
(7) What challenges do you see in this development?
(8) What role do other languages than English play in your field?

Teaching groups where English is used as a lingua franca

(9) What makes teaching in English fun/less fun?
(10) Does the teaching language affect the way you plan your teaching? If yes, how?
(11) What challenges do you see in teaching linguistically and culturally heterogenous groups?
(12) What is it like to teach students with very different linguistic and cultural backgrounds?
(13) Does student status play a role in course design?
(14) How would you place your subject in relation to the university's educational goals (academic skills vs. practical skills)?
(15) Do you require students to achieve a certain level of English skills? What kind of English use do you prepare you students for? Do you set requirements for other languages?
(16) What kinds of differences have you noticed in students language use (if any)?
(17) In what ways do you take these differences into account in your teaching?
(18) Mr <FIRST NAME>, Ms <FIRST NAME> => where does this practice come from?

Students' language use

(19) In your opinion, does a teacher also have responsibility over a student's language? In what ways?
(20) Have you experiences difficulties due to language?
(21) Could you think of an example of a situation where it was difficult to understand a student? What do you do in such situations?
(22) What makes a student's speech difficult to understand? What makes it easy to understand?
(23) What makes a student's writing difficult to understand? What makes it easy to understand?
(24) Have you noticed that a student would not understand you? How have you noticed it? What do you do in such situations?
(25) When do you intervene in a student's language (spoken/written)? Why?/Why not?
(26) What makes a student's presentation difficult to follow? What makes it easier to follow? (Easier with slides and/or written report?)
(27) In what situations do you intervene in a student's presentation?
(28) Have you noticed that students' language use would change over time? How do you notice it?

One's own language use

(29) What means do you use to ensure your message is understood?
(30) What means do you use to ensure that you have understood your interlocutor's message?
(31) Do you consciously change your language according to the person you are speaking to? If yes, in what ways? Have you noticed that you would change your language according to familiarity of your interlocutor or his/her background?
(32) What kinds of language related difficulties have you encountered during your teaching/researcher career? How have you overcome them?
(33) Have you noticed that you have a tendency to explicate questions posed by a student to another student? In what ways do you adapt your language to make the other person understand you? Do you use some particular means to dot that?
(34) You are very skilful in understanding different kinds of accents and students' questions. Do you think your ability to do that has developed in the course of the years?

Academic conventions

(35) Referencing practices and plagiarism => Have you noticed foul play? How do you notice it? What do you think causes it? Do you think it could be that students cannot rephrase their ideas in English in new ways? Do students ask for help in writing in English?
(36) Have you ever received written reports that are so difficult to understand that it makes evaluation difficult? How do you proceed in such situations?
(37) Do students ask for help with academic writing conventions? (What about for giving presentations?)

(38) Can you think of anything to add?

* * *

(4) Later version of the teacher interview guide

Background

(1) Could you start by briefly telling me about your background as a teacher/researcher?
(2) (What have you studied? Have you studied in English?)
(3) Have you taught a lot in English? How about in other languages?
(4) In what other contexts have you used English (e.g. fieldwork)?
(5) What role would you say English/other languages than English play in your field?

Clock face activity: plurilingualism, using English in different contexts

We asked you to think beforehand of a typical day in your life and the different situations where you use English and other languages during the day. Have you had a chance to fill in the clockfaces?
=> *If not: Could you fill them in now?*
=> *If yes:*

(6) Could you tell us about a typical day in your life (i.e. expand on what you have written)?
(7) What languages do you use?
(8) How do you choose the language to be used in different situations?
(9) Do you prefer to use one/some of the languages (e.g. when teaching)? Why/why not?

(10) Are there certain situations where you prefer to use a certain language?
(11) Are there situations where you would not want to use a certain language?
(12) Is it natural for you to mix languages? In what situations do you do that?
(13) Where have you learned each language?
(14) Is it different for you to use English in the different situations you mention? In what ways is it different? What makes those situations e.g. easy/more difficult than other situations?

    a. with friends/colleagues vs. in class/teaching situations more generally
    b. listening/speaking/reading/writing
    c. different teaching/research related tasks such as writing an articles, giving lectures, guiding group work or discussions etc.

(15) Is it different for you to use English with different people? What makes it different/similar?

    a. teachers vs. students
    b. English native speakers vs. other non-native speakers of English

(16) If you think of the different situations where you use English (e.g. at your work), have you noticed that you would adapt your language use depending on the situation or the person you are talking to? If yes, in what situations and in what ways?

Especially if a lot of international contacts and experience:

(17) Based on your experience, what kind of English do you find difficult to understand?
(18) What do you think of working in a multicultural environment?
(19) What makes it fun? What makes it challenging?

Group work

(20) In your experience, what was it like to work as a mentor in the <NAME OF GROUP>?
(21) How would you describe your role as a mentor? Was it natural for you to act as a mentor?

(22) Did you plan the meetings beforehand with the other mentor?
(23) Did you get guidance from the course organisers?
(24) Did you know any of the students in advance?
(25) How do you think the group worked together?
(26) What was the group work like compared to your earlier experiences as a mentor?
(27) Was it natural for you to use English in the group?
(28) Was it always easy for you to understand the other participants? (Examples where not? How did you try to overcome the situations?)
(29) Did you notice any changes in the group? Did someone take a more active role in the end?
(30) We noticed that Finnish was sometimes used in the group. In your experience, how typical is this kind of language mixing/code switching? Are there situations where you would do that?
(31) How do you think the chairperson practice (each student at a time) worked in your group?
(32) If you attended the seminar in <PLACE NAME>, how do you think the group's presentation went?
(33) Do you think some students in the group had an advantage over the others because of their English? If yes, how did this show in the group work?
(34) How would you describe the role of the English instructor from the Language Centre in the group?

More on using English etc.

(35) In your opinion, does a teacher also have responsibility over a student's language? In what ways?
(36) When do you intervene in students' language? Why do you intervene / do not intervene?

   a. spoken vs. written
   b. student presentation vs. discussion

(37) Is it always easy for you to communicate with other people in English (e.g. in teaching situations)? When is it easy/not easy and why?

a. Do you sometimes find it difficult to understand what others say? (Examples?)
b. In your experience, what kinds of things make it difficult to understand what other people are saying?
c. What do you do if you do not understand what others say?
d. What do you do if you notice that the other person does not understand you?
e. Are there situations where you would not care what the other person has said?
f. Are there situations where you would not care whether the other person understands you or not?

(38) If you think about teaching on a more general level, what is it like for you to teach in English?
(39) What has been fun /challenging?
(40) What do you think about the position of English in today's world? Do you see any positive/negative sides to the spread of English?
(41) Where do you expect to use English in the future?

(42) Is there something you would like to add? Anything more you think we should know about your experiences of using English and teaching in English?

* * *

(5) Language instructor interview guide

Background

(1) Could you start by briefly telling us/me how you ended up teaching at the Language Centre?
(2) What kinds of things do you do here? (What are your responsibilities here?)
(3) (How long have you taught English?)
(4) (Do you teach any other languages than English?)
(5) How would you describe your role at the Language Centre?

You mentioned language support…

Language support for students

(6) The Language Centre offers language support for students who study in English-medium programmes. What kind of language support have you given to such students?

(7) What fields do your students normally represent?

(8) Do you teach both local and international students?

(9) How would you describe the English used by your students?

a. (In what ways does it vary? – language skills/varieties of English/?)
b. Have you experienced that it would be difficult to understand some of the students' English? Why?
c. Have you experienced that students would not understand your English? Why?
d. Have you noticed differences between the students' command of spoken vs. written English?
e. What kind of differences?
f. Have you noticed that you would adapt your language use to that used by your interlocutors? If yes, in what ways do you adapt your language use? And when do you adapt (with whom, in which situations)?

(10) In your experience, do your students need help with English? If yes, what kind of help?

(11) What aspects of their language skills do you think should be improved?

(12) Why the specific aspects?

(13) In what ways do you try to incorporate these aspects to your teaching?

(14) As a language teacher, what do you want to convey to the students who study in English-medium programmes/courses?

(15) What kind of English do you want to teach to the students? Why that kind of English?

(16) What kind of English would you like your students to be able to produce?

(17) In what ways do you try to foster this aim in your teaching?

Language support for teachers

(18) What kind of language support have you given to English-medium teachers?
(19) How often have you taught the *Teaching through English* course?
(20) What kinds of things are typically focused on during the course? Why?
(21) What kinds of language-related things are focused on? Why?
(22) If you think about language and communicative interaction, what would you say are the most important things for an English-medium teacher to learn?
(23) In what ways do you try to encourage these things in your teaching?
(24) What kind of English would you like English-medium teachers to be able to produce?
(25) In what ways do you try to foster this aim in your teaching?

The English language

(26) What do you think about the position of English in today's world?
(27) Do you see any positive/negative sides to the spread of English?
(28) The spread of English means diversity in the ways the language is used – we have several native varieties of English, including New Englishes such as Indian English, and English is increasingly used as a lingua franca. Does this diversity affect your teaching? If yes, in what ways?
(29) Does English as a lingua franca (ELF) play a part in your work (specifically teaching)? How would you describe the part that ELF plays in your teaching?

a. Do you, for instance, consciously take into account in your teaching that your students study or teach in lingua franca contexts? If yes, how?

(ELF = English used between speakers who do not share a first language and who mainly use the language as a second or foreign language.)

(30) (How familiar would you say that you are with research done on ELF?)
(31) Do you use English in lingua franca settings yourself (outside English teaching contexts)? Does this differ from other kinds of contacts you've had (e.g. with other native speakers of English)? If yes, in what ways?
(32) Is there something you would like to add? Anything you think we/I should know about teaching English at the university?

Appendix D: Clock face activity

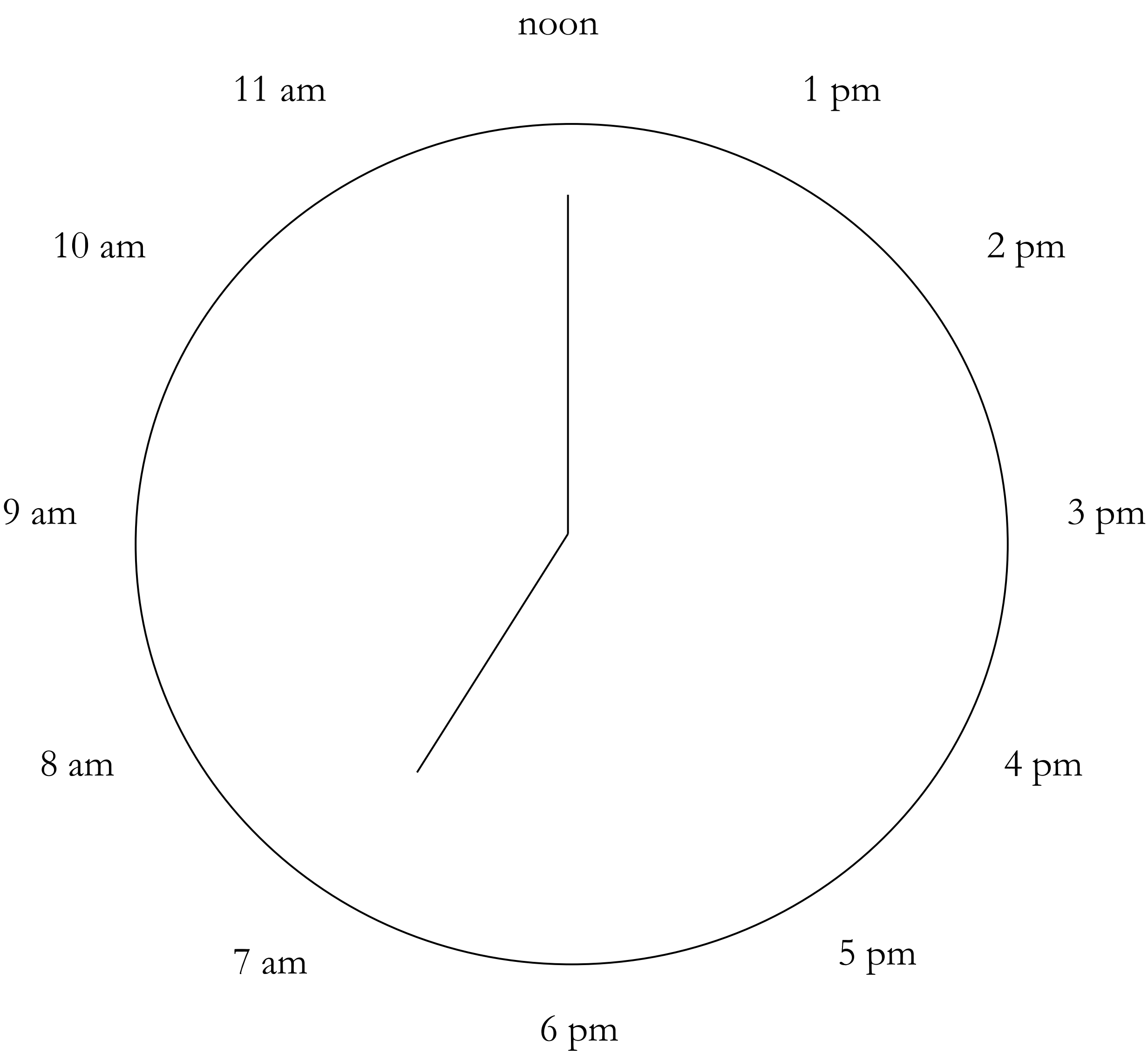
Think of a typical day in your life, and mark in the clock faces

(1) What you did during the day

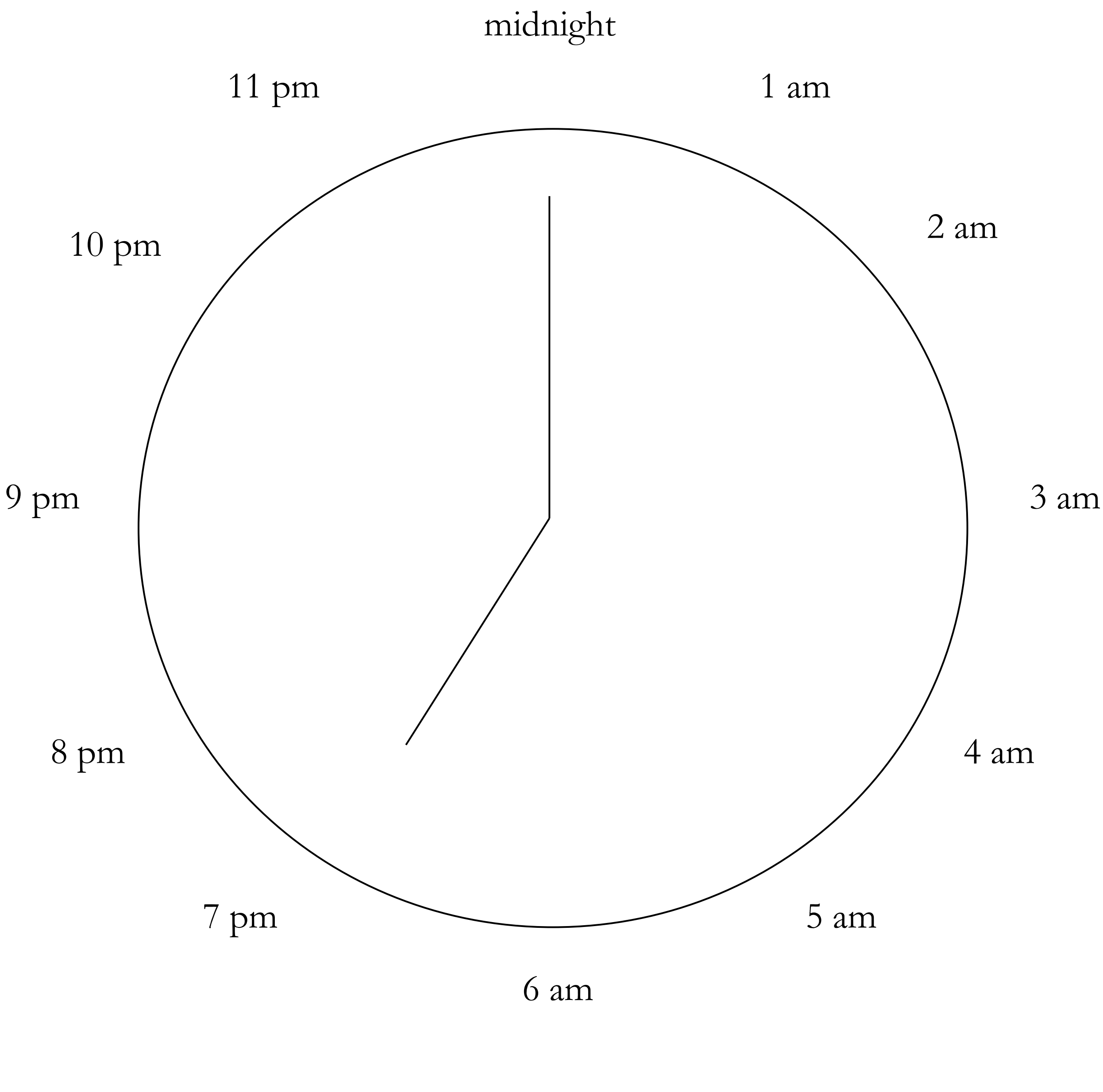
(2) What language(s) you used in the situations

(3) Who you used the language(s) with

7 am – 6 pm



7 pm – 6 am



Appendix E: Interview transcriptions in Finnish

Some of the interviews were conducted in Finnish. Below are the original Finnish transcriptions of the interview accounts quoted in this study. The examples are numbered as in the text.

Student interviews

(6.18)

IE-1: mul on vähän sama juttu että mä aina aina pelkään sitä että nyt mä sanon jonkun väärin vaik et vaik et niinku tos meidän ryhmässäkin ni ei kukaan oikein puhu täydellisesti paitsi ehkä @<NAME NS3> mut@ mut tota jotenkin se alkaa vaan nolottaa et jos huomaa että ääns jonkun väärin tai tai sano jonkun ihan väärän sanan

IR: miks se on noloa

IE-1: en mä tiiä

IR: @@

IE-2: se on jotenkin niin kiva osata p- puhua [silleen (niinkun kieliopin)]

IE-1: [se ei oo niin sujuvaa ku sit ku] puhuu suomeks

IE-2: nii niin no e- ja joutuu miettii paljo [enemmän sit] <IE-1> [niin] </IE-1> mitä sanoo

IE-1: ku tietää et mitä haluu sanoo ni sit se pitää kääntää viel päässä englanniks ja sit yrittää hakea @niitä sanoja@

(SG, S1 and S4)

(6.22)

IR: onks sulla sit ollu päinvastasia tilanteita joissa sä oot huomannu että että toinen ihminen ei ymmärrä mitä sä yrität it- itse sanoa

IE: joo näitähän riittää kyllä @@

IR: oisko sulla joku esimerkkitilanne

IE: er, no varmaan justiinsa siis tässä meidän <NAME OF STUDY EVENT> kurssilla kun keskusteltiin ryhmäläisten kanssa niin kyllä siellä (oli) monesti sellasia tilanteita että tuota minä yritän selittää jotain mitä varsinki semmosia jota ei ehkä itsekään pysty suomeks niin jotenkin niin selkeästi selittämään <IR> mhm-hm </IR> ja sitten englanniks on ehkä vielä sitten vaikeempaa <IR> mhm-hm </IR> varsinkin semmosten hyvin niinkun abstraktien asioiden selittäminen esimerkiks mä yritin selittää tätä et meillä oli tää dynaaminen suojelu <IR> mhm-hm </IR> niin sit mä yritin jotakin selittää et meidän pitää todella niinkun tehdä pesäeroa siihen kun mikä on normaalia suojelua ja dynaamista [suojelua] <IR> [mhm-hm] </IR> jotenkin sellasta kun ne on käytännössä samoja asioita mut se pitää jotenkin korostaa niitä <IR> joo </IR> eroja <IR> joo </IR> semmosten abstraktien asioitten selittäminen (on vähän)

IR: joo, miten sä yrität sitten selvitä siitä tilanteesta

IE: selittää vaan niin kauan että jotain ymmärtää <IR> joo </IR> sitten pitää ehkä joskus jättää vaan hautumaan ajatusta kanssa et <IR> joo </IR> antaa olla ja sit <IR> joo </IR> joskus jatkaa

IR: joo onks joskus sellasia sellasia tilanteita et sä mieluummin jätät ihan et sä et sano mitään tai että niin että jättää asian siihen

IE: joo joo sekin oli just se- semmonen tilanne et selitän tätä kaks kertaa kahtena eri päivänä ekana päivänä kun en osannut selittää ni sitten tokana päivänä jatkoin

IR: joo menikö se sitte läpi @@ tai et ymmärskö muut [(xx)]

IE: [joo sit mul oli niinkun] sit he he niinkun tekivät niinku sattumalta yks meidän jäsen teki vähän niinku mitä mä tarkotin ni sit mä sanoin et tätä mä niinku yritin [selittää et täs on tää pointti]

IR: [juu juu juu joo joo] ((...))

(GG, S3)

Teacher interviews

(6.23)

(c) ((…)) en tiedä ootteks te huomannu mutta mun tai varmaan ootte huomannu että joidenkin täällä olevien kielitaito on luvattoman heikko ((…))

(TLC, T2)

(d) et siellähän oli semmonen yks espanjalainen poika joka <IR> joo </IR> jolla oli just aika semmonen voimakas [korostus] <IR> [mhm-hm] joo </IR> siin omassa puheessa mut kyl sitä et siitä ku siihenki vähän keskitty ni sitte [sai kyllä] <IR> [joo] joo </IR> ihan hyvin selvää, et muilla siel olikin sitte kielitaito ihan hyvä

(GG, M2)

(e) aa no kyllä näkyyhän ne kielelliset valmiudet sillä tavalla et siin on koko skaala tota käytössä kyllä että osa on osa on tota, öö miten mä sanoisin et englannin kielen valmiudet on sitä tasoa et pitäs oikeestaan käydä tota yks talvi niin kielikursseilla ennen kun ennen kun tulee sitte kurssia seuraamaan koska, ainakin sen perusteella mitä mitä voi arvioida niinkun ihmisen kirjallisesta osaamisesta ((...))

(TLC, T1)

(6.24) (expanded from Example 6.23a)

IE: ((…)) en tiedä ootteks te huomannu mutta mun tai varmaan ootte huomannu että joidenkin täällä olevien kielitaito on luvattoman heikko ((…))

IR: tuottaaks se sit niinku ihan käytännössä ongelmia se että se kielitaito on [heikko]

IE: [tuottaa] <IR> [millasia] </IR> [ja meil] ei oo rahaa ehkä yliopistolla olis niinkun kielentarkastussysteemeitä mutta käytännössä minä korjaan englannin kielen graduista ((…))

(TLC, T2)

(6.25) (expanded from example 6.23c)

IR: näkyyks se myös niinku ikäänkuin tai näis töissä mitä opiskelijat tekee että

IE: aa no kyllä näkyyhän ne kielelliset valmiudet sillä tavalla et siin on koko skaala tota käytössä kyllä että osa on osa on tota, öö miten mä sanoisin et englannin kielen valmiudet on sitä tasoa et pitäs oikeestaan käydä tota yks talvi niin kielikursseilla ennen kun ennen kun tulee sitte kurssia seuraamaan koska, ainakin sen perusteella mitä mitä voi arvioida niinkun ihmisen kirjallisesta osaamisesta mut siinähän on erilaisia kulttuureja et et tota tai olen huomannu et monet jotka toimii tulee toimeen ihan hyvin noin suullisesti ni sit ku tota aa heillä omi- omis- omissa korkeakouluissaan ei ei oo ehkä sillä tavalla samanlaista samanlaista perinnettä ja sit se ei he ei kertakaikkiaan hallitse sitä kieltä sillä tavalla et pystys pystyis niinku jotenki loogisesti loogisesti tota vastaamaan esseetyyppisesti et ne on sit sellasia tota, tämmösiä ranskalaisten viivojen tai muiden vastaavien rakennelmia joista sitten hiukan miten sitä nyt sanois sen joskus saa käyttää vähän mielikuvitusta et sen ajatuksen sieltä tavottaa mutta mutta täs on tietenki laaja skaala ja ja ja monet sitten esimerkiks näitten meidän sudanilaisten vaihto-opiskelijoiden tapauksessa niin siel on paris kuukaudessa näkee semmost huomattavaa edistystä jo että et tullessaan on on aika, sanosko no tietysti se on vähän ujouttakin mutta mutta tota ulosanti on on vähäistä ja tuntuu vähän puutteelliselta mut sit paris kolmes kuukaudessa ni pystyy sit pystyy sit niinku tota parantamaan sitä kyllä huomattavasti ja sehän on aina myönteistä opettajan kannalta tietysti,

(TLC, T1)

(6.26)

IR: entäs tuottaaks se sitte kielitaito teil on esimerkiks aika paljon esitelmiä englanniks ja ja vastaavaa niin tuleeko kielitaito näis esitelmissä sitten esiin

IE: ei se suurin huoli on siinä kirjo- siinä kirjottamisessa kaikki pystyy, esittämään hyvin ja sitten kiinalaisissa on ollu semmosia aivan ihmeellisiä tapauksia luonnon oikkuja, jotka käytännössä ei pysty oikeestaan kommunikoimaan suullisesti yhtään mutta kirjottaa täydellistä englantia et miten se on mahdollista ((…))

(TLC, T2)

(6.27)

IR: varsinki jos puhutaan keskustelusta niinku luennolla tai seminaareissa ni mitäs sitte jos jossain tilanteessa huomaa että opiskelija ei ihan oikeesti ymmärrä et mistä siel puhutaan ni mites sitten

IE: no ei siihen siihen oikeestaan aa, mhm niin yksittäisel luennolla tai opetustilanteissa ei ei hirveesti kovin pitkään ehditä paneutua siis se se oikeestaan se keskustelu sitten se loppuu siihen joudutaan menemään eteenpäin et sehän nyt tulee sitte muutaman kerran asia voidaan toistaa ja sit sitte tota opiskelija joko ymmärtää tai on ymmärtämättä mutta sitä siinä joudutaan menemään sitte a- asiassa eteenpäin kuitenki esitys jatkuu tai tai luentoa jatketaan tai tai jotain sen suuntasta joissakin tapauksissa sitten jos opiskelija itse palaa palaa tota asiaan luennon jälkeen ni sit siinä voidaan käydä jotain pientä keskustelua mutta ei siihen useinkaan oo sitte sen sen enempää mahollisuuksia

(TLC, T1)

(6.28)

IR: joo entä sitten just opetustilanteissa ku se voi se joukko olla hyvinkin semmonen heterogeeninen ja suuri et miten siellä sitten kommunikaatio tuottaako se ongelmia

IE: öö kyllä nykysin uskalletaan kysyä jos ei ymmärretä se on hyvä puoli ja sitten näkee miten sanakirjat rapisee siellä [koko ajan] <IRs> [mhm] </IRs> kun kun luennoi sitten kun kuuluu oikein kova rapina niin mä mä sitten selitän erikseen ne sanat mistä on juu- mitä on juuri puhuttu, ja (kyl) mä käytän hyvin paljon taulua kirjotan yksittäisiä sanoja taululle <IRs> joo </IRs> , se oli meil oli indonees- indoneesiassa kenttäkurssi ja me tutki- tutkittiin leopardin ekologiaa ihan ihan noin oikeessa tilanteessa se oli hauskaa mut puoli päivää meni siihen kun mä ääntämisharjottelua pidin et se on <ENGLISH> leopard leopard </ENGLISH> ja sitten kaikki kuorossa toisti <ENGLISH> leopard leopard leopard </ENGLISH> kun aiheena oli leopardi koko kurssilla ja mun mielestä se piti osata ääntää [@(oikein)@ @@]

(TLC, T2)

(6.29)

IR: no tota no jos sä aattelet opettamista sit vähä yleisemmällä tasolla niin minkälaista opettaminen englannin kielellä on,

IE: @@ mä yritän miettiä et oonks mä ikinä opettanu muulla ku englannilla en oikeestaan oo niinku tommosta varsinaista opiskelijajoukkoa oon mä jotain suomeks pitäny (xx), emmä tiiä mun mielest just meidän alalla on hirveen luontevaa koska kaikki on kuitenkin englanniks <IR> joo </IR> niin ni ei ei mun mielestä s- moni juttu ois niin ku mulle paljo hankalampia opettaa suomeks <IR> mhm-hm </IR> en sit tiedä just et perusopiskelijoille vois olla helpompaa ymmärtää ku se ois suomeks mutta

(GG, M1)

(6.30)

IR-1: niin tosta kurssista tosta <NAME OF COURSE> eli millast oli opettaa sitä ku se oli tavallaan ensimmäinen semmonen iso kur- tai kokonainen kurssi mitä koordinoi ja ja muuten

IE: öö no mhm mä nyt yleensäki se on n- se on vähän silleen että ei nyt muutenkaan kauheesti tykkää luennoinnista no emmä tiedä kuka nyt siit silleen välttämättä tykkää jos ei oo silleen öö niinku siihen tavallaan tottunu mut sitte tietenki kyl mä aina niinku ajattelen et kyl se englanniks on silleen viel vähän niinku, et kyl mä mielummin puhuisin suomeks <IR-2> ahaa </IR-2> et jos sais valita tietysti <IR-1> joo </IR-1> mut tota, toisaalt sit taas ni sit ne asiat nyt on sellasii mitä nyt kuitenki jauhaa koko ajan englanniks niit kaikkii käsitteitä ja asioita ni, mhm nii ni sit loppujen lopulta ni emmä ny tiedä oisko siinä niin hirveen suurta eroo siis sillä tavalla

(SG, T3)

(6.31)

((…)) et sen mä huomaan siis vaikka mä oon opettanu itse itse englannin kielellä 15 20 vuotta ja sen lisäks työskennelly työskennelly sitte melkein 10 vuotta ulkomailla käyttäen englantia pääasiallisesti (xx) paljo täs ois oppimista <IR-1> mhm </IR-1> et edelleenkin joutuu sen oman kielitaitonsa puutteellisuuden takia ni käyttämään <IR-2> mhm </IR-2> joskus kiertoilmaisuja ja muita sellaisia <IR-2> mhm </IR-2> et ei pys- pysty siihen täsmällisyyteen <IR-2> mhm </IR-2> johon omalla äidinkielellään pystyis mut et tää nyt on varmaan vähän tämmönen niinku ei siitä eroon pääse <IR-2> mhm </IR-2> <P: 05>

(TLC, T1)

(6.32)

IR: entäs sitte englanti yleensä globaalina kielenä että olettaen kuitenki teiän ala on niin niin kansainvälistä et jos tommosta globaalia kieltä tai lingua francaa ei ois ni se vois kyllä hankaloittaa sitä

IE: niin no si- joo joo onhan se semmonen tota <SIGH> se on se yhdistävä tekijä sit usein kaikkihan ei ollenkaan sitä (puhu) hyvin ja harvat äidinkielenään mutta mut et se nyt on se se käypä kieli kuitenkin mut ei pelkäst- kyl näil mei- meidän aloilla ni on sitte alueita kyllä joissa on on tota pitää osata puhua muutakin länsi-afrik- noi länsi-afrikan kuivat alueet ja vähän muutkin niin niin kyl siel täytyy osata ranskaa ja latinalainen amerikka ni ei ilman espanjaa ni vähä hankalaa se ois ((..))

(TLC, T1)

(6.33)

IR: no mitä mitä mieltä sä oot siitä että englanti on yleistyny hirveesti näis tämmösissä kansainvälisissä ohjelmissa ja opetuksen kielenä

IE: mehän tarvitaan yleiskieli ei siit oo mitään epäilystä mut samaan aikaan täytyy vaan muistuttaa ja varsinki opiskelijoita muistutetaan (kyllä) koko ajan et se ei riitä <IR> mhm </IR> et sen lisäks pitää olla yks muu vahva kainsainvälinen kieli ((…))

(TLC, T2)

(6.34)

IR: no jos mennään ihan sit tämmöselle aika yleiselle tasolle niin mitä mitä mieltä sä oot siitä että englanti on levinny niin laajalti maailmalla

IE: . <CLEARS THROAT> no se on tietysti sillai hirveen hyvä että sitte niin ku ihmisillä on yhteinen kieli koska se on niin kun, karmeeta et jos ei niin ku pysty kommunikoimaan mutta sitte tietysti se varmaan kyl vaikuttaa sen kielen laatuun <IR> mhm </IR> jollain tavalla <P: 06> et siihen just sotkeutuu niin kun muiden kielien ilmaisuja ja <IR> mhm </IR> ja fraaseja ja sanontoja ja sellast <COUGH> ja sellaisia ja sitten niin kun se kuitenkaan niin ku ilmasu ei voi olla niin rikasta kuin mitä äidinkielellä voi

IR: mhm-hm mihin sä perustat tän tän ajatuksen

IE: . no se on tuntuu just niin ku vaan siltä että jotenki äidinkielellä ne ilmaukset sillai omaksuu helpommin ja imee siit ympäristöstä <IR> mhm </IR> ja sitte taas sit niin ku vieraalla kielellä ne jotenki on opeteltava erikseen <IR> mhm </IR> ja ehkä silloin jos just niin ku se kielenkäyttö varsinki keskittyy niin ku sellasiin siihen substanssiin ja asia <IR> mhm </IR> asiaan kauheesti ni sit siihen ei ehkä oo tarpeenkaan <IR> mhm </IR> niin ku niin sellasii erilaisii sävyjä ja <IR> joo </IR> ja semmost värikkyyttä <IR> joo </IR> sitte saada ku <CLEARS THROAT> kun niin ku äidinkieleen semmoseen kieleen mitä käytetään <IR> joo </IR> sitte eri elämäntilanteissa

IR: joo mhm ((..))

(GG, M2)

(6.35)

((…)) se <NAME> oli hauska se teki siellä niinku se oli kak- kaks oli enää jäljel siel tentissä ja se vielä korjaili raukka sitä mhm niinku niit kielioppivirheitä [@siellä@] <IR> [ai jaa @@] </IR> @ja kirjotusvirheitä@ siellä niinku korjauslakan kanssa mä aattelin et voi ei ois kyllä saanu selvää ihan hyvin varmasti ilman niit korjauksia @@

(SG, T3)

(6.36)

nyt oli joo itse asiassa kanssa tässä näin ni mä pidin tol samalla niin ku kurssilla sinänsä yhen luennon ja siit sit kirjotettiin esseitä <IR> joo </IR> er ni kyl mä siin niin ku arvostelussa painotin myös sitä englannin kieltä et jos se oli semmosta mitä ei vaan ymmärrä ni sit ei sit voinu saada siit <IR> mhm-hm </IR> esseestkään paljo mitään arvosanaa

(GG, M1)

(6.37) (continuation of example 6.28)

IR: puututko muuten muuten sitten ääntämiseen niinku tunneilla [xx]

IE: [jos] se joo jos se niinkun vie ihan ajatukset väärään sanaan ja sitten jos on hyvin keskeinen sana joka aina menee väärin (v-) sanapaino tai tai tai joku joku. vokaalin laatu tai tai muuta ni mä kyllä siihen siihen puutun jos se on ihan törkeästi kielen vastainen, ((...))

(TLC, T2)

(6.38)

IR-1: miten miten sä toimit sitten tämmöses tilanteessa jos sä puhut hänen kanssaan ja

IE: hei minä oon oppinu <IR-1> [@eh@ joo]</IR> [aivan niinku mul oli] siis puolikuuro isoäiti jonka kanssa minä olin kaikkein parhaita ystäviä koska kukaan muu ei oikeestaan pystyny hänen kanssa kommunikoimaan ja sit se piti kehittää niinku oma kieli <IR> joo </IR> siihen juuri hänen kanssaan mä oon mä mä oon oppinu siis <IR> joo </IR> thaimaalaisen englannin kiinalaisen englannin, ja intialaisen englannin mä nää variantit mä ehkä aika hyvin hallitsen ja pystyn niinku ymmärtämään,

IR-2: vaatiiks kommunikaatio tämmösis tilanteissa sitten myös niinkun oman kielen muuttamista sinulta että et tavallaan

IE: joo var- varsinkin sitten jos ja se on juu siin on myöski se että tää kiinalainen ei ymmärrä mitä mä sanon ni se pitää muuttaa tämmöseksi selkokieleksi puheessa tai käyttää kiinalaista kielioppia englannin kielessä <IR-1> (ah) @@ </IR-1> ennen kun sit se menee perille se tuntuu joskus vähä hassulta sama thaimaalaisten kanssa ää niin niin se se menee sitten helposti tämmöseen vaikka opettajan täytys niinkun olla olla niinkun tarkka ja ja puhua kyllä ihan oikeeta kieltä eikä antaa periksi mut jos on kolleegoista kysymys ei opetustilanne sit se siin on semmonen nopeampi tie sitten

IRs: joo

(TLC, T2)

(6.39)

IR: milloin sä ite näkisit että on syytä puuttua opiskelijan kielen käyttöön tai onko yleensä syytä puuttua, tämmösessä opetustilanteessa <P: 08>

IE: no se on tietysti vähän <CLEARS THROAT> vähä hankala kysymys sillee että et jos esimerkiks niin ku havaitsee jotain niin ku virheitä <IR> mhm </IR> puheessa ja sit et jos niitä kauheesti lähtee korjaamaan ni sit <IR> [mhm] </IR> [se] voi vaikuttaa siihen et kuinka innokkaasti sitä kieltä sit käyttää <IR> [(toki)] </IR> [ku] kuitenki tarkotus on se että niin ku et on yhteinen kieli on se että pystyy ymmärtää toista <IR> joo </IR> ja silloin jos <CLEARS THROAT> tai et silloin niin ku tärkeempää on se että et niin ku ylipäänsä [ilmasee] <IR> [joo] </IR> itteensä <IR> joo </IR> eikä niinkään se et miten miten oikein <IR> mhm-hm </IR> se on <IR> joo </IR> , mut tietysti se on sit myöski <COUGH> sit tosi ikävää et jos ne jää jos ne virheet jää korjaamatta <IR> mhm </IR> niin sitte niin kun et et jos esimerkiks niin ku tossa keskusteluryhmässä niin kun ei oltais vaikka just korjattu virheitä siit sen esityksen [kalvoista] <IR> [mhm] joo </IR> niin sittehän ne olis niin ku joutunut tosi kiusalliseen tilanteeseen sitte niin ku siel esitystilanteessa <IR> joo </IR> tai ikävään tilanteeseen <IR> nii </IR> <COUGH> ja niin ku sitte jotenki ohjaajana <IR> mhm </IR> olis ollut tosi ikävää ettei [@olis niinku kertonut@] <IR> [nii joo] </IR> <COUGH> et se mut et se on jotenki <CLEARS THROAT> en oo ihan hirveesti miettiny <IR> joo </IR> asiaa et vaikee sillai antaa kovin <IR> joo </IR> täsmällistä ja [yksselitteistä vastausta]

IR: [joo joo] joo mites jos sä ajattelet puhuttuu ja kirjotettuu kieltä ni onks siinä sun mielestä joku ero mhm tähän just kielen kieleen puuttumisessa

IE: no kyl se jotenki kirjalliseen tai niin ku kirjotettuun tekstiin puuttuminen on <IR> mhm </IR> ehkä helpompaa ja tärkeempää <IR> mhm </IR> et siin puhutussa se ei oo jotenki niin mun mielestä oleellista et onks <IR> mhm </IR> onks kaikki niin ku sanajärjestykset <IR> [mhm] </IR> [ja] taivutukset ja <IR> mhm </IR> ja pikkusanat <IR> mhm </IR> (niinku) paikallaan mut et sitte kirjotettuun ne kuitenkin jää sinne <IR> nii </IR> ja siin on sitä aikaa <IR> joo </IR> niin ku laittaa ne paikoilleen <IR> joo </IR> ni <CLEARS THROAT> ni kyl sillon sillon et jos vaikka jotain tekstejä korjaa tai arvostelee ni olis hyvä kyllä korjata myöskin ne kielivirheet siellä

IR: joo ((...))

(GG, M2)

(6.40)

IR: onks siinä just e- eroa että onko kyse puhutusta vai kirjotetusta englannista

IE: on se varmaan sillee että helpompi mun on kommentoida kirjotettua englantia <IR> joo </IR> ja just mul on mun niin kun kollegan kanssa joka myös väitteli nyt samalla ni paljon ollaan luetettu tekstejä [puolin sun toisin] <IR> [mhm-hm mhn-hm] </IR> ni kyl mä häl oon niin ku tosi paljon <IR> mhm-hm </IR> merkinny kaikkee mikä mun mielest kuulostaa [väärältä] <IR> [mhm] </IR> ni aina sen teksteihin <IR> joo </IR> että vaikka mä en sit oo varma et onks <IR> [mhm] </IR> [mun] munkaan niin ku oletus oikein <IR> [mhm] </IR> [mut] että kaikki mikä vaan niin ku näyttää <IR> (joo) </IR> tai (sit) kuulostaa väärältä ni (oon laittanut)

(GG, M1)

(6.42)

((…)) er mut siis ihan t- todella paljon vaihtelee <IR> mhm-hm mhm-hm </IR> et siellä on mun mielest niinku erittäin, hyvää tekstiä tuottavia ei täydellistä ei ollenkaan semmosta että se et s- s- siel ei olis niinku mitään er muutettavaa mutta sellasta joka sellasta tekstiä joka niinku selkeesti selkeesti tuo sen viestin esiin joka on niinku rakenteellisesti niinku niin helppoa <IR> [mhm] </IR> [että] sitä pystyy lukemaan <IR> [mhm] </IR> [ja] ne pienet ongelmat mitä siellä on niin ei ei haittaa, ((…))

(E2)

(6.45)

((…)) sellaista kieltä sellaista englantia tässä tapauksessa er joka pystyy välittämään viestin <IR> mhm </IR> er se on ihan sama että onko siinä vaikka nyt sitten britti- tai amerikanenglannin joku joku koodisto kir- siinä siinä <IR> [mhm] </IR> [et miten] kirjotetaan tai ja sit se sit mun mielestä niinkun kussakin kullakin alueella tai kussakin oppiaineessa on sitte tietysti niinku oma oma koodistonsa ja se olis sitte se koodisto jonka opiskelija niinku ideaalitilanteessa oppis <IR> joo </IR> mä oon sillä lailla kyllä nyt niinku antanu periks et mä mä niinku mä hyvin näen että semmost niinku täysin virheetöntä <IR> mhm </IR> virheetöntä tota siis semmosta mihin kielenopettajat on niinku [perinteisesti] <IR> [mhm] </IR> tottunut tottunut reagoimaan et jos on joku virhe <IR> mhm-hm </IR> ni niin semmost kieltä niinku on oikeestaan varmaan mahdoton <IR> mhm </IR> ajatella vaatii näissä tilanteissa <IR> [nii] </IR> [joissa] joissa ihmiset käyttää muuta kuin äidinkieltään ((…)) mä sanoisin että ideaalitilanteessa jos ajatellaan tätä eurooppalaista viitekehystä niin niin ne tekstit ois sellasta vähintäänkin nyt sitte B2-tasoa tai tai sitte mieluiten tietysti [C2-tasoa] <IR> [mhm joo] </IR> mut et sinne sinne ei varmaan aika harva [pääsee] <IR> [mhm] </IR> (C-) B2 C1 varmaan [on] <IR> [mhm] </IR> niinku semmonen että koska nehän on nehän on semmosia tasoja jossa jossa lukijalle välittyy [viesti] <IR> [mhm] joo </IR> , mut että, millasta kieltä mahdollisimman hyvää tietysti sillä lailla siis mutta must se hyvä hyvä liittyy esimerkiks siihen että se jos siel on jotain pintavirheitä niin ne ei mun mielestä ole ne on häiritseviä mut ne ei ole niin paha asia kun se että se rakenne on jotenki kamalan vaikea <IR> mhm-hm </IR> tai että siinä ei oo semmosta mitään koheesiota siinä tekstissä et ei niinku tai että se argumentti joka siellä [tekstissä] <IR> [mhm] </IR> on et se ei mee millään tavoin läpi et niinku tämmöset mitä nää nyt on vähän tämmösiä niinku ylemmän tason jutut on kuitenki <IR> mhm </IR> monessa mielessä tärkeempii ku sitten ne [alatason jutut] <IR> [mhm] joo </IR> jotka nekin on tärkeitä <IR> [mhm] </IR> [siis] totta kai nekin on tärkeitä, tää tää on nyt mun näkemys <IR> mhm-hm </IR> meil on tietysti ((…))

(E2)

(6.48) (continuation of example 6.45)

((…)) jos jos haluttais niinku tuottaa sellasta ihan niinkun jotain niinkun er huippunatiivin [kirjottamaa] <IR> [mhm] </IR> huipputekstiä niin niin siihenhän ei täällä varmaankaan kovinkaan usein päästä <IR> mhm </IR> mutta enpä usko että myöskään kun katotaan jotain suomenkielisiä graduja <IR> [mhm] </IR> [niin] sielläkään kaikki [suomenkieliset gradut] <IR> [mhm] </IR> en mä usko että ne kaikki on niinku [huippusuomella kirjotettuja nii mut] <IR> [nii niin aivan joo] </IR> mutta ((...))

(E2)