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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Modern Languages

Volume 1 of 1

**Orienting to the spread of English as an international lingua franca:
voices from the Spanish-speaking world**

by

Sonia Morán Panero

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2016

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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By Sonia Morán Panero

The study presented in this PhD thesis is concerned with the exploration of symbolic, perceptual and ideological aspects of the global spread of English as an international lingua franca. In particular, it investigates the ways in which university students from a variety of Spanish-speaking contexts conceptualise and position English as a global language, and the ways in which they label and evaluate the variability emerging from its lingua franca use (ELF).

English has come to be known as the world's international language par excellence as a result of complex social, historical, political and globalisation processes. Learning more about the global use of English has led scholars to problematize long-standing theorisations of language and their suitability to explain the observed phenomena. Since language globalisation processes are not only affecting the ways in which we *use* English, but also the broader ways in which we *think about* it, it is necessary to explore the theorisations and representations of language with which (non-linguist) English users operate nowadays, how these may relate to their linguistic experiences and expectations, and how they may affect their future trajectories.

In this thesis, I provide qualitative insights into the views of Spanish-speaking undergraduates from Chile, Mexico and Spain. I examine how students construct their experiences, conceptualisations, attitudes and beliefs, by analysing elicited talk about English. Attention is placed on the functions and meanings that are associated with the language between global and local spheres of use, and on conceptualisations and evaluations of ELF interactions in relation to issues of intelligibility, linguistic variability, and identity expression. The findings introduce the multiple and conflicted interpretative repertoires with which participants construct their evaluations and the complex uses made of key language and communication-related notions. The analysis also showcases the multifarious ways in which students recreate, challenge and/or negotiate broader ideologies of language in metalinguistic practice. Overall, the study highlights the need to address the sharp contrasts existing between the ontological complexity and multidimensionality with which students view this language, and the one-sided, standard and native-speaker-oriented representations that typically dominate principles and policies of English Language Teaching (ELT). To conclude, the thesis considers the pedagogical opportunities that talk about language has to offer in itself for ELT.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, **Sonia Morán Panero**

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and that it has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Orienting to the spread of English as an international lingua franca: Voices from the Spanish-Speaking World

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed: *Sonia Morán Panero*

Date: 15 May 2016.....

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¹ Since my mother does not have this global resource in her own repertoire, let there be at least two sentences she understands when I show her the thesis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Language use, its classification and its evaluation are all widespread mundane phenomena. Most of us use linguistic resources on a daily basis, sometimes as a seemingly effortless activity. However, the ‘ordinariness’ of language conceals complex communicative, linguistic and semiotic processes. Language is a resource with which we constantly represent and (re)create social and physical worlds, with which we perform different functions and to which we associate different opportunities and struggles. Despite its normality, we all reflect upon language deeply, although we may not always be fully aware of it. Through our reflections and discussions, we name linguistic resources, put boundaries to them and we assign different social meanings, values and status to such notions. In effect, talk about language (i.e. metalanguage) helps us construct or deconstruct ways of speaking and groups of speakers, and we use these constructs to evaluate people and institutions, to be inclusive or exclusive and to provide or negotiate advantages and limitations. In fact, the perceived, expected or experienced social consequences that emerge from associations between specific ways of using language and particular social meanings are likely to be the main reason that motivate people to explicitly talk or even ‘fuss’ about language extensively.

This thesis is concerned with exploring how people construct and evaluate ideas about English as a global language. In this initial chapter I set out to introduce which language users and everyday ‘realities’ are under exploration, as well as the circumstances and issues that motivate their investigation. I also briefly present the specific research questions pursued, and advance details on the key theoretical and methodological tools that guided the inquiry.

1.1 Research aim and rationale

The overall aim of this study is to explore how university students from three different Spanish-speaking settings (Chile, Mexico and Spain) *conceptualise* and *evaluate* the international spread of English. To put it succinctly, I explore the functions, roles, values and social meanings that are associated both with the notion of the language and with perceived ways of speaking it. I especially seek to find out which relations may be drawn by students between social meanings and perceived ways of pronouncing English, and students’ broader ideas on how

variability or homogeneity in spoken form may relate to matters of intelligibility. I also pay special attention to the ways in which such conceptualisations and evaluations are constructed, and the micro- and macro-social functions they perform when expressed in explicit, elicited talk about language. In the following subsections I outline the rationale that motivates the different elements explored and integrated in this thesis.

1.1.1 Researching the international spread of English

English is commonly referred to as the world's current international *lingua franca* per excellence. The language is experiencing a unique and unprecedented degree of spread in terms of global reach, penetration of social strata, and varied international domains of use (e.g. Murata and Jenkins, 2009:1; Seidlhofer, 2011:3). An exceptional number of people from a multitude of backgrounds speak and/or are learning English around the world nowadays (Crystal, 1997; 2008). It is being used for intercultural communication purposes more than ever, and it is generally seen as a crucial resource to access international activities, products, positions and opportunities. The language has therefore become highly influential, often in multiple and conflictive ways, in the lives of speakers from backgrounds where English is not an official language or significantly spoken *within* the immediate local communities.

As English linguistic resources experience global flows, due to a series of complex demographic, economic, social and political reasons, they have also come into more contact with new groups of speakers and therefore with more diverse linguistic repertoires than ever before. This degree of spread has incited fears over increasing sameness such as linguistic and cultural homogenisation, and even over the gradual death or disappearance of other labelled languages and/or of diverse linguistic repertoires (e.g. Phillipson, 2009). Yet, in practice, the spread of English has led to tangible diversity in the shape of different, appropriated or hybrid ways of speaking English across the world (as in numerous other cases of mobility of linguistic resources throughout history). In fact, the study of its use in multilingual, multicultural, fluid and rapidly changing *lingua franca* scenarios shows that continuity or sameness in English form co-exists with high and accelerated levels of variation and variability (see Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Jenkins, 2015).

Such difference, variation or variability have, however, also become a source of concern, debates and controversy, especially when identified in users traditionally classified as ‘non-native speakers’. As observed by Brumfit (2001) among many others, this group of users now constitute a majority. This realisation encouraged the careful and empirical investigation of the use of English as a lingua franca, and the results are urging scholars to reconsider the explanatory potential and fairness of traditional assumptions about the ways in which language use and variation are/should be theorised, classified, evaluated, and taught. For example, a key emerging question is whether it is sustainable or justifiable to label linguistic difference as sociolinguistically driven *variation* when produced by speakers perceived as natives, but condemning it a priori as *errors* when produced by non-native speakers. The debate unfolding, both in public and academic spheres, has therefore highlighted the need to explore how aspects of sameness and difference are conceived, experienced and acted on by *users themselves*.

While perceptions of international users of English are being comprehensively studied in East Asian and North/centre European contexts, this important issue has received considerably less attention in Spanish-speaking contexts (e.g. as pointed out in Friedrich and Berns, 2003; Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey, 2011). Although the majority of the population in these contexts *already* speaks a global language (i.e. Spanish), English also plays significant roles in a variety of domains in and outside education, and serves a series of functions for their speakers. For example, the three research settings selected for the study are all heavily invested in providing their populations with English skills for the reason that they are thought to be necessary to succeed in global spheres. Although each country follows different strategies and promotes English to different degrees, they all encounter difficulties in achieving the English language objectives that they are setting (or feeling compelled to set) for their population on the whole (i.e. quality of the ways in which it is spoken, quantity and distribution of speakers of English).

As will be seen subsequently, attempts to overcome such perceived/real obstacles and to achieve fixed goals often translate in an increase of the roles and presence of English in the educational domains of these settings. However, it is increasingly more evident that such solutions may be counterproductive if not *accompanied* by a careful reconsideration of the usefulness/obsolescence of the educational objectives pursued, and by the analysis of whether the linguistic ‘problems’ perceived in students’ performance can simply be regular sociolinguistic processes involved in language contact and variation. It is therefore also

necessary to explore how the populations of these contexts perceive and experience the spread and functions of English, and how they evaluate different/variable ways of speaking it.

In order to help shed light on the situation of English in these settings and the issues outlined above, I explore the views that Spanish-speaking university students articulate towards such global and local developments, and how they are affected by, orienting to and experiencing them. The project, thus, addresses undergraduates' perceptions of English between global and local levels of the spread (Blommaert, 2010; 2015; Canagarajah and De Costa, in press). The research also investigates students' understandings of the tensions emerging between linguistic processes of standardisation and the variability emerging from its English use in intercultural interactions. All of these aspects are explored without forgetting to analyse the ways in which students position Spanish resources in this scenario.

1.1.2 Researching conceptualisations, evaluations and language ideology

Language conceptualisations and evaluations have been highly significant for the work of linguists because of their embeddedness in complex processes of social-meaning creation. As we use language to communicate in social practices, we make associations² between linguistic features and social meanings, that is, we also create and exchange information that goes beyond specific denotative or referential meanings (see Coupland, 2007). Social-meanings are significant for users and researchers because they are closely linked with how we produce and perceive information about ourselves, about others, and about ways of belonging to different groups of people and/or spaces (ibid; Eckert, 2008, 2012; Kitazawa, 2013; Johnstone, 2010).

Nevertheless, the associations between ways of speaking and social meanings are far from linear or fixed. Instead, in society we often see complexes of social meanings co-exist. As language anthropologists have rightly stressed (e.g. Woolard, 1998), social-meaning associations and evaluations are mediated or informed by general ideas about the nature of

² These links can go from associations to very particular linguistic forms (e.g. 'h-dropping as uneducated'), to perceived ways of speaking a language (e.g. 'Isle of Wight people have a rural accent'), or even to associations of social meaning, attributes and opportunities to entire languages (e.g. 'English is the language of success') and to individuals who (are thought to) use them.

language, what it is and how it must be used in communication (e.g. ‘we need to speak a *native standard* to communicate *effectively*’, ‘I don’t *have a proper English*’). Thus, understanding language ideologies and speakers’ evaluative behaviour, are both highly relevant in order to explain how individual and/or collective associations of meanings may influence linguistic and evaluative practices and vice versa. We need to explore what people think about the way they and others speak, and what people think (or wish) others read in the way they speak. After all, “*perception, evaluation, and production* are intimately connected in language variation and change” (Preston, 2002: 50, added italics). Moreover, power relations and the maintenance or change of status quo structures also emerge from our social meaning-making practices, and therefore exploring language perceptions can also help us understand processes behind linguistic discrimination, insecurity and any language-related forms of inequality (e.g. Jenkins, 2007, 2014; Lippi-Green, 2012).

Speakers’ perceptions of language use, cultural aspects, intelligibility and communication are also significant foci of research in ELF and intercultural communication research (e.g. Baker, 2011a; 2011b; 2015a in relation to attitudes to culture). Since local norms, meaning-making practices (whether social or referential), or value-assignment systems cannot be assumed to be relevant or shared in this kind of interactions, the linguistic orientations with which speakers approach lingua franca communication are highly significant. For example, perceptions of emergent practices and linguistic forms, ideas about culture, intelligibility and correctness, and speakers’ readiness to negotiate these in particular interactions, have all been identified as key elements in the successful development of such communicative contexts (Baird et al. 2014; Canagarajah, 2007: 930-931; Ferguson, 2012; Hynninen, 2010; 2013). As Gal (2013: 182) rightly stresses:

[A]ll speakers have specific presuppositions about English itself. Indeed, the very act of identifying utterances as English turns out to be a highly ideological matter ... [t]hey deserve investigation in their own right since they will indubitably affect what speakers learn and how they learn it.

Overall, investigating these issues in ELF studies can be very helpful to understand how people’s ideas may relate to lived experiences of language contact, learning or use and their contextual circumstances, and can also help observe how students’ theories of language may be evolving. Since perceptions, beliefs and ideologies are an important part

of communication, I hope that this kind of research can be informative, not to try to *change* student's attitudes, but to find ways to develop spaces for *critical reflection* on attitudinal and ideological aspects in the language classroom.

1.1.3 English in the Spanish-speaking world: between promise and struggle

Part of the research interests that motivate this research project originated from personal observations and experiences of the situation of English in Spain. However, after having undertaken a small scale research on English and Spanish as global languages for my MA dissertation, it quickly became obvious that expanding the focus of exploration to further Spanish-speaking contexts was necessary. In this section I develop the rationale behind researching English in Spain and I also explain the reasons for which I included Chile and Mexico as research settings as well.

In Spain, more than 90% of Spanish students undertake a minimum of ten years of study of the language through primary to secondary education. English made its way into the Spanish education system around 1945 and it is nowadays the most studied foreign/additional language in the country from primary to secondary education (Secretaría General Técnica, 2008:10 in Oukhiar, 2010). Over the years, the foreign language policies in the country strengthened the role of English in education by gradually lowering the age of its study (see Enever, 2007; Lasagabaster, 2008; Madrid, 2001; Oukhiar, 2010). The purposes often stated behind the intensification of English learning include the promotion of multi-/pluri-lingualism, of mobility and its purported benefits and the better preparation of students to compete and cope in a global world.

However, despite the heavy investment made in education, students appear to be 'failing' to meet expectations set out for them. Numerous concerns are constantly being raised about Spaniards' perceived *low* or *bad* English skills from a variety of sources, such as Eurydice's 2005 educational evaluation, the EF English Proficiency Index (i.e. EF EPI) reports (2011; 2015) or Spanish national examination results (see figure 1 below for an example).

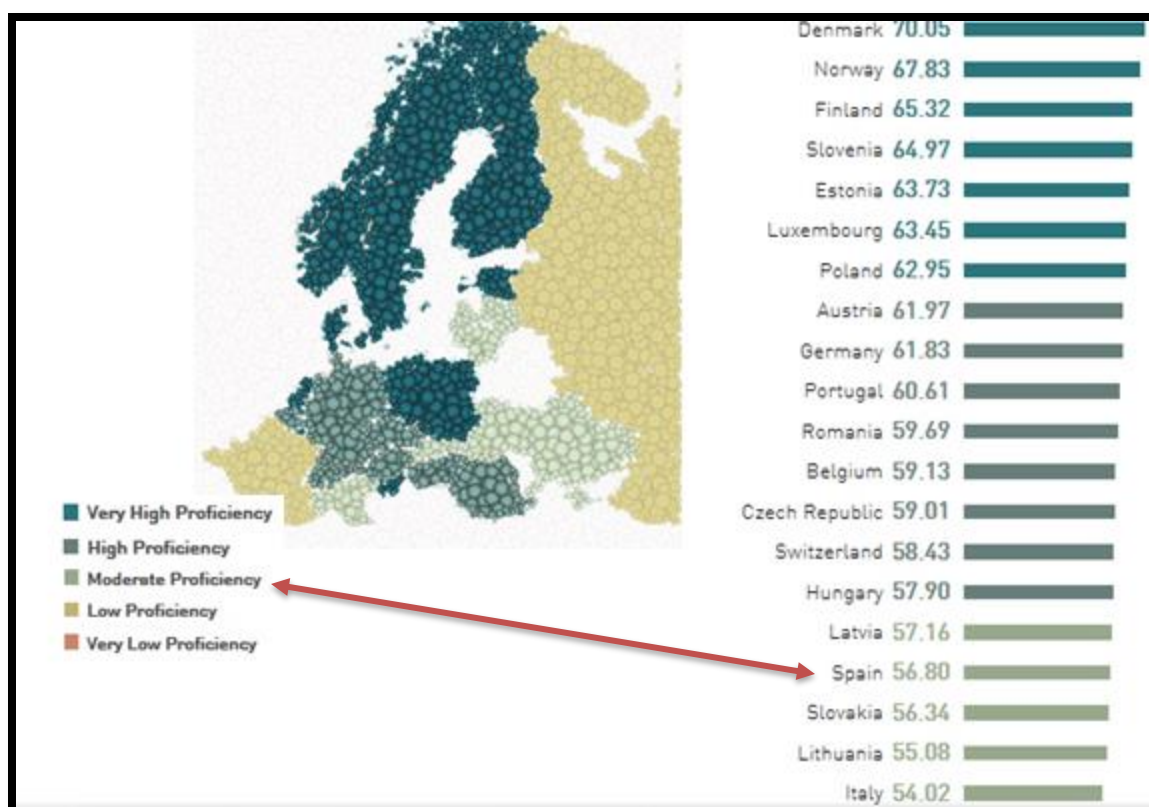


Figure 1 Example of EF EPI (2015) results for Spain. Adapted from Education First at <http://www.ef.co.uk/epi/> [Accessed October, 2015]

Such results have generated concerns among educators, politicians, and the general public. In turn, the now long-standing perception of a “crisis in the teaching of English” (Oukhiar, 2010: 43) has resulted in the further strengthening of the role of English in the local education system. A series of official initiatives developed different bilingual education experimental programs in order to make English the language of instruction in some subjects across Spanish schools (e.g. Lasagabaster and Ruíz de Zarobe, 2010; Ruíz de Zarobe and Jiménez Catalán, 2009), and increasingly at higher education levels as well (e.g. Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2010; Doiz et al. 2012). For instance, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (MECD) signed an agreement with the British Council in 1996 – and renewed it in 2013 (MECD, 2016) – with the purposes of exchanging cultural knowledge between UK and Spain, putting bilingual education within Spanish middle class reach and helping Spanish students communicate ‘correctly’ in both languages by the end of compulsory education (Fernández Fontecha, 2009; Oukhiar, 2010). As Fernández Fontecha (2009) indicates, increasing numbers of English native-speaking teachers/assistants are since then being brought to Spain to provide ‘authenticity’ for

students' L2 learning. This practice reveals that native-speaker competence may still be considered to be the ideal even when it is supposedly no longer presented as the target.

In attempts to identify the causes of the perceived problems, scholars, policy-makers and the general public have blamed a series of educational variables (e.g. teacher's methodologies, hours of learning), and other non-educational practices such as the extensive amount of dubbing and translations carried out in Spanish television and literature (Rubio and Martínez-Lirola, 2010). The impact of social factors has also begun to be examined as well. Interestingly, the global status of Spanish has also been pointed out as a potential influential factor in need of research attention (e.g. Kormos, Kiddle and Csizér, 2011; Rubio and Martínez-Lirola, 2010; Sayer, 2015), an issue that had already emerged in my MA small-scale exploratory study (see Morán Panero, 2009). In this study, I considered whether the fact that (one of) the languages of these students is already a global language could be influencing the degree of eagerness with which students wish to acquire English, and whether their perceptions of the globality and variation of Spanish could be informing their views on how English should be spoken (see section 1.1.4. below).

In order to pay serious consideration to this point, I decided to zoom out of Spain and investigate the situation of English in other Spanish-speaking parts of the world as well. However, with the impossibility of researching all Spanish-speaking regions in one study, I expanded the focus of my inquiry to two Latin American countries in addition to Spain. Chile and Mexico were the contexts selected for the reason that, the specific geographical, historical politico-economic, and linguistic circumstances of each country and the different global networks they engage with, were expected to bring valuable richness to the data and therefore an interesting cross-country comparison element to the study. For example, each of these settings has had different historical relationships with the English speaking countries from which they extract educational English models that students are encouraged to imitate or reproduce (e.g. American English – British English). Also, Spanish and Latin-American contexts lived the history of Spanish imperialism and linguistic colonial imposition from two different perspectives. I was therefore interested in seeing whether such historical and political differences might also be playing a role in students' perceptions.

In Chile and Mexico, English seems to have a prominent role as well. Chilean politicians have also invested interests in promoting English language skills among the population to

deal with current global challenges (Díaz Larenas, Alarcón Hernández and Ortiz Navarrete, 2015; Hamel, 2003; Matear, 2008). In 1998, English became a compulsory subject across schools in the country at both primary and secondary levels. McKay (2003) and Díaz Larenas et al (2015), for instance, indicate that English was then presented as an essential skill for facilitating international communication, commercial exchange and participating in information networks. In 2003 the Chilean Minister of Education, Sergio Bitar, announced a plan for the restructuring of the educational language policy in the country, to promote English across all regions of Chile and to improve certain abilities of new generations of students.

Bitar launched the programme ‘Inglés Abre Puertas’ (IAP) or ‘English Opens Doors’, which is still being implemented at present (MINEDUC, 2016). English had been more prominent in the private sector before the reform, with British and American immersion or bilingual programmes on offer for powerful elites that could afford the costs involved (Matear, 2008). Hence, it was also deemed significant to invest in extending the availability of English learning to reduce social stratification and to ensure equal access to quality learning and teaching for all (ibid). In addition to the increase in the amount of years of compulsory study of English as well as the amount of hours dedicated to the subject weekly, strong native-speaker oriented initiatives were planned, including immersion trips to English-speaking countries for English teachers, and a centre for the recruitment of native-speaker language assistants to develop oral skills of both teachers and students (Matear, 2008). However, reports from EPI (2011; 2015) and SIMCE’s (Sistema Nacional de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación) national examinations carried out in 2010, 2012 and 2015, still raise alarms due to the perceived insufficient proficiency of students in the country (see figure 2 below).

Thus, concerns over the quality and quantity of the Chilean English skills of the population continue (e.g. Alarcón Hernández, Vergara Morales, Díaz Larenas and Poveda Becerra, 2015; Rodríguez Garcés, 2015; Tagle Ochoa, Díaz Larenas, Alarcón Hernández, Quintana Lara and Ramos Leiva, 2015). The qualitative concerns are likely to be related to lack of native-like performance, given that the organisations involved in the test assess proficiency in relation to British and/or American idealised standards (see Jenkins, 2014: 12). For instance, SIMCE’s 2010 and 2014 were undertaken by TOEIC and Cambridge English Language Assessment respectively (Rodríguez Garcés, 2015; Agencia de Educación,

2016). In addition, academic studies that analyse these results make reference to the importance of further exposure to native-speaker speech (e.g. Quidel Cumilaf et al. 2015).

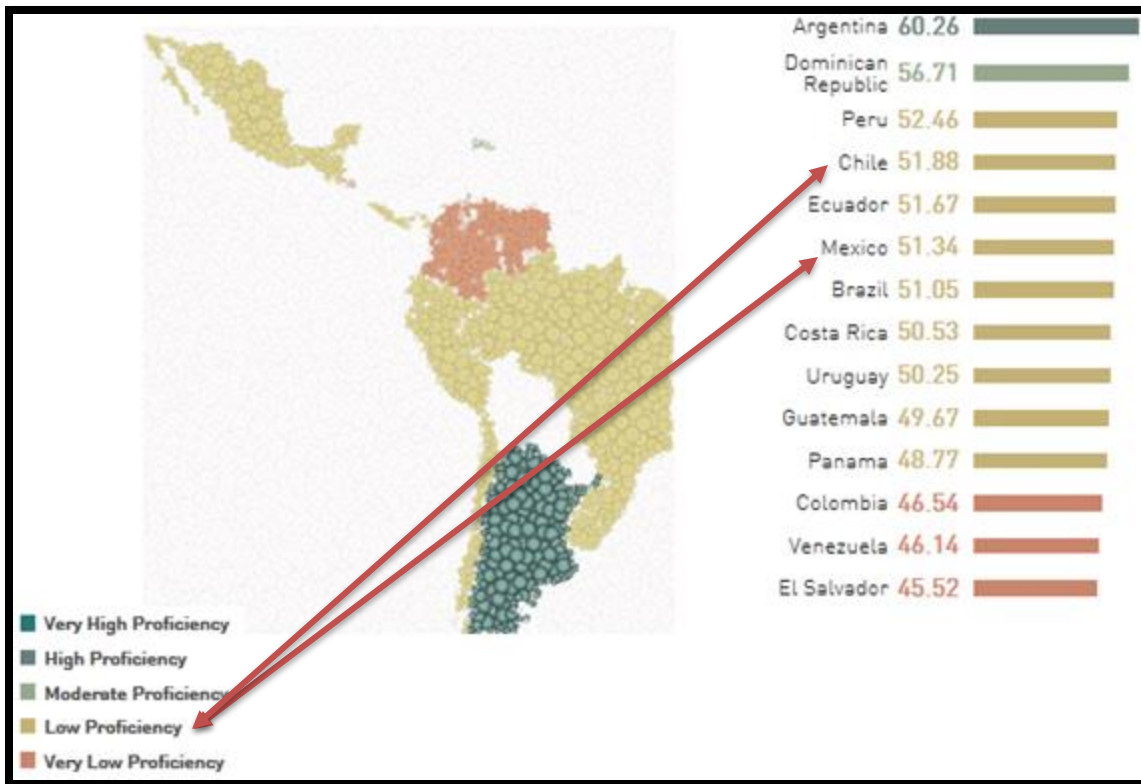


Figure 2 Example of EF EPI (2015) results for Mexico and Chile. Adapted from Education First at <http://www.ef.co.uk/epi/> [Accessed: October, 2015].

Mexico is also ranked as a low proficiency country in the EF EPI's 2015 report in figure 2 above. Out of the three research settings explored here, Mexico was the last one to join the national promotion of English skills at both Primary and Secondary levels of education. English used to be a core national subject throughout Secondary public education only, with each different state (i.e. provinces/counties) being left to organise Primary Education according to their own resources (e.g. Teborg, García Landa and Moore 2006; Ramírez Romero, Sayer and Pamplón Irigoyen, 2014; Reyes Cruz, Murrieta Loyo, and Hernández Méndez, 2010). Of course, private schools often focused heavily on English instruction, contributing to the maintenance of “elite bilingualism” (in English and Spanish) in the Mexican context (Ramírez Romero et al. 2014).

According to Reyes Cruz et al. (2010), international recommendations provided by UNESCO, OCDE, the Council of Europe, and the PISA report all have had a direct impact on the generation of new national policies in Mexico. The Secretaría de Educación Pública

(SEP) proposed a reform for 2007-2012 according to which the learning of English as a foreign language would become compulsory at all levels of Primary Education and across all states. The justifications for focusing on English only were based on the international lingua franca role of the language, the geographical neighbouring with the USA and their economic and commercial exchanges, and the fact that English was also the language being taught at secondary levels, which according to the policy, also needed strengthening. Low or ‘bad’ performance also seems to have been a catalyst for change here. As Ramírez Romero et al. (2014:1022) put it, “the results have generally been regarded as poor” in the public sector. Sayer (2015: 268) adds that among the motivations found behind this policy, are the beliefs that English will bring opportunities for better jobs and for economic mobility at the level of the individual, and global competitiveness and investment attraction for the country as a whole.

The Mexican national policy is supposed to pursue a “sociocultural” type of learning (Ramírez Romero et al., 2014; Sayer, 2015) that favours Mexican interests and international communication over native-speaker competence achievement. However, the implementation of such goals seems to be a different story. Reyes Cruz et al. (2010) indicate that native-speaker competence continues to be understood as the highest level of competence attainable, despite not recommending it as an achievable goal for Mexican students officially (see Ramírez Romero et al. 2014 for similar results). To my knowledge, there are only a few studies that explore the teaching of English in Mexico empirically (see Fernando Lara, 2010 for calls on the need of further research), but the studies reviewed so far all identify a number of problems. For instance, they point to issues of mis-recruitment of unqualified native-speaker teachers, unresolved debates over which varieties of English to give students access to, and the pressure that is exerted by foreign publishing houses on using materials that have not been adequately adapted to the Mexican contexts (Ramírez Romero et al. 2014, Reyes Cruz et al. 2010, Sayer, 2015).

Overall, it seems that whilst policy makers and politicians speak of providing English skills for global communication purposes (i.e. intercultural communication), its teaching still appears to be based on narrow native-speaker based models across these three contexts. In fact, they are all guided by the CEFR recommendations for abilities assessment, which have been heavily accused of perpetuating a native-speaker standard as the ultimate linguistic authority despite its communicative orientation (e.g. McNamara, 2011). Although actual implementation of the curricula may be varied across research contexts

(e.g. Sayer, 2015), the approach, principles and objectives embraced do not seem to reflect the accelerated variability emerging from the lingua franca use of the language, or to work on the negotiation of meaning across linguistic diversity. These educational models also yield suspicions on the claims of students' poor competence, for the evaluation of these constructs depends on whether the aim is approximating to native-speaker standards, or communicating successfully with intercultural speakers, as well as on what we may consider to be successful communication (see Baker, 2015b; Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Cook, 2002).

1.1.4 Researching speakers of another global language

A variety of reasons explain the relevance of investigating how the spread of a global lingua franca is perceived within contexts in which the 'local' language is also expanding at international levels. Spanish is another widely recognised global language (see Garrido, 2010; Graddol, 2006; Mar-Molinero, 2004; 2006), not only for its large demographics, and geographical expansion (i.e. spoken in 21 independent states), but also for its extensive presence and use in the media, television, cinema, music, literature, and the internet. Although Spanish-speaking countries have not had an economic or military influence comparable to the one of North America, Spanish is also highly relevant and used in international organisations such as the EU or MERCOSUR, for example. The Instituto Cervantes claims that at least 14 million of international speakers are learning Spanish as a foreign or non-native language, and they seem to be recording an increase in the number of registrations yearly (e.g. 15% per year in Europe). Also, Spanish communities represent the largest minority group nowadays in the USA (Del Valle, 2006; Mar-Molinero, 2000). In a way, Spanish could be said to compete with English for a series of international domains (see Graddol, 2006; Heller, 2010), although Spanish as a Lingua Franca or 'SLF' interactions between non-native speakers of Spanish seem to be taking place at a fairly smaller scale for now (Garrido, 2010; Godenzzi, 2006). It is, therefore, worth pondering whether the global status of Spanish may influence perceived needs for speaking English as well, and the direction that such influence could take.

As Widdowson (2003) suggests, it is also important to study how users of English view aspects of language use and variation in their first language, as it may inform specific aspects of their perceptions of English variability. The spread of Spanish has also resulted

in relevant linguistic variation and diversity at international levels. Similarly to the English speaking world, different communities of Spanish speakers have also for long encountered important ideological conflicts of correctness and legitimacy in their own L1 use, caused by the prescription of certain idealised varieties as the only acceptable or ideal standards. For instance, Chileans, Mexicans and Spaniards' different ways of speaking Spanish have not traditionally been granted equal recognition in terms of legitimacy, prestige or correctness (Del Valle, 2006; Mar-Molinero, 2000; 2004; 2006; Paffey, 2007; 2012). Although the evaluative and indexical conflict typically unfolds between different native varieties rather than native-speaker versus non-native speakers' use, there are also instances of contested use outside traditional Spanish speech communities. Mar-Molinero (2008; 2010) investigates the grassroots practices emerging in the linguistic use of US Latinos, and finds that the use of hybrid language use (i.e. Spanglish) are normally condemned by the official language institutions (i.e. Academies and Instituto Cervantes) as non-standard, and it is therefore denied official legitimacy.

Thus, Spanish speakers may also be familiarised with tensions between homogenising and standardisation forces, and the hybridity and variability emerging from use. Also, as Mar-Molinero (2006) points out, both the English and the Spanish language teaching industries appear to portray as ideal and prestigious rather than peripheral varieties (whether a national standard or a supposedly neutral one), as opposed to introducing language as a variable, diverse and fluid resource. Thus, comparing the similar or divergent ways in which speakers think of issues such as language correctness or deviation from standards in both Spanish and English, could be highly illuminating for this study.

1.2 Research questions

The following questions bring together the main objectives of the study:

1. How do university students from Chile, Mexico and Spain conceptualise and evaluate English and its spread at/between 'global' and 'local' spheres of use?
2. How do these university students conceptualise and evaluate the *use* of English in lingua franca interactions and their own and other's *ways of using* English?

3. How are key language and communication notions conceptualised and used in participants' accounts of English and ELF interactions?
4. To what extent is there evidence of the globality of Spanish being influential in students' perceptions of English?

1.3 Conceptual and methodological tools for inquiry

This thesis can be characterised as a study of *sociolinguistic* aspects of the global spread of English. More concretely, it is an exploration of *symbolic* issues such as perceptual, ideological, indexical and evaluative constructions of English. Although such areas can be addressed in a variety of ways, I am here concerned with the phenomenological exploration of conceptualisations and evaluations of my participants, as constructed in elicited talk about language (i.e. explicit *metalanguage*), and with the social actions being performed through their metalinguistic practice (i.e. the recreation, negotiation, resistance of which language ideologies).

The investigation of how social meanings are associated with English (as a labelled language and/or resources-in-use) is informed by sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropology approaches to the study of semiotics and indexicality (e.g. Coupland, 2007, Eckert, 2012; Johnstone, 2010). The analysis of conceptualisations and evaluative practices (i.e. attitudes), and the exploration of how talk about language may play ideological functions are informed by discourse-based frameworks (e.g. discursive psychology) and an understanding of metalanguage as social practice (e.g. Jaworski, Coupland, Galasinski, 2004).

Among the different theoretical models available to conceptualise the spread of the language, I work with a Global Englishes (GE) approach (Pennycook, 2007). The variability emerging from the lingua franca use of English is interpreted through theorisations proposed by ELF studies (e.g. Jenkins, 2015). These theoretical approaches to English are framed within ontological conceptualisations of language as emergent and dynamic social practice (e.g. Baird, Baker and Kitazawa 2014; Baker, 2015a; Canagarajah, 2013; Jenkins, 2015; Pennycook, 2010; 2012; Vetchinnikova, 2015) and

transformationalist views of language in a context of globalisation (e.g. Blommaert, 2010; 2015; Coupland, 2010; Pennycook, 2007).

The investigation was undertaken with undergraduate students from six different universities in Chile, Mexico and Spain (two universities per country). University contexts were chosen as the most suitable research settings for the reason that they allowed recruitment of local young adult students who would be able to reconstruct their views on the roles, use, and presence of the language within each country, whilst being more likely to have had ELF experiences than younger generations of students. The data collection and analysis favoured qualitative approaches to allow participants to choose, in the least constricting possible ways, how to construct their conceptualisations and evaluations in relation to lived experiences and the topics indicated above.

1.4 A thesis roadmap

In this chapter I have introduced the main aim of the study, its research questions, and the rationale behind them. I have also taken the opportunity to explain in more depth the current situation of English in the contexts being investigated, and the relevance of exploring the spread of English in the Spanish-speaking world due to the fact that the dominant ‘local’ language in these regions is also being used and actively promoted as an international language around the world. Chapter 2 reviews key notions and approaches to understanding language in a context of globalisation and the spread of English as a global language in particular (e.g. spread, distribution, linguistic flows, ELF). It also contextualises GE and ELF approaches within the larger field of English as a World/Global language, and justifies their particular suitability for the present study. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical approaches, tenets and empirical insights that inform my study of language perceptions, and details how I define conceptualisations, attitudes or evaluative practices and language ideologies. I also provide a review of previous empirical investigations of students’ attitudes to English in Chile, Mexico and Spain, and I identify the research gap that the thesis contributes to.

The methodological techniques and epistemological paradigms that guide this investigation are explained thoroughly in Chapter 4, together with the analytic framework followed during data analysis phases. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 introduce the findings of the interview study. While Chapter 5 presents participants’ conceptualisations and evaluations of English

as a set of labelled resources between global and local spheres of use (i.e. functions, meanings and experiences associated to the language), Chapter 6 reports on how students label, conceptualise and evaluate their own and others' perceived ways of speaking English, with a special emphasis on pronunciation. Students' understandings of key language and communication notions such as correctness, intelligibility or identity are examined in Chapter 7. Finally, in Chapter 8 I summarise the results and discuss their relevance and implications for the study of English as a global language, and for the exploration and interpretation of language users' perceptions of English, its variability and the opportunities it may offer for identification. This chapter also considers the implications and applications that the study has for ELT.

Chapter 2: Language and globalisation

Numerous countries and regions all over the globe, including of course Spanish speaking ones, are experiencing a gradual transition towards what has been referred to as a distinctive historical, political and sociocultural phase in the world. In this era of globalisation, markets, trade, legislation, and even cultural references operate at international levels. As Rudy and Alsagoff (2014: 1) put it, “[g]lobalisation is not only one of the most hotly debated concepts this century, it has become a social reality of contemporary importance”. Although economic and political changes tend to receive more attention in the mass media and perhaps also in public discourse, globalisation processes have also led to alterations of major relevance at societal, cultural and linguistic levels (Giddens, 1999). Not only several languages are seen as global, but they also play a crucial role in the very own developments of globalisation, and are affected by global processes in significant ways. Since this study is concerned with the societal implications of language in a context of globalisation, particularly in settings where two labelled global languages (i.e. English and Spanish) intersect, in this chapter I review a variety of approaches to the analysis of global languages and language use in contexts of globalisation.

First, I introduce how the notion of globalisation is to be understood in this thesis, and I highlight the key implications that globalisation processes are having for how we use, think about and study language and linguistic flows. I also examine different interpretations proposed in the literature for the consequences of this kind of language mobility, including views of the roles, functions, and forms that are being taken by mobile linguistic resources. The chapter then focuses on the spread of English as a global language and I explain and justify why this study is situated within the Global Englishes (GE) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) research paradigms. Since English is the main labelled language under investigation, the discussion will be mostly centred around it, although accounts of Spanish as a global language will also be provided where relevant.

2.1 Understanding language in a context of globalisation

2.1.1 Grappling with globalisation

Scholars have for long debated whether globalisation is an all-together radically new phenomenon that has resulted in an entirely ‘new’ world order, or whether it is not even an identifiable ‘thing’, given that many of its processes were also observable in previous historical periods (e.g. mass migration). Scholars and intellectuals belonging to the former group are commonly referred to as *hyperglobalists* (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton, 1999: 327). This orientation perceives globalisation as a new and complete substitution of the nation-state by a single economic and political global market. Conversely, the term *sceptics* (ibid) is assigned to those who maintain that global interconnectedness has always existed at superficial levels (i.e. nothing new), and that nation-states or regional blocs remain as predominant powers over global forces.

Instead, I work with a *transformationalist* perspective which suggests that globalisation is both and none of the above (i.e. the third group identified by Held, et al., 1999). For transformationalists (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 1999), it is important to acknowledge the unprecedented situation in which the world finds itself whilst arguing that this is not the result of the sudden imposition of one single market, but a more gradual process of transformation of the nation states. While states still retain power and authority to act and decide alone in some arenas, they are increasingly restrained in other areas by top-down and bottom-up global pressures (e.g. global warming, language policies in European nations). Taking into account cultural and political complexities, transformationalists (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2000) explore the relationships held between regional and national spaces with globally linked social networks, and the cultural, economic and political flows that transcend geographical barriers and social boundaries in complex ways. Rather than describing a world marked by either uniformity or difference, transformationalists observe that both processes occur in a relation of tension and mutual interdependence, and report that these tensions often result in creative, chaotic (i.e. non-linear and multidirectional) and unpredictable practices of appropriation, blending, hybridisation, regeneration or reinterpretation (Coupland, 2010; Kumaravadivelu, 2012; Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014).

In the same vein, Coupland (2010: 4 – added italics) convincingly argues that “while globalisation is certainly *not without* precedent, its *scale* and *scope* are new and detectable in changes over recent decades”. Historical precursors such as developments in the transport system, the internet, globally networked communication technologies, the emergence of global markets, or colonial activity have “reshaped global arrangements” (Coupland, 2010:1) and led to a series of processes that are thought to characterise globalisation and late/post-modernity. Most globalisation scholars agree in that these processes include: the intensification of demographic mobility; the stretching of socio-politico-economic activities across borders; a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations, arrangements, priorities and transactions; worldwide interconnectedness and economic, cultural and political flows; the speeding-up of interactions; an increase in the velocity of dissemination of ideas, norms and values; or the heightened impact that specific events may have on fairly distant locales (Arnett, 2002; 774; Canagarajah 2013; Coupland, 2010; Held and McGrew, 2001:324). All of these aspects point and contribute to the close and fluid interrelation emerging between the *global* and the *local*.

In an attempt to capture the multiple and complex phenomena described above, Rubdy and Alsagoff (2014:1 – added italics) draw from Blommaert’s (2010) work on globalisation to define globalisation as:

a multidimensional process that cuts across various spheres of activity in the realms of economy, politics, culture, technology and so forth that is transforming the world into a complex place – in the way it is *imagined, represented* and *acted on* by its inhabitants.

This definition is particularly fitting for my study because the authors bring our attention to the relevance of the inhabitants of the world as *active agents* behind its transformation. In this way, globalisation is intrinsically tied with people’s actions and perceptions rather than with faceless global forces. In fact, Coupland (2010: 5-6) argues that part of what makes globalisation a valuable research concept, is that it is a framework that helps us understand how we are changing the ways in which we think about ourselves and others in this era³. The author thus concludes that, despite globalisation being “complex, multi-faceted and difficult to delimit chronologically”

³ Backed up by his review of authoritative work in the field, Coupland evidences how the dynamics of a globalised world are directly connected with a series of contemporary conditions associated to the age of postmodernity (e.g. increasing emphasis on individual life-projects/individualisation, heightened cultural reflexivity and social complexity, hybridity and indeterminacy in personal and social identities).

(Coupland, 2010: 2), it is an indispensable concept of present-day importance “both as a social mode that we need to keep probing and as a focus for some new ways of understanding language in society” (ibid: 2). As will be seen in subsequent sections, “late modernity places new emphases on language, meaning and social semiotics” (ibid: 6). By exploring how people perceive global languages and language use in a globalised world, I hope to contribute to the upsurge of research studies that seek to describe and explain such new or different emphases, and to reflect on their social, conceptual and pedagogical implications.

2.1.2 Linguistic implications of globalisation: competition, contestation and global flows

If we examine the characteristic processes identified above from a linguistic perspective, the relevance of studying language in a context of globalisation becomes more evident. For instance, deeper interconnectedness, and new and faster forms of online communication and travel have intensified the mobility and communicative possibilities of people, and complexified the patterns in which interactions take place. As a result, cross-cultural connectivity and intercultural communication are thriving at unprecedented rates, making the contact between people with different sets of resources in their linguistic repertoires more diverse than ever. All of these changes are having important sociolinguistic consequences in terms of how we use, value or label languages and ways of speaking, in terms of the different and multiple groups with which we may be affiliated, and in terms of the different ways in which we may perform new and old identities (e.g. Pennycook, 2007; Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010; 2014).

A major consequence emerging from the integration and interconnectedness that characterise global processes, is the perceived need for further *direct* communication (i.e. through the ‘same’ language). As Maurais and Morris (2003) point out, this perception has fostered a continuous and dynamic relation of *competition* between languages to fulfil a lingua franca function across international borders. In his work on how global changes impact the world languages system (e.g. demographics, migratory movements, economy, information technology, and society), Graddol (1997; 2006) shows that large languages such as Chinese, Spanish, or Arabic, are competing with English (albeit still lagging behind it) for international authority in a number of regions and different spheres. Although Graddol’s findings are now a decade old, the world’s picture of global languages

has not shifted extremely, as seen in the latest statistical projections published by Ethnologue (see Lucas López, 2015; Paul, Simmons and Fennig, 2015 for updated statistical projections of numbers of native and non-native speakers and internet use).

As a result, the globality (Ammon, 2010) and international prestige of different labelled languages continues to be a relevant and polemic feature for a variety of reasons. For instance, large or global languages are thought to have a higher communicative value (de Swann, 2002; 2010), to grant access to global markets and to foster business competitiveness (Heller, 2010). Global languages, and more concretely bits of languages such as idealised accents or standards, appear to be associated to different promises of social, scalar or territorial *mobility* (Blommaert, 2010), and to a variety of identificational possibilities. Practices of value and meaning assignation of this sort can have significant consequences for individuals, institutions and other forms of organisation. Heller (2010: 359) puts it well when she suggests that:

[i]ndividuals worry about what kind of linguistic repertoire they need in order for them or their children to profit from current conditions, and states worry about whether their citizens have the language skills they need in order to function under those conditions.

The worry that Heller refers to may take the shape of eagerness, reluctance and/or impossibility to acquire, provide or use linguistic resources thought to be necessary or valuable. In addition, interest in the globality of a particular language may come from desires of *promoting* its spread and international use. As Ammon (2010: 120) argues, promoting a country's own mother tongue internationally is highly cherished because of the belief that "knowledge of one's own language abroad enhances the diffusion of one's own values and favourable attitudes towards one's own country, and consequently helps to improve economic and other international relationships". In fact, the actual process of encouraging the learning of a language globally can result in economic gains in itself for the institutions behind its promotion, for example through the processes of commodification that I discuss next.

Global languages often undergo processes of *commodification* or marketization (Coupland, 2003a; Heller, 2003), which entail the packaging of a set of linguistic resources (e.g. standardisation⁴) for their posterior distribution, and the addition of economic and

⁴ Although processes of standardisation precede the era of globalisation I deal with here, Coupland and Heller consider them to be a key aspect of language in processes of globalisation, especially when associated to the

symbolic value to the product, if we may call it this way, that is being sold (ibid). This is visible in the emergence of what Heller (2010: 358-359) maintains is a growing language industry. That is, an arena where language schools or academies are positioned as powerful players for the reason that they provide access to valued forms or sets of linguistic resources, and have the power to recruit their speakers as teachers. This is one of the aspects that make researching the spread of English in Spanish-speaking contexts so important. Whilst English linguistic resources are sought after and increasingly more established in the education systems of Spanish-speaking regions due to its primary position as *the* world's lingua franca (see section 1.3.3.), Spanish institutions such as the Royal Academy of Language (RAE) and the Instituto Cervantes actively promote the spread and use of Spanish as a global language (Mar-Molinero, 2006; 2008; 2010).

Although English seems to be *the* leading language in most indicators of international relevance (see Ammon, 2010), the ways in which linguistic resources are valued can be multifarious, contradictory and variable. Associations of values and affordances may change over time and space, between local and global scales, from market to market, from person to person or be negotiated differently from situation to situation at microsocial levels. Also, in contexts where two global languages meet, such as the ones being researched here, it may be less clear which values, functions or opportunities are assigned to which language. For these reasons, I seek to gain further empirical understanding of how language users of Spanish-speaking contexts construct and assign such values to both English and Spanish, and of how these ideas may influence their preferences or investments in one language or another as a global lingua franca.

In addition to the rivalry between labelled languages discussed so far, the idea that global languages can provide access to certain opportunities also fosters struggles over who is more qualified to produce, teach and distribute them, and therefore over who gets to decide what counts as *good* or *legitimate* language use (see Gal, 2013; Heller, 2003; 2010: 358; Jenkins, 2007; 2014). On the one hand, different institutions or individuals may compete to act as linguistic authorities and to control processes of standardisation and top-down prescription that dictate how a language should be used and learned, and what counts as

notion of marketization. Both authors consider that language *commodification* represents a change in perception according to which a language begins to be seen as a good or a skill that can be acquired and used by anyone rather than solely as the sign or characteristic of identity of a particular community and of individuals who are born speaking that language. The authors argue that this phenomenon is particularly significant as a result of the new economy and new working conditions of a globalised world.

valuable and *authentic*⁵ use. For instance, the British Council is well known for having persistently sought to promote British English standards around the world (see Jenkins, 2015). Similarly, while the Cervantes claims to teach a global and neutral Spanish standard internationally, in the past it has also admitted to teaching the European variety and defended this choice by attaching purity or neutrality values to that specific variety (Mar-Molinero, 2010). On the other hand, these authorities are constantly being contested by users themselves. As Heller (2010) reminds us, this contestation may take place through the development of actual explicit discourses of resistance (e.g. discourses on language rights, challenges to legitimacy of native-speakers) and/or through particular *grassroots* linguistic *practices* that vary from prescribed standards. Therefore, instances of English or Spanish variation that are produced by non-native speakers, or uses that are simply classified as non-standard, are examples of the grassroots practices that can emerge as contestation.

Thus, it seems that, as linguistic resources spread, the tension between homogenising efforts and emerging variability and hybridity can increase. To genuinely understand this friction, we need to look qualitatively and contextually at how linguistic resources are actually used in the midst of the complex transcultural, transnational or global linguistic *flows* through which they become mobilised (e.g. Pennycook, 2007). We also need to move beyond understandings of flows as mere “transportation” (see Bartelson, 2000), that is, as the mere transference of language between fixed points and boundaries with no observed changes to the points or the object moved. Instead, approaches that understand flows as “transformation” and “transcendence” (Bartelson, 2000) often distinguish between two major processes, namely *dis-embedding* and *(re-)embedding* (e.g. Coupland, 2003a; 2010; Mar-Molinero, 2006; 2010). The former notion refers to the idea of *lifting* linguistic resources, varieties, styles or cultural practices from the social relations and meanings in particular local contexts and *rearticulating* them across varying times and spaces.

The key aspect of re-embedding is, however, that despite strong attempts at transferring standards and homogenizing the use of a global language, the travelling or flowing of linguistic resources normally entails qualitative changes. In the contexts where the cultural or linguistic resources are rearticulated, we can also often observe processes of *re-*

⁵ As many other authors (e.g. Coupland, 2003b; Heller, 2003; Westinen, 2014), I conceptualise authenticity as a social and ideological construct that is discursively constructed rather than inherent in specific ways of using linguistic resources or in the perceived nature of specific speakers.

valorisation, transformation or re-semiotisation by which new/different contextual interpretations may be assigned to the linguistic resources. In other words, these resources may be appropriated, hybridised or varied to perform social meanings and identities that reflect how the circumstances, needs, purposes or agents of a new specific linguistic use may differ from the previous contexts from which it was mobilised. Even when the resources that have been mobilised still maintain the same form or appearance, they may be given a different meaning (i.e. denotative or social meanings) in the new context of use. In fact, the same resources may acquire different meanings even in the same physical space and at the same time, depending on who is involved in the interaction⁶.

Both English and Spanish experience globalisation effects that are as delicate, contradictory and complicated as the ones reviewed in this section. I therefore set out to explore how Spanish-speaking undergraduates perceive the spread of English in/between global and local contexts. In particular, how they experience and conceptualise language spread and linguistic flows, and potential tensions between the international and the local, standardisation and variability, authenticity as the global and fixed or as the locally variable, or tensions perceived between the values assigned to global and local languages. Before I go on to analyse these processes in relation to the spread of English as a *lingua franca*, I will briefly explain what I mean when I talk about language, labelled languages, and the global or the local.

2.1.3 From languages to linguistic resources: an ontological note

Although this thesis focuses on researching non-linguists' ontologies of language and communication, I must also gloss the heuristics that inform the conceptualisations I work with, in the interest of theoretical clarity, analytic reflexivity and larger scholarly critique. In my understanding of the nature of language, I join a growing body of scholars that depart from classical Saussurean/Chomskian traditions, and support conceptualisations of language as emergent *social practice* instead (e.g. Baird, Baker and Kitazawa, 2014; Baker, 2015a; 2015b; Canagarajah, 2013; Garcia, 2014; Hopper, 1998; Jenkins, 2015; Pennycook, 2007, 2010, 2012a; Tomasello, 2008). This ontology moves away from notions of language as a closed, pre-existing, abstract and autonomous code. Instead, linguistic features are theorised as a set of semiotic signs through which

⁶ See Blommaert, 2010:31 for an analysis of the semiotic mobility and multiple possible interpretations of a linguistic sign in a Japanese shop.

people construct referential and social meanings. From a social practice orientation, competence and performance are not placed in a clear-cut relation of opposition, but as mutually constitutive and intertwined. Similarly, language use and social meanings are seen as experiential, fluid, variable, non-linear and highly complex phenomena. Thus, grammar, norms or rules of use are seen as *usage-based* conventionalisations that *emerge* from interaction (e.g. Baker, 2015b; Hall, 2013; Hopper, 1998; Hynninen, 2013; Mauranen, 2012; Vetchinnikova, 2015), rather than as pre-existing entities which may be downloadable or acquired as competence, and activated, realised or distorted in communicative performance.

One of the main problems that drive me away from sharp classical distinctions between competence and performance is the negative connotation of unreliability that was associated to the latter in the structural model (see Sealey and Carter, 2004 for a comprehensive review of structuralist limitations, as identified by relational, integrational, emergentist, functional or sociocultural perspectives). According to structuralist thinking, linguistic use that differs from the idealised, abstract and invisible cognitive representations occurs due to *external* influences (e.g. social, contextual, attitudinal, affective aspects). More importantly, this understanding of language has contributed to the discriminatory condemnation of actual speakers, whose performances differ from the linguistic ideal competence. Also, the fact that the innate competence of an ideal system was believed to be found in native-speakers contributed to the arbitrary discrimination of second language learner's variation, and has encouraged approaches to foreign language learning that diminish students' agency in favour of the frustrated pursuit of native-ness and perfection (Hall, 2014). I therefore join numerous scholars, within and outside ELF studies, who advocate for conceptualisations of language that do not make distinctions and evaluations of this sort a priori, and who therefore seek to avoid researching language from a starting point that reproduces unprincipled inequality between speakers.

Within ELF studies, it is also possible to identify at least two different heuristics of language. As Vetchinnikova (2015) convincingly argues, there is a clear clash between emergentist views proposed by some (e.g. Baird, Baker, Kitazawa, 2014; Jenkins, 2015) and the virtual language ontologies proposed by others (e.g. Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer, 2013; Seidlhofer, 2011; Widdowson, 2003). Vetchinnikova evidences how proponents of a virtual language view for English often draw "on a clear distinction between

constitutive and regulative rules and a sharp dividing line between knowledge and use of language” (2015: 230), that resembles and reproduces classical/structuralist thinking⁷. While the virtual ontology has rightly challenged considerations of native-speakers as ideal speakers or as exclusive ways into innate language, it still faces the risk of reproducing structuralist explanatory shortcomings (e.g. ideas of certain users of English and/or communicative contexts being more apt to access a ‘pure’ or ‘real’ set of defining English constitutive rules existing beyond use). In the emergentist view of language I take, linguistic and/or social norms are therefore *social constructs* which may be fleeting and highly local, or which may be sedimented through repeated practice and become more enduring and therefore more widely shared, but they are not to be understood as abstract entities of objective or physical ontological status and independent existence.

I also conceptualise *boundaries* drawn between languages and other collective ways of speaking (e.g. varieties, dialects) in a similar way. Scholars have for long faced the dilemma of whether distinctions between language boundaries are just ideological or a linguistic reality, even if a fuzzy one. My current position on the debate is that, even if language boundaries are not physically real, they are still useful as “convenient fictions” (Seidlhofer, 2011; Widdowson, 2012a) *if* perceived and talked about as realities by speakers themselves.

Like other authors (e.g. Canagarajah, 2013; Makoni and Pennycook, 2007; Otheguy, García, Reid, 2015), I consider distinctions between languages to be ideological constructs, but constructs that have real *social* and *communicative* consequences such as matters of intelligibility, identification or material and social inequality. It is for this reason that we should continue to take them seriously, although I believe that it is less and less safe to make a priori assumptions about what such ideological boundaries look like. Also, as Jenkins (2015: 68) cautiously argues “the extent to which it is possible to identify ‘any boundaries’ between languages is open to empirical investigation and further debate”. For now, when I make references to English, Spanish or any other labelled languages, these are to be understood as sets of linguistic resources (e.g. Blommaert, 2010) that have been historically and socially constructed through

⁷ “While constitutive rules define the game being its code, regulative rules “only characterise different ways of playing it” (Seidlhofer, 2011: 113), constitutive rules are categorical and invariant, they bear the status of actual rules; regulative rules are variable, they are merely conventions of playing the game. A such, virtual language is an underlying system of constitutive rules” (Vetchinnikova, 2015: 228)

discursive and labelling practices, and not as separate or clear-cut external systems⁸. This way, I modestly attempt to deal with what I have elsewhere characterised as a “terminological trap” (Morán Panero, 2015; also in Jenkins, 2015). That is, the limitation that we face, as researchers, in moving beyond modernist ideas and expressing different or more complex understandings of language with inherited modernist vocabulary (see also Otsuji and Pennycook, 2014 on dealing with the trap for the notion of hybridity).

2.1.4 Mobility between local and global contexts: indexical scales

As I suggested in section 2.1.1, globalisation processes have made *the global* a more salient context of social arrangement (Coupland, 2003a), and therefore to explore the linguistic implications of globalisation processes, we need to carefully examine how activities that take place locally interact with what happens globally (Coupland, 2003a; 2010). It is for this reason that I wish to explore users’ perceptions of linguistic flows between global and local spheres of use, and the tensions that may emerge from conceptualising and evaluating particular languages differently between those levels and anything in-between.

As Blommaert (2010) rightly warns, when analysing linguistic flows, it is important to avoid treating the mobility of language or speakers as if it took place across empty spaces or contexts. Blommaert proposes that linguists engage with the notion of indexical *scales*, to account for the complex ways in which mobile people and linguistic resources travel across layers of *semiotised* time and space. This semiotic characterisation of global (i.e. macro) and local (i.e. micro) contexts of interaction, and of any scale levels that may be in between (e.g. national, regional, supranational), is intended to highlight that these contexts are full of networks of social and ideological *meaning*, of contested orders of value assignation and of different sets of expectations and assumptions about how a speaker should behave linguistically. These historically constructed frameworks of interpretation and normative expectations can have great situated significance, influencing the linguistic behaviour of speakers, and potentially limiting or enhancing speakers’ life opportunities.

⁸ In Canagarajah’s (2013: 16) words, they are not “an objective reality out there. They are constructs that are always open to reconstitution and relabelling” (see also García, 2009:141; 2014; García and Li Wei 2014: 42; Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014: 5-7 for similar claims on ‘translanguaging’)

As Westinen (2014) emphasises, what “makes sense” at one particular scale level (i.e. at a particular spacetime context of interaction) may not be acceptable in another. For instance, while pronouncing an English resource in a way that indexes a Spanish-accented English (e.g. the epenthetic ‘e’) may be valuable and even preferred in a particular context (e.g. an informal lingua franca interaction where other Spanish speakers are present), it may also be deemed undesirable or unacceptable in a different scalar frame of interpretation (e.g. the same interactants in an English language test of ‘international’ validity). Considering global and local scales as semiotic spacetime allows us to explore how particular linguistic resources may grant or withhold physical or social mobility (i.e. scale jumps) to different speakers, and therefore how they may create or reproduce structures of power positions and inequality.

In this thesis, I approach scalar contexts of interaction as “*categories of practice*”, to use Canagarajah and De Costa’s (in press) term, rather than as fixed, pre-defined or pre-existing analytic categories. Although the evaluation of a linguistic sign may change across scales, the meanings assigned at different scales may also vary depending on the agents involved in the interaction and on people’s interpretative repertoires. I therefore see scales as emic social notions that are discursively constructed and negotiated, and which may differ from individual to individual (ibid; Westinen, 2014). I also avoid representing the global and the local in simplistic, unidirectional, fixed and dichotomous ways⁹. Although scalar analysis is not the main focus of analysis, I am attentive to instances in which global/local frames of reference are made relevant by participants in their conceptualisations and evaluations of English and Spanish. Since I am especially interested in exploring conceptualisations and evaluations of English as a global language in this study, I now move on to a detailed account of the spread of English as a global language and to theorisations and investigations of its functions, uses and the variability it experiences as it flows internationally.

⁹ From this perspective, scales are also understood as relational, that is, they are seen to acquire meaning in relation to each other and to often overlap, mix or clash (Blommaert, et al. 2015; De Costa and Canagarajah, in press; Westinen, 2014). As Baker (2013: 26) highlights, global and local scales are also both potentially fluid and potentially fixed. For instance, the use of English at global levels is not always just fixed (i.e. a ‘global standard’) and aspects of fixity and fluidity may be found at local interactional levels.

2.2 The spread of English as an international lingua franca

The current situation of English in the world is most commonly defined by its unprecedentedness. Although the world has seen previous lingua francas being used internationally, and although English is not the only one operating at present, the degree of international reach achieved by English has not been recorded by any language before. I now briefly review the historical processes behind the spread of English in the world, present the aspects and indicators that allow us to call this language global, and introduce the initial sociolinguistics consequences that emerge from the way in which linguists and folk people describe and classify the spread of English.

2.2.1 English in the world: from colonisation to internationalisation

English has achieved its current position and status as *the* world's international lingua franca through a series of complex linguistic and social processes of expansion, including colonisation, migration and more recent globalisation developments. The first phases of the spread of English commenced with the linguistic displacement and imposition that took place, first within the British Isles, and then in American, African and Asian continents (see Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Jenkins, 2009a; Kirkpatrick, 2007). Although I will not discuss the widely researched diasporas of English in detail, it is important to acknowledge the relevance that these complex processes of migration and colonisation have had for research on English as an international or as global language. Firstly, they provided English with a significantly large and widely spread number of speakers, which is one the major indicators of the globality of a language, and an important platform to propel its international use (e.g. Crystal, 2003; Ammon, 2010). Estimated figures suggest that, in 2003, there were around 329 million L1 speakers of English, and around 430 million with English as their second language, spread along different countries, ethnicities and cultures.

Secondly, the first diasporas of English gave rise to an initial typology of English varieties that is still widely used by speakers of the language nowadays (e.g. English as a Native Language, ENL or native varieties; English as a Second Language or ESL and nativised varieties). More importantly, a set of linguistic prejudices were gradually associated to different types of varieties, with native-speaking ones receiving more value, prestige and claims of purity than nativised ones. As some authors point out (e.g. Jenkins, 2007:

Kirkpatrick, 2007), these ideas remain strong and influential nowadays in the form of dominant language ideologies, and seem to inform and 'justify' specific discriminatory evaluations of speakers that fall into such groups.

Despite the large number of speakers achieved by migratory and colonialist diasporas, numeric expansion of users is not the only indicator used to decide whether a language may be called global. As Crystal (1997, 2003) explains, additional elements helped English to move on from colonisation to a phase of internationalisation (i.e. linguistic spread that takes place without political annexation and/or direct linguistic imposition). These factors include the power of speakers of English in international organisations, a favourable economic situation of the mother-tongue countries (mainly the US during the 20th and 21st centuries), the pursuit of a national unity in certain colonised areas (e.g. South Africa) and, the gatekeeping position to education and academic knowledge that the language achieved gradually. In addition, English is also the most widely used language by the media, international organisations, internet and in the global spread of forms of popular culture such as music, cinema or advertising. These international processes and uses have given way to the largest group of speakers of English yet, those that have been traditionally regarded as English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or Expanding Circle learners.

In 2008, Crystal revised his estimates and, counting with Expanding Circle speakers, he concluded that there could be around two billion speakers of English in the world, that is, a third of the world's population (Crystal, 2008). This number has risen rapidly in locations of both Outer and Expanding Circles (e.g. India, China). For example, the number of people learning English in China nowadays is larger than the communities of native or Inner Circle speakers (Kirkpatrick, 2007). The changes in contexts of use and in the nature of English language learning/acquisition meant that the native speakers of the language have now been largely outnumbered by its non-native speakers (Graddol, 1997; 2006). In fact, estimates suggest that, at the moment, there is only one native-speaker per every four non-native speakers of English in the world (Crystal, 2008). What is relevant about this observation is that more people from diverse backgrounds may have the possibility of participating in discussions of what counts as English, and over how different ways of using it should be evaluated.

It is already possible to observe a change in how we think about some key categorisations of the language in the academic world. For instance, the traditional

distinctions between native, nativised and non-native varieties, and the values assigned to these have all now been largely contested. In a similar vein, the distinction of speakers in terms of native, non-native or second language user have also been widely criticised because of their limitations for multilingual contexts and the subjective boundaries they draw to designate and evaluate speakers' proficiency. These classifications have ultimately been found unworkable for present circumstances (see McArthur, 1998). Thus whenever these terms are used in this thesis, they need to be understood as *constructs* with which scholars or lay people operate, instead of objective categories.

Perhaps more important than whether the majority of English speakers fall under the now largely challenged constructs of native or non-native, are the “interesting possibilities and challenges ... posed [by the spread of English] for communication across language boundaries” (Canagarajah, 2013: 1-2). Understandably, all these new alterations and their effects have caused a wide range of positive and negative reactions in the academic circles, but also in the media, governments, institutions, businesses, and the public itself. According to Fairclough (2006), it is important to distinguish between *processes* of globalisation and *discourses* of globalisation, although these cannot actually be detached from one another. In this view, real processes of globalisation, and discourses about that global reality do not always correspond, but they may have a mutual impact on each other. Hence, what is said about language globalisation, could influence our understanding of the phenomena and ultimately impact global development of languages as well. On the contrary, experiencing the use of a language in ways that contradict discourses available, can also lead to a transformation of such ideas or representations. I now review the opposing and powerful discourses that are currently observable in the literature of the field.

2.2.2 Assessing the spread: dissenting voices

Academics interested in English and/or language globalisation have presented different ways of approaching and investigating the expansion of the language, its nature and most importantly, its consequences. The spread of English has caused reactions of both celebration and concern around the world, but as Jenkins (2009b) indicates, underlying or unacknowledged language attitudes also become apparent in the discourses of linguists, research studies, and the different evaluations of the situation presented in our conclusions.

For instance, Pennycook (1994) criticises the way in which most language users and numerous scholars have treated the *nature* of the spread (e.g. Kachru, 1986). The author argues that, up to the moment of publication of his text, the development of English as an international language had been obscured by a focus on the variation of the language, and that the nature of the spread had generally been explained as “natural, neutral and beneficial” by some (Pennycook, 1994: 9), and even as ideology-free by others.

Pennycook indicates that these interpretations consider the spread to be a consequence of seemingly inevitable global forces, assuming that it took place in a collaborative and egalitarian manner. Other commentators have also associated the spread to an apparent inevitable supremacy of English language (and of British and American cultures), or to superficial features such as the exceptional adaptability or flexibility of the language, its large vocabulary and other aesthetic characteristics (see Pennycook, 1994 and Crystal, 2003 for examples and a critique). These views seem to offer a rather vague or partial explanation, in which English is treated as an abstract object transformed by nonconcrete self-expanding forces. Hence, the active human intervention in language globalisation is removed or ignored in these discourses.

On the other hand, the work of other linguists has focused on bringing the agents behind the spread under the spot light. For example, Jenkins (2000) indicates that during the colonisation, settlers did little efforts to accommodate to previous inhabitants and rejected what they thought to be lower and uncivilised indigenous languages and cultures. Jenkins explains how attitudes of inferiority and denigration were associated in the past to indigenous or aborigine users of English and how they are still present and projected against non-native speakers today. Pennycook (1994) also examined the political and economic interests of those currently promoting the globalisation of English. The author argues that not only this expansion is not neutral or passive, but it is in fact a well exploited business, and that native speaking countries are the main beneficiaries. Through the analysis of documents, reports and the discourses used by certain institutions and industries such as the British Council, or editors and publishers of language learning industries, Pennycook evidences the self-interested attitude of these organisations which are encouraging the world to speak English in a particular way, whilst profiting from it to a great extent. The contribution of Brutt-Griffler (2002) is especially relevant, because it evidences the need for considering the concept of agency as a two-sided issue in the nature of the spread. In this respect, migrants or colonisers in

the past, and language industries today, are not the only agents in the spread, but those at the ‘receiving end’ have a very important and active role as well (e.g. adopting and adapting the language to perform social differential work).

The *consequences* that the expansion has had in numerous societies across space and time, have not gone unnoticed either in the world of the academia. Once more, polarised assessments of the effects of English globalisation are distinguishable. For example, the spread of English has been frequently portrayed as a triumph for its native speakers. As Crystal (1997; 2003) suggests, the celebratory discourses of such “linguistic triumphalism” (2003: 15) tend to provide references to the language of native-speakers conquering the world, and lists of benefits and powers for its native speakers internationally. Although Crystal criticises this view, the general narrative of this author on the expansion of English suggests that it has principally been a positive or beneficial outcome (i.e. reproducing to some extent the views criticised by Pennycook, 1994 above). It should be recognised that Crystal (2003) engages in a detailed analysis of factors behind the nature of the spread of English (e.g. military, economic, technological power of its speakers). However, in terms of consequences, the author offers a fairly benign analysis and focuses mainly on the usefulness of English as an international lingua franca due to the communication needs it seems to meet globally. Although Crystal (2003: 16-17) briefly contemplates the power struggles that may take place between native and non-native users of English as a lingua franca, the author discusses power differentials as hypothetical risks with only anecdotal evidence and suggests that they can be prevented by investing in early start ELT programmes in expanding circle contexts so that linguistic differences between natives and non-natives become non-observable. Interestingly, this apparent solution seems to inadvertently feed or draw from native-speaker triumphalism in the sense that it still maintains native-speaker ideology for linguistic form production.

Additional negative effects of the globalisation of English have been observed and studied in the field, and these should not be overlooked. For instance, Ammon (2006) reminds us that fears over domain, status and function loss are being experienced by speakers of other world languages due to the dominance of English. Pennycook (1994) coined the concept of *linguistic curtailment* for the preference of English teaching over other languages in the majority of schools around the world. Other scholars are concerned with fears of linguistic and cultural homogenisation, and language death (e.g.

Skuttnab-Kangas 1999; Ebunlola Adamo, 2005). Although the use of English internationally provides *access* to knowledge, information and opportunities, Pennycook (1994) indicates that this can also become a negative consequence for those that lack access to English learning or do not meet the supposedly ‘acceptable’ criteria. For example, English can work as a *gatekeeper* to positions of social prestige and employment; it can be a powerful means of inclusion or exclusion from further education; and it may help create professional distance and/or power relations between native and non-native speakers (Pennycook, 1994). After all, there is a great deal of inequality in terms of how the effects of (language) globalisation are experienced (Blommaert, 2003; 2010; Coupland, 2010).

An important example of negative positioning towards the spread of English is the work of Phillipson and his influential theory of linguistic imperialism (e.g. 1992; 2009). The author concludes that “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (Phillipson, 1992; 49). English is understood as a killer of not only indigenous languages during colonial times, but also as a danger to smaller languages of Europe and other parts of the world at present (Phillipson, 2003). Linguistic Imperialism supports the belief that English is being delivered or imposed internationally in a standard, intact native-speaker form (whatever this may be) through language teaching, among other platforms, and its spread is assumed to bring with it a homogenisation of the world and to threaten its diverse cultures. This homogenisation is in fact claimed to be an apparent Americanisation, as Phillipson insists on the impossibility of detaching American socio-cultural and political powers from English globalisation (Phillipson, 1992; 2008; 2009).

Although his theoretical constructs point out important undesirable effects, attitudes and intentions, the picture of the spread he paints is, again, only partial. The role of English in the world cannot be *solely* accounted for in terms of political conspiracies of language imposition. Also, the fears of homogenisation reported by Phillipson seem to be pessimistic predictions rather than accurate descriptions. A well-known example of empirical research that contradicts the tenets behind linguistic imperialism, among many others, is Canagarajah’s (1999) ethnographic study of an English classroom in Sri Lanka. His analysis of observational data, interviews, marginalia from the students’ learning materials and case studies of students writing, reveal that, although the ELT

methodologies and varieties used in the classroom were inappropriate for the local context, teachers and students manage to use the language as an element of resistance to imposition or homogenisation, although not necessarily in a conscious way.

Overall, linguistic imperialism has been widely accused of dismissing crucial factors in the expansion of the language such as the agency or ability of its second language speakers to colonise and transform the language (Brutt-Griffler, 2002), to exploit their personal choices and pragmatic interests (Bisong, 1995), to develop a sense of ownership (Widdowson, 1994), and to apply processes of adaptation, appropriation and reinvention of mixed hybrid cultural forms (Pennycook, 1994; 2007). The theoretical position seems to be denying the diversity of English use existing in the globe. Linguistic imperialism has been rightly criticised for being *trapped by* and *reinforcing* past imperialistic attitudes (Rajogapalan, 2010) that have now been surpassed by international developments (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

Although, the globalisation of English can be considered a double edged sword, it is possible to explore it from a perspective that is both critical and descriptive. Widdowson's (1997) differentiation between the notions of spread and distribution is an example of a more comprehensive approach. Widdowson accepts that there have been intentions of transferring homogenous standards of English around the world as an instrument of domination (i.e. distribution). However, while a successful distribution of English would imply the adoption and conformity of its speakers, the spread of the language actually entails adaptation, non-conformity and creation. The work of Pennycook (1994; 2007; 2010; 2012) also evidences that the spread of English is not leading to complete homogeneity of language and culture. In his 2007 exploration of the globalisation of English and the spread of hip-hop in the world, Pennycook shows that English can be appropriated to express sub-cultural identities and different life styles around the world. Thus, the use of English does not simply become imitative, but it becomes part of localised and/or emerging cultures and hybrid identities, although it may still function as a gatekeeper and continue to raise inequality issues. Nevertheless, as Pennycook author argues, approaches to English as a global language also need to account for how language, identities and cultural forms can be adopted and adapted through different transcultural flows (see section 2.1.2 for a discussion of transcultural flows).

I therefore draw from *transformationalist* approaches to study the spread of English as a global language as well (see section 2.1.1 for a discussion on transformationalist views). As Dewey (2007a) points out, transformationalist approaches, such as those undertaken in ELF research, are necessary theoretical tools in order to address transformations experienced by the spread of English in an age of globalisation. In line with transformationalist and ELF approaches, Canagarajah (2007: 924) also argues that the new global context has highlighted an urgent need to understand “atypical” communicative contact situations, and language use outside what were thought to be relatively “homogeneous” communities in particular (ibid). It seems to me that this idea of atypicality reflects well the transcultural spread and lingua franca uses of English, not in terms of being completely new or uncommon processes, but in the sense that they do not quite fit traditional assumptions of what language is. In the following section I explore different theoretical approaches to the use of English in these “atypical” contexts (ibid), and explain which theoretical assumptions inform my exploration of the variability and hybridity that emerge from the spread of the language as an international lingua franca.

2.3 Exploring linguistic sameness and variation in English

The spread of English is taking various forms and shapes as it is continually performed by new speakers in different parts of the world. Diversity and variation are clear consequences of the internationalisation of a language, and nowadays this is more evident than ever, due to the technological and communicative changes brought by globalisation. In the words of Seidlhofer (2009:44), “massive language spread brings with it heightened language contact through speakers and therefore heightened language variability and possibly accelerated change”. However, the co-existence of variation and sameness in the spread is not always recognised by *all* academics, educators or politicians, and variation is not granted equal status for *all* English users. We therefore need “to explore tensions between sameness and difference, between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies and between consensus and fragmentation” (Coupland, 2010: 5). Below I review the main models that have been proposed in order to explain such linguistic complexity and developments.

2.3.1 English, Englishes or Englishing¹⁰? between fixity and fluidity

Scholars aiming to explain the linguistic development of English as a world language have traditionally done so by assembling groups of speakers, demographic issues or geographical locations, according to a series of common characteristics. Within each conceptualisation, underlie different understandings of the relations of how legitimacy and acceptability are granted, and of the superiority or equality that may be assigned to specific uses or perceived varieties around the globe. Strevens (1992) for example, pictures the spread as family tree with American and British English in a parenting position, whereas posterior models, often including a metaphor of circles, prefer to focus on international speakers (e.g. Görlach, 1988 and McArthur, 1998).

A model that gained a high degree of popularity amongst researchers until very recently is the theory of Concentric Circles proposed by Kachru (1992). Kachru's contribution to the field is highly relevant, as it represents a very important step forwards for the recognition of new uses or varieties. The research carried out by World Englishes linguists (e.g. Kachru, 1996; Bamgbose, 2003) was crucial for challenging the assumed superiority of Inner Circle Englishes, and for the understanding and acceptance of language change as a natural process, and as part of the dynamics of any language that is used in complex cultural and linguistic contexts (Kachru, 1996). In addition, it helped to expose a series of fallacies regarding international English language learning, especially the idea that English is learned in Expanding Circle contexts (i.e. non-native) mainly for use with Inner Circle speakers.

Despite its groundbreakingness, Kachru's model is not adopted as a theoretical tool in this study due to the numerous shortcomings it faces in attempting to explain the global flows currently experienced by English. The model fails to take into account frequent speakers' global migrations and mobility across circles, or to consider potential transitions or complexities that particular countries could be experiencing in terms of the role and functions played by English there. For instance, as my findings reveal, English in Mexico seems to play multiple roles or functions, and this multiplicity makes the pinning down the country as Expanding Circle difficult.

¹⁰ "Englishing" is a term used by Hall (2014) to conceptualise a form of English testing that focuses on what students can do with English rather than their knowledge of and ability to reproduce idealised targets. In this section, I borrow the term to refer to the conceptualisation of language as emergent practice that was introduced in section 2.1.3.

The model of concentric circles has also been criticised for ignoring differences and linguistic diversity *within* circles or for overlooking difficulties to categorise which languages may be labelled as ‘L1’ or ‘mother-tongues’ in multi or bilingual societies (Canagarajah, 1999; Graddol, 1997; Mesthrie, 2008; Pennycook, 2007; 2009). In addition, this approach looks only into local or intra-national uses of English, disregarding any linguistic variation stemming from intercultural interaction as erroneous, and reducing Expanding Circle users of English to mere learners that are incapable of developing their own uses and/or norms.

On the contrary, ELF research consistently shows that similar evolutionary principles of use and variation are also at play in the use of English as a lingua franca undertaken by non-native speakers from the Expanding Circle. As ELF researchers argue, appropriating and adapting English for specific communicative, personal, and social needs does not require stable speech communities or perceived varieties (e.g. Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001; 2004). Logically, the study of these processes, and the ways in which legitimacy, acceptability or identity may work for these speakers, should not be assumed and marginalised either (Seidlhofer, 2010). Although educational target models normally taught at schools and universities continue to be based on Inner Circle varieties (Jenkins, 2006a; 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011), it is now very difficult to sustain the claim that Expanding Circle speakers are simply norm-dependant (see section 2.3.2 ahead). Whilst I do *not* align with a World Englishes framework, some of its terminology (e.g. Expanding Circle) is occasionally used in this thesis due to its convenience to refer to the geographical and official linguistic characteristics of certain regions, but not as a conceptualisation of the spread or speakers of English at an international level.

A more comprehensive approach towards the study of the use of different Englishes between global and local levels of use, and therefore one that suits more appropriately the purpose of this research, is the Global Englishes paradigm (GE) (Pennycook, 2007; Murata and Jenkins, 2009). This approach to the spread takes into account the fact that different uses of English are increasingly emerging from both, regional *and* international communication (i.e. *within* and *across* communities). In other words, it not only accounts for regional or intra-national localisation of English, but also for global lingua franca roles, uses, appropriations

and variations. As its first proponent explains (Pennycook, 2007), GE entails an analysis of English globalisation that goes *beyond* nations or states, circles, homogenization, segregation and imperialistic theories. While these processes or elements are not discarded, they simply constitute one part of the spread. GE proposes a critical analysis of both, the (negative) *effects* of globalisation and language spread, including the “forms of power, control and destruction brought by it” (Pennycook, 2007: 5); and the *plurality and diversity* of Englishes resulting in the world, including “new forms of resistance, change, appropriation and identity” (ibid: 5). Hence, it includes within the same paradigm the concept of English *from above*, or the hegemonic promotion of particular fixed standards for global communication, and English *from below* or the aware or unaware use of English as expression of subcultural identity (Preisler, 1999: 259).

As Pennycook (2007) highlights, this paradigm acknowledges the fact that language and communication are in constant state of *flux*, as linguistic resources move and evolve across time and space. In other words, it emphasises that translocal and transcultural flows are not only about movement, but also about cultural and linguistic change and appropriation. Drawing from the terminology proposed by Connel and Gibson (2003), Pennycook explains that within this flux we find an interplay between forces of *fluidity* (i.e. resistance, undoing or challenging of orthodoxies, creativity, refashioning, variation, boundary transgression) and forces of *fixity* (i.e. the more traditional ways in which location, identity and culture can *also* be expressed through language). In a later publication, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) also evidence that fluidity and fixity are not opposite ends of a static continuum. Instead, they exist in a relation of symbiosis or mutual (re)constitution. On the one hand, language users performing hybridity or variation may have to face more static representations of language use maintained by institutions. On the other, users who are actively engaging in challenging specific conventions may do so by drawing from other similar relations of fixity (see Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010: 249-250 on drawing from stereotypical representations of Japaneseness to challenge traditional expectations of what being an Australian-Turkish citizen is supposed to be).

A GE approach also aims to account for how processes of identification of speakers may be evolving due to contact between multiple cultures and languages

(Blommaert, 2010; Coupland, 2010). I include Otsuji and Pennycook's (2010: 246; 2015) concept of "metrolingualism" within my GE approach as a useful orientation to explore how people perform, play with, and negotiate identities through language use, without assuming fixed connections between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality or geography. Instead the focus of a metrolingualism-oriented research is on exploring "how such relations are produced, resisted, defied or rearranged" (ibid, 2010: 246) in context.

Again, I would like to point out that the pluralisation of English in the term *Global Englishes* needs to be taken with caution. I understand these *Englishes* (i.e. varieties) as social, historical and political constructs that are important as long as these are recreated by users and/or institutions. Thus, these idealised *Englishes* co-exist discursively, perceptually and in social practice with more fluid forms of *Englishing* (Hall, 2014) or *translanguaging* (e.g. García and Li Wei, 2014). Given that I explore the perceptions on the spread and use of English in contexts that have traditionally been associated with non-nativeness and foreign language learners (i.e. Expanding Circle contexts), I now review how the literature of ELF studies have reconceptualised the use, learning and variation of English that is produced by non-native/multilingual users, and how these reconceptualisations inform this study.

2.3.2 (Re)conceptualising transcultural use and variation: ELF perspectives

The international use of English as a *lingua franca* has been identified as the most widespread use of this language at present (Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Seidlhofer 2001; 2011). Although English has no official status in Chile, Mexico or Spain, it is considered to be a major skill to have for global communication, businesses, job opportunities, to access knowledge and so forth (Fernández-Rubio and Martín-Lirola, 2010; Matear, 2008; Muro-González, 2008). Therefore, for a large proportion of English users of the Spanish-speaking world, *lingua franca* interactions will also be the most likely use of English experienced.

The case of Mexico might be considered as a special one by some because of the exceptionally high rates of migration to the USA that some Mexican regions experience. For instance, Muro González (2008) argues that English learners of

regions with high migration rates have second language learner needs and should be taught AmEng models for USA integration. However, even in situations where migration to the USA occurs, this is no guarantee that those speakers will use English on a daily basis, or that they will not use it as a lingua franca (e.g. in international or superdiverse neighbourhood). ELF interactions are not geographically or even physically bound (Cogo and Dewey, 2012). Thus, ELF communicative needs can be expected to be relevant for the lives of all the participants of this study. Perhaps even more significantly, I consider the lenses of an ELF perspective to be crucial for this thesis, due to the ground-breaking empirical and conceptual work that this field of studies has produced on non-native speaker variation.

A variety of definitions have been provided on the object of studies that ELF researchers engage with (see Jenkins, 2015; Mortensen, 2013; Saraceni and Rubdy, 2006), and these have evolved over time as further knowledge has been produced. Among the diverse options available, my personal understanding of what ELF studies investigate coincides with Jenkins' most quoted characterisation of ELF as 'English as it is used as a contact language among speakers from different first languages' (Jenkins, 2009a: 143). As Dewey and Jenkins (2010) indicate, ELF's conceptualization of this global lingua franca, similarly to others (e.g. Swahili), does *not exclude* the participation of native speakers. Yet, the intercultural participants involved in ELF interactions cannot be assumed to, consciously or unconsciously, take these native speakers or their local norms to represent the linguistic reference point for the linguistic performances emerging in such interactions. They can also be conceived as additional participants that simply produce other specific uses of English and who, just like the rest, are also likely to need accommodation and negotiation strategies if they desire to participate effectively or to achieve certain communicative goals (see Kalocsai, 2009; 2014 for ethnographic evidence).

These definitions provide an understanding of the lingua franca function and the interactional characteristics of the phenomena, and begin to clarify that what we are investigating is "a distinct use of the language" (Cogo and Dewey, 2012: 4 added emphasis), or a type of "interaction" in which English (ibid:12 added emphasis) is the/an available "communicative medium" (Seidhofer, 2011: 7). In other words,

ELF studies a way of utilizing this language between speakers who come from different linguistic and cultural contexts and who therefore do *not necessarily share*, but normally *negotiate* interpretive practices and linguistic forms during interaction (e.g. Canagarajah, 2007; Jenkins, 2015; Park and Wee, 2011).

Over two decades ago, ELF researchers embarked themselves in the description of specific features and linguistic variation processes developing from intercultural interactions in English. Within the area of pronunciation, Jenkins (2000) empirically studied the phonetics and phonology of ELF communication, and demonstrated that non-native ‘accents’ or ‘deviations’ from British or American standards, do not necessarily obstruct mutual intelligibility, and even in cases enhance it. This study helped dismantle long-standing assumptions of successful communication as dependent on linguistic homogeneity and on a series of shared (native speaker) norms, and it highlighted the importance of accommodation techniques and accents exposure for intercultural communication.

Lexicogrammatical and morphological features, as well as pragmatics of communication or conversational strategies such as accommodation, collaboration and negotiation have also received examination in numerous studies based on ELF corpora (e.g. Breiteneder, 2005; 2009; Cogo, 2009; Dewey, 2007b; 2009; Huettnner, 2009; Klimpfinger, 2009; Pitzl, 2004; 2005).

Although in the first wave of ELF studies (i.e. ELF1 in Jenkins, 2015) scholars believed that ELF could potentially stabilize into, and be described as, an emerging variety or a set of varieties of English, it soon became clear that these labels do not capture the phenomena. Scholars found that ELF interactions are characterised by a situated creation of – more or less momentarily – shared repertoires by its speakers, and therefore by negotiation and dynamism (Dewey, 2009; Huelmbauer, 2009). ELF interactions reflect new temporarily stable patterns of use, regularisation processes, instances of language complexification, hybridity or language meshing/multilingual leaking and highly variable but transient productions as well (Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Jenkins, 2015; Mauranen, 2012).

Thus, the communicative practices observed in ELF interactions and other multilingual exchanges seem to defy “monolingual orientations” (Canagarajah, 2013), standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 1997; 2012) and native-speaker

ideology (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011). The evidenced variability of linguistic resources, together with the fact that intelligibility is negotiable and not necessarily condemned by such variability, reveal a much more complex picture than ‘non-native’ users of English simply succeeding or failing to reproduce idealised fixed standard norms. In fact, observing this kind of deterritorialised linguistic practices has contributed to the challenging of a number of research constructs¹¹. As Ferguson (2012:177) puts it, “this is precisely the point about ELF: it eludes traditional categorisations; it is a fluid, flexible use of ‘English’ linguistic resources by (mostly) plurilingual individuals who do not constitute a speech community in any traditional sense”.

A key share of rethinking has also been devoted to the overreliance on notions such as variety, and speech communities (Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2007; 2011) when assigning correctness, acceptability or legitimacy to language use in (socio)linguistic thinking. Contemporary networks of communication can be much more fluid and rapidly-changing than ever before due to virtual communications, long-distance interconnectedness and intensified mobility. As a result, trying to apply traditionally fixed constructs to translocal language uses has become unworkable. Overall, ELF studies have demonstrated that English variation “can no longer be assumed to be deficient” (Jenkins, 2007: 238) when produced by speakers who do not clearly belong to an English speech community. Rather than being equated with cognitive or learning failure, this variation can be attributed to complex aspects of the nature of multilingual repertoires and to sociolinguistic and cultural motivations such as the performance of different identities in a particular communicative context (e.g. projecting a national, international, professional, student or anti-establishment identity). Although ELF studies have put some traditional language constructs in perspective, this is not to say that it is entirely new. As Dewey and Jenkins (2010) convincingly argue, the processes observed in ELF are also found in all languages when the purposes of use and sociolinguistic situation of users are reshaped, but they have simply become more observable due to the unprecedented intensification of their occurrence in ELF interactions.

¹¹ For instance, notions of competence (see Baker, 2015 for a review of approaches), dichotomies that are difficult to maintain (see Cogo and Dewey, 2012 on native-speaker/non-native speaker, user/learner) and even positions on the nature of language and of communities (see Baird et al., 2014; Canagarajah, 2013; Jenkins, 2015; Jenkins et al. 2011; Pennycook, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2011; Vetchinnikova, 2015)

It is then clear that ELF *researchers* work with metaphors of *difference*¹² rather than deficiency, of contact and change and of meshing of resources by multi/plurilingual speakers (Jenkins, 2009a, 2015), and that traditionally classified EFL/Expanding Circle learners are repositioned as users who can *also* be remaking “English in their own terms, according to their own needs, audiences, for particular communicative and sociolinguistic purpose” (Ferguson, 2009: 124; Jenkins, 2006). As the initial focus on the codification of linguistic form was abandoned, the second wave of ELF studies (i.e. ELF2 in Jenkins, 2015) centred its research efforts on exploring the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions that motivated the surface features and processes being observed in ELF interactions (e.g. Seidlhofer, 2009). These efforts required further phenomenological investigations to understand how users’ own social and communicative needs, objectives, perceptions, ideologies or struggles relate to the linguistic and evaluative practices they produce in interaction with others. As Jenkins (2015) rightly puts it, most ELF2 research became oriented towards English as a *lingua franca* as a *social practice* and towards *users* of English rather than to the notion of code (see also Baird, et al. 2014). As Jenkins continues to discuss the future of ELF studies, she calls for a third wave of research in which ELF is theorised as multilingual practice in a more comprehensive and unambiguous manner (i.e. ELF3).

The exploration of the acceptance, legitimisation or assignation of correctness to variation emerging from ELF interactions also changed across the waves. In ELF1 it was believed that description or codification would eventually grant legitimisation (Ferguson, 2009), and oftentimes intelligibility was given excessive weight in attempts at legitimatising general variation from native-speaking standards. However, it can be problematic for researchers to try to establish or generalise about the legitimacy of such variable practices *a priori*, or outside its contexts of use. As Blommaert (2010: 12) suggests, what counts as valid in an age of globalisation and superdiversity is after all decided or negotiated by speakers in certain spaces and situations. The second wave of ELF studies, nevertheless, acknowledges fairly clearly that these linguistic processes do not occur in a socio-political vacuum (see Park and Wee, 2011:366; Sewell, 2013 for criticism of ELF1

¹² It is worth highlighting that ELF is as much as about sameness as it is about variability. In my conceptualisation of ELF I do not seek to reinforce extreme dichotomies between the notions of ENL (English as a Native Language) and ELF, or to ignore the great heterogeneity that exists within notions of ENL or perceived native English varieties (see Sewell, 2013 for criticism of ELF studies on these aspects).

on social and symbolic aspects). Increasingly more ELF scholars are exploring how issues of indexicality, value attachment, power positioning and struggle, identity projection, or ideologies may influence, limit, or inform English users' linguistic and metalinguistic practices¹³ (e.g. Baird et al., 2014; Hynninen, 2013; Jenkins, 2007; 2014; Jenks, 2013; Kitazawa, 2013; Wang, 2012; 2015). Similarly, I seek to understand how these symbolic aspects may be involved in my participants' conceptualisations of English language use and variation, and to explore how these beliefs and indexical relations may be reproduced, redefined or contested in the metalinguistic accounts of my participants.

In general, the study of sociolinguistic aspects in ELF shows that, far from being ideology, culture- and identity-free, ELF interactions actually entail complex, contradictory and multiple cultural and identificational processes, which do not always correspond with traditional fixed understandings of identity or culture (see Baker, 2011a; 2011b; 2013; 2015a). Since these areas are central to this research, the associated literature will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, with special attention to the spread of English in European and Latin American Spanish-speaking contexts.

2.4 Closing remarks

In this chapter I have introduced the theoretical approaches to language spread and to the international use and variation of English that guide my investigation in Spanish-speaking contexts, and I have justified the relevance of selecting these approaches in particular. The following chapter moves on to the theoretical frameworks and assumptions that inform my exploration of language perceptions and I review the most significant attitudinal studies carried out so far in the contexts here investigated.

¹³ This second phase has, however, been overlooked in the work of other scholars such as those who have continued to describe ELF studies as ELF1 (e.g. Canagarajah, 2013; 2014), or those who acknowledge different voices and research orientations within ELF research but position "the work of Jenkins and Seidlhofer" as perpetually fixed in the ELF1 "project" (see Park and Wee, 2014: 40) without noticing that these scholars have also transitioned into, if not driven, the second and third waves of ELF studies too.

Chapter 3: Language conceptualisations and evaluations

The study of the relationship between language(s), variation, and social or individual views and evaluations has been approached from multiple disciplines, from social psychology, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology to second language acquisition, and the study of beliefs in folk linguistics (e.g. Dörnyei et al., 2006; Garret, 2010; Lasagabaster, 2003a; Preston, 2002; Ryan & Giles, 1982). Academic research carried out from these arenas has contributed to the better understanding of language beliefs and evaluative behaviour, their possible origins, processes of change and influential factors in their development. This body of work, and especially that from linguistic anthropology and late-modernity sociolinguistics, has also helped to emphasise that language perceptions, opinions and evaluative practices are not just important or influential *for* language choice, acquisition/learning, and use or variation (i.e. as ‘external’ influences to language), but that they are intrinsically intertwined with and constitutive *of* language (i.e. as part and parcel of language).

This chapter reviews the most relevant theoretical and empirical literature on perceptions towards English, and language more generally. Language attitudes and beliefs will be dealt with extensively, presenting significant conceptualisations of the phenomena, as well as relevant frameworks to their study in applied linguistics, and how these inform my own approach. I will address significant empirical findings and methodological approaches from a variety of disciplines, and review attitudinal work carried out in Spain, Chile and Mexico. For the purposes of this review, I will focus mainly on studies that involve English language, or English in relation to other labelled languages.

3.1 Disciplinary approaches and empirical contributions

In this section I review how different disciplines have researched the relationship between language ideas, social-meanings awareness and linguistic and evaluative practices. I explore the different assumptions held by different schools of thought, how these have evolved over time and consider how these multidisciplinary contributions and findings inform my own research approach.

3.1.1 Social Psychology and Sociolinguistics approaches: early insights

It is not always easy to draw clear-cut boundaries between disciplines in the study of language perceptions, due to there being some degree of overlap in research interests and methodological approaches across different fields. For example, attitudinal work in sociolinguistics tends to focus on the relation between specific linguistic features of language or linguistic variation, and the language evaluations they seem to evoke or trigger (e.g. Labov, 1966; Preston, 2002; Purnell et al., 1999). Some social psychologists are also interested in studying relations between speech style and social-meanings assigned to groups of speakers, although this discipline is known for its focus on *unconscious* cognitive processes that affect social judgment. In both disciplines, however, most of the early explorations of language perceptions and evaluations were undertaken through *indirect* methods and experiments, in an attempt to control for speakers' self-monitoring or any other potential 'external' influences (i.e. context) in the data collection. The work of Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert et al., 1960) is considered to be revolutionary due to the exploration of the relation between speech style and social-meanings in Montreal, through the use of the well-known matched-guised technique (MGT)¹⁴. Since then, numerous studies have been carried out in similar ways under what is commonly referred to as *the speaker evaluation paradigm*.

As Coupland (2007) rightly points out, this body of work contributed to moving beyond Saussurean understandings of language as a system of referential meaning by empirically establishing that language use and perceived ways of speaking are indeed intrinsically intertwined with social meanings and personality/identity attributions (e.g. poshness, educatedness, friendliness, trustworthiness). However, one of the major issues identified in early approaches is the intent to *avoid* or *control for* people's ideas about language and stereotypes about groups of speakers, as if these aspects pollute the data collection instead of considering and exploring them as part of processes of languaging and evaluative behaviour. Aiming to leave these aspects out seems to point to the underlying presumption that there is a pre-defined, a-contextual, direct and linear link between linguistic features and social meanings (see Coupland, 2007; Eckert, 2008; Kitazawa, 2013 for a critique on such assumption), and therefore, that there is an inherent and direct link between perceived ways of speaking and the evaluative or attitudinal dispositions towards them. Yet, as will

¹⁴ In this method, a series of audio-recordings (produced by the same person and with the same content) are presented to groups of listener-judges in order to be evaluated 'blindly', that is, judging different speech accents/varieties heard without any additional information about the speaker(s).

be seen in section 3.1.3. below, the relation between social-meanings in language use and evaluative practices is more complex and less stable.

In contrast, *direct* investigations of language attitudes in sociolinguistics research have for long been addressing speakers' ideas and stereotypes. For instance, more than 40 years ago, Trudgill (1972) appealed directly to the study of individuals' consciousness on the use and preferences for particular linguistic features. His work evidences an interesting mismatch between the style that numerous respondents *claim* to prefer to use (i.e. consciously) and their *real productions* of that feature (i.e. less conscious) along the lines of gender differentiation, and it begins to uncover some of the complexity of social-meaning assignation. To this date, closed quantitative approaches have also been dominant in the methodology of direct investigations. Normally, these studies elicit evaluations on perceived or imagined groups of speakers and calculate statistical projections on the kind of thoughts and attitudes that specific numbers or percentages of speakers seem to 'have' towards different languages, varieties, accents and so forth (see section 3.4. for examples). Although closed forms of quantitative enquiry provide valuable insights, postmodernist and practice-oriented authors warn us of the potentially essentialising dangers of relying *only* on linguistic categories or groups of speakers that are pre-established by researchers a priori. For instance, Coupland (2007: 47-48) rescues Mendoza-Denton's (2004: 476-477) quote below to make this point in relation to variationist explorations of linguistic style:

Essentialism in sociolinguistics includes the analytic practice of using categories to divide up subjects and sort their linguistic behaviour, and then linking the quantitative differences in linguistic productions to explanations based on those very same categories provided by the analyst.

It seems to me that, in a similar way, attitudinal studies should not analyse evaluative data on pre-figured varieties or groups of speakers (i.e. 'Chinese English' or 'non-native speakers' English) without *also* exploring whether researchers' categories "match social actors' own perceptions of meaningful speech difference" (Coupland, 2007: 94). In other words, quantitative methods should be complemented by qualitative, ethnographic and discursive studies.

Despite the highly criticised artificial nature of MGT, and the methodological drawbacks identified in closed quantitative methods (see Preston, 2002; Garrett, 2010 and Section 4.2.2 in this thesis), key insights emerged from early attitudinal work. For example, one of

the most productive types of associations found in explorations of social meaning is the attachment of *status* or *prestige*, and/or *solidarity* to different varieties or speech styles. In fact, according to Edwards (1982), these social conventions can be more salient in language evaluation than other evaluative dimensions (e.g. aesthetics). The link identified between speakers' evaluations of language use and variation and matters of *power* and *identity*, is also highly significant. It became clear that language change tends to be perceived as prestigious, standard, acceptable or correct when driven by dominant and powerful speakers or communities, but considered deviant, incorrect and not to be imitated when performed by less socially powerful speakers, even if these are highly rewarded in terms of solidarity (St. Clair in Giles and Ryan, 1982). However, it was also found that whilst dominant or authoritative groups promote their language use patterns as a prerequisite for social success in society, speakers are not predetermined to follow such norms. Giles and Ryan (1982) emphasize the impact that identity and attitudes may have in the reproduction or imitation of particular norms (e.g. standard norms):

[s]uch is the fundamental importance of speech characteristics for one's sense of *group identity* that many individuals have *negative attitudes* about acquiring the *dominant group's prestige code* and as result may *fail* to become proficient in it. (Giles and Ryan, 1982: 208 - added italics)

Although the word "fail" still contains negative connotations and the assignation of prestige to a particular code seems excessively static, this idea has contributed to the understanding that awareness of social meanings and complex processes of identification are intrinsically linked with language variation (e.g. Preston, 2002; Jenkins, 2007).

Further investigations also pointed to the importance of *gender*, *social class*, *ethnic pride*, or other group-related types of loyalties in linguistic evaluation (see Giles and Billings, 2004). As will be seen in the findings chapters, matters of social class, national/cultural pride, prestige, group-membership and other aspects of identification also emerge as relevant in the conceptualisations and evaluations of English in my participants' accounts. However, instead of assigning social categories to the participants a priori as if these could be determined by my own recognition of 'objective' circumstances or status (i.e. nationality, socioeconomic or social class group), I observe how participants draw from and (re)construct these notions in their accounts on the spread of English and its lingua franca use. In other words, I explore how participants report to project or be assigned different individual identities or forms of group membership, for what purposes and with

which effects (see Bucholtz and Hall, 2010; Butler, 1997; Coupland, 2007; or Pennycook, 2007; 2010 for examples of performativity-oriented approaches that inform my understanding of identity).

3.1.2 Folk Linguistics: a phenomenological orientation

An approach that pays particular attention to the more conscious expression of language beliefs and social judgment, without assuming that researchers and speakers share the same categories or boundary-placing practices, is Folk Linguistics research (FL). For instance, Niedzielski and Preston (2003) investigated the beliefs of US language users through ‘mental dialect map drawing’¹⁵, thus avoiding the imposition of variational or stylistic boundaries to observe how participants create these themselves. In order to explore how non-specialists of the study of language express personal accounts or interpretations of their own worlds, FL engages directly with the influence that language ideologies, stereotypes and general ideas about language and communication can have on evaluations.

As part of their objective to construct a general folk theory of language, Niedzielski and Preston (2009) indicate that ‘*correctness*’ and ‘*pleasantness*’ are crucial notions at the heart of (US) folk’s ideologies and beliefs. The authors also specify that US folk’s conception of language coincide for the most part with the idea of an abstract, rule-governed entity or a cognitive process external to social factors or individuals (i.e. a Saussurean/Chomskian view). Niedzielski and Preston (2009) point out that due to people’s attachment to this notion, language production that ‘irresponsibly’ diverges from ideal abstractions is linked to conceptions of dialect, bad language or error, whilst language use that ‘responsibly’ converges with it is praised and idealised.

I have drawn from the phenomenological orientation of FL to explore whether similar or different elements (i.e. language constructs, ideologies, evaluations) emerge in my participants’ *overt commentary* about English (i.e. explicit metalanguage), and to analyse how these are used in their talk. I have, however, *not* used map-labelling or methodological techniques typically associated to FL, because these are too limited to geographical distribution for the exploration of language flows that transcend geographical boundaries.

¹⁵ In this method, participants are asked to describe, draw and situate the boundaries between varieties/dialects or speech styles in a blank map, and, in some cases, to think about these in relation to adjectives pairs or ranking exercises.

The horizontality of the distributional focus may discourage participants from raising more verticality-related evaluations of language use (e.g. social class, sub-group, translocal and/or individual identifications), and it may deter commentary on variation *within* particular physical spaces (see Kitazawa, 2013: 72 on limitations for descriptions of urban hybridity) or on shifting styles of *individual* speakers. Also, although map-labelling allows researchers to *describe* some emerging social-meanings and evaluative practices, albeit in a limited way, it does not usually help to *explain* the processes by which these are constructed, maintained or modified.

3.1.3 Indexical, relational and discursive insights

The nature of social-meanings and values, how they interact with linguistic forms, and how they emerge, become ‘common sense’ or fade away has been explored and theorised further by indexicality studies and discursive approaches in Anthropological Linguistics, Discursive Psychology and late-modernity Sociolinguistics. Indexicality studies see linguistic forms as semiotic signs that may acquire different, and potentially multiple types of meanings (Pierce, 1931-58), and understand that “the use of a linguistic feature can become a pointer to (index of) the social identities and the typical activities of speakers” (Irvine and Gal, 2009: 375). Rather than conceptualising social meaning as directly attached to particular linguistic features, indexicality researchers emphasise that these relations are mediated by “ideologically constructed representations of difference” (ibid). That is, indexical relations are political, moral and subjective to social interests, despite being rationalised or justified as neutral or natural (ibid: 374). Thus, the explicit evaluative practices that I explore in this study, and the conceptualisations of language that inform them, are also to be understood as ideologically-mediated phenomena (e.g. Coupland and Jaworski, 2009).

Drawing from this understanding, some anthropological studies have explored how arbitrary relations of meaning may go from emerging in situational contexts to becoming “naturalised” (Woolard, 1998: 21), and more or less widely shared assumptions (Eckert, 2008; Johnstone, 2010; Silverstein, 2003). In their study of labelling and evaluative practices of different groups of language users around the world, Irvine and Gal (2000, 2009) identify three semiotic processes that commonly operate behind language-related, social-meaning making: iconisation, fractal recursivity and erasure. *Iconisation*, for instance, refers to the ideological process through which ‘symbolic’ social meanings (i.e.

situationally emerging social meanings and arbitrary conventions) are seen as ‘iconic’ or ‘indexical’, that is, as defining or essential characteristics of a specific linguistic sign or perceived variety, and of an entire group of speakers. The arbitrary meaning is treated *as if* it was physically or objectively connected to the signs (e.g. ‘the British’ or ‘BrEng’ as ‘*being posh*’). On the contrary, *erasure* refers to the omission, ignoring or transformation of observed or experienced practices that do not fit – or “cannot be seen to fit” (ibid, 2000: 38) – already simplified and essentialised images of meaning-relations and categorisations (e.g. the internal variation within ‘BrEng’ going overlooked). And finally, I understand *recursivity* to be the reification of situational oppositions of meaning-relations and their fractal extrapolation onto other contexts, whether at higher or lower scale-levels (e.g. the creation of opposing divisions between and within groups, varieties or individual’s roles).

These ideological processes can contribute to the spread and sharedness of some beliefs about language, and therefore to the establishment of dominant, unquestioned or status quo ideologies of language. However, although we can be socialised into prejudiced or stereotypical indexical associations of language and speakers as we grow up, “every interaction ... has potential for both cultural persistence and for change, and past and future are manifest in the interactional present” (Ochs, 2009: 412). As a result of this understanding, leading scholars in this field suggest that *social meaning* is best conceptualised as multi-dimensional, non-linear, variable, unstable and context-dependent (e.g. Blommaert, 2014; Coupland, 2007: 99).

Coupland (2007), for instance, highlights the fact that judgment is not offered in universal ways. While ‘Received Pronunciation’ (RP) may have lost associations of prestige for a specific English speaker in Britain, it may still be held as the most prestigious perceived accent by an English teacher in Spain. Also, evaluations and meaning associations may vary depending on the familiarity that a speaker may have with specific ‘varieties’ or his/her ability to perceive linguistic differences (Johnstone, 2010). In other words, particular linguistic features or perceived ways of speaking may be associated to multiple, different and possibly contradictory indexicals by different speakers in the same interaction. Due to the contextual contingency of social meaning and evaluations that these approaches highlight, I have sought to design a research methodology that allows for multiplicity, variability and potential incongruity of indexical conceptualisations and social evaluations to be captured and analysed.

Additional lines of sociolinguistic exploration that have helped direct the attention of attitudinal researchers to the dynamics of evaluation in specific interactions are Communication Accommodation Theory (e.g. Giles, 1973) and Audience Design studies (e.g. Bell, 1984). In these research approaches, special consideration has been given to how speakers' ideas of what their interlocutors may infer or expect from specific ways of speaking (i.e. Gumperz's conversational inferences¹⁶), *and* speakers' own intentions of social meaning projection, may influence local linguistic performance (e.g. stylistic variation in Coupland, 2007). To make matters more complicated, even speakers' expectations of *imagined* audiences can also have an impact on their own linguistic practices. For instance, Bell recognises that, in addition to immediate interlocutors, absent "referees" can also be influential in speakers' linguistic design. In other words, the views on language of salient, ideal or admired individuals and/or groups of people who are not present in a conversation, can be held as relevant and oriented to by speakers (see Blommaert, 2010; Kitazawa 2012, 2013 on Bakhtin's notion of superaddressees).

Blommaert (2010: 39-41) expands on this complexity with his notion of "polycentricity". According to the author, in an increasingly mobile and interconnected world, it is more likely to have *a multiplicity* of real or perceived authoritative "centres" to which to orient to in almost any given context of interaction. These centres represent "evaluating authorities" with batteries of norms on what is suitable in an interaction vis-à-vis topics, places, people's roles or identities and linguistic performance. As a result, this plurality of centres increases the possibilities to (un)intentionally follow or break different sets of norms, and it makes the interpretability and social evaluation of mobile resources such as English less predictable (ibid).

Rather than assuming a pre-existing hierarchy of stratified centres, I explore how participants may construct, position and value (English) language centres and peripheries themselves, and how they may renegotiate the authority of different immediate, imagined, abstract and potentially multiple centres of reference, in situated metalinguistic practice. As Coupland (2007) reminds us, while inferences or expectations are often facilitated by generalising meaning-relations that are shared at macro-levels (i.e. stereotypes), social

¹⁶ Gumperz's (1982) term refers to social labelling or attribution of certain attributes or qualities that listeners may make based on particular linguistic or stylistic features thought to be heard. These can be, for instance, more or less accurate assumptions made about interlocutor's social origin, personal characteristics or communicative competence (see Blommaert, 2014 for discussion on the relevance of inferences and presuppositions in examining language use).

meaning is *intersubjectively* and *locally (re)created*. Although historical changes in social-meanings shared at macro-levels may seem slow, “it is quite feasible for speakers to bring about similar shifts *locally in their talk*” (Coupland, 2007: 23, added italics). Keeping in mind that sociolinguistic indexicalities are “amenable to being discussed, argued over and renegotiated metalinguistically” (ibid), I investigate which social-meaning relations emerge in my participants’ metalinguistic talk about the spread and use of English as a lingua franca, and how the ideological ideas that mediate them may be maintained, challenged or reconstructed discursively (i.e. potential processes of “resemiotization” in Johnstone 2010: 391-395). I pay special consideration to how participants talk about indexical processes of social meaning assignation, and aspects of situated variability and/or negotiation of social meanings. I also observe how participants talk about the relevance that other interlocutor’s inferences may have on their own linguistic and metalinguistic practices, and how they relate to different perceived centres of linguistic authority.

3.2 The study of perceptions in ELF research

More than a decade ago, Jenkins (2007) and Seidlhofer (2004) called for the proliferation of research on *perceptions* of English as a Lingua Franca. A particularly pressing gap to fill was the exploration of the views of ‘non-native’ users of English, for the reason that, whilst this group constitutes the majority of ELF users, attention to their conceptualisations and evaluations had been scarce outside interlanguage-oriented approaches. Despite the numerous SLA studies that have explored attitudes of non-native English learners, this field still tends to work with resilient pre-definitions of linguistic difference as interlanguage or errors when produced by non-native/foreign users, which results in continued reifications of native-speakers as the only legitimate targets and points to what Ortega (2014) calls a monolingual bias in SLA work (see also Jenkins, 2015)¹⁷. The avoidance of such pre-fixed assumptions is precisely what has characterised the exploration of users’ perceptions in ELF research.

In the last few years, ELF-informed attitudinal research has increased substantially. Research has been undertaken in educational contexts with English teachers or teacher-

¹⁷ Although many SLA studies have consistently overlooked the fact that English is not necessarily learnt for interaction with native-speakers (Jenkins, 2006b), considerations over how a context of globalisation, mobility and potential superdiversity may be reshaping the motivations, goals and needs of second/foreign language learners are also visible in this discipline (e.g. Dörnyei et al., 2006; Kramsch, 2009; Larsen-Freeman, 2012)

trainers (e.g. Dewey, 2012; Jenkins 2007; Llurda, 2004; 2007; Llurda and Lasagabaster, 2010; Ranta, 2010) and with students of English that are expected or likely to use English as a lingua franca (e.g. Matsuda 2003, Cogo and Jenkins, 2010; Ranta, 2010). Often these studies compare participants' views and expectations with researchers' empirical observations of ELF interactions, with the intention of highlighting gaps in EFL or EMI teaching policies and practices. ELF researches have also begun to investigate the views of users of English with regular experience of ELF interactions in business contexts (e.g. Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2010), in educational contexts (e.g. Baird, 2013; Kalocsai, 2009, 2014) or comparing views of users from both domains (e.g. Wang, 2012; Kitazawa, 2013). Also, within the strand of exploring perceptions in education, a fast-growing body of work is focusing on experiences of students and lecturers in EMI contexts where English is a lingua franca (e.g. Jenkins, 2014; Garrett, Cots, Lasagabaster and Llurda, 2012).

The foci and methods employed by ELF researchers to investigate language perceptions are gradually diversifying. Early work often explored users' evaluations of particular English uses and groups of English speakers (i.e. 'native/non-native' or 'Chinese' users), as well as views on what kind of English should be taught and tested. As Hynninen (2010: 29) puts it, the focus tended to be on exploring "attitudes towards different varieties of English and their preferences over one or the other", with ELF being "among them" (Hynninen, 2013: 52), instead of "consider[ing] how ELF users *describe* ELF and what they *expect* it to be like" (ibid: 53, my italics). Some of these studies, which I see as perceptual explorations informed by the first wave of ELF studies (see Jenkins, 2015), also struggled with problems of category pre-definition or a priori boundary-setting (e.g. Mollin, 2006 for a problematic attitudinal study on European-ELF as 'a variety' and its acceptance).

However, as ELF studies moved away from understanding ELF as a variety or as an umbrella of varieties, ELF explorations of language perceptions have also started to change. Although richer theorisations of social meaning are still needed in ELF research, phenomenological accounts and approaches that look at the dynamicity of people's views and/or identity positioning are now flourishing, for instance, in the exploration of European EMI practices (e.g. Hynninen, 2013; Jenkins, 2014) or in relation to Asian contexts (e.g. Baird, 2013; Kitazawa, 2013; Wang, 2012). I aim to contribute to this research orientation, by analysing how speakers themselves conceptualise and evaluate ELF interactions, how

they may or may not assign labels, boundaries or defining characteristics to ways of using English and their speakers, and by examining which constructs and ideologies inform the more general views of language and (lingua franca) communication of university students in Spanish-speaking contexts.

An element that seems to be particularly salient in the formation and expression of language evaluations, and that has therefore been the focus of numerous ELF-informed studies, is the notion of accent¹⁸ (e.g. Giles and Coupland 1991; Jenkins, 2007; Lippi-Green, 1994; McNamara, 2001). Attitudes towards non-standard, regional or non-native perceived accents have been linked to issues of linguistic discrimination or behaviour resulting in inequality, to the point that this has been referred to as *accentism* in the literature (e.g. Derwing, 2003; Lippi-Green, 1997). In addition, pronunciation that is perceived as non-standard is commonly associated to intelligibility problems. However, as Jenkins (2000; 2007) explains, the relationship between pronunciation features and intelligibility cannot be studied in isolation or outside natural contexts, for such studies fail to account for the influence that factors such as potential foreign accented speech bias, language proficiency, speakers' personal characteristics bias, or the influence of the actual contexts in which those accents are evaluated (i.e. whether they are perceived as marked or unmarked), can have on *claims about* intelligibility. It is for these reasons that I have a particular interest in exploring my participants' conceptualisations and evaluations in relation to their and others pronunciation of English, as well as their notions of intelligibility.

In terms of findings, much of ELF's attitudinal work usually reports that the dominant trend still entails preference for notions of native-speaker standards (American and British, and particularly RP) as ideal English targets and single authorities, with standard or native-speaker ideologies being especially resilient in educational settings (e.g. Forde, 1995; Timmis, 2002; Murray, 2003). It is also interesting to note that evaluations seem to be especially negative when participants assess the English productions of speakers of their own L1 group (e.g. Beinhoff, 2005; Jenkins, 2007; Major et al. 2002)

¹⁸ In this thesis accent is understood as "a loose reference to a specific 'way of speaking'" (Lippi-Green, 2012: 44). Rather than being an objective entity of independent existence that is easily definable by linguistics, I take it to be an abstraction that is normally based on perceptions of phonological difference. In this sense, it is a fluid social construct that is "widely used by the public" in multiple and interesting ways (Lippi-Green, 2012: 44-46).

More recently, a variety of studies have begun to record an interesting division in evaluations of perceived non-native variation among English users. While communication appears to be favoured over norms for ‘real world’ ELF conversations, a focus on a native standard is often preferred for the classroom or educational environments. Ranta (2010), for example, identifies a division between *school English* and *real-world English* in the perceptions of Finnish students. The participants show a clear awareness and positive attitudes towards the role and functions that English plays as an international lingua franca, report positive experiences of English use with other non-natives, and indicate awareness of the likelihood of this trend to continue in the future. Also, the majority express and justify no intention of adhering to any specific native variety for a variety of reasons (e.g. unnecessary, counter-productive, phony). The students seemed to value communication over correctness, and even acknowledged the fact that the English they are taught at school does not represent the real use of the language. However, students claimed to be satisfied with their native standard-oriented English education despite the perceived difference.

Another example of ELF research that records ambivalent views is the qualitative study that Cogo and Jenkins (2010) carried out on European students’ attitudes towards English in the UK, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, as part of the European LINEE project (Languages in a Network of European Excellence). The authors analyse interviews and focus groups data in which participants were encouraged to share insights of personal experiences of ELF use (e.g. during school trips abroad, family holidays). They report particularly positive attitudes produced by teenagers and university students towards ELF communication in general, and towards non-native English speakers as effective communicators. The interviewees show great awareness of ELF as a phenomenon, and recognise its functions and convenience as a medium of international communication. Cogo and Jenkins also found that students highly valued communicative and creative skills, instead of placing the focus on correctness. Even in some cases, their participants referred to other expert non-native English users as their learning models. More ambiguous attitudes were clearly revealed in the data regarding pronunciation. Accents in ELF were normally compared to native-speaker standards to indicate a lack of correctness, but at the same time, the idea of having an L2 accent was related to positive aesthetic connotations such as “jazzy”, “cool”, and “interesting” (see Cogo, 2010: 306).

Despite the apparent dominance of native-speaker and standard ideologies, speakers' perceptions and evaluations of variation produced by non-native speakers of English is beginning to show further layers of complexity. Some scholars even hypothesise that younger generations of users are "moving *towards* appreciation of *diversity and feelings* of ownership" (Cogo 2012: 103, my italics). It is, however, not clear to what extent these opinions are 'new' or 'changing' or whether we are just beginning to record and value them in attitudinal investigations.

Other scholars have focused on how experiences of English in intercultural communication can affect the formation and expression of personal attitudes and beliefs. For instance, Adolphs (2005) explored the views of non-native speakers of English during their study abroad year at a British university, and revealed that international students' evaluations of native varieties shift from more positive to less positive when these students spend time among speakers of inner circle countries such as the UK. It appears that through contact with native speakers and 'real life' use, participants become aware of the variable ways through which native speakers actually use language, in contexts traditionally associated with idealised standard constructs in ELT. Virkkula and Nikula (2010) also find an evolution in the discursive construction of the identity of a group of Finnish students involved in an internship of four to six months in Germany. Before their ELF experience abroad, the participants reflected a *learner identity* more strongly in their initial interviews. As the authors suggest, the discourses then recorded were highly influenced by an educational understanding of English, and students mostly described their own language skills negatively (as not good enough) according to classroom ENL standards and terminology. A discourse analysis of the post-stay interviews reveals that the students began to portray themselves as more confident speakers, that is, as *users* who are less concerned about correctness and more ready to 'celebrate' successful communicative use.

Similarly, Kalocsai (2009, 2014) reports on a qualitative ethnographic research project with Erasmus students at a university in Prague that provides remarkable insights on processes of appropriation, identity and attitudinal issues as they develop in what she convincingly argues is an Erasmus, ELF, and situated community of practice. The data collected from interviews and observational fieldwork, allowed the researcher to capture the ways in which this particular ELF community created a unique, shared linguistic repertoire, through putting accommodation, collaborative and meaning negotiation skills to practice, as well as through the linguistic and functional adaptation of English to their

specific needs. These participants not only show awareness of the distinctiveness of the English they are creating (which they call Erasmus or European English amongst other names), but they also show positive attitudes and pride towards it. This study also suggests that non-native speakers *can* and *want to* express aspects of their cultural identity through English, and concludes that ELF communicative contexts provide them with ‘freedom’ to choose which of their multiple identities to emphasize at any given moment. Kalocsai concludes that through the Erasmus experience, these participants learn to care less about native-speaker norms and more about pragmatic strategies. Although ENL is still described as real or correct English, these participants seem to believe that conforming to ENL norms is not appropriate or relevant for their ELF interaction. It is therefore necessary to take into account the degree of experience that my Spanish-speaking participants might have had of lingua franca communication.

Although some of these studies find positive views of the use and variability of English as a lingua franca, it is important to avoid uncritical celebrations of ELF interactions as ‘free’ of political issues. As pointed out by some scholars (e.g. Jenks, 2013; Jenkins, 2015; Sewell, 2013) less collaborative aspects of ELF interactions such as power struggles or social, political or indexical limitations to choice or freedom also need to be theorised and investigated. For example, while explorations of ELF in business environments tend to report that users have very pragmatic view of English (e.g. “simply work” in Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010: 207), Kitazawa’s (2013) interview data shows that socio-political aspects can and do still exert pressure over business people’s views of their own and others’ English use (e.g. feeling embarrassed about having a telephone conversation in English in front of other colleagues due to fears of evidencing ‘poor’ English form). Similarly, in her study of EMI at the international university, Jenkins (2014) finds that international students feel pressured or compelled to continue considering native English as the best kind of English, despite being able to identify the ways in which such ideology discriminates against them and puts them at actual disadvantage at the university. Before moving onto a detailed review of users’ perceptions of English in the research settings under exploration in this study, I will briefly explain how I conceptualise the main units of investigation with which I work: language conceptualisations and evaluations.

3.3 Conceptualising key constructs

As Potter (1996: 139) rightly argues “if we want to understand why a person has offered a specific opinion, we need to understand their social representation of the object being considered”. It is for this reason that I refer to ‘language perceptions’ as the aim of the study, and within this notion I explore both, conceptualisations *and* attitudes or evaluations of language-related aspects. An evaluation will always depend on the specific representation of language it is supposed to evaluate, and given that these representations may be potentially variable from context to context, it is necessary to always analyse both, conceptualisations and evaluations of linguistic phenomena. Although I try to differentiate between these two notions for analytic purposes, in practice they are highly intertwined and mutually-constitutive. It is therefore not always easy to separate these two concepts in clear-cut ways. Below I expand on my conceptualisation of each notion and on their relationship.

3.3.1 From language attitudes to evaluative practice

As Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003) indicate, attitude is a widely used concept in social psychology and sociolinguistics, but a highly difficult one to define. Varied attempts have been made with definitions ranging from broad to more specific and elaborate ones. For example, the understanding of attitude as “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of [social] objects” (Sarnoff 1970:279 in Garrett, 2010:20) has commonly been adopted and accepted as a *core* definition in the work of several language attitude researches (e.g. Garrett et al., 2003). Garrett defines a language attitude as “an evaluative orientation [that is, a favourable or unfavourable disposition] to a social object of some sort, for example a language or a policy” (2010: 20).

Most definitions of attitudes highlight cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects, which have often been considered as the three main composing elements of attitude structure, with complex and fuzzy influences amongst each other. Garrett et al. (2003: 3-5) maintain that, at a *cognitive* level, language attitudes are related to individual and social stereotyping in intergroup relations. Attitudinal associations with particular ways of speaking are thought to fulfil an organisational function for individuals, by which they attempt to make sense of a changeable and chaotic social world. Attitudes are also *affective* for the reason that feelings of enthusiasm or pleasantness, for example, are normally involved in

evaluations (ibid). The potential relationship between attitudes and the third aspect, that is, *behavioural predisposition* toward language use, is however highly controversial. Certain scholars often identify an influence between the two with either unclear or of mutual directionality, whereas others criticise the assumption of an existing influence entirely (see Garrett 2010 or Lasagabaster, 2003a for positions on the debate).

It is traditionally argued that language attitudes are learned through human socialisation and shaped by social experience, thus being socially-defined and socially-defining phenomena at same time (Garrett, et al. 2003: 4-5). They have also been commonly thought to present “*durable* qualities” (ibid, italics added). Nevertheless, the aspect of the stability or durability of evaluative behaviour has also generated extensive discussion. For instance, scholars in Discursive Psychology (henceforth DiscPsy) challenge traditional conceptions that define attitudes as relatively fixed and abstract units, that are pre-formed and *held* in our minds, as if we were isolated “repertoires of opinions” (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2011; 97). Instead they suggest that attitudes are in fact performed or of a discursive nature, constantly under construction and negotiation through people’s interactions and therefore variable and volatile, rather than static (e.g. Potter, 1998; Putcha and Potter, 2004). In their discursive analysis of New Zealanders’ talk about Maori people, Potter and Wetherell (1987) evidence how these speakers express their attitudes in social conversation and find a great deal of variability from moment to moment. The authors conceive individuals’ evaluative stances as developing and changing through social interaction, and claim that conventional approaches to *measuring* attitudes neglect such dynamic and constructive processes (see also Hyrksted and Kalaja, 1998).

Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2009) also argue strongly against the conceptualisation of language attitudes as “pure abstractions”, and show that these are in fact constructions regularly made relevant in everyday situations, and co-created in the “back-and-forth” of conversations with other people (ibid: 200). Drawing from Vygotskian understandings, according to which everything that occurs in the mind is socially and interactionally developed, the authors claim that language attitudes too are created, and at later instances (re)negotiated, through interaction (ibid: 200). In their study on perceptions of German dialects by speakers from different communities, the authors evidence that language attitudes are highly context-dependent due to the situated emergence of attitudes themselves, but also because of the influence that processes of contextualisation have on the ways in which they are expressed. This shows, they sustain, the perpetuation of larger

cultural ideologies through instances of talk. The authors also argue that speakers' perceptions of themselves and their sense of belonging can have an impact on attitudinal variability (ibid: 217).

In order to deal with this variability, some scholars prefer to distinguish between *attitude* as a stable or durable unit in the mind, and *attitudinal expressions* as variable evaluative behaviour (see e.g. Ishikawa, 2016). Nevertheless, even if neurological studies were to demonstrate the existence of stable mental nuggets of evaluation, the variability observed in actual attitudinal expressions would suggest that the stable mental attitude has no deterministic influence over situational evaluative behaviour. Therefore, this means that we could not rely on observed evaluative behaviour to know what these stable attitudes or preferences 'are', nor could we predict actual evaluations if we were to know them. In other words, even if they exist somewhere in the mind, these supposedly real attitudes would provide little insights for sociolinguists in terms of their social power and/or consequences.

Given the sociolinguistic nature of the research topic and objectives in my study, it is only meaningful for me to investigate actual evaluative practices (i.e. attitudinal expressions). In other words, I do not analyse metalinguistic evaluations to determine if there are stable attitudes somewhere in our brain, but to explore the social functions and consequences that may emerge from evaluative practices, and their implications at micro- and macro-contextual levels. I also believe that a discursive approach to evaluations can explain the sense of stability that tends to be recorded in quantitative attitudinal work as maintained or repeated practice, whilst preventing the exclusion of volatile and contradictory evaluations of individuals as contaminated or messy data (i.e. a risk that could be easily faced if the data does not fit an analytic unit defined by staticity). In addition to going *beyond* measuring positive or negative attitudinal outcomes, this approach can allow the investigation of the *processes* through which perceptions are contextually constructed (see Wiggins and Potter, 2003). Thus, my examination of *evaluative practices* (see Potter, 1998) focuses on discourses or interpretative/evaluative repertoires as level of analysis (see sections 4.8.3 and 4.8.4. for further details). I now proceed to discuss the notion of language conceptualisation.

3.3.2 Conceptualisations as ideology-mediated representations, ideas or beliefs

In order to explore lay perceptions of language I make an analytical distinction between conceptualisations and evaluations. As indicated above, I agree with Potter in that a speaker's evaluation of a (linguistic) object or process is informed by the conceptualisation of the object/process with which the speaker is working *at that particular time*. By conceptualisation of language I mean ideas and beliefs¹⁹ about the nature and meaning of a language and/or about particular ways of using it that appear to have become shared common sense.

In my understanding of language conceptualisation, I draw from Potter's use of social representation theories. According to Potter (1996: 137-149, 161-164), the social representations of particular objects that inform evaluations are a combination of shared *concepts* or *ideas* and often simplified *images* that people *build dialogically* and use to make sense of new, unfamiliar or complex experiences. These devices, he adds, perform actions when recreated and can have important implications for how we construct social worlds and versions of (our)selves. The author emphasises that these representations are “*not a neutral picture*” (ibid: 139, added italics). Instead, conceptualisations are often selective processes through which we bring together *specific* ideas, images and comparative dimensions to suit or protect personal or institutional interests, desires, motives or alliances. As a result, different people can produce different conceptualisations of the same phenomena. Despite the ‘interestedness’ that characterises people and their ideas, stakes are often managed rhetorically to pass as objective facts or unquestionable knowledge. Thus, Potter argues that seemingly new ideas or ways of thinking about a specific topic may seem less common-sensical than more established ones, due to unfamiliarity or because the process of *sedimentation* from metaphor or “theory to everyday understanding is still fresh” (ibid: 137).

Like Potter, I also take conceptualisations, ideas, beliefs or representations of language to be ideologically mediated, that is, not neutral. Thus, I have gradually understood that the notion of *language ideologies* is also key for my research in order to explore how

¹⁹ I use ‘ideas’, ‘beliefs’ and ‘conceptualisations’ interchangeably (cf. Diaz Larenas, Alarcon Hernandez and Ortiz Navarrete, 2015; Tagle Ochoa, Diaz Larenas, Alarcon Hernandez, Quintana Lara and Ramos Leiva, 2015)

historical, collective and structural associations between language and social meaning influence my participants' evaluations. In fact, the most prevalent understanding of language ideologies amongst linguistic anthropologists overlaps greatly with the notion of social representations introduced above. This is perhaps especially evident in Woolard's definition of language ideology as "*representations*, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (1998:3, added italics). The author also emphasises that linguistic ideologies are "embedded in material practice as much as in mental phenomena and explicitly metalinguistic discourse" (Woolard, 2008:437), although in this study I do not explore actual linguistic practices.

Despite the numerous approaches and definitions provided around the notion of language ideologies, two main traditions can generally be distinguished (see Edley, 2001; Seargeant, 2012; Woolard, 1998). On the one hand, Marxist-oriented theorisations tend to restrictively conceive ideologies as false consciousness, that is, as distorted but coherent views of the world that are exploited only by powerful groups of society for their own gain, and imposed on subordinate and presumably non-ideological groups in an almost inevitable manner. On the other hand, Mannheim-oriented approaches, like the one proposed by Woolard and numerous other linguistic anthropologists – and the one that informs my own understanding of ideology –, tend to be more inclusive and less deterministic. Although the possibility for ideologies to behave in the way indicated above is recognised in the Mannheim orientation, this is only thought of as one part of a more complex set of ideological processes (Edley, 2001). In this sense, less powerful groups *also* operate with ideology-mediated sets of views, and have a possibility to resist top-down imposition. Power is therefore not excluded or forgotten. Instead it is seen as forms of power *struggle* through which (re)production, but also challenge and/or change can be found in social practice. Thus, in this view, language ideologies are "not necessarily false but interested ways of viewing the world" (Pennycook, 2012b: 150). Similarly to more general social representations, language ideologies reflect the interest or *positionality* of specific social or cultural groups, and these interests are tied with people's social, political and economical experiences or sociological trajectories (Kroskrity, 2004; 2010; 2015)²⁰.

²⁰ As Seargeant (2012) suggests, in a Marxist framework, criticality and awareness promoted by individuals who speak from a vantage or ideology-free point of view (e.g. scientist, scholar, intellectual) can put an end to ideological representations and their oppressive effects (i.e. process of emancipation). My understanding of ideologies as "situated beliefs" (De Costa, 2012: 207) contradicts possibilities of there being uninterested language users, knowledge or neutral language use, with linguists or scientists being no exceptions (Irvine and Gal, 2009; Jaffe, 2009; Kroskrity, 2004; Milroy and Milroy, 2012).

However, language ideologies are not just *responsive to* social conditions, they are also seen as *constitutive of* social structures and categories. Language ideologies are more than ideas about the nature, value or hierarchies of languages and ways of using them (Kroskity, 2004, 2010; Jaffe, 2009), they are also used to do group-relational and identificational work. As Woolard (1998) puts it, they also “envision and enact ties of language” to identity, aesthetics, institutional authority, morality, or epistemology. Thus, they are understood as *mediators* between social structure and forms of talk (i.e. linguistic and metalinguistic practice). For instance, Jaffe (2009: 390-391) explains that “situated, and contingent” links between a linguistic feature or a language and indexicals attached to them and/or to their speakers (i.e. attributes, personalities or identities) can become naturalised as common-sense ideologies through repeated practice, and consistent positioning in this way can help establish social and resilient structural categories. Similarly, Woolard (1998: 11) indicates that ideologies are “active” and “effective”. In other words, these mediating links or tools can be performative (i.e. transform the world they comment on) and they can have important and often unexpected or unpredictable social consequences (e.g. social inequality or discrimination). I seek to analyse how language ideologies may be recreated, challenged or changed through metalinguistic or discursive practices in my participants talk about language, without forgetting that both agency and structure may be at play in participants’ accounts (Blommaert, 2010; Sewell, 2013).

In terms of their distinctiveness, what seems to separate social representations from notions of representations ‘possessed’ by individuals, or individual attitudes from ideologies, is the emphasis on the understanding the latter are both *(re)created and modified in everyday interaction*, whether face-to-face and/or through media (Hanks, 1996; Hynninen, 2013), and that these are *shared collectively* (Kroskity, 2004; Hsu and Roth, 2011). Although it may not always be easy to distinguish attitudes and ideologies (see Karakas, 2016 and Woolard, 1998 for a similar point), I see evaluative practices or attitudinal expressions as constructed by individuals in situated contexts, and language ideologies as the historical, “situation-transcending” (Kitawaza, 2013), and collectively shared ideas about language that inform situational evaluative practices in particular contexts. Yet, I am cautious about making attributions of sharedness of conceptualisations to closed pre-established groups of people or to my personal views of how my participants may be grouped (e.g. by nationality/speech community) unless these are produced in the data. In a world affected by growing mobility and interconnectedness, ideological sharedness may come about

across social boundaries or through less expected forms of group membership as well. In fact, by referring to Rosaldo (1988), Kroskrity (2004: 511-512) emphasises the importance of shifting attention from “the uniformity of stable” (e.g. describing ideologies shared within autonomous homogenous cultures) to the study of language ideologies in emergent and porous boundaries “within and between social groups” (ibid).

3.3.3 Multiplicity in language ideologies

Another element that Kroskrity (ibid) emphasises as key for language ideology theorising is *multiplicity* of their existence. Within specific national, cultural or speech communities, the sociological experience that informs the ideological thinking of different speakers is variable, and we can therefore identify multiple ideologies within specific groups, although some ideologies become more dominant than others. In fact, this multiplicity has been studied in the work of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropologists alike, and a variety of language ideologies have been identified and labelled. Here, I distinguish between ideologies about the *nature* of language(s) and ideologies about *ways of using* (a) language.

One of the most prolifically studied ideologies from the latter group is *standard language ideology*. According to this ideology, an idealised standard language²¹ is not only a real, bounded entity or system, but the most correct and therefore desirable kind of language use. It is thus assumed that certain linguistic features and norms are inherently standard, correct and directly connected with additional social constructs such as power, purity, beauty, value, competence, and so forth. According to the ideology, those speakers who are able to (re)produce such idealised standards may therefore earn the positive social qualities or attributes associated to standard language use (e.g. intelligence, professionalism, reliability and so forth). Normally this ideology is also combined with assumptions of dependence between homogeneity of speech and clarity or intelligibility (e.g. Jenkins, 2000; 2007; 2014; Milroy and Milroy, 2012; Woolard, 1998). As Hynninen (2013) suggests, standard language ideology is also often informed by ideologies of *language-maintenance* and widespread verbal hygiene practices according to which language cannot be left alone (Cameron, 2012; Haberland, 2011). Historically, standards have emerged from ways of speaking or perceived varieties of groups of speakers that held more power

²¹ I conceptualise standard language as “an *idea* in the mind rather than a reality – a set of *abstract norms* to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent” (Milroy and Milroy, 2012:19, italics added).

than other groups and who have successfully managed to naturalise fixed assumptions of language purity and correctness into the public discourse of wide territories (e.g. nation-states, colonial empires). Standard language ideology has often been fuelled by attempts of unification of peoples, or to maintain control over empires (e.g. in Spain) and it has become an entrenched gatekeeper in educational contexts across the world, where language standards are taught and required with the intention of providing students with linguistic tools to ‘succeed’ in life (although debates on the use of varieties perceived as non-standard as a potentially more helpful approach have also been raised, for instance in relation to Ebonics in North America).

Similar indexical associations can be found in *native-speaker ideology* or *nativespeakerism* (e.g. Holliday, 2006; Jenkins, 2007; 2014) although in this case, authority, intelligibility and legitimacy are not necessarily assigned to perceived standards (although this is still often the case) but to forms of speech produced by users of a language that seem to ‘fit’ the fuzzy construct of native-speaker (i.e. living in a native-speaking country and/or learning the language from birth as a mother-tongue outside educational contexts as well as formally), or to someone that manages to *pass as* a native-speaker. According to this ideology, linguistic differences produced by native-speakers (whether perceived as standard or not) can be considered linguistic *variation* and often attributed to processes of identification, whereas those produced by non-natives are axiomatically labelled as errors (or interlanguage in the case of linguists).

With the unprecedented degrees to which English has spread globally, idealised English native-speaker models (mainly US English and British English standards) are associated to the “promise of social and spatial mobility” (Blommaert 2010: 101; Sewell, 2013: 6), and have become unquestioned educational targets, at least at macro-levels, in ELT *principles* and *policies* around the world – albeit not necessarily in ELT actual practices.

Nativespeakerism and standard language ideology are often conflated together in the theories of English language of non-linguists in non-native speaking contexts (e.g. the representation of idealised native-speaker standards through erasure of variation and variability in native-speaking contexts that may be found in some English textbooks). Yet, as theoretical constructs, it is more useful to treat them as ideological traditions that are distinguishable from each other (e.g. linguistic productions that deviate from perceived standards may still be valued as legitimate targets to imitate if produced by a native-speaker, and native-speaker localisms that are perceived to be non-standard may be

condemned despite the alleged authority of native-speakers). In fact, as the findings chapters of this study showcase, some students are already able to distinguish between the two in order to criticise native-speaker authority in favour of standard language ideology²². Nevertheless, during the data analysis I make reference to both ideologies as possibly co-existing (e.g. standard language *and/or* nativespeakerism) in cases in which a clear distinction between nativespeakerism and standard language ideology is not directly observable in participants' accounts.

In the case of English, native-speaker and standard ideologies are also often paired with assignation on *authenticity of language use* (Jenkins, 2014; Park and Wee 2011; Westinen, 2014; Woolard, 2005). However, as Heller (2003, 2010) evidences in the case of French in Canada, ideologies of authenticity may be assigned to commodified native-speaker standards and/or to non-standard, new, hybrid, non-commercialised or “niche” ways of using the language. Despite the prominence of the former association, it will become evident in the findings chapters that conflicts over authenticity assumptions are also relevant in the discourse of non-native users of English.

Most of the ideologies introduced so far seem to come under the umbrella of an extensively widespread and more foundational ideology about the nature of language: an understanding of language as *bounded*, autonomous and homogenous entity (Jaffe, 2009: 392). In other words, each language is assumed to be an external system of linguistic features and norms that can be *owned* (see Seargeant, 2009). As Jaffe (2009: 392-393) puts it, “only opposable, rankable codes can be mobilized to do the work of social identification/differentiation through a process of iconization”. Hence, this ideology also seems to frame *nationalist* or heredian views of language according to which one nation/people can only be defined by a connection between one (standard) language, one identity and one territory. In turn, a heredian view of language helps generate monolingual rather than multi-/trans-/metro-lingual orientations to language use (see Canagarajah, 2013; Jenkins, 2015), and it also seems to provide a basis for the main thesis held behind *linguistic imperialism* (i.e. one language equals one culture and one way of thinking).

²² Although the data offers instances of resistance towards both, standard language ideology and nativespeakerism, the former kind of ideology is likely to be more resilient than nativespeakerism in the long-term, and it is already being used by non-native speakers of English for their own social benefit (see Chapters 7 and 8).

Most of these ideologies seem to be heavily oriented to homogeneity of linguistic form. Nonetheless, Cameron (2012: 28) indicates that there seems to be a “shift towards evaluating diversity more positively, and seeking to preserve it rather than eliminate it”, a kind of thinking that may be characterized as “variation ideology” (ibid). According to this set of ideas, variation would not be a-contextually opposed to intelligibility or communication, and it would not be necessarily perceived as a threat to group identity or to the value and quality of a language or its speakers²³. This type of ideology is visible, I believe, in the work of multilingualism, metrolanguage, translanguaging, GE, WE and ELF scholars. Although it has not been normally referred to as an *ideology* in ELF research, this shared understanding has also been identified in users/students of English (section 3.2). It seems to me that an *ideology of variation* could be informed by fairly different assumptions on the nature of language and communication (i.e. representations of language and social meaning as usage-based, complex, and dynamic or fluid semiotic system that emerges in social practice). While these ideas about language are beginning to be more widely shared among numerous scholars, including myself (see section 2.1.3), it is perhaps less clear whether a view of language as *emergent social practice* is shared by the general public, if at all, and whether it can be referred to as a language ideology. Thus, I also make of this an empirical pursuit in the analysis of my participants’ conceptualisations and evaluations. In the following section of the chapter, I review studies that explore how English is conceptualised and evaluated or oriented to in Spanish-speaking contexts, and explain how my own research is situated among them.

3.4 Perceptions of English and ELF in Spanish-speaking contexts

3.4.1 Perceptions of English in Chile

Together with a strong educational policy on the teaching of English in schools, the government of Chile has taken an interest in the orientations that their local students show towards this language. In fact, the government itself undertook a survey to measure school students’ views of the language and motivations (CIDE, 2004 in Matear, 2008). The results, as Matear (2008) indicates, suggest that students hold an instrumental motivation

²³ Although revitalisation movements also argue for linguistic diversity to be respected, initiatives to safeguard the vitality of minority languages often still draw from standard language ideologies and engage in standardising processes of the minority language. Henceforth, I do not refer to these views when I talk about an ideology that shows appreciation of linguistic variation and variability.

towards English. 90% of high school students considered it important to learn English in school, 85% indicated they are keen to learn it, and students and parents directly related having English skills with opportunities for future employment and opportunities of study. In addition, aspirations appear to reflect acceptance of English as the lingua franca for international communications and trade, and English was identified with the language of technology, information acquisition, and culture and knowledge transmission.

The attitudes of students towards English have also been explored more recently by Kormos, Kiddle and Csizér (2011) from an SLA, questionnaire-based approach. The focus of this study was exploring the L2 English learning motivation system (including learning goals, attitudes, and self-related beliefs) of school teenagers, university students and adult language learners in Santiago. These authors find an interest in the Chilean context due to the lack of previous research in the area, and due to the fact that these students' L1 is a language of international status. The researchers highlight the lingua franca role of English in the 21st century and claim that motivational systems need to account for changes of this kind. Hence, they examine an additional learning goal named *international position* and its potential relationship with other relevant factors such as Ideal L2 self, Ought-to L2 self or students' social milieu (see Dörnyei, 2005). Amongst other results, Kormos and colleagues find that the international position (i.e. students' wish to use ELF with other intercultural speakers) is the most influential learning goal for the Ideal L2 self, although the strength of this goal varies across age groups depending on the salience that the imagined international community may have (i.e. decreases in adults working locally). The authors conclude that, despite the global status of Spanish, English is the chosen language for globalised communication by Chilean students. Although the results reported by these authors are illuminating, the focus of these studies has been restricted to the functional or pragmatic role of ELF (i.e. interacting with intercultural speakers, achieving intelligibility, travelling overseas and discovering foreign cultures, etc.). Hence, students' views on other complex social and linguistic factors such as identity, language models/standards vis-à-vis ELF users' variation, appropriation, and legitimacy issues remain largely unaddressed in Chile.

An exception can be found in a study of university students preparing to become English teachers in Santiago. Véliz-Campos (2011) addresses perceptions of English use and variation in relation to pronunciation in her study of students' attitudes. Using a Critical Applied Linguistics approach, the author undertakes structured interviews with 15 Chilean pre-service English teachers in order to find out which accent(s) they are exposed to and

encouraged to learn during their training, how participants orient to whether lecturers and school teachers should have native or foreign accents, and participants' awareness of the international spread and variation of English language. In general, the students of the study claim to be exposed and encouraged to speak mainly British English in the course, which the author equates with RP accent, and to lesser extent American English or GA accent. A few participants associate this preference of teaching/learning RP to beauty, pleasantness, formality, precision, elegance, purity or respect among other elements, whereas GA was regarded as informal, slang or even a lower level of competence. Participants' awareness of varieties was limited to the use of native speakers from Inner Circle contexts mainly, although the majority of these students recognised to have barely any contact with native speakers in general. In terms of accent desirability for lecturers and school teachers, expectations were normally set higher than for non-teaching professionals, although there seems to be a division of opinions on whether performing a NS accent was essential, desirable or less relevant than striving for intelligibility. A Chilean accent in English was strongly disregarded, especially for teachers, normally in the accounts of having a negative impact on job prospects or even travelling.

Véliz-Campos attributes participants' views to the influence of lecturer's discourses during the pre-service course as well as the materials used, which solely feature RP accent. Although these two factors may be contributing heavily, it seems difficult to narrow down the origin of these participants' perceptions only to two factors stemming from the course, particularly because the author does not observe the programme or empirically support this statement. In addition, the author appears to explore views towards "existing varieties" (ibid: 229), as if these were distinguishable entities in English-speaking countries and ELF use (EIL varieties) rather than allowing respondents to determine what counts as a variety. This may have potentially limited commentary on uses that may not be classified as varieties as well.

3.4.2 Perceptions of English in Mexico

Scholars' attention in this country appears to have focused on highly relevant issues such as language policy and indigenous bilingual education so far (e.g. Terborg and Garcia-Landa, 2010). However, English plays highly relevant roles in the Mexican context as well (Hamel, 2008). As Fernando Lara (2010) claims, further research addressing English is

needed in Mexico. For example, empirical work on attitudes and beliefs of Mexican students towards the language, its local spread and international ELF uses is, to my knowledge, still scarce.

An area that seems to stimulate scholarly discussion around Mexican's views of English, is their relation with the USA, and potential negative evaluations of the language emerging from views of English as the language of the USA. Lasagabaster (2003a: 237), for instance, conjectures that the complex relations maintained between Mexico and its northern neighbours (i.e. NAFTA's trade agreement partners) are likely to have an impact on linguistic matters as well, and that, although there is no empirical evidence of this, it is common in the country to believe that students learn English due to instrumental reasons, lacking willingness to integrate or be identified with the English speaking community of the USA²⁴. In fact, Ryan (1994) pointed out two decades ago a clear separation between the teaching of the language and cultural contents at a Mexican university, being the latter practically absent in its totality. The author attributed this teaching practice to historical tensions between the USA and Mexico, and to students' interest in learning English to improve professional opportunities or ascend social class, as opposed to integrational motivations.

Soon after, Chasan and Ryan (1995) followed up on this topic by investigating the attitudes of 370 students towards the culture of English native speakers at the language-learning centre of UNAM University in Mexico City, with the use of an anonymous questionnaire. According to the findings, a great majority indicated high levels of disconformity towards US practices of intervention in other countries, and the attitudes of US citizens towards working immigrants in particular (e.g. Mexican immigrants). Interestingly, students did not extend the same negative evaluations to other English native-speaking countries, but the authors did not explore attitudes to non-native speaking contexts where speakers may use the language as well. Students attributed this difference in views to other English-speaking cultures to their lack of knowledge and/or contact with those additional native-speaking countries (i.e. UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand). It seems, then, that speaking the same language was not believed to entail sharing the same culture and values across these

²⁴ Rajagopalan (2010) also maintains that attitudes towards English in South America are highly ambiguous and speculates that the belief that being leftist in political terms often also involves developing Anti-US feelings. Linguistic imperialism, he claims, continues to have a great inspirational impact in South America, where "[...] English is viewed by many as the unmistakable symptom of Uncle Sam's formidable influence on the countries of the South" (Rajagopalan, 2010; 182). As a consequence, American English and American accents appear to be especially disfavoured in the benefit of British English.

countries. The authors also highlight that students admitted having had little contact with native-speakers, regardless of countries of origin, and that their views were formed by external discourses such as those in the media.

Since only a few studies have surfaced in my literature search on Mexican students' attitudes, I also comment briefly on studies that reflect the views of teachers, educational stakeholders (e.g. student's parents) and businessmen, to provide a fuller picture of the Mexican context. Muro González (2008), for instance, analysed the views towards English language education in the region of Zacatecas and to a reform carried out in 2006 by the Republican central government (SEP). This policy claims to be pursuing an intercultural education that fits the diverse nature of Mexico, and expects students to acquire the necessary skills to be able to communicate with both native speakers *and* non-native speakers by establishing a focus on communicative competence over grammatical correction. In general, the participants of his study describe a negative picture of the quality of ELT in the region, which is associated to a lack of financial support for the schools and quality training for teachers. Muro González focuses his discussion on disapproving the orientation of the new teaching approach for his particular context, due to their migration rates to the US (50%), and suggests that English should be taught as a *second* language instead. Yet, his recommendation of preparing students' English for integration in the USA seems to overlook a very important point raised by various teachers in the study, that is, the desire of preparing local students to learn English as a tool that may assist them to succeed and compete globally, *without needing to leave* Mexico and migrate to other contexts in order to do so.

Further tensions are reported by a few additional studies that look into views held towards the latest increase of the role of English instruction in Mexican primary and secondary public education (see section 1.1.3). Sayer (2015: 270) and Ramírez Romero et al. (2014) report on the ambivalent orientations expressed by a variety of stakeholders. Some parents, for instance, report to feel pride in seeing their children watch television content in English without subtitles but resent the idea that one needs to speak English in order to be thought of as 'educated'. While teachers see English as important, some struggle to accept the reduction of hours of history to accommodate "the language of the gringos" (i.e. USA citizens) and Sayer even reports on a school principal seeing English as an opportunity to "rail against the USA" whilst boasting about the quality of US-trained English teachers.

A study that seems to contradict the direct associations held between English and the USA reported so far, is the exploration on perceptions of English language in Mexican commerce that was undertaken by Baumgardner (2006). The researcher concludes that English symbolises prestige, exclusiveness, modernity and that English-named products are associated with middle/high class as well. Businessmen report that customers tend to link English branding with international companies and therefore assume a higher or superior quality of the product than if it was national. This predisposition towards *the foreign* is defined as *malinchismo*²⁵, which curiously is a term that emerged in my interviews with Mexican students as well. In addition, Baumgardner maintains that whilst the proximity with the US border is influential, the world's lingua franca role and functions, with the appeal of a global ideology, exert a stronger impact on the current presence of English in Mexico. It is important to note that only two businessmen belonging to the same company were interviewed, and therefore the results should not be generalised to the entire advertising domain or outside this one brand.

3.4.3 Perceptions of English in Spain

To my knowledge, there are only a small – albeit growing – number of GE and ELF-informed investigators dealing with the attitudes, opinions and behaviours of L1 Spanish users of English in Spain. A majority of the studies that look at attitudes to English include students, teachers and teacher trainers, and are focused on Spanish communities in which there is a minority language spoken (e.g. Basque, Catalan, Galician). These regions could be receiving more attention because of the longer tradition in linguistic attitudes research that was fomented in these areas by historical tensions between Spanish and these minority languages, and due to the revitalisation programmes and policies developed since the end of Franco's dictatorship (see Lasagabaster and Hugué, 2007 for a similar point).

Particularly relevant for the present research is the work of the Basque scholar Lasagabaster, who is perhaps one of the most prolific Spanish researchers in the investigation of students' attitudes. For instance, in a series of studies undertaken with a

²⁵ Term referring to the *malinche* woman, who is historically known as a local indigenous female that became the partner of a Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortes, therefore preferring the foreign over the local.

large sample of university students from a range of different disciplines (e.g. business, engineering, biology, modern language studies), Lasagabaster found that English was particularly recognised by its usefulness and personal/professional benefits (Lasagabaster, 2003a, 2003b, 2005a). The participants considered learning English to be enriching for their lives and stressed the relevance of English language teaching at educational institutions. However, there was also general agreement in the lack of support for using English as a medium of instruction. Curiously, the L1 of the different students participating produced a significant difference in the attitudes recorded towards English (also in Lasagabaster, 2001). Amongst three different groups of participants (i.e. L1=Spanish, L1=Basque, L1=both), L1 Basque speakers scored the lowest positive attitudes towards English. Lasagabaster also found that participants living in a mainly Spanish-speaking community also displayed more favourable attitudes to English than those from Basque-speaking regions. Lasagabaster infers from the data that L1 Basque speakers could feel more threatened by the power of another external world or dominant language than L1 Spanish or L1 both students in the Basque country (i.e. the bunker effect).

The relevance that students' L1 can have on their evaluations of English was also identified in a similar study undertaken in Lleida (Catalonia) by Llurda, Lasagabaster and Cots (2006). Their analysis of a Likert-scale questionnaire revealed that among Catalan, Spanish and English, the latter was the *least* favourably evaluated language with 76% of respondents showing neutral attitudes or indifference towards it. Although students of immigrant origin (i.e. of a different L1) rated English slightly more positively than the rest, statistical differences were not found between L1=Catalan, L1=Spanish or L1=Spanish and Catalan (also in Huguet, Lapresta and Madariaga, 2008). Llurda (2009: 125) concludes that although students “probably hear too often that one needs to learn English in modern society in order to succeed in the professional lives”, they do not seem to “care much for that language”. This idea emerges also in my findings, and students provide reasons behind the general sense of indifference that is perceived in Spain (see Chapter 5).

Lasagabaster (2008) also explored attitudes to English in Spanish Secondary Education classrooms, where he found for the first time, that the 13-year-old local students (L1 Basque, L1 Spanish or L1 both) express clear negative attitudes towards the necessity of learning English, and in particular, towards this language as a means of instruction

(ibid). A certain degree of reticence towards English being the medium of instruction at university level was also identified more recently by Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2013) in a study of the Basque Country. The authors attribute the reticence to the historical lack of emphasis given to foreign languages in Spanish education.

Overall, the work on multilingualism presented by these scholars is highly informative, including the comprehensive analysis of variables potentially significant in the formation and display of language attitudes in specific regions, and the relevance of speakers' mother tongues for different language evaluations. Yet, it could be said that English is treated in a general or simplistic manner in most of the studies reviewed above. Referring to positive or favourable attitudes to English may seem to be fairly vague, as this does not specify whether these attitudes are elicited in terms of international use or local presence, for example, or what students might mean by 'English' (i.e. a standard English, English from the course books, English as used with tourists, in television, etc.). Although Lasagabaster shows awareness of World/Global Englishes issues and empathy to the views of transformationalist researchers in the field (Lasagabaster, 1999; 2003b; 2005a), English seems to be approached from an EFL paradigm, and ELF is only mentioned as a function, but not in terms of English variability. Hence attitudes towards more controversial issues such as ownership, appropriations, identity expression and linguistic variability through ELF require further investigation in both monolingual or bilingual autonomies in Spain.

Another limitation common to most of the attitudinal studies reviewed above, is the fact that they are normally based on quantitative methods *only*. Although the figures, percentages, statistical calculations and charts provided present key information, this data is usually obtained through fixed questions and statements, which do not allow participants to elaborate, express themselves in their own choice of words, or raise new relevant topics. Participants can normally only choose from a series of options provided and worded in a particular way, which does not necessarily mean that the students agree completely with the statements selected. There is an important need for qualitative methods of data collection to complement the study of perceptions to English in this context. Attitudinal work that includes qualitative elements, normally captures high levels of complexity, ambiguity and contradiction even within participants' individual views (e.g. Hynninen, 2013; Jenkins, 2007; 2014; Ranta, 2010). It is also necessary to complement these studies with investigations that allow for the observation of how

categories such as native, non-native, standard, accents, varieties or identity (e.g. social class, gender, professional identities) may be used, deconstructed or even contextually re-defined by participants themselves, rather than these being fixed and pre-established by researchers (see Coupland, 2007).

Interestingly, the study that most closely relates to the objectives of my own research project is an MA thesis published by Pellegrinelli (2011). The author embarks on an SLA examination of L2 identity construction and language attitudes towards English in Spain with participants belonging to both monolingual contexts (Madrid, Castilla La Mancha and Andalucia) and a bilingual context (Catalonia). According to Pellegrinelli, “Spaniards are not famous worldwide for their extraordinary linguistic skills in foreign languages, as they often admit and acknowledge as a national identity mark” (Pellegrinelli, 2011: 3). The author conjectures that this trend is produced due to Spanish people holding negative attitudes to anything that is considered foreign, different, and a fear of the unknown or unexpected, which hinder a learners’ full identity construction as a user of an L2” (2011: 3). Several groups of various ages (grouped in 3 main generations), with upper or lower intermediate English level, carried out an online questionnaire, with blank boxes added to each item for further voluntary elaboration.

Pellegrinelli’s findings show positive attitudes to English and its use generally, with a tendency of the Catalan speakers displaying more favourable language attitudes and a higher predisposition to meet EFL requirements than monolingual speakers. There was not a clear-cut tendency defining the orientations of the participants depending on their age or generation. The majority of speakers claimed to feel fairly confident and free from stress when using English with tourists, and produced positive responses when asked how other tourists would judge them in terms of their own English performance. Generally, participants displayed positive attitudes towards interacting with both native speakers and non-native speakers, although using English with the latter group involved less frustrating or negative feelings and a higher proportion of positive experiences.

When defining the language, most of Pellegrinelli’s participants chose positive categories dealing with the practicality of English, its benefits for professional and personal life, and showed a very high association of the language with being a tool for worldwide communication. Despite the clear recognition of the ELF function, both monolinguals and bilinguals indicated that they would like to achieve a ‘near native’

accent and intonation after six years of formal study. In this item, part of monolingual speakers was also content with making themselves understood, whereas bilinguals tended to aim at native-speaking standards rather than at comprehensibility. For this reason, Pellegrinelli deems bilinguals to be more open. The author seems to consider that the formation of an L2 English identity involves an open attitude to the *addition* of identity features of the native speakers to the learners' own identity, without considering the possibility for learners to express or construct their identities in more dynamic and diverse ways through that L2. Finally, the sample generally evaluated negatively Spanish accented English. Interestingly, the group of participants between 30 and 40 years old reported to be less interested in NS standards, showing more realistic learning goals and even choosing, in small percentage, a clearly Spanish English as their ideal target. Unfortunately, the author does not relate back to his initial hypothesis of the fear of the foreign and unknown which does not seem to be supported by the overall positive attitudes harboured, with Catalan bilinguals appearing to be more open to NS standards adherence.

GE and ELF perspectives, and the nuances that these frameworks uncover, can be better appreciated in the work of scholars that explore the views of English teachers or teacher trainers in Spain (e.g. Lasagabaster and Huguet, 2007; Llurda and Huguet, 2003; Llurda, 2007; 2009; 2015). However, since teacher-related results go beyond the scope of the present study, I will not discuss them in-depth on this occasion.

3.5 Closing remarks

The review of attitudinal studies in Spanish-speaking contexts has spurred the identification of important previous findings in relation to language attitudes and beliefs towards English/ELF (e.g. associations of English to the US and Anti-US feelings or to lingua franca functions), but it has also pointed out research gaps requiring investigation. There is a clear need to explore students' views of the international spread of English in these three Spanish-speaking contexts, including perceptions and conceptualisations of perceived non-standard or non-native language productions, and issues of appropriation, legitimacy, ownership and identification in ELF interactions, from qualitative perspectives. It is also necessary to explore how participants themselves construct English, its functions, its purposes and its value; how they conceptualise, label and evaluate internationally variable ways of speaking it; and which language-related constructs, categories or

ideologies inform their conceptualisations. The issues discussed in chapters two and three lead me to the design of the research questions of the study, which will be explained in the following chapter, together with the methodological approach undertaken to address them.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

This chapter not only describes the research methodology employed for the study, but also serves as a link between the theoretical and empirical foundations examined so far, and the research findings that will be presented in subsequent chapters. Since the tenet ‘purpose drives methodology’ is paramount in this thesis, the research questions will be presented again and discussed in some detail, in an attempt to accentuate the existing relationship between them, the literature reviewed so far, and the methodological approach selected to study language perceptions. Then, abundant descriptions of the contexts and sample that constitute the investigation will be provided, together with the ethical considerations with which participants have been treated. I also contextualise the fieldwork experience in terms of duration and time, and proceed to give a comprehensive explanation of the methods and techniques utilised for data generation purposes. As encouraged by Mann (2011) and Talmy (2011), I begin the discussion of methods with a theoretical conceptualisation of the techniques used and a reflection on the nature of the data they produce before moving onto matters of design and implementation. I also introduce the analytic framework followed to engage with the research data and consider the limitations and potential issues of validity and reliability that the study faces vis-à-vis the research aims pursued in this thesis.

4.1 Research questions and their rationale

The origins of this inquiry can be traced back to personal experiences and/or observations of English related issues in the contexts involved, as explained in the introductory chapter. In addition to this, the theoretical concepts and many of the empirical findings reviewed in the previous two chapters have also greatly influenced the formulation and definition of the research questions up to their final state and shape:

1. How do university students from Chile, Mexico and Spain conceptualise and evaluate ‘English’ and its spread at/between ‘global’ and ‘local’ spheres of use?
2. How do these university students conceptualise and evaluate the *use* of English in lingua franca interactions and their own and other’s *ways of using* English?

3. How are key language and communication notions conceptualised and used in participants' accounts of English and ELF interactions?
4. To what extent is there evidence of the globality of Spanish being influential in students' perceptions of English?

The first research question (i.e. RQ1) explores the ways in which the participants of the study perceive²⁶ the set of linguistic resources that have come to be called English, that is, the functions, meanings, and values that are associated to it according to students' own ideas and experiences. RQ1 also investigates how these participants orient to the spread of the language at/between global and local levels of use. I employ the word *between* to allow for the exploration of those practices, processes or experiences that do not clearly correspond to either a global or a local sphere. Thus, RQ1 explores participants' views of and/or experiences with the expansion of English around the world, and in participants' own localities.

It is necessary to make a clarifying note on how the term locality is being conceptualised and used in this thesis. By locality I mean the spatial and social environment in which participants were living at the time of the data collection, which is also, for the majority of them, the environment in which they grew up. I was aiming to find out about the situation of English in spaces that meant 'here' for participants, and in relation to the experience of their everyday life. Of course, 'here' can refer to a wide variety of levels of locality. In the data, these levels went from the very own space in which our conversations were being held or the town we found ourselves in, to the region, province, autonomy, nation-state and even supranational spaces that these students inhabited (e.g. English in Chile, Santiago or Latin America as English 'here'). While I was trying to be as open as possible in allowing participants to respond in relation to any spatial frame they preferred to pick up as *their* locality, in my initial questions I often provided the nation-state as a framework for our discussion in an attempt to contextualise participants' accounts. However, participants were able to negotiate different frameworks of locality in the progress of our interactions. A clearer example of the subjectivity and fluidity of the notion of locality is found in the

²⁶ I use the verbs 'perceive', 'orient to', 'interpret' or 'represent' interchangeably, and these in turn as umbrella terms to include 'conceptualisations' (i.e. ideas, reported beliefs, and ideological assumptions) and 'evaluations' (i.e. favourable, non-favourable, indifferent, ambivalent, conflictive positions or judgement).

interviews undertaken with students in Barcelona. Given the widespread feelings of independence among the Catalan population, it would have been particularly unwise to work with a fixed assumption of a nation-state for these students. In fact, in our discussions of English the spatial framework of locality drawn upon by these participants often changed between Spain, Catalonia and other lower frameworks of spatial reference (i.e. Barcelona city, the particular university). Thus, what was meant by locality has to be examined in a case-by-case basis.

The second question, RQ2, relates to participants' experiences, understandings, expectations, ideas and evaluations of actual use or ways of speaking of English in lingua franca interactions. This involves issues of fluidity, variability, and appropriateness or legitimacy associated to its linguistic dimension. I was also particularly interested in investigating how participants talk about, label and evaluate their own spoken English use²⁷, and how this compares with their conceptualisations and evaluations of other speakers (whether native or non-native). In the exploration of this question I put special emphasis on matters of accent and intelligibility due to their particular suitability to elicit attitudes and beliefs (Jenkins, 2007). In other words, I focused especially on eliciting and analysing metalinguistic commentary on conceptualisations and evaluations of English users' pronunciation, and perceived relations between intelligibility and variability or homogeneity of form produced in speech.

The decision to concentrate on speech resulted in the exclusion of perceptions over matters of literacy and online use of English. However, I believe this to be a justified course of action due to a number of reasons. As in most studies, I needed to narrow down the scope of investigation to a particular linguistic dimension in order to be able to explore it in sufficient depth. While writing practices have been generally seen as more susceptible to fixing or standardising ideologies, and therefore less investigated in GE and ELF studies, more ELF-informed researchers are now investigating literacy practices of non-native users of English (e.g. Canagarajah, 2014; Horner, 2011), therefore beginning to close this gap. Finally, I have always had a personal interest in exploring possible associations between pronunciation and social or indexical meanings, and the implications these may have for possibilities of identification, metalinguistic evaluations and linguistic variation.

²⁷ As a researcher, my conceptualisation of students' *own English* corresponds to that of a "repertoire-in-flux" (Jenkins, 2015: 76), that is, a set of linguistic and extralinguistic resources that changes and is therefore remade during interaction, rather than as a fixed or bounded entity that resides within participants' minds. It is therefore more akin to usage-based theorisations of cognitive aspects of language.

In addition to being motivated by the relevance that attitudes and identificational literature assigns to perceived ways of speaking or pronouncing a language (see Chapter 3, section 3.2. on accentism), I have also been able to experience and observe highly interesting and conflictive evaluative practices among Spaniards (i.e. positive and negative ones simultaneously) on the perceived thick Spanish accent that is thought to be generalised among the population of Spain. In fact, a resistance to pronouncing English in idealised native-like ways has been reported in Spanish press, and has even been identified as a salient feature of Spanish users of English by some of the Latin American participants of the study.

RQ3 is motivated in part by the need to investigate how language notions are constructed in interaction, and partly by previous research on perceptions of language. Preston's analysis of folk theories of language (e.g. 2002), and the work of many other language attitudes researchers, suggest that standardness and pleasantness play a major role in beliefs/attitude formation, and similar results have also been found in ELF studies (e.g. correctness in Jenkins, 2007). However, I not only intend to identify the extent to which these or other elements become paramount in the accounts of these participants, I am also interested in examining how these constructs are being conceptualised and used by participants. While many scholars are currently re-theorising key language and communication related notions in light of linguistic and communicative processes made more observable by globalisation (e.g. viewing correctness as negotiable appropriateness of language use in situated contexts rather than as inherent in particular forms of English), non-linguists are often assumed to continue working with more traditional or static conceptualisations of such constructs. However, it seems to me that this assumption is in need of empirical exploration. Since discursive/dialogic approaches to the study of attitudes show that evaluative responses are more variable than previously thought, it is also wise to explore whether conceptualisations of key language constructs may be variable across or within participants as well.

Finally, RQ4 reflects the need to consider the fact that Spanish, one of the languages that forms part of these participants' linguistic repertoires, is also recognized as a major global language. In addition to the reasons that motivate RQ4 already stated in the first and second chapters of the thesis, Chapter 3 suggested that researchers in Spain have found differences in evaluative practices between students due to the perceived ethnolinguistic vitality of the language(s) in their own repertoires. In addition to issues of status and

perceived need, I am also interested in finding out whether the globality of Spanish is also having an influence in students' perceptions on matters of the actual use of English, and if possible, whether the orientations that they construct to conceptualise and evaluate English variation/variability correlate in any way with their views on these issues in relation to Spanish.

4.2 Qualitative methodology of inquiry

Qualitative inquiry (QI) has been adopted as the methodological approach for this investigation. Although defining qualitative research is said to be a complex, if not impossible, task (Dörnyei, 2007; Silverman, 2011; Snape and Spencer, 2003), scholars have often been able to outline the main aims and particularly appropriate uses for the approach, and these coincide greatly with my own research purposes. In broad terms, qualitative inquiry is concerned with achieving a better understanding of certain aspect(s) of lived experience (Richards, 2003), by investigating "the meanings that people attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values, etc.) in their social worlds" (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 3). Attempts to make sense of those meanings from people's own points of view (Bryman, 2008), and the achievement of qualitative in-depth understandings through the production of thick descriptions and learning about people's circumstances, experiences or perspectives in naturalistic rather than artificial settings, are also characteristics of qualitative research (Snape and Spencer, 2003). More importantly, QI often requires interaction between researcher and participants, and allows flexibility in design, two crucial aspects to explore a topic with rigour whilst creating a space where new unexpected issues or information may arise (*ibid*).

A number of additional reasons support the selection of this approach. Firstly, it was considered the most adequate and efficient approach to deal with the questions formulated above, due to their largely exploratory, comprehensive and open-ended nature. In fact, the methodology is widely recognised for its ability to respond to 'what' and 'how' questions in relation to a phenomenon (Ritchie, 2003; Silverman, 2011). In other words, QI is valuable for studies in which both outcomes and processes, such as attitudes and their formation or construction, are relevant. QI was expected to allow participants to express understandings and evaluations of the issues under scrutiny in their own choice of words. This would assist the interpretation of how participants conceptualise English in relation to

their lived worlds and experiences, before attempting to figure out more specific positions, evaluations, attitudes or beliefs, and analyse the ways in which those views are expressed or re-constructed.

Secondly, qualitative research is preferable when seeking the variety of forms that a particular topic can assume in the minds of those studied (e.g. English spread) in particular spatial-temporal contexts, rather than working solely with pre-ordinated and fixed concepts or aiming for large generalisations (Bryman, 2008). QI is also especially suitable for the exploration of complex social concepts such as the ones involved in this study (i.e. ELF variation, accents, identity), since the diverse and numerous variables influencing such phenomena cannot be easily predicted, accounted for, or controlled quantitatively (Dörnyei, 2007; Richards, 2003).

And finally, as Chapter 3 made clear there is a considerable need for English language attitudinal research to be addressed from qualitative perspectives in Spanish-speaking contexts. Several ELF studies undertaken in other parts of the world have already demonstrated the deeper levels of understandings and rich insights that are obtainable through qualitative methods (e.g. Kalocsai, 2009; 2014; Kitazawa, 2013). Thus, I intend to add these advantages to the mainly quantitative contributions already made in the study of Spanish-speaking students' perceptions of English.

4.2.1 Qualitative research as an interpretivist activity

Within QI there is a complex variety of paradigms and subcategories of traditions or strategies. Whilst it is important to be aware of their main differences and how these frame our own research practices (see Richards, 2003), Silverman (2011: 25) warns us of the potential dangers of uncritically “retreating” into paradigms, and simply advocates for the pursuit of “soundly based knowledge”.

This investigation is informed to a great extent by aspects from the constructivist-interpretive paradigm (Cuba and Lincoln, 2005; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011:13; Richards, 2003). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011), this paradigm operates within a “relativist ontology” in which the social world is composed by multiple constructed social realities. Thus, for constructivist-interpretivist scholars, social reality is socially constructed and

therefore the research focus is put on understanding those constructions of meaning and the multiple perspectives these involve (Richards, 2003). This construction is interactive and situational, in other words, people in particular circumstances, places and points in time create meanings, understandings, attitudes or beliefs for example, out of “events and phenomena through prolonged complex processes of social interaction, involving history, language and action” (Schwandt, 1994a: 118 cited in Richards, 2003). Moreover, this paradigm encourages us to question understandings of social research as an objective or value-free activity. It therefore forces us to consider personal assumptions and interests we hold as researchers and to be transparent about them (Snape and Spencer, 2003).

As will be seen throughout the chapter, I borrow from certain aims set out within phenomenology and ethnomethodology traditions, although other postmodern sensibilities have also been influential in the study. From the former strategy, I take the interest in understanding *the constructs* that people draw from or create to make sense of their lived world, by analysing their (re)production through texts or conversations in which participants’ experiences of the phenomena such as language learning or potential ELF use experiences, are addressed (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 12). Conversely, whereas phenomenology appears to require a questionably viable passivity or neutrality from the researcher to enter the subjectivity of the participants (Richards 2003), ethnomethodology rightly puts emphasis on the role that the researcher plays during the co-construction of accounts from which perspectives, attitudes or beliefs may emerge (Fontana, 2003).

Despite the relevance of situated interaction in this paradigm, it is necessary to not lose sight of the elements operating at wider/macro social contexts from which participants are part. This is commonly referred to as the tension between meaning creation or agency and the impact of structure (Barbour, 2007; Cohen et al, 2011; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). A Critical Theory paradigm draws attention to the influence of structural power relations, and politic, economic and historical forces, which are believed to entail inequality and oppression. However, it would not be wise, as Richards suggests, to go as far as claiming that reality is always “essentially coercive” (Richards, 2003: 40). By the same token, I do not share Critical Theory’s assumptions that research must always be transformative or emancipatory for the participants involved (ibid).

Like Barbour (2007), I draw from a “broad social constructionism” approach to pay attention to both micro and macro processes. From this perspective, the social world is

mediated or shaped by people in accordance with their own positions in the ‘social structure’ and their individual and biographical idiosyncrasies (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 151 in Barbour, 2007). Thus, social phenomena are created, sustained or modified by people through social practice at both macro and micro levels (ibid; Coupland, 2007: 50-53).

4.2.2 A direct qualitative approach to language perceptions

Within the three major methodologies typically used for the study of language attitudes (indirect, direct and societal treatment), I have focused on a direct approach. Since the main objective of the study is to explore language perceptions of young adult university students, the broader scope of societal approaches and sociolinguistic profiling were discarded. Yet, it would have been highly interesting to compare participants’ views with those expressed in the press of each country studied, for example.

The popular *indirect* approach normally utilises MGT (see 3.1.1) or the alternative version, verbal-guised technique (VGT) to identify particular attributes or stereotypes associated with particular accents, varieties or speakers from specific groups (Garrett, 2010). Although perceptions towards the uses of other non-native speakers and the potential meanings attached to them was indeed a part of the inquiry focus, I did not consider resorting to a series of ELF interaction voice recordings to be appropriate, due to the limitations and criticisms associated to this specific method (Garrett et al, 2003; Garrett, 2010: 57-59). These include for example, the uncertainty as to whether listener-participants can perceive the variables that the researcher is attempting to investigate at all (e.g. a non-standard accent evaluated as bad grammar), whether the identification of the voice heard actually corresponds to the category established by the researcher in the first place (i.e. location, variety, type of speaker), and further problems of accurate mimicking, reading style, and claims of ‘neutrality’ in the design. In addition, “perceptual mishearing” (Niedzielski and Preston, 2009), or the hearing of features that are in fact absent, can even take place.

A major drawback of MGT (see section 3.1.1) is the issue of labelling voices and varieties and working with too restrictive constructs such as Welsh English or Chinese English, for these are often inaccurate in including or representing subvarieties or highly diverse

linguistic repertoires. These restricted categories clash completely with the particularly observable fluidity and variability of ELF as a linguistic phenomenon. Whilst these constructs or boundary/variety-marking practices may emerge from participants in their own accounts, it would have been incongruent to impose them on the research design and data collection a priori. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009: 195) highlight further critical shortcomings in terms of the de-contextualisation and artificiality of the method. These include its neglect of variability in findings, the difficulty in application to real-life situations, pressures to respond on a fixed scale devised by researchers and the fact that ticking a particular semantic-differential point may have different meanings for different participants. Also, this technique tends to be useful for studies attempting to measure and generalise about community-level attitudes of groups towards other groups (Garrett, et al, 2003: 5), which is not necessarily the intention of this research.

Instead, I favoured exploring this topic by foregrounding it on the experiences or beliefs shared by participants in their metalinguistic accounts on the matter. Closed or statistics-oriented questionnaires were excluded given the similarly restrictive limitations of the method. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) make a strong defence of direct qualitative methods in language attitude research, based on a conceptualisation of language attitudes as constantly constructed and negotiated in complex ways, and thus changeable, through people's interactions, instead of fixed abstract units within the mind of individuals. From this perspective, the ways in which these attitudes are formed and expressed need to be explored through analysis of participants' dialogic practices and contextual discourse.

Garrett, (2010) maintains that private or unconscious orientations, unlike public or conscious ones, are less likely to emerge through direct methods, and sensibly advocates for a combination of approaches. Although this issue needs to be considered during analysis, Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009: 196) argue convincingly that private or "indirect expressions of language attitudes can also be found in conversations" and investigated through interactional or discursive techniques.

4.2.3 Selecting qualitative methods: design, challenges and changes

Qualitative researchers are commonly encouraged to use a multi-method approach, that is, to combine two or more data collection techniques in order to help counterbalance the

potential limitations or blind spots in the types of data that individual methods tend to produce (see Cohen, et al. 2011). Although I initially set out to employ two data collection methods (i.e. one-to-one interviews and focus groups), this thesis reports solely on the interview study. A multi-method approach was originally expected to provide insights into how participants may change the forms and contents expressed in different dialogic situations (Barbour, 2008; Morgan, 2003). However, an important problem of data overload emerged as a result. Knowing that, despite the generosity of the funding obtained for the study, I would only be able to go the field once for data collection, I gathered a large amount of data to avoid returning to the UK without having collected enough and not being able to afford a second trip. Thus, the fieldwork generated around 53 hours of interview recordings (i.e. 48 interviews, 16 per national setting) and around 13 hours of focus group data (i.e. 6 groups, 2 per national setting). During the data analysis phase, and given the multi-layered nature of the analytic framework, I soon learned that having collected too much data can be as much of a problem as not having enough (i.e. a novice-researcher error).

In order to deal with the struggle of having abundant and rich data and a limited space in which to report it, I decided to narrow down the focus of this thesis to the presentation of interview data sets only. This way, I avoid having to treat the findings of both data sets superficially in order to fit them all in the thesis space, and I avoid sacrificing richness and depth of analysis and discussion. The interviews were always meant to serve as the *main* data set of the study. They addressed the topics under investigation in an experiential way (e.g. discussing students' experiences or encounters with other international students from different L1s, perceptions of the spread of English), and were therefore key data sources to answer the research questions of the investigation.

The downside of this decision is that the comparison of interactional constructions of English between the peer groups and the one-to-one interview conversations (i.e. methodological triangulation) is not reported on here. Nevertheless, since methodological triangulation in social sciences needs to be understood as a comparison of different situational ways of constructing perceptions and evaluations (i.e. different data sets) rather than as the use of different methods to observe the exact same phenomena (see Barbour, 2007; Berg, 2007; Ritchie, 2003; Silverman, 2011), I do not consider the lack of

methodological triangulation to be a validity or reliability impediment²⁸. In fact, several scholars also extend the definition and benefits of triangulation to the combination of different people, theories, points in time, analytic layers and cross-cultural locations (e.g. Berg, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Since this study compares students' orientations to the spread of English between three different countries, and it is interested in exploring not only the *whats* of perceptions but also the *hows* of their discursive construction through talk, the benefits of the last two types of triangulation mentioned still apply (see Cohen et al, 2011: 196 for a definition of “spatial” and “multiple levels of analyse” triangulation). Next, I identify and describe the research settings and the characteristics of the participants that are the key agents in this qualitative study in further detail.

4.3 Contextualizing research sites and participants

4.3.1 Research contexts

Within Chile, Mexico and Spain, two different local settings were chosen as research sites in order to enrich the results obtained per country. Hence, this resulted in six cities or sub-settings being visited in total. Since the Spanish-speaking settings under investigation seem to be especially concerned with students' competence of English (see section 1.1.3), the focus of the study has been placed on investigating young people, university students more precisely, and their perceptions. This emphasis on students probably emerges from traditional approaches to its spread and overstated associations between Expanding Circle contexts/speakers and (EFL) formal education/learners, but it is important to point out that other domains, users, identities and complex linguistic processes outside education are also in need of research investigation.

Three major factors contributed to the choice of university settings in particular. Firstly, higher education allows the selection of young adults, which are an interesting population to target according to recent ELF research reports, due to the fact that youngsters appear to display highly interesting, and at times perhaps more tolerating orientations to different

²⁸ As Barbour (2007: 41) suggests, triangulation should be used for its capacity to “illuminate differences in focus or emphasis” between sets of “parallel data”, rather than a tool to establish validity, or confirm or disconfirm findings across methods. This is particularly relevant when the construction of knowledge is understood as highly situational or changeable, and depending on the interactional context from which it originates (Silverman, 2011).

ways of using English in ELF interactions (e.g. Cogo, 2010; Ranta, 2010). Secondly, university students have first-hand experience of the various educational stages and systems of the countries included and the ways in which they represent English. Thirdly, they are more likely to have had opportunities to travel abroad, interact with other English speakers, or participate in ELF communities of practice, than primary or secondary students, since they are part of higher education systems that are commonly conceived of as particularly international (see Jenkins, 2011). Thus, university participants can retrospectively reconstruct experiences, thoughts and feelings of their local English language education, contact with or uses of the language outside classrooms, relate these experiences to potential ELF interactions, or provide perceptions on the general spread of the language from a local point of view.

The two universities included in each country were carefully selected to provide examples from university students living in both, large urban capitals such as Santiago de Chile, Mexico City and Barcelona, and small size towns including Valparaíso/Viña, Cancún and León. All the universities were publicly funded except for the two in Chile. Private universities were avoided on the whole, however in Chile, where the majority of higher education institutions available are private, it was not possible to establish collaboration with public ones, despite attempts. The choices of which universities to contact were motivated by the purpose of the study, availability, links and contacts and also in terms of safety of location. For example, a requirement to be met by each university was to have developed international exchange programmes to other non-Spanish speaking countries, so that students with past international experiences abroad could also be recruited. This was not always simple in Latin American universities, as the amount of exchanges outside the continent was often less developed than in European countries.

4.3.2 Sampling strategies

As with most qualitative research studies, I employed a purposive or criterion-based sampling framework (Cohen et al, 2011; Patton, 2002; Ritchie and Lewis; 2003). The aim was to select participants from the population under study with sufficient experience of the phenomena studied, as stated above, because they can be highly informative and more likely to provide in-depth insights and personal perceptions of the global and local issues investigated.

I therefore selected Chilean, Mexican and Spanish young undergraduate university students who were raised in these countries, and who had finalised the formal compulsory education required to enter university. These requirements, afford the sample a general degree of homogeneity in each context, as an attempt to obtain a detailed picture of the language perceptions of these students (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003) and allow cross-context comparisons at the same time. Whilst not fully pursuing the maximum variation principle (Dörnyei, 2007), a modest degree of heterogeneity in terms of experiences rather than demographic details was obtained by selecting students who had been on study abroad programmes and those who had not.

In terms of size, eight university students were selected per context, with a total of 48 participants taking part in data collection activities. A small sample size in each context was adequate for the reasons that no statistical calculations or representations were sought, and the data produced through qualitative methods is often rich and abundant in nature, so evidence does not rely solely on a large number of participants but in in-depth accounts (Ritchie, et al, 2003). In addition, this number proved to be sufficient during the pilot study for the achievement of information saturation (see section 4.5.3.3. for information on the pilot).

4.3.3 Research participants

Participants from all contexts ranged between the ages of 19 and 26. These students were undertaking university degrees at undergraduate levels in all six universities. Special care was taken with the selection of participants from a variety of disciplines, which were in no way related to Philology or Modern Languages (e.g. architecture, biology, law, economics, etc.). Examining the views of Modern Languages or English philology students would have also been highly interesting but, as they are more likely to have special language knowledge and motivations, they would have had to be included as a subgroup to compare against non-linguistics discipline students. This would could have been counterproductive for the progress of the research, as it would have doubled the amount of students to be selected in each context, exceeded the time and budget allotted to each university, broadened the scope and amounts of data to be dealt with, and prolonged the analysis

phase as well. As the purpose on this occasion was to focus on non-specialists or non-linguists, I considered the exclusion of language students to be appropriate and justified.

According to Lasagabaster (2003), the linguistic background of students and the ethnolinguistic vitality or status of local languages can have an important impact on attitudes to English, and must be considered during analysis. In general, participants indicated that their mother tongue was Spanish. Yet, as expected from the eight students in Barcelona, they could all speak Spanish and Catalan, with varying degrees of usage for both languages in and outside their home. It should be noted that a few students clarified that their L1 was Catalan but did not consider Spanish a mother tongue, whereas the rest were unclear as to whether they saw both languages as mother tongues or one more than the other. In Latin America, it would have been desirable to be able to include speakers of Spanish and at least one speaker of the different local indigenous languages as well, but despite specific plans and funds being developed in these contexts, the number of indigenous language speakers accessing universities unfortunately remains rather low.

It is also crucial to note that the choice of recruiting at a higher educational level implied a strong defining component in the socioeconomic family backgrounds and previous educational experiences of participants, with considerable differences between the European and the Latin American contexts of study. According to the information provided by participants (i.e. education, parent's professions and education) it can be deduced that students from a wider diversity of economical backgrounds and educational institutions (i.e. public, semi-funded, private) participated in Spain. In Chile and Mexico however, mainly middle/high socioeconomic status and private schooling participants became available for the study. Hence, the type of English formal education experienced by Chilean and Mexican studies varied depending on the type of school(s) they had attended. In Chile for example, private institutions are normally divided into those specialising in Christian or bilingual education, and both tend to allot a higher number of hours to the teaching of languages (i.e. German, English) than public institutions. The kind of English education experienced by students is more uniformed amongst Spanish students, for the only type of school that considerably alters the attention given to languages are the newly developing CLIL/Bilingual schools, - which none of the participants attended. Social stratification in education was particularly expected in Latin American contexts, and

it is important to be aware of the implications of participants' characteristics when analysing and interpreting their accounts²⁹.

Finally, in view of the impact that, as studies suggest, stays abroad can have on English language attitudes/beliefs (e.g. Adolphs, 2005; Erling, 2007; Llurda, 2008;) and since universities are normally home to and promoters of international programmes, I invited to participate both, students who had gone on *exchanges abroad*, and students who have enjoyed a *domestic* focused university experience in every context, to collect accounts from both perspectives. Whilst exchange students were perhaps more likely to have engaged in ELF interactions for longer periods of time (Kalocsai, 2009), it was important not to assume that this would always be the case, or that students could be placed within two clear-cut categories. For example, the degree to which ex-exchange students reported to have participated in ELF groups of friends fluctuated, while some domestic students had also had ELF experiences within their local settings with tourists, international students in the local university or during trips abroad. In *Appendix I* (p.282), I provide a table of students' reported experiences of ELF interactions. The types of countries visited by exchange students differed, but normally belonged to Expanding and Inner Circles (e.g. Holland, France, Italy, Finland, US, UK), and the periods of time they spent abroad also varied, often between 6 to 9 months.

4.3.4 The role of the researcher

In this section I briefly examine my role as the researcher. Traditionally the researcher has been considered to be another research *instrument*. However, this approach seems to imply a somewhat sterile or neutral involvement in the extraction of data. Instead, I view my roles of researcher, interviewer and moderator as entailing active participation in the generation of the data (Gubrium and Holstein, 2003). As numerous authors suggest, the traditional separation between the researcher and those researched is progressively seen as blurry rather than clear-cut (e.g. Fontana, 2003; Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2011). I believe that this fuzziness also applies to traditional divisions between the role of a researcher as insider or outsider. At a general level, I could have been perceived as an

²⁹ According to Sayer (2015: 262) "historically, only private schools offered bilingual instruction [in Mexico] in primary school, and only about 10% of Mexican parents can afford to enrol their children in private education". These figures give us an idea of the privileged positions of most of my Latin American participants.

insider by participants in the sense that, I am also a university student, and a Spanish-speaking individual who, similarly to the rest of participants, is often associated to the broad construct of a Latin or Hispanic culture. However, numerous other differences could have portrayed me as an outsider as well. In Chile and Mexico, I differed from participants in nationality, at times even ethnicity, and in our markedly different uses of Spanish language. In Spain for example, students from Barcelona may have focused on the fact that, unlike them, I am not a Catalan speaker and even in León, the province from which I originally come from, my status of an emigrated leonesa may have spurred a sense of otherness. Other fine but still relevant factors such as my belonging to the postgraduate instead of undergraduate world, or the fact that I attend a foreign university and live abroad, could have contributed to create a view of an outsider.

Although I drew heavily from our shared features in an attempt to portray myself as a Spanish-speaking university student with similar experiences of learning and using English as an additional language, it is extremely difficult to predict what specific aspects participants may have used to position me as either insider or outsider, or whether they may have categorised me as both at different times or for different reasons during our interactions. All these aspects may have affected the ways in which participants shared information with me, and how these issues unfolded often becomes more apparent during in-depth analysis of the data (Richards, 2003:88).

4.4 Ethical considerations and research practices

One of the principal ethical research practices required in all research is the provision of the right amount of information and support. All individuals invited to take part in the research were given a copy of the Participants Information Sheet (PIS) and encouraged to read it carefully, ask questions, discuss or raise any potential issues before deciding on their involvement with the investigation. The PIS provided general information of the purpose of the study, the reasons for which their stories experiences and opinions were valuable, and what to expect from voluntary participation. It also clearly stated their rights to abandon the study or have their data removed from results, and assured confidentiality and protection of the data gathered with them (see Appendix A, p.265). Although all volunteers returned a Consent Form (see Appendix B, p.267) in which they signed their agreement and awareness of these issues, I also emphasised them during our

individual/group face-to-face meetings and emails exchanges with participants.

Participants were over 18 years old adults, non-vulnerable and healthy, and did therefore not require permission from parents, institutions or other guardians.

The risks expected from the participation in the research were low. The activities were always carried out in appropriate, public, and safe locations, at convenient times, and only entailed sitting down and having a discussion. The topic of the study and the questions formulated were not expected to address any particular sensitive topics that could bring emotional distress. Yet, I ensured that participants were put at ease from any initial insecurity or anxieties, and conversations normally unfolded in an informal and friendly manner.

Another important part of ethical practice is to identify potential positive effects or outcomes that participants might obtain from the study (Kvale, 1996). The main direct benefit that this investigation could offer was in terms of raising self-awareness, or participants' own understandings of the proposed issues, and the possibility of comparing these to new and different ways of conceiving the spread and use of the language in international contexts. In other words, making sense of their own thoughts and becoming informed of the on-going debate that surrounds ELF may have resulted in a process of 'reflexivity' for the participants as well.

4.5 Data generation: process and methods

4.5.1 Fieldwork in space and time



The image part with relationship ID rId17 was not found in the file.

Table 1 Fieldwork schedule

4.5.2 Personal information form

A separate personal information sheet was designed in order to keep most of the background and demographic questions out of the interviews (see Appendix C, p. 268). The personal information sheet was handed out and collected together with the consent form to avoid the above mentioned issues and as a rapid and organised way of obtaining relevant details from the participants' linguistic and educational context amongst other personal topics. The intention behind this demographic questionnaire was never to make statistical projections or to attempt to make population generalisations. It was useful, however, to have a greater understanding of the life trajectories of my participants in order to better analyse and interpret their views and experiences of English.

4.5.3 Interviews

4.5.3.1 Purpose and interview conceptualisation

Interviews have been avidly embraced by a growing number of qualitative researchers in relatively recent years, with the purpose of exploring issues that often involve the experience, identities, beliefs, attitudes or perceptions of those interviewed (Talmy, 2010: 128). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 116, emphasis added) for example, strongly defend interviews as exceptionally appropriate for “studying people’s *understandings* of the *meanings* in *their* lived world, *describing* their experiences and self-understanding, and *clarifying* and *elaborating* their own *perspective* on their lived world”. Whilst not able to provide mirror-like representations of reality, interviews assist in the task of learning about multiple meanings, through the narratives constructed during interview interaction (e.g. Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Miller and Glassner, 2004). According to Siedman (2006: 7), this process of selecting, reflecting, ordering and drawing from a complex and varied array of resources to reconstruct or decipher experience is what makes telling stories a meaning-making practice. However, establishing the nature of this meaning-making process is more controversial, and different positions among scholars on how the interview relates to knowledge often imply different approaches to collecting and analysing interview data.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 47-79), for instance, make a distinction between two ways of conceptualising the epistemological nature of the interview as a research method, namely “interviews in a postmodern age” and “interviews in a positivist conception”. The authors

propose the metaphor of the *interviewer-traveller* to help explain that, in the former approach, the interviewer engages in “knowledge construction” as he explores and interprets the lived worlds of others through discursive interaction and observation (ibid: 48). From this perspective, which Kvale and Brinkmann advocate, interview knowledge is “produced, relational, conversational, contextual, linguistic, narrative and pragmatic” (ibid: 47; 54-56). In the positivist conception, however, interviews are seen as an instrument, that is, a conduit for knowledge transportation or “collection” (ibid: 48). In other words, interviewees’ minds are assumed to be passive vessels containing the existence of nuggets of information and interviewers are best understood as *miners* (ibid: 48) who can, allegedly, extract that information in neutral or objective ways. Although the authors label this approach as *positivist*, they however emphasise the need to differentiate between Comte’s “Classical Positivism” (ibid: 56) on the one hand³⁰, which they argue is not in conflict with a view of knowledge as constructed or with qualitative exploration, and forms of 20th century “Methodological Positivism” (ibid: 57) on the other. Kvale and Brinkmann emphasise that the latter form of positivism is responsible for the generalised prevalence of a stricter and narrower interpretation of logic and scientific validity as a-contextual, impersonal, objective, reproducible and quantifiable interpretation in mid-20th century books of social science methodology.

More importantly, Kvale and Brinkmann argue that, while strict methodological positivism is rarely defended by social scientists nowadays (i.e. an apparent man of straw), within the social sciences, “the formal methodological rules of positivist science still prevail in certain places – in newer neopositivist traditions, in many mainstream methodology books, and particularly, in the new discourse of evidence-based practice ... as based on formalized quantitative research” (ibid: 58). Such a lingering methodological positivism is what may be motivating interpretations of valid interview data as dependent on meeting certain criteria during the data collection (e.g. establishing rapport, specific type of questions, researcher’s neutrality and so forth), so that the extraction of knowledge takes place with the least amount of contamination possible (see also Gubrium and Holstein, 2003 and Talmy, 2010 for similar points).

The conceptualisation of interview adopted in this thesis is in line with the understandings of interviews informed by postmodern sensibilities (e.g. Fontana, 2003). From this

³⁰ Understood as moving away from “religious dogma and metaphysical speculation” in order to *return* to the analysis “observable data” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 56).

perspective, interviews are conceptualised as social practice (e.g. Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Talmy, 2011), that is, as sites in which knowledge is actually *generated* rather than *extracted*. Thus, the relationship and interaction developed during interviews are opportunities for the generation of “reportable knowledge” (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003: 70), which is co-constructed between participants, shaped by discursive practices, and negotiated in conversation in a specific place and point in time. Gubrium and Holstein (2003) make a strong case for the need for understanding the *active* roles that the interviewer and interviewee can put into play. Greater attention is placed on the influences that the interviewer inevitably has on the way talk evolves, from the choice of topics, or interpretation of responses, to the roles, identities and memberships enacted (see Mann, 2011). Similarly, the interviewee is considered as another *agent* in the *co-production* of specific realities in complex ways.

Due to these active roles, the data generated from interviews is generally highly multifaceted and even ambiguous. Gubrium and Holstein (2003) suggest for example that participants draw from multiple shifting subjective positions (e.g. a student, a woman, a daughter) to create their experiences, or may even incorporate stories and voices from other group’s or institutions to their narratives (e.g. schools’ policy, teachers’ ideology). Hence, we might not only see and interpret participants’ own voice, but *multiple voices*. Moreover, participants appear to have a variety of “universes of choice” or “discursive environments” from which they actively draw in order to articulate their lives and selves during interaction (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004: 140- 150). These authors highlight that, although the accounts are considered to be collaboratively assembled, meaning is *not* necessarily “constantly formulated anew” (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004: 140- 150). Instead data can also reflect at the same time “relatively enduring local contingencies and conditions of possibility” (ibid) brought from topics introduced by the interviewer, local ways of orienting to topics, or institutionalised understandings. Thus, when analysing interview data, attention needs to be given not only to the *meanings* created or expressed (e.g. language experiences, conceptualisations or beliefs), but also *the ways* in which they are crafted according to the interactional situation (Gubrium and Holstein, 2003).

4.5.3.2 Qualitative Interviews: thematising and designing

The interviews were the first face-to-face data generation method to be carried out in which participants and I were engaged in interaction for a prolonged period of time. One of

the main aims, was to produce the elaboration of as much *thick description* (e.g. Johnson, 2003) as possible on participants' experiences, understandings and evaluations of English related issues, although certain topics involving Spanish were included here as well, with the least degree of restriction possible on my part. Hence, qualitative semi-structured interviews were selected, for they tend to provide an ample space for participants to draw on resources with which to construct a range of accounts, experiences or perceptions, within the loose parameters provided by the interviewer (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004).

The interviews normally resembled a friendly conversation in the sense that a relationship was crafted and developed during the activity, and that various degrees of intimacy were sought to feel comfortable discussing personal matters in depth (Johnson, 2003). However, these cannot be entirely conceived as everyday exchanges, due to their specific research purpose or topics/problems to address, and the dissimilar asymmetric relations that tend to develop between interviewer and interviewee (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

The literature provides further typologies of qualitative interview, such as *in-depth* (Johnson, 2003), *phenomenology interview* (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Siedman, 2006), *responsive interview* (Rubin and Rubin, 2012) and so forth. I have applied a miscellaneous of influential and appropriate strategies in an eclectic manner to fit the purpose, contexts and conditions of interviewing of the study. Hence, I will continue to refer to this method as *qualitative interview* and proceed to a detailed description of designing and implementation phases, instead of aligning with a specific interview type. In addition, the use of a flexible guide of topics was regarded as more appropriate than completely standardised or unstructured interviewing styles on this occasion. The guide included a series of prompts to address and clarify the main topics, as well as unwritten probes to request elaboration. The interviews were completely centred on the experiences and views of each participant. Despite the many resources they could draw from, and the co-constructive nature of the conversation between both us, the focus of attention was always placed on their experiences and points of view on the global and local spread of English. Thus, six main areas, which would provide an extensive breadth of information on the research questions previously formulated were covered individually with each student during interviews encounters (see Appendix D, p.270).

Adaptability in terms of the introduction of topics was also considered an essential part of the interviews to comfortably accommodate to different interests or hierarchies of

experiential relevance introduced by participants, and to assist in the achievement of informal conversational style. Nonetheless, conscious efforts were made to develop a coherent sequence such as that recommended by Patton (2002), who advises to begin with simple and non-controversial questions, descriptions and present time issues, before moving onto more complicated matters. The exact wording of the questions and prompts was not established prior to the interviews, and therefore arose independently from each interaction. In general, a couple of simple warm-up questions were used to initiate the recorded interaction and invite lengthy responses on a familiar and simple topic. The great majority of questions articulated were targeted at thick descriptions and therefore open-ended, although a minimum of yes/no probes or dichotomy questions were also necessary at times. From Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009: 135-136) functional classification, all introductory, direct, indirect, structuring and interpreting questions can be found in the transcripts. In general, attention was paid to avoid the use of leading questions, although some scholars maintain that they are less harmful than traditionally thought in the literature (Cohen, et al, 2011; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

4.5.3.3 Piloting

I undertook a pilot study in 2011 in order to test and adjust the data collection design for the PhD fieldwork. During the month of July, I recruited a small group of Spanish participants at the University of León. I contacted the Centre for Language Studies of the university with the intention of talking to students that were at the time attending English language courses offered by the centre during summer months. After having sought consent from the English teachers of the centre, I visited some English language classrooms in search of volunteers to participate in pilot interviews and a focus group. The majority of the English students that volunteered were (non-linguistics/philology) undergraduates at the University of León. Although I also interviewed postgraduate students and a couple of older professionals who kindly volunteered as well, I only transcribed and analysed the data collected with young undergraduates given that they were the population targeted for the main study.

The pilot study was therefore especially useful for the design of the interview guide. In addition to learning to adjust my personal language style and register in order to be understood by non-linguist interlocutors and practicing how to put interviewees at ease, I was also able to identify and remove some unproductive topics and inappropriate question

formulations. Nevertheless, during the fieldwork of the main study I engaged in constant listening of the interviews undertaken in order to evaluate my performance, and I continued to develop the guide overtime to adapt it to unforeseen contextual conditions such as local language policies or unanticipated linguistic practices particular to specific regions. Transcribing the pilot data was also of assistance to establish which kind of transcription strategy would be more appropriate for the kind of data produced by the main study and the type of analysis that would be undertaken subsequently.

As indicated in Chapter 1, I also had the opportunity to explore Spaniards' attitudes to the spread of English as *lingua franca* for my MA dissertation (Morán Panero, 2009). Due to the small scale of the MA study (i.e. eight young Spanish participants) and the fact that I used a similar methodological approach, I have also come to think of it as an earlier piloting experience for the reason that it also served me as valuable practice for data collection and data analysis. In terms of content analysis, both the pilot and the MA study highlighted the relevance of comparing views on the roles and functions of English across scales of use (i.e. clashes between evaluations of roles between global and local spheres of use) and they unearthed interesting associations between potential (un)desirable identity projections and the way in which participants think they sound. Some negative associations to speaking in a 'native-like' way were also recorded, which in turn encouraged me further to continue focusing on perceptions of spoken English. The pilot and the MA study also confirmed that the global status of Spanish is relevant for some participants when making sense of their relationship with English, thus confirming the significance of this line of inquiry for the main study. The analysis of the MA and pilot data also made clear that contradictions were to be expected and that careful scrutiny of complexities would be necessary. Unfortunately, I had no access to undergraduates from Latin American contexts or from Spanish bilingual regions for either the MA study or the pilot. Thus, adaptations of data collection strategies (e.g. vocabulary) that were necessary for these contexts took place organically during the main study, and some of the topics that emerged in these contexts were unexpected (e.g. social class function being performed through English locally).

4.5.3.4 Interviewing: practice and performance

In all three contexts the interviews were carried out in quiet university cafeteria spaces, or other cafes suggested by students, depending on their acoustic suitability and convenient location. These contexts were selected for two main reasons, as an attempt to relax participants by unfolding the conversation in a familiar and relaxed space, away from the formality of university classrooms, and to provide participants with a beverage or snack in return for their time and voluntary effort.

As Mann (2011) maintains, in addition to the physical and temporal context, it is necessary to reflect on the *interactional context* of the interview as well. The individual face-to-face encounters themselves served as opportunity to craft pleasant and friendly relationships between us, in addition to online and/or telephone communications with participants established prior to the interview and in between data collection methods. After a few minutes of greetings and conversations of non-controversial personal issues (i.e. studies, weather, familiarity with each other's provenance contexts) in which both interviewer and interviewees were put at ease, I sought participants' permission for recording. I also explained the general purpose of the study, how exceptionally valuable are participants' own views and experiences, and the fact that there could not be correct or incorrect answers. Although all interviews were carried out in Spanish so that participants could express their ideas as comfortably as possible, meaning nuances in our linguistic resources were expected to diverge. Thus, participants were encouraged to raise questions if intelligibility problems occurred, and to expect clarification requests as well from my part.

It is crucial to give consideration to my own role and personal attributes as an interviewer. My preferred interviewing style could be defined as informal or casual rather than formal or business-like (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). As Richards (2003; 2011) strongly argues, all interviews are directive to a certain degree as even minimal responses can have an influence on interview interaction. In these interviews I aimed for a mild-degree of directiveness. A highly debated element of interviewers' performance is the issue of self-disclosure. It is believed that if the interviewer shares his or her personal perspectives, this may aid participants opening-up in return (e.g. Siedman, 2006; Rubin and Rubin, 2012). Gubrium and Holstein (2003) however, find this suspicious of positivistic thinking, as it appears to assume a dormant reality to be revealed not only behind the respondent but also within the interviewer. In my case, I was prepared to share certain general personal

experiences without making explicit my own specific language beliefs. This was understood then as a symbol to show my willingness to share or co-construct interaction with participants, and the generation of a friendly atmosphere, rather than a knowledge-extraction strategy. However not expressing my personal orientations overtly does not remotely translate into interviewer's neutrality. The research design, topics raised and my general involvement in the process (Fontana, 2003) are cues to my own interests and understandings of the phenomenon studied, from which participants may have drawn their own conclusions.

Finally, although the duration of the interviews was planned for approximately one hour, their actual length varied subject to participants and contexts, ranging from 45 to 70 minutes in Spain, and being particularly longer, between 60 and 75 minutes, in Latin American contexts. Fern (2001) suggests that when the researcher may be perceived as an outsider, participants may take more time to elaborate on local details in their accounts. Overall, the duration of the interviews falls under what is generally considered to be adequate for in-depth qualitative research (e.g. around 60 minutes for Richards, 2003 or 90 minutes for Siedman, 2006). In terms of the number of qualitative interviews necessary, alternative recommendations are available in the literature, with authors often vacillating between 6 to 10 interviews as sufficient to obtain the fairly ambiguous point of theoretical saturation (Johnson, 2003). For this study, I aimed at undertaking at least 8 interviews in each different context, thus 48 in total, although on a couple of occasions it was necessary to seek additional interviews due to certain participants' profiles not actually meeting the sample under investigation.

4.6 Methodological limitations

All methods available present particular weaknesses in the creation of certain kinds of scientific knowledge, or are better or worse suited to investigate particular issues. Whilst it is essential to be aware of the potential limitations of one's own research design from starting to reporting phases, the perception of particular defining characteristics of the methods may either be considered limitations or virtues, depending on the purpose of the study. For example, interviews are highly appropriate for the investigation of participants' views or stories construction, but not for the study of actual practices (Garrett, 2010; Litosseliti, 2003). Since I undertook no ethnographic observation, it would be extremely

unwise to make claims on participants' linguistic behaviour, although we should not downplay the significance of participants' *accounts* of their own behaviour. Interviews have been criticised for their context-specific nature, and difficulty in producing generalisations. However, considering the characteristics of the study, the theoretical and methodological conceptualisations adopted, and the research questions formulated, I understand the situatedness and context-dependent nature of the data as beneficial and advantageous for the analysis and interpretation of the findings (see. Barbour, 2007; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

Traditionally, interviews have been associated with a series of limitations that normally deal with unacknowledged biases. These include for example, *social desirability bias* (i.e. providing answers that are believed to be socially appropriate), the influences of the characteristics of the researcher (i.e. ethnicity, age, language use), potential manipulation or ambiguity (i.e. leading, loaded, multiple questions) and particularly, *acquiescence bias*, that is, providing the responses that are believed to be expected or desired by the researcher (see Garrett, 2010). Nonetheless, strategies and techniques applied during data generation can reduce the likeliness of some of the above-mentioned points to develop (e.g. open-ended nature of interviews). In addition, any potential negative effects that were to take place can be reduced by acknowledging that these issues may be part of the data and by actively seeking their occurrence. Thus, it is advised to actively identify leading questions to check the reliability of the knowledge produced (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) and to include the participation of the researcher and co-constructiveness of the data in analysis (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004).

For various scholars, the impact associated to these limitations may not be as strong or negative as previously thought in positivistic frameworks. Holstein and Gubrium (2004) indicate that notions of bias are only meaningful when data collection is understood as the extraction of some a priori well-defined information that can be polluted in the process. On the contrary, if data is conceived as co-constructed products of social and interpretative practice, responses are not preformed or ever pure. These authors maintain that apparent spontaneous or 'real-world' conversations are not necessarily more authentic or bias free than interviews. Talmy (2010: 131) adds that, as participants actively (re)construct and transform facts, details, views or experiences in their accounts, bias or distortions deserve less concern, for participants can barely damage what they are subjectively producing or creating. Holstein and Gubrium (2004: 156) remind us that this is *not* to say *anything goes*.

Instead, data collection techniques are still necessary to produce an environment “conducive to the production of the range and complexity of meanings that might occur to all ... participants” (Holstein and Gubrium: 2004: 152), and special attention needs to be given to the ways in which those meanings have been created during analysis.

4.7 Validity and reliability

It is important to consider and reflect on the criteria that normally account for the quality of a research study. Cuba and Lincoln (1994) find that traditional constructs of validity or reliability are inappropriate for investigations of social worlds and their plurality of meanings and interpretations, and propose a special quality framework of reference for qualitative research. This framework focuses on *trustworthiness* instead, which consists of four sub-criteria that this investigation attempts to meet. *Credibility* is achieved by a combination of the rigorous research practice I exercise during fieldwork, and the triangulation of research *contexts* and of analytic *layers*. By providing thick descriptions of the data and detailed information of the methodological steps followed, I provide other researchers with the opportunity to interpret the results here obtained, or reproduce or adapt a similar research design and apply it to these or other contexts (i.e. *dependability*). The findings of the study are expected to be highly dependent on the contexts in which the research was undertaken, however, *transferability* may still be possible, in the sense that, some results may be relevant for other Spanish speaking contexts, for example, with similar temporal, historical, political, or economical conditions, on condition of further empirical investigation. In addition, although complete objectivity is not a realistic target in social research, I show *confirmability* or evidence that I have not allowed for personal values or theoretical preferences to take over the interpretation and report of findings by providing extensive notes on the strategies adopted to reduce subjectivity dominance during the analysis (see following section) and by including data extracts in this report for readers to compare and contrast my interpretations and participants’ own words.

4.8 Qualitative interview data analysis

Qualitative analytic frameworks were deemed the most appropriate given the methodological inquiry selected, the phenomenological approach taken and the type of

data generated in this study. In this section I introduce the analytic strategies and processes followed to examine the interview data.

Following Gubrium and Holstein's (2003) research tenet, my analysis of participants' accounts of English sets off to investigate the *whats* (i.e. the content meaning) without neglecting the *hows* (i.e. construction of whats). To this end, I draw from *content* and *discourse* analysis approaches in the systematic examination of participants' orientations to English. In fact, Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) argue that, rather than being different kinds of analysis, these approaches are in fact interconnected and intertwined layers that are required for the exploration of attitudinal phenomena. The combination of these analytical tools or layers is expected to assist in the tensions that all researchers experience between accurately representing the holism of the data, and fragmentation that is often required by its analysis (Cohen et al, 2011: 555). I have therefore made every possible effort to maintain a balance, and attempted to provide a detailed analysis without losing sight of the whole narratives of the participants.

4.8.1 Translating from oral to written language

During fieldwork, I decided to audio-record³¹ all the data collection activities undertaken. Although the presence of a recorder may have been intimidating to some participants, I deemed recording necessary as opposed to note-taking, to be able to concentrate on the topics and details discussed, as well as the dynamics developing during interaction. Simply taking notes would have been too risky in terms of potential rapid memory loss on my part, inability to reproduce participants' own words selection, incapacity to assess my own performance and influence on responses, and it would have also caused general disruption of the conversational flow (see Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Richards, 2003).

I then personally carried out the transcription of the material to familiarise myself with data, and to begin to identify potential emerging themes (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Since the interview data is particularly sizeable, I transcribed and coded 24 interviews

³¹ I decided to avoid video-taping on this occasion for the reason that participants and I were not acquainted before the data collection process and they could have felt more self-conscious, timid, or reticent or even simply threatened by the idea of having their image captured as well as their voice. On the negative side, this also implies that the richness often provided by gesturing or facial features cannot be recalled in the representation of such interactions.

(four per context) and listened attentively to the rest, transcribing only new or significant parts. As Kvale and Brinkman (2009) point out, transcription is an exercise of translation between different narrative discourses (i.e. spoken to written) that also entails analytic and interpretive processes. For this reason, I provide detailed account of the transcription style and conventions followed in this section.

Following Richards (2003:81), I aimed at selecting a series of conventions that would facilitate the maximum possible readability of the data without sacrificing any key elements. I focused on creating tight and thorough transcriptions of the content of the recordings. That is, the transcripts reflect every single word uttered by participants. Including participants exact choice of words is especially relevant, given that this study aims to examine the discourses through which participants construct their views. Although certain major prosodic features have been marked (i.e. question-like raising tones, elongation of sounds/syllables, stress, quiet voice), an exhaustive recording of these features was not seen as necessary. Although I did not describe interactional features in excessive detail, I recorded elements such as overlapping to provide a sense of the situational context in which the data was generated. Table 2 below glosses the features and conventions selected for this study. Its design is informed by recommendations and examples from Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), Richards (2003) and VOICE Corpus Transcript Conventions.

Transcript Conventions	Explanation/meaning
xxxx	Unintelligible speech
(perceived speech)	Unclear/guessed speech
CAPitals	Emphasis
* between stars *	Utterances which are noticeably quieter than surrounding speech
Elongation::	Noticeable elongation in word utterance with approximate length marked by repeated colon symbol
[overlapping] [between] speakers	When overlapping takes place, the simultaneous speech of various speakers will be bracketed with the bracket symbols []
(.)	Short pause (1 second or below)
(6)	Longer pause in approximate seconds
?	Rising intonation (question-like)
@@@@ <@speech@>	Laughter speech uttered whilst laughing

<i>{researcher's information}</i>	Additional information provided by researcher. This could regard external events occurring during the recording, participants' coughing, sighs, confidential names removal, and so forth.
[...]	Indicates that some data has been edited out due to not being key for or related to the discussion of that particular extract.
in bold	Item(s) highlighted by researcher
<Eng>corporate<Eng>	Utterances produced in a different language to Spanish are bracketed by the symbols <Eng> <Eng> to indicate the language used. A translation, clarification or the actual Spanish term(s) may be provided by the researcher if relevant.
[]	Phonetic transcription of a specific utterance due to its particular relevance

Table 2 Transcript conventions key (also in Appendix E, p. 271).

Table 3 below summarises the ways in which I decided to represent each of the participants of the study and myself as interviewer/moderator. In order to safeguard the anonymity of each student, and with the transcript process in mind, each participant was already assigned a unique number during the recruitment and data collection processes (i.e. from one to nine for Barcelona, from ten to nineteen for León, from twenty to twenty-nine for Mexico Distrito Federal – henceforth DF –, from thirty to thirty-nine for Cancún city, from forty to forty-nine for Santiago, and from fifty to fifty-nine for Viña). These numbers were also followed by the first letter of the name of the city context in which the data was collected. It was therefore deemed appropriate to use these conventions to distinguish between different participants in the transcripts whilst being able to show which national and regional contexts they ‘belonged’ to.

Transcript Conventions	Explanation/meaning
08B: 14L: 22DF: 30C: R:	Pseudonyms for speaker participants. Each participant is assigned a unique number, and the letter that represents the context in which the data was gathered:
	Spain
	B = Barcelona L = León
	Mexico
	DF =México City; C =Cancún;

	Chile
	S=Santiago de Chile; V=Viña
	The researcher (interviewer/moderator) is always represented by the letter 'R'

Table 3 Details on the assignation of participant codes to the interviewees.

4.8.2 Translating from Spanish to English

All fieldwork activities were undertaken in Spanish, and the data was transcribed and analysed in this language as well. The data extracts presented in this thesis have been handled in Spanish until the analysis and chapter discussions were completed, to ensure that translation subjectivities did not affect the analytic process. The extracts included in the findings chapters were translated into English for practical lingua franca reasons. Although I would have liked to present the original version counterparts as well, thesis space limitations prevented me from doing so. As I point out above, translations are influenced to some degree by the subjectivity of the translator. I have however put great efforts in representing participants accounts with the highest possible proximity to the original texts in Spanish. In cases in which the translation I have decided upon runs the risk of not representing the richness of the meaning expressed by participants I have inserted researcher commentary with the actual Spanish terms or idioms used as well.

Translating the data extracts presented also posed difficulties for the use of some transcript conventions used. For example, in Spanish I had marked emphasis or loud speech given to particular syllables in Spanish when such emphasis was noticeably abnormal (i.e. not given to the usual stress syllable or given to the usual stress syllable but in an especially loud manner). Deciding how to accurately represent such features in English was often problematic. Although I have still marked stress in the English data extracts, I have opted for assigning emphasis to the full word in which loud speech occurred, rather than arbitrarily assigning the emphasis to a particular syllable. Elongated speech also has been affected by translation in similar ways. These features are therefore to be understood as approximations.

4.8.3 Content organisation and interpretation

Being able to analyse large amounts of qualitative data requires undertaking some degree of organisation sooner or later (Richards, 2003:273). In order to approach, organise and analyse the content meanings or more specifically, perceptual constructions of language expressed in the data, I drew from coding and categorising procedures typical of content analysis. It is necessary to point out that this approach has been criticised by a few scholars who regard this tool as solely quantitative, or limited to counting numbers of instances present in a text (e.g. Silverman, 2011:64). Nevertheless, as Berg (2007: 307) argues, this is only a rather narrow conceptualisation of the technique, which can actually focus effectively on either quantitative or qualitative elements of communication messages, or a blend of both.

Berg defines content analysis as “a means for identifying, organising, indexing, and retrieving data” which requires deep consideration of both, the *literal words* used by its actors (i.e. participants) and *the manner* in which these words are offered (2007:307). It also involves what Bodgan and Bilken (2003) name “data interpretations”, which include: the elaboration of ideas regarding information found in codes and categories, the distinction of potential patterns and meanings constructed in the data, the reflection on these issues in relation to theoretical or empirical literature, and the study of research questions or broader contextual concerns. As suggested in Silverman (2011), establishing codes and themes cannot be an end in itself, and it is therefore to be understood in this study as a starting point for the analysis.

In line with these views, my own approach to coding and categorising is less concerned with frequency of items or counts, and more with the qualitative and interpretive side of the analysis explained above. Although I may also draw from quantifications of data at times, it is necessary to point out that the frequency or proportion of items will not be automatically understood or presented as self-explanatory findings themselves (Berg, 2007). Instead, these are presented as informative of the magnitude of elements *in the data* set, but any dominant tendencies found in this project do not warrant generalisations to the populations included in the study. As Cohen and his colleagues (2011: 567) stress, elements which appear with less frequency, or which do not appear at all or remain unsaid, can hold as much importance in explaining the nature of the social phenomenon explored, as the frequency of other items.

The coding and categorising practices employed in this study are informed, to a certain degree, by principles of grounded theory. However, the analysis cannot be ascribed to the theory itself, for the reason that it is also guided by my previous theoretical knowledge of the field and the literature reviewed in each context as well, two features that contradict original underpinnings of such analytical approach (Bryman, 2008). Nevertheless, I borrow from grounded theory terms and I examine *manifest* content, or elements present in the surface of the data, and cautiously address *latent* content, or deeper meanings that may be interpretable as well. Through the initial phases of coding I used an eclectic coding approach that combined in vivo and descriptive, and concept or analytic codes to organise the main topics of interview discussion in open and holistic ways (Saldaña, 2016)³². As Berg (2007:310) indicates, the combination of these codes can add “breadth and depth to observations by reaching beyond local meanings and understandings to broader scientific ones”. Thus, my approach to content analysis aims to explore ideological mind-sets and other broader themes and topics typically associated to macro-level analysis, whilst maintaining the analysis grounded in the data (ibid: 308).

My coding resulted in the combination of a series of pre-established top-down codes (informed by the topics included in the interview guide and therefore also by the wider literature and theorisations that informed the research design) and a series of codes and categories that emerged from close readings of participants’ accounts in a bottom-up fashion. The first coding cycle produced 132 free-standing codes. During the subsequent coding cycles (i.e. axial and theoretical/elaborative coding in Saldaña, 2016: 244-255), free-standing codes were eventually merged with other if no sufficient qualitative differences were found between them during analysis. I also set aside codes that were not directly related to the research objectives, and therefore not useful to respond to the research questions. The remaining 80 codes were then organised into *ten* overarching categories or tree nodes, and *three* codes remained free-standing (see Appendices F.1 and F.2, pp.272-274 for a view of full codes and categories developed). The recurrent coding sweeps also assisted me in the process of narrowing down the main themes and subthemes of the investigation. The themes in Table 4 below represent the most relevant *topic* areas that emerged from the analysis of the interview.

³² ‘Descriptive’ codes are chosen by the researcher to describe topics talked about (e.g. Economic Issues). ‘In vivo’ codes capture the content of the data analysed by using the literal words uttered by participants (e.g. Chile is far/isolated). ‘Analytical codes’ are based on researchers’ scholarly knowledge.


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Table 4 Themes emerging from interview data.

The particular sets of conceptualisations and evaluations that participants produced in relation to each theme/topic are presented in further detail in the subsequent chapters. In section 4.8.4 below, I explain how I drew from discourse-based approaches to identify students’ conceptualisations, language ideologies and evaluative practices (i.e. second layer of analysis).

Finally, as an analytical technique, coding and categorising is not free from limitations. Potential weaknesses associated to it include the unsuitability of the technique to determine causality, the difficulty that varied nuance connotations of words may add to interpretative processes, potential inconsistent classifications of codes (Cohen et al, 2011), or fragmentation concerns such as loss of context or narrative flows (Bryman, 2008). I adopted a variety of strategies to avoid or reduce the effects of these limitations as much as possible. These strategies involved listening to the audio files repeatedly while coding and analysing and developing interview summaries and memoing to obtain a sense of the whole interview, engaging in multiple-coding (i.e. simultaneous coding in Saldaña, 2016) that respects the continuity of the interview interaction, and discussing parts of the analysis process with academic colleagues to evaluate its adequacy and accuracy. Engaging in a cyclical approach to coding also ensured that every item is represented and evidenced empirically, and helped me avoid using codes that were potentially based on my personal bias, experiences or expectations as the researcher (Cohen et al 2011; Berg, 2007). In addition, having undertaken the coding process through the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 10 allowed me to easily retrieve codified data at any stage of the process in order to check for (and modify if necessary) potential inconsistencies between and/or within codes. The software was also extremely useful for organising codes into larger categories and for the identification of the main themes emerging in the data.

4.8.4 Analysing talk as social action

The interpretative process of moving from manifest to latent meanings is informed to a great extent by discourse-analysis based frameworks. Although coding and categorising already requires attention to the delivery of information, discourse analytic techniques can be especially helpful for the analysis of the situated construction of talk and its connections with broader societal and historical processes. For Fairclough (2003), social and discourse practices are the middle ground between wider social structures and social events, products or outcomes. Similarly, Pennycook (2010:120) argues that as we *do* things with language, we organise local events around us, and we also reproduce or alter wider social structures.

At a less abstract level, discourse can also be conceptualised in its pluralised form (i.e. discourses), in order to explore how different ways of organising language can *represent* specific parts of the social world, and different or even conflicting perspectives or positions

on such representations (Fairclough, 2003: 26). Thus, scholars speak of the analysis of “orders” (Fairclough, 2003:24) or “patterns” (Parker, 2005:88) of discourse. These are networks of social practices in their linguistic form, in which people arrange particular elements or resources (i.e. genres, discourses, and styles) in different ways, by selecting particular possibilities, and excluding others. Thus, I am concerned with identifying how conceptualisations and evaluations of English are constructed discursively (e.g. vocabulary chosen), and with making connections between the concrete social event of the text and more abstract social practices by exploring how the different elements are drawn upon and articulated together in the text (Fairclough, 2003: 28). In other words, I analyse the ways in which participants’ discourses are “constructed” (Potter and Hepburn, 2011: 302, their *italics*) or linguistically assembled, and how my participants’ talk is “constructive” (ibid) of different and potentially variable versions of the social aspects under investigation (e.g. language, English spread, standards and variation or ELF interaction).

My analysis is informed particularly by work undertaken in Discursive Psychology (DPsy), an established field within Social Psychology that has persuasively argued for the study of attitudes, conceptualisations and ideologies from a discursive perspective³³. A discursive approach deals with conceptualisations, attitudes and the self as “interrelationally constituted, as emerging out of discursive acts and performances in social interaction” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 228), and as variable phenomena that can be constructed differently by particular groups or individuals depending on conversational partners, situational conditions or interactional contexts. In Potter’s words (2012: 442), “[i]t is not that discursive psychologists do not consider thinking, cognition, mind, feelings and so on, but this is not something they start with” nor something that “they see as causal underpinning of social behaviour”.

DPsy is also particularly suitable for the investigation of conceptualisations and evaluative practices in elicited material such as interviews (Parker, 2005). Most scholars, including those that openly advocate for the complementary exploration of naturalistic data (e.g. Potter, 2012), recognise the discursive analysis of interviews as a valuable research strategy for the exploration, identification and description of representative or interpretative resources available in participants’ repertoires and for the analysis of how

³³ See Hynninen (2013) and Studer (2014) for sociolinguistic studies that have recently employed this analytic technique.

ideology may be managed in talk between participants and interviewers in the specific contexts of interview interactions (e.g. Hsu and Roth, 2008).

The construct of *interpretative repertoires* (IRs)³⁴ has been especially informative for my analysis. IRs are conceptualised by discourse psychologists as relatively coherent ways of talking about or constructing a social object or process (Edley, 2001). Potter and Wetherell (1987: 138) define an IR as “a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate actions and events”. In addition to being the basis for launching descriptions, evaluations and justifications in a given context, IRs are also a platform for the performing and negotiating of “locally managed positions” and ideologies (Wetherell, 1998: 406), and therefore useful to engage with the “social and political consequences of discursive patterning” (Wetherell, 1998: 410). I use this analytic construct to identify students’ *conceptualisations* of the spread of English and its lingua franca use (e.g. interpretative repertoires for ways of speaking English as a lingua franca), and then to observe how different conceptualisations are assembled by participants to construct specific evaluations (e.g. positive, negative, ambivalent or contradictory valuations of linguistic variation in ELF). In other words, the use of IRs as an analytic unit provided me with a meticulous and systematic approach to analyse participants’ conceptualisations of the social phenomena under investigation, and in turn they allowed me to undertake a more rigorous and ordered examination of participants’ evaluative practices and their potential variability.

In the analysis, I also pay particular attention to how students’ may invoke or recreate *interested* representations of language, and how different language ideologies may be reproduced, transformed and/or rejected in their talk. The analysis does not start by looking for specific or particular and a-priori chosen ideologies and then mapping these against the data, but by recognising ideological representations constructed by participants in their accounts in a bottom-up fashion. I provide attention to sameness and repetition of ideas in the data, but also to differences, multi-voicedness and contradictions in discourse (Parker, 2005). Hence, I am as concerned with identifying ideas about language that are presented as common-sense or socially-shared assumptions as I am with locating competition or

³⁴ The notion ‘interpretative repertoires’ is often preferred to ‘discourse’ by researchers who depart from the deterministic positioning of people as “subjectified” individuals by institutional discourse (Edley, 2001: 202). IR analytic work sees intersubjective discursive constructions of the world and selves in fluid, fragmented and emergent ways, and places stronger emphasis on the role of human agency, albeit recognising that such constructivist action is not without limitations (see Edley, 2001: 195).

conflict between voices or discourses in participants' accounts. Contradictions are addressed in detail when relevant for the discussion of the topic at hand. It should be stressed however, that I am not attempting to record *all* the kinds of representations, evaluations and dilemmas taken up by each individual. In other words, I do not construct individual's profiles (given the number of participants) on this occasion.

Although I carefully engage with the broader context and macrostructural issues that surround participants' accounts (i.e. power and ideology), I still provide attention to "the sequential embeddedness of talk" (Silverman, 2011: 315). From discursive psychologists concerned with the analysis of situated interaction, I also take that 'conceptions' and 'evaluative practices' need to be understood as collectively co-constructed between me and the participants (e.g. Hsu and Roth, 2011; cf. Mann, 2011; Talmy, 2011). I consider how this co-construction may be influencing the *whats* produced by students in the data (e.g. accepting, rejecting or transforming assumptions and categories or topics proposed by the interviewer), and report on cases where the interaction between interviewer and interviewee are particularly relevant for the content co-constructed (cf. Jenkins, 2014).

Identifying *shared* recurrent metalinguistic comments that constitute an interpretative repertoire is an interpretative activity in itself (Edley, 2001: 197-198). As Westinen (2014: 206) highlights, participants can "invoke particular discourse worlds" in their accounts, but "it is then the researcher who constructs them into beings". I therefore undertook repeated readings of the data in order to distinguish the particular linguistic resources, images and metaphors that characterised representational patterns in students' talk. I analysed the categories and topics that had emerged from processes of coding and categorising in order to identify students' potential conceptualisations of the phenomena discussed (e.g. different interpretative repertoires through which to conceptualise the code/topic 'English uses in ELF interaction'). The conceptualisations and evaluations found in the data are understood as a series of *possible* ways of representing English, language, speakers and ELF interactions, that is, a non-exhaustive reflection of students' conceptual repertoires/resources³⁵.

³⁵ Although the repertoires identified in this data are likely to be incomplete/partial due to the contingent variability of conceptual and evaluative constructions across interactional contexts, it is necessary to begin to describe how English users theorise the phenomenon of English globalisation. As Chapter 8 will explain, we need to explore how understanding the particular ways in which students' organise and use language constructs, ideas and ideological assumptions can inform ELT practice.

4.9 Closing remarks


This chapter has provided a comprehensive description of the research questions and the methodology of inquiry and data collection of the study. It has also detailed the ways in which the data collection took place, contextualised the research participants, and explained the analytic framework that informs the treatment of the data. In the next few chapters I examine what constructs, topics, images and positions are drawn upon by participants and how these are organised in their conceptualisations and evaluations of English. I also explore, where possible, the kind of ideological work being done by participants' accounts (e.g. recreating/reaffirming, rejecting or resisting, or negotiating/modifying certain ideological assumptions).


Chapter 5: Perceptions of English as a resource

This chapter is organised around students' comments on English as a language, that is, as the set of linguistic resources that come to be known as English language. It therefore explores the meanings and functions associated with this *resource* between global and local spheres of use, together with how students see the addition of this resource to their linguistic repertoires. It also explores participants' descriptive (re)construction of the spread of English in their particular local settings, and the evaluations of the role or needs for English that they perceive in their localities together with evaluations of the relationship established between this resource and other key local elements (i.e. cultural practices and local languages). Table 5 below introduces the three main themes explored in the chapter (left column), as well as the interpretative repertoires (i.e. conceptualisations) that emerged during analysis, and the particular codes that informed the IRs and themes identified (right to left columns in Table 5). The interview findings presented in this chapter answer especially RQ1. The chapter also helps answer RQ4 and, although only partially, it sheds light on RQ3 as well.

- 1. How do university students from Chile, Mexico and Spain conceptualise and evaluate 'English' and its spread at/between 'global' and 'local' spheres of use?**
2. How do these university students conceptualise and evaluate the *use* of English in lingua franca interactions and their own and other's *ways of using* English?
3. How are key language and communication notions conceptualised and used in participants' accounts of English and ELF interactions?
- 4. To what extent is there evidence of the globality of Spanish being influential in students' perceptions of English?**

Table 5 Themes, IRs and Codes informing Chapter 5 (also in Appendix G, p. 275)

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5.1 English as a key to multiple doors: access and gatekeeping

The title of this section represents one of the most recurrent discourses on English raised across contexts and participant groups: the idea that English opens doors or paths. Following the theme of access, such metaphors turn English into a gatekeeper (Pennycook 1994) that allows entry through those doors, or perhaps more accurately, into a *key*, as numerous participants identify English with a tool with which they may unlock an array of functions and opportunities. English was thus portrayed as being a crucial gatekeeper.

5.1.1 English as a gatekeeper to lingua franca communication

One of the functions more prominently assigned to English by participants from all contexts is that of being an enabler of or gatekeeper to international communication. In other words, students described English in relation to its role of a *lingua franca* at local and translocal scales and emphasised the idea that English is *the* main language to provide access to this kind of communication. English was generally described by numerous participants as a “common”, “universal”, “basic”, “connecting” language worldwide, or a “medium”, “nexus”, “ability”, “way” off for communication internationally. Thus, in describing it as an international language, emphasis was drawn to how English was spoken

as an additional language, rather than describing it as an international because of the large numbers of its native-speakers.

This function was identified in all interviews, with participants normally bringing it up early in the conversations, before I had an opportunity to raise questions about it myself. This function became a recurrent topic for many, although the extensiveness with which it was discussed varied between participants. Interestingly, the range of domains or purposes for which English could be or is an international lingua franca differed in the eyes of the participants, with some not making specifications, others emphasizing its use for one domain only repeatedly (e.g. business communications for 13L) and with other participants expanding the range to include various areas (from economical, business/professional, academic spheres, to entertainment and personal or leisure purposes such as travelling and socialising). Below I provide a few extracts from different interviews that exemplify how students describe English as a lingua franca when I enquire about their thoughts of English in the world nowadays (see Appendix E, p.271 for transcript conventions key):

Extract_5.1:

01B: well it is **a wild card language** so that all people can communicate [...]

Extract_5.2:

05B: important @@ well i suppose it is considered like the (.) **universal standard language** so if you want to make yourself understood in another country [...]

Extract_5.3:

16L: well (.) globalization i could say in one word [...] well nowadays i think that **in any country of the world you go to ALMOST every country** in the world you go to if you cannot speak in their mother tongue **you can resort to english** in order to manage let's say [...]

Extract_5.4:

10L: [...] in europe if it doesn't sink @@ i think it will be **the nexus language** that we will be able to speak in addition to our own ones

These extracts provide an idea of the high degree of relevance given to such role, which matches with the numerous studies that identify the relevance of this function in their findings as well (e.g. Kormos et al. 2011). Only a minority of students (two within the transcribed interviews) made exclusive reference to native-speakers or Anglophone countries when describing the kind of people with whom they thought they would use English in the future. The majority of participants made explicit commentary to the fact that both mother-tongue and non-mother tongue users of English would be their interlocutors in the future, although not always drawing from such dichotomy in particular, but by making references to speakers from Outer and/or Expanding circles (e.g. 11L suggesting she will use English with people from Europe or China). Some students however, directly discarded the relevance of a native-non-native dichotomy, and made reference to the kind of occupational status of future interlocutors with whom they imagine using the language in the future (e.g. 42S, a law student, refers to international “lawyers” and “clients”; 36C, a gastronomy student, refers to “chefs”) ³⁶.

5.1.2 The lingua franca function as a gatekeeper

The lingua franca (LF) function assigned to English was often portrayed as a gatekeeper to other subfunctions and opportunities in itself (i.e. horizontal and vertical mobility of English users, mobility of information/ideas, internationalisation processes, a country’s economic growth and personal multicultural growth). Although I had coded all of these functions and affordances separately and then grouped them under the category ‘English functions’, participants seemed to have placed the lingua franca function of English at a central position. Thus for these students, the idea of unlocking international communication by adding English to their linguistic repertoires also meant gaining access to the rest of functions that connected their local contexts with global activities and/or processes in which they had an interest, or which they were expected to pursue.

For example, in numerous cases the idea that English fulfils an international LF function was invoked to explain the higher degrees of *horizontal/geographical mobility* that the language was thought to grant at international level. English was said to allow this kind of mobility for formal career-related purposes (i.e. a gatekeeper to studies or job positions at

³⁶ Most students also specified the kind of purpose or domain in which they saw themselves using English mostly. In order of popularity, these were furthering higher education studies, especially at postgraduate level, (international) professional environments and companies, and travelling.

universities/companies abroad) but also for pleasure (i.e. leisure travelling).

Unsurprisingly, numerous students mentioned English as a requirement to obtain mobility grants or international trip awards to non-Spanish speaking contexts (i.e. university year abroad, school exchange schemes, working placements or participation in international debates/forums), probably due to their current involvement with educational institutions through which these opportunities tend to be offered. Unlocking English as a *lingua franca* also meant gaining access to the gatekeeping role that English plays in the professional/business market, in terms of positions becoming available in a wider range of foreign countries or international companies and within these participants' national, regional or local contexts. Although English was not necessarily seen as crucial for *all* local jobs by all participants (see section 5.2.1), students reported that English is often positioned as a requirement for 'better' jobs and therefore as a key to *upwards/social mobility* as well.

Students also made references to the fact that English also provides access to (academic) knowledge, information and entertainment contents, as they reported to be aware of the great amount of content that is available through English *only* or available with more *immediacy* in English than in other languages (e.g. television series). The accounts of a smaller number of participants surpassed the concept of mobility of information in terms of their personal use or consumption, and included the possibilities that English offered them to *produce* their very own messages or ideas and *disseminate* them into the world or a specific domain, especially those interested in pursuing a research/academic career.

The LF function of English was also associated to possibilities for *internationalisation* of the self and of imagined communities. According to this idea, those who can speak English can also develop a sense of *interconnectedness* with other people, that is, a feeling of becoming part of the world and of "a universal network" (52V). While the majority of the comments on the internationalising function of English were linked to individuals, internationalisation processes were also related to wider or higher scale constructs such as countries or continents. Thus, participants claim that English is able to provide integration between different countries, as part of globalisation processes. This is especially interesting if we consider that these participants are all Spanish-speaking, and although Spanish is also strongly promoted as an inter-country connectivity tool by a number of intuitions at present (Mar-Molinero, 2010), English seems to be the language of preference for creating and maintaining this kind of interdependence.

Extract_5.5:

30C: i think that in mexico:: it is a country that belongs to the world and if the world is:: evolving into adopting english or: adopting ways of communication and english is one of them (.) then we have to::: **either: we don't integrate and we isolate ourselves and obviously we are not going to isolate ourselves (.) [...]**

As can be seen from the extract above, 30C considers that Spanish would not be enough for Mexico to stay integrated in the world, and that English is a requirement for Mexico to avoid isolation. One exception was participant 40S who reported awareness of Latin American's investment in English instead of Portuguese to strengthen interconnectedness between Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries in the region, and was critical of this choice.

Finally, being able to use English as a *lingua franca* also meant being able to access *growth* for individuals as well as for states. For the former, English offers the opportunity to learn about interlocutors' cultures, thus accessing *personal* and *multicultural growth* as a result. For particular countries, English was also thought to provide *economic gain and productivity*, a benefit which was directly linked with the idea of inter-country integration and therefore international commerce possibilities.

5.1.3 Evaluating English as a key to international communication

Although it seems clear that English is identified as the main international language for now, discerning participants' orientations or evaluations towards the idea of *having an international lingua franca*, and towards *English* being the language fulfilling this function was not always a straightforward task. Some accounts were not easily divisible between clear-cut positive or negative positions, and these proved to be variable depending on the particular purposes, contexts or domains in relation to which the LF function of English was being discussed (e.g. ELF abroad or ELF in local context tourism for 20DF). The different types of evaluations identified are presented below, and they range from purely positive, to ambivalent or conflictive and purely negative evaluations.

While a key or a gatekeeper may do both, *opening* and *closing* certain doors, I observed that the discourses of some students revolved mostly around the former. Those comments showing a relatively strong sense of positivity towards the gatekeeping role of English, appear to do so through the assumption that English is good/beneficial because it provides access to opportunities that are seen as *new* or *additional*. In other words, English brings to them further or extra possibilities, rather than limiting or impeding ‘local’ or old ones, which were already available, perhaps through their mother-tongue/s. Sharing a lingua franca internationally was commonly depicted/evaluated in positive, constructive or pragmatic terms, such as “necessary”, “important”, “practical”, “useful”, “beneficial”, or even “extraordinary”.

This need or practicality was justified through four major arguments. Firstly, English is seen as a facilitator of international and global business relation-building which in turn carries with it opportunities for intercultural learning, personal enrichment and cultural broadening. Secondly, students suggested that there is an implicit and globally shared understanding that English is, by default, the first choice as the language for communication in international situations. As a result, the easiness obtained from not having to learn *all* the languages of the places people travel to is thought to decrease fears of mobility. In other words, the safety net that is felt by a shared understanding that English is ‘the’ lingua franca per excellence abroad, provides a sense of security or tranquillity when travelling (although various students stated that it is still important to learn other languages too). Thirdly, students reported that speaking a common language is the best and/or only method for international communication, thus dismissing simultaneous translation as an option. Finally, a few students also claimed to feel fine or even happy about English being this international language because of perceptions of it being an easy language to learn.

Among the students that made the most positive evaluations of the lingua franca function of English, some even defended the idea that it is the language everyone *should/must* learn or master. 10L below provides a striking example. The participant reports to be hypothetically willing to sacrifice speaking Spanish, what he considers to be part of his own culture, in favour of speaking English internationally:

Extract_5.6.

10L: [...] i think that:: really i wouldn't mind i mean i like spanish (.) i'd rather speak spanish but imagine that in the end english stays predominant and::: spanish is forgotten it would not be something that would bother me:: that

R: mhm

10L: **it matters to me because i value more the fact of being able to communicate with the whole world TO the fact of:: to the fact of (.) maintaining my language because it is culture and that's it**

Generally, commentary that focused on positives only tended to compose an idealised and reifying discourse according to which English 'carries' positive properties or qualities opportunities in itself, rather than making critical reference to the efforts, struggle or negotiation that *speakers* make to unlock functions and opportunities or even to achieve international communication (e.g. 22DF equated speaking English as a lingua franca with creating "peace").

Although conceptualisations and evaluations seen so far appear to be fairly positive, some students also raised a few problematic areas, thus producing more ambivalent evaluative accounts. In addition, a few participants constructed their position to the lingua franca function of English in terms of indifference, that is, as simply going along with current affairs. The position expressed below by participant 13L is an example of ambivalence:

Extract_5.7.

R: what do you think about this about it being considered or being a common language eh for all

13L: well i don't know i think that it's like **instilled on you** since you are a little girl what you say you know for instance my mother **because it is very important** because you **have to learn** english because it is the future it's like it has been **instilled** this way so i think that everyone has labelled the language this way as the language that you **have to learn** i mean after spanish it has to be english so i think that it has been **instilled** like that and that is what people think

While she recognises that English is seen as the leading international lingua franca, and reports a general tendency to simply go along with it by society, her vocabulary use

suggests some degree of reticence to the situation. The repeated use of the verb “instil” (i.e. inculcar in Spanish) contains an idea of indoctrination or the passing down of a dogmatic mantra (i.e. “it is very important”), which could be indicating a sense of imposition, negativity towards English being an external requirement and thus towards “having to” learn it rather than wanting to, or simply as a sign of disbelief or questioning on claims of the actual need for using English. The evaluations of the LF function of English also varied depending on the particular type of access discussed by participants at a particular time. In other words, some students produced positive evaluations of the LF function when discussing the multicultural growth it gives access to, but were negative about having to use ELF to disseminate information³⁷ (e.g. 20DF).

Although references to doors ‘closing’ due to English gatekeeping were not dominant in the data, some of the interviewees expressed, whether directly or indirectly, an awareness of less positive effects or concerns in their accounts as well. These negative effects were almost always brought up in relation to English in the local settings of the participants, and suggest that not all students see English as a gatekeeper to extra opportunities only, but that it is also taking over traditional ones to which local people were previously entitled before the spread of English (e.g. 22DF sees the lingua franca of English as “growth” and “IMPROVING your personality”, but also as “DEPRIVING” for those without access to it). 47S, articulates below the conflict she finds in evaluating English as an international LF even more clearly:

Extract 5.8.

R: well yeah it is interesting very well i'd like to make a bit of a general question no?

Which is how do you see english nowadays in the world

47S: mhm:: well i think that english in the world is (.) it's like **the common language** to all it's like **what esperanto should be** that's english @@ [...] both **english and gringos** {north-americans} and every country that speaks english and:: and:: i guess that at some point **they are going to (crash)** @ [...]

R: ok yeah that's an interesting case what do you think should be the option?

³⁷ Interestingly, while English was evaluated in positive terms when constructed as a key to geographical and social mobility or as a way of *gaining* other's knowledge, discussions on the function of English as a gatekeeper to the mobility of one's own productions (e.g. academic publications) produced more ambivalent responses.

47S: em:: let's see like:: **politically correct** (.) i think that it is **fine that there is a language that unifies people** ultimately @ [...] having a:: a unification in that sense is is very important (.) and **what a SHAME that it could not be done by esperanto because it was such a beautiful idea** @

While she seems to regard sharing a lingua franca as politically correct, she expresses rejection to English being the language fulfilling this function. 47S justifies this position by associating English with the influence of USA and other Anglophone nations and their cultures in several parts of the interview, whereas for her, a preferable lingua franca would have no particular cultural associations (i.e. Esperanto). Since associations between English and the USA became so recurrent in the accounts of Latin American participants, it has been analysed in particular in section 5.4.2.1.

The conceptualisations and evaluations constructed around the lingua franca function of English were also found to be variable, as 23DF shows below, depending on the identification processes and specific identities invoked by participants in their talk, or contradictory due to conflicts between multiple co-existing identities.

Extract_5.9.

R: what do you think about that about:: well making:: english a compulsory subject in the degree

23DF: well i would (.) agree in part because i've since i was a child i've been educated with well i've been taught english (.) i mean **since i was a little boy nobody asked me** if i want to study english **they have imposed it on me** they've told me look here from primary school you study english so you start and you already have to study english (.) and i would say that's fine because it is easier for me no? i am not a native speaker but it is easy for me BUT eh:: not necessarily english right? **not english AGAIN** right? they could introduce other other i don't know other languages i don't know german for instance french **i mean that freedom right?** maybe right it'd be about introducing a subject about languages right? **not english precisely but languages and then you could choose** but as long as you finish i mean that you finish your course but not english really **ALTHOUGH we'd have to think about it (.) because as economists english is very important@ right?** so then i'd say there are various aspects *{to consider}*

23DF begins by making clear a position by which he thinks English was imposed on the classroom. In fact, he reinforces the idea of a lack of choice or options in another part of

the interview, for *some* Mexicans if they want to be able to have a job. We could call this, a student position, or identity. He constructs this position as entitled to freedom of choice, and aligned with convictions for linguistic diversity. His reticence to the introduction of English as a compulsory subject in his Economics degree in favour of a choice for languages is even less surprising if we consider that, later in the interview, 23DF associates English directly with the United States – a country which he immediately describes in negative terms as bellicose. The conflict seems to arise when he considers another position available to him, that of an economist. According to this second position, English is crucial (perhaps cost effective), and therefore he is unable to resolve a final evaluation on the importance English should be given in his university/degree, because of the tension between the two positions, and potentially additional ones he has not voiced yet. This extract also reflects tensions between the participants' views on the ecology of languages in his local university (or a local scale) and (Economics) students' future need for international communication (global scale).

5.2 English as “important”: the multiplicity and variability of value assignment

During the interviews, I often asked participants to talk about their thoughts on the current situation of English in the world and what it meant for them, or others around them, in an open-ended manner. This often worked as a platform for participants to bring up the major attributes, values or qualities thought to be assignable to English and their views on the status of the language. Overall, descriptions of English as “important” were extraordinarily common among participants from all groups. Relatively similar concepts used to describe English include “useful”, “essential”, “fundamental”, “indispensable” or slightly more loaded descriptions of English as “dominant” or “powerful”.

This perceived relevance was predominantly linked to international uses of the language in a variety of domains and to perceiving English as a requirement that connects local contexts with globalisation processes. In fewer cases, the relevance of English was related to the global dominance of (native) English-speaking nations identified as centres in the world-system or as leaders of specific areas such as economics or academic activity (i.e. US and/or UK). Now I proceed to discuss how, despite this initial sense of continuity or

agreement on its importance, some students conceptualised and evaluated the status of English in variable ways, and how such differences were influenced by the different timeframes (past-present), scales (global - local), spaces (urban-rural) or domains of use (e.g. gastronomy or business relations) that students made relevant in their accounts.

The following extract provides an example of how the relevance or value assigned to English and the ways in which its status can be perceived may vary across different scale-levels of use. When asked what English means for her personally, 11L had described the status or value of English as “important” due to its perceived necessity to be able to move beyond local scales (i.e. to be able to access higher education outside Spain). Then, when I asked her to elaborate on her depiction of English as indispensable in a different part of the interview, the participants described the status of English in relation to a more global and abstract framework and concludes that English can be “indispensable” and yet “nothing” at the same time:

Extract 5.10.

11L: **indispensable**

R: mhm mm you say indispensable for instance for what kind of things or::

11L: well in order to **go anywhere** and be understood from that to:: the fact that everything is so **global** I mean so **globalised** and it is necessary (.) and loads of people do not just speak English only eh having been **abroad I have seen** that English is like:: **nothing** it's like it's like well yeah I speak English and I also speak such and such and such

R: you mean other languages?

11L: yeah

English is portrayed as a necessary step to reach mobility and jump to global scales but, according to her reported experience, within this international spheres of interaction, the status of English decreases and more value is assigned to multi-/pluri-lingualism. Hence, speaking English ceases to be enough at higher scale-levels (also in Cogo and Jenkins, 2010 among others). In other cases, however, differences in conceptualisation of the status of English were constructed in relation to time- and domain-related experiences or due to larger political and economic changes in the world (i.e. the rise of China).

Extract_5.11.

R: [...] eh how do you see english in the world nowadays?

33C: well:: i used i **used to see it so much stronger than now** i feel that **NOW** well **maybe this is just in MY world** in which other languages have already taken more terrain but when i was younger i feel that yes: **i used to think that english was too too too important** and well maybe it's like:: i've become open to new horizons *{panoramas in Spanish}* and **i've learned other languages** so it is no longer as important as before but:: well maybe for someone who: does not yet speak any english **then maybe i feel that it is a great disadvantage** and that english continues to be a part that you **cannot miss out on** in the professional world if you plan to go out to well i don't know or in a competitive market such as tourism in which english is still important then it:: due to i don't know bureaucratic:: (.) things also:: i don't know it could also be due to that i mean i feel that **YES it continues to be very important** but:: **depending on: on how you yourself interact with the world that determines how you are going to use it**

33C above reports that the degree of importance she assigns to English has decreased overtime. Her description of assigning too much importance in the past suggests that she is now being critical of previous discourses she used to endorse or reproduce. The process of relativisation or challenging of the status of English appears to be marked by her experience of learning an additional foreign language (i.e. French) for the reason that this language is a highly valued resource in the specific domain in which she is developing her professional career of gastronomy (i.e. “in MY world”). However, 33C clarifies that this decrease in importance may occur only once you *already* speak English, and it can still be basic or important for those that do not yet master it. 33C perceives the status of English as dependent, not only on the characteristics of individuals’ linguistic repertoires, but also as reliant on how people “interact” with the world, thus adding a sense of agency in her description. It is clear that some of these students identify – and report a need to navigate between – different linguistic markets (see Park and Wee, 2011) and scale-levels (Blommaert, 2010) across which the value arrangements of different languages may not be constant or equivalent. As I explain in the following section, although the majority of students consider English to be important, this importance does not axiomatically entail descriptions of English as necessary.

5.2.1 Critically evaluating communicative and symbolic needs

In their explanation and evaluation of the situation of English in their localities, a few of these students expressed uncertainty and/or more critical views about dominant discourses on the extent to which speaking English actually is a real *communicative* necessity in a range of local domains/sectors or for different groups of people.

Extract_5.12.

R: ok ok very good and: how do you see the spread here in Spain you were telling me a bit: [...]

01B: **supposedly** gradually it mm people hear it more but **we don't tend to need it** only **to obtain a job** in which **often we won't even use it** *so* @@

As 01B's extract shows, the choice of words such as "supposedly" (i.e. *se supone* in Spanish) could be a subtle indication of insecurity about the actual local communicative need for the language. Similarly, in other Spanish students often claimed that English "is required" (i.e. *te lo piden*) in Spain, rather than it is used or necessary. This is complemented by 01B's more direct claim on not usually needing it and the fact that the language is then portrayed as a formalism or gatekeeper to a job position despite hardly ever needing to use it in those positions.

This kind of reflections were particularly prominent in interviews with Spanish students, where connections were made between the low presence or degree of spread of English in Spain and Spanish people's perceptions of the actual need to incorporate English in their repertoires. In fact, various Spanish participants emphasised that a strong need to learn and speak English was not felt until relatively recently, and pointed to the economic and social crisis in which the country has been immersed since 2008 as a major catalyst for the increase in learning of English today (e.g. 13L). Although to a lesser extent, I also found that some Latin American participants questioned the communicative need for English in their contexts (e.g. 20DF; 32C; 33C; 54V).

As I examined these accounts in detail, it became clear that some participants were distinguishing between a communicative need for English and what could be called a

symbolic need. The former would refer to the need perceived by an individual and/or population or group of people to use English for communication purposes whereas the latter refers to general/societal associations made between the language and the status or international prestige that it is supposed to confer not only to its speakers, but also to the spaces they inhabit, such as constructs of regions or nations, and which therefore makes English a necessary resource for symbolic rather than purely communicative reasons. The extract provided below illustrates this idea more directly. I had just asked participant 11L about her views on what the main objective of teaching English in Spain is, and although my question was formulated from a different line of thought, it produced the following interesting and unexpected response:

Extract_5.13.

11L: and the objective i think will be that that it's a bit like **improving the level** in comparison with tch or at least **keeping it within the average of other countries** right?

R: mhm

11L: because at the end of the day **NEEDING** it erm well as i say right now with the **crisis** maybe it is more necessary or for **business** it can be more necessary but **not for other areas** (.)

R: mhm ok

11L: so the objective i think is to more or less keep well **like the rest** if they speak it **we are not going to be outdone** (.) **to know less** {participant used "no vamos a ser o saber menos" in Spanish}

Here, 11L suggested that the latest intensification of English education in Spain (e.g. through CLIL) aims to level Spain with other neighbouring countries so that the country is not lesser or behind in terms of international status or comparisons of quality of English education. In addition, the communicative need of use that tends to be presented as the main motivator behind the educational boom of English is, according to the student, actually reduced to a smaller range of domains than is normally claimed (i.e. the business world).

5.3 English as a “differentiating” resource: identificational processes

Although unanticipated, a fair amount of talk involved the ways in which speaking English, or showing it is part of your repertoire, can be used by some individuals to construct, perform or resist certain identities, to (re)create specific groups of people and indicate who is included/excluded, and to assign a variety of indexicals to different ways of using such a resource. Participants’ comments were mainly concerned with social stratification processes (i.e. socio-cultural/economic differentiation) and national identification, although other kinds of identification were also covered.

5.3.1 English as differentiating at local and global scales

A few participants suggested that English has a potential for indexing ideas of ground-breakingness or adventure within the national contexts of Spain and Chile. The two extracts below illustrate this point:

Extract_5.14.

R: ok very well perfect well i don’t know what you’d say your close friends think your closest network

44S: i believe that they think like me more or less eh [...] also like **socially** i think that **in chile** it is **valued** it’s like all of that trying to to because it is not common it’s valued to try **to seek other or to try to go away from what is known and comfortable** for all

R: why do you think that’s valued?

44S: because in chile people tend to stay close to not move house much to not change jobs much not move house not going away from your neighbourhood *{barrio in Spanish}* i feel like the country the city the family are **very strongly ingrained** and i think that **people who are brave and seek seek to get a bit loose from those roots are valued** and i think that **the language is highly important and a very useful tool for that**

Extract_5.15.

11L: R: ok ok ok ok so interesting@@ well and if i ask what does english mean for you? at a personal level?

11L: well it means:: right now:: (.) growth and eh well now it is becoming fairly important because i want to study a masters **abroad** because i see that as a **differentiating** factor since **people don't:: want to move abroad much** so it is important in that sense [...]

Both participants constructed Spain/Leon and Chile, and the majority of people living there, as relatively stable, indifferent to mobility opportunities or traditionally deep-rooted. According to 44S, the mobility that English grants (and presumably other languages) also accomplishes something else, a transgression of “arraigo” (44S), that is, of remaining “entrenched” (44S) in the local space and its endogenic local practices – a behaviour that the participant deems abundant and negative. Participant 11L claims that English is therefore, a potential “differentiating” factor (11L) from the rest, that is, from the immobile or deeply rooted people surrounding her in Spain/Leon. In this sense, the transgression can bring a new indexical value for the transgressor or person who speaks the language and can or has, as a result, experience(d) that mobility. In other words, they perceive that English can be used to create or achieve certain indexicalities they characterise as positive, attractive or prestigious (Blommaert, 2010).

In addition, 11L emphasises elsewhere in the interview that engaging in English-speaking practices while abroad helped her resist being imposed images or identities of what she considered to be a “typical Spanish girl” (i.e. ‘la típica española’ as a Spanish person that is concerned with speaking Spanish only and socialising with Spanish people too). She was therefore able to portray herself as an adventurer or transgressor of local national practices and it also helped her to resist identities based on national stereotypes while abroad.

5.3.2 English as social class, superiority or nationality betrayal?

Participants from Chile and especially Mexico frequently went beyond the idea of *having* English in one’s repertoires, and linked indexical and identification processes (i.e. *being*) with the practice of using English words/sentences in interactions with other Spanish speakers. In most cases, these comments focused on how English could be used locally to perform social class identification, although this practice was seen as being in competition with meanings or accusations of national identity betrayal. 23DF provides one of the most striking and direct reports of social class performing through the use of English.

Extract_5.16.

R: ok ok ok what do your friends your network how do they see english themselves?

23DF: well they well they like it they speak it: they: as i **say in conversation they bring up words in english** erm::(.) [...] here in the city you can observe this yourself in a square or a shopping mall or friends or partying like **people with higher income** (.) **it is a hypothesis** an idea (.) **they use english as a form of status** that is i know more: i have more money i've travelled (.) therefore i speak i dress also **like:: people in the united states** xxx so like in that sense they adopt english then **they do it willingly** as a way of saying well then they they speak half english half spanish no? well fortunately I understand right? but i don't know i mean yeah they do it as **a way of differentiating themselves** really instead of speaking always in spanish right? they bring up english words **and it is a way of telling telling you that i speak english and therefore i you know i have higher income** (.) because if you pay attention people who:: who:: don't have so many resources they don't spend the day using english words (.) or an academic doesn't speak english a teacher is not bringing up english words which also (.) these are used when they are technicisms **i use the word <Eng>mainstream<Eng> because that's economists' jargon** right? **but i don't use banal words** fashion words no my shoes are <Eng>fashion<Eng> for instance i mean what is that about you are fashionable and that's it xxxx and THAT's IT but people who use <Eng>fashion<Eng> it means that they are fashionable if they are fashionable it's because they have money to pay for (.) i think that it can be seen as a kind of social status how you speak it's just a hypothesis i am not sure ok?

The length of the turn taken by 23DF already suggests that the participant is passionate about the topic he introduces. At the beginning of the quote 23DF describes how English can be locally used to make a series of elitist associations (income, money, travelling, knowledge, etc.) and serves a differentiation function to index belonging to a group of well-off people. Throughout the extract and the whole interview, 23DF is highly critical of speakers who intentionally use English linguistic resources to perform this kind of identity. He suggests that such practices entail performing identities associated to USness rather than local ones associated to Mexicanness. His position becomes clearer later on, as 23DF expands on the kind of indexicals that he tends to associate to people who use English with other Spanish-speaking peers:

Extract_5.17.

R: NO i am interested in how you think that those in other classes those who are less elitist or with lower income how do you think they see that what is done by those of of more (.) of

23DF: of more resources

R: yes with more resources

23DF: i don't know i for instance **personally i don't see it positively** to me i don't think that i mean **you are in mexico speak spanish and that's it** and: also i am being honest many people who don't use who use english words (.) **it is because they don't know the word in spanish and i think that that also says a lot about your cultural background** how much you **read** who you **socialise with** how do you socialise right? I don't know **i don't see it positively NO to be honest** i don't know about the rest (.) or well i'd dare talk on behalf of some friends and generally generally **when you hear:: hear:: people men or women using english words you think well they have a lot of money or who do they think they are why do they speak like that AND you categorise him or her as as a FRESA** {fresa may be translated as strawberry in English}

R: a fresa? @

23DF: fresa fresa

R: fresa

23DF: he is a fresa no? fresa in the sense that well sometimes not always erm a fresa is someone who has money (.) **or pretends to have it** it's someone who:: well erm:: is fashionable also a fresa i mean someone who has resources and who then **uses the fresa tone** right?

23DF reports how, although some Mexicans may use English with the intention of projecting high social class, fashion-related or even US-related identities, other interlocutors can associate negative meanings to that practice. In fact, the negative evaluation of such practice seems to be so embedded in local popular discourse, that it has its own social label or category (i.e. fresa³⁸). From the participants' perspective, this practice earns you negative indexicals of superficiality, fakeness (i.e. pretending), and even indicates a certain degree of betrayal to or dismissal of the local language and way of

³⁸ Also termed "wannabes" by other Mexican and Chilean participants (e.g. 25DF, 42S).

living. Moreover, his claim that only Spanish should be used when interacting with other Spanish-speaking people in the context of Mexico, instead of mixing both languages, points to the reproduction of a nationalistic/heredarian ideology by which one nation should speak one language. Yet, the end of 23DF's turn in Extract 5.16 (p.139) shows that the student opens up a space for negotiation of the acceptability of such practice. Thus, economists (such as himself) or professors using random English technical terms do *not* receive, in the students' eyes, the same indexicalities. 23DF is therefore aware of the fact that linguistic signs do not necessarily carry social meanings inherently, and that different practice-meanings associations can co-exist. In other words, the use of English resources can receive different meanings and be more or less acceptable depending on the interlocutors involved, the purposes pursued, and the (professional) identity that may be assigned to, or negotiated by the interactants.

Other participants talked about the ways in which English was associated with positive indexicals in terms of feelings of superiority and even perceptions of intelligence in their localities (e.g. Mexico and Chile). Participant 33C, for example, talks about this local practice from the perspective of an active user of English resources among Spanish-speaking Mexican friends. As an insider, she assigns a variety of different values and meanings to the use of English resources in Spanish-speaking contexts:

Extract_5.18.

33C: i don't know i don't know how this applies psychologically how this affects us **but i feel that it {the spread of English} does affect us**

R: ok ok you well how:: how do you think it affects you how::

33C: me personally? well: (..) @@ [...] well from humour form **the kind of humour** you make to the way in which you express yourself sometimes the words you use erm:: often well it happens to me a lot that often we remember movies that we've seen in english **so we say some sentences in english and if someone is listening** to us i imagine that it can **sound like absurd ridiculous** or:: or i don't know:: or often also like **elitist** yeah (..) i don't know many many people erm:: in mexico see it that way as if someone who is speaking english but who is obviously mexican **but you why are you speaking in english if you are mexican** no? but well (..) **often it's just to play::** sometimes i've also experienced that:: erm:: (..) my dad is the is:: he is a driver and he spends time with tourists and he has often had to receive **tourists who are Mexican** who arrive here speaking:: they arrive he picks them up at the airport etcetera and: **they speak they speak**

in english {to each other} as if:: (.) he won't understand what they are talking about
 what they are saying and erm: when my dad responds {showing he can understand
English} it's like erm ah:: i mean i don't know like **they wanted to pretend to be**
something they are not (.) i don't know something like that it's **like a:: personality that**
can often be negative too

In the construction of her argument, she shows awareness of the different kinds of meanings that external audiences may attach to her group of friends (i.e. elitist, arrogant), but by defining the activity as playful practice (i.e. "it's just to play"), she challenges potential accusations of national or cultural betrayal by those supporting the one-nation-one-language ideology. Similarly to 23DF, 33C finds further layers of complexity in terms of interpretative approaches to mixing of English and Spanish resources in a group of Spanish speakers. For this student, whether such practices are acceptable or not depends not only on the interpretation of different audiences, but also on the intention of the speaker in the situational context (i.e. playful vs. excluding intention). Thus, she evaluates negatively Spanish-speaking interlocutors who 'mix' both languages when English resources are used to index superiority or to perform an unauthentic identity:

Extract 5.19.

R: ok AH i'm very interested in this idea of people who use english to be someone that they are not

33C: aha aha well:: ps i don't know it is as if fro:: from this point of view **as if they thought that english is more important** or:: it was:: at a higher level **at an imaginary level** higher than spanish **as if it was a superior** language then from this point of view also we see the dominance of english right? in the thinking of people right? depending on who you are and how you think but:: YES **often they see it as if it was:: (.) arrogant** speaking english (.) [...] but for me well:: **for ME it is not** really i mean it: it is not a matter of being different cla different languages no i mean we are two human beings and that's it the difference is that i learnt another language and that's it but we are all different everyone is different but i feel that it would be:: positive if we could all learn another language

This idea of being something that you are not is very commonly referred to by participants in relation to the impersonation of US-ness due to an association of the USA with better opportunities or lifestyle and progress. In addition to challenging interpretations of any local use of English resources as the betrayal of national identity, 33C's account is doing

something else. It is also questioning the evaluative dichotomy of English resources being seen as inherently elite/superior, fake or nationality betrayal and displaying an understanding that these issues are perceptual, subjective or imaginary as well³⁹.

In addition, one participant (32C) not only discussed these indexicals of English and their transferability to its speakers as a way of doing group-membership on the basis of those attributes, but he confirmed to judge people who do not speak English as less superior (i.e. inferior). In the extract below, the participant states that English is being used to differentiate groups of people locally along the lines of being able to understand inside jokes made in English in Spanish-speaking groups or more public notices or signs found at the university:

Extract_5.20.

R: mhm mhm ok ok how do you think that:: that mexicans see english what feelings how has it been received or what feelings have developed towards english

[...]

32C: i i've come to think that ermm:: (.) because well i mean the fact that you understand:: (.) i don't know i've come to think that and:: the fact that you can understand things other people can't understand it's like (.) eh maybe **it makes you feel better than the rest** right? i mean **i don't feel like that at all** but i feel that:: it it's **others feel it** so that's why a lot of people see for instance this poster here and don't understand it no? or or something funny you can laugh at and the other person says what? i don't understand [...]

While above he attempts to present himself as someone who does not believe in ascribing superiority to groups of peers who do speak English, thus showing awareness of the subjectivity of such association, in the extract below 32C actually reproduces these perceptions and seems to benefit from the effects of subjectively assigning inferiority to other Mexicans who are not English speakers:

³⁹ One participant, 22DF, also produced a fixed and deterministic classification of what English means for each social class (i.e. prestige and USness for high class, fun and opportunity for low class, and ascending tool for middle class)

Extract_5.21.

R: how does your group of friends see your network of friends like what do they think about english

32C: well:: i think that:: they share my opinion a lot which is that it's a basic tool and essential even:: we are lesser sor eh **we even feel that:: people who cannot speak english are lesser** for the same for the reason that we feel that it is basic [...]

Although most students showed awareness of the perceptual and subjective nature of links between superiority or intelligence and having English in your repertoire, this kind of discourses or identification practices were also said to have a certain degree of accepted authority and real or practical consequences locally (i.e. higher salaries, status perception, opportunities to obtain a better job, group inclusion/exclusion). I therefore move onto a more detailed exploration of the ways in which participants conceptualise the spread, presence and roles of English in their particular localities.

5.4 The spread and presence of English in the locality

Participants also engaged in deep discussions that reflected their understandings and representations of the spread of English in their own localities, that is, meanings, images and functions associated to English between national and more regional spheres of use, as well as the relationship between these and higher/global scale levels. While such discussions often brought up issues that were shared across participants' national contexts, this is one of the themes in which I identify the most degree of differentiation in interpretative repertoires according to the geographical, national, social, historical, and linguacultural background of the participants. This theme explores how these students draw links between social meanings, categories, positions or relations and the use of English in whichever local spaces they choose talk about in their accounts⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ Elements and domains that generally cut across specific geographical/national boundaries were also embedded in a few of the participants' constructions of English locally (i.e. the rural/urban differences, generational divides, professional or disciplinary trajectories), although these will not be discussed in detail in this thesis for reasons of space limits.

5.4.1 On Spain being “behind” in the race for English

Consistently with the comments made on the international spread of English at a worldwide level, most Spanish interviewees reported fairly amenable, compliant or accepting orientations to the idea of English spreading into their regional and national contexts by claiming that this was a “good” (02B;03B;11L), “useful” (02B), an “essential” (03B), and “basic” or “indispensable” (11L) resource, especially in relation to international communication. Curiously, rather than elaborating on the roles and functions attributed to English in their localities, a greater amount of effort was dedicated by most Spanish participants to pointing out that the expansion of English was not enough in the country. The main discourse emerging from Spanish participants, therefore, entailed the construction of a strong negative image of Spain and Spaniards as *being behind* in what seemed to be perceived as the race or competition on the spread/acquisition of this resource:

Extract_5.22

R: mhm ok very well eh hh erm how do you see? the expansion of english or the presence of english here in spain catalonia @@

07B: let's see i do think that:: we have to make a distinction [...] maybe in catalonia it helps that we are:: that we are bilingual@@@ (.) i don't know but the truth is that in **spain i think it lacks a great deal of [english] level** and this is something that: **needs to be fixed**

Extract_5.23

10L: well:: (.) i think that we are **behind** and that the crisis is going to **delay it even more** [...]

Spanish students also articulated a series of complaints over the low presence that English has had in the media and other cultural output platforms in their local environments. Television and cinema were especially discussed due to the heavy dubbing practices that can be found, up to now, in media entertainment sectors of the country (01B, 03B, 07B, 10L, 11L). Generally, the idea of being behind tended to imply that not enough people can speak English in the country, that the ability to speak it is not sufficiently spread across professions, sectors, domains and so forth, and/or that those who use English do not generally meet the ideals that imply speaking it “well” (e.g. 10L).

Spanish/Catalan participants often elaborated on the issues they believed were causing Spain and Spaniards' delay or underdevelopment with English. Remarkably, a great amount of emphasis was put on locals' perceptual and attitude-related causes, including what participants described as a general perception of lack of need for English and, borrowing students' own words, issues of "mentality" or "consciousness" over the relationship of English with Spanish cultural practices (see sections 5.4.1.1 and 5.5 below for detailed discussion). Only a few participants pointed out that a deficient English education was responsible at this point, and it was often in combination with other factors. Nonetheless, in the parts of the interview where their English educational experience was discussed, it was also often constructed in negative/lacking terms.

5.4.1.1 Local culture and ethnocentricity as obstacles for English

Interestingly, the idea that Spain is behind in the spread of English was linked to matters of self-perceptions and cultural/national pride. Within this issue, two interconnected but different aspects were reported on: Spaniards' appreciation or pride towards their local/national cultural practices (10L; 11L; 13L; 07B), and their mentality over Spanish as a global language (see section 5.5). It is particularly telling that this idea is expressed in all cases by students that have been on exchanges abroad, including in the pilot and MA data, and therefore from participants who have had first-hand experience and are likely to have gained better understanding of intercultural communication situations. The following extract illustrates the significance attached to what participants described as a problem of *cultural ethnocentrism* and *national pride*:

Extract_5.24.

R: ok emm why do you think that there may be this mismatch do you have any idea or why do you think that Spain emm well is different:: in terms: of English?

10L: well (.) i think that we are **a bit arrogant** also so it's like **what's ours is very good and the rest is very bad** right? and we're always the best and it is so beautiful to live in Spain and in Spain you live great which is true in Spain standard of living is not bad BUT it is not the only place where it is good right? [...] i think that in that sense we are always a bit reticent to look at the other like what's ours is the best and since it is the best the rest doesn't matter (.) and then also in addition to what i've said mainly: (.) maybe **here because of safeguarding our culture too much or our culture** and and that (.) we haven't we haven't **we: translate EVERYTHING** [...]

R: mhm

10L: so this also **BLOCKS english progress in that way right?**

Even ex-exchange participants from Latin America (40S, 22DF, 47S) positioned Spaniards as having stronger orientations towards guarding their own culture. Thus, numerous students identified these orientations as having played, and continuing to play, an important (sub)conscious role of resistance to the local spread of English and/or assumptions of native-speaker standards imitation in great part of the Spanish population. The relevance that cultural/ethnicity pride can have not only in terms of language choice but also in terms of the (un)conscious willingness to reproduce or appropriate standards which are supposed to be aimed at, has already been pointed out in the literature (see chapter 3). However, here we are talking about students' *reported* perceptions, so it would not be advisable to take these accounts at face value or to speculate over the existence of a cause-effect relationship between cultural orientations and Spaniards' ways of speaking English. Regardless of whether the picture painted of Spaniards as generally ethnocentric is an exaggerated stereotype, a general attitude of the past, or a currently dominant orientation, students' accounts seem to be critical of strong ethnocentrism. Although the students tend to include themselves in such description ("we are arrogant", "we are too proud"), probably simply because of sharing the nationality they are referring to, they do not advocate this attitude/behaviour as acceptable⁴¹.

5.4.2 From images of "invasion" and "bombardment" to "non-existence" and "isolation"

Latin American participants provided accounts on the spread of English in their localities in different ways. In Mexico in particular, the presence of English was perceived as being high or very high. It is perhaps for this reason that these students engaged in more detailed discussion of English in relation to a variety of local issues, roles and functions. In terms of domains, Mexican participants believed that English had a relevant role within their local world of academia (23DF), international commerce and export business (20DF), the use of

⁴¹ Thus, Pellegrinelli's (2011) hypothesis that Spaniards share a fear of the foreign or unknown does seem to be reproduced among these particular Spanish students, although they do identify such discourses or orientations as widespread in the general population and as a reason for the perceived delay of English in Spain.

the internet (22DF), and above all, the local tourism sector (20DF, 22DF, 23DF, 30C, 33C), the latter being emphatically pointed out by participants in Cancun. As we can see all of these domains are not only local but often also involve intercultural relations between Mexicans and other international citizens for a variety of purposes, thus giving the possibility to English of being a resource operating at both local and global scale levels at the same time and in the same environment (Blommaert, 2010).

Unlike in Spain, these participants tended to report that most Mexicans have contact with English in one way or another and have some degree of knowledge of the language, although to different levels, and acquired through different processes, including learning “empirically” (i.e. by speaking with foreigners) as 33C suggests her parents did. For these students, English was generally seen to be playing a major role especially in television, movies and to a lesser extent in the online/printed press. Unlike in Spain, dubbing practices are *not* common in Mexico or Chile and comments were often made to emphasise that original version cultural content offered to them was a motivating factor to incorporate English in their repertoires (32C). A commonality in the discourses of students from all contexts is that dubbing practices were referred to as harmful for the English skills of a country’s population (22DF; 47S), and curiously Spain and Spaniards’ pronunciation were mentioned as an example of its negative effects in Latin American contexts too (22DF, 40S). 22DF provides a particularly interesting example:

Extract_5.25.

R: right ok very well emm well i’d like us to focus a bit more on mexico now perhaps how do you see the presence or expansion of english in mexico? what do you think

22DF: [...] well mexico mexico: is: is very: (.) **it’s very attached to the united states** i mean (.) eh: [...]

22DF: it {*English*} reaches us due due due to mm due to parental transmission [...] now with:: with the series:: and a great television **bombardment** and with loads of movies well also there’s also a knowledge of certain english phrases of certain eh:: and then:: of course its **dominance** at the cinema (.) with its **dominance** on the internet well: (.) a mexican normally knows:: several words in english i mean they have he COULD understand the language i mean it is not such a DIFFERENT language right? they don’t share the same roots but (.)

R: ok

22DF: it's half and half (.) so eh:: yeah mexico is not AS far from english as for instance i think spain is from english

R: mhm ok how do you see that comparison ok yeah tell me

22DF: i mean the comparison: yeah i get **a gringo {US-citizen} speaking with a spaniard or a mexican** and the mexican will understand SO:: MUCH MORE (.) **due to co-existing with english** i mean:: (.) in spain **that vice of translating** movies has brought **so much harm to spaniards' capability to:: start listening to other sounds and to repeat them** that:: and pff it's obvious

As can be seen above, English is immediately associated with the USA. 22DF describes the presence in the media and other popular cultural products consumed locally as a form of bombardment and dominance, which can be understood as the reproduction of a linguistic imperialism perspective. With these terms, 22DF invokes powerful images of the USA as a bellicose and hegemonic nation, a discourse on the USA⁴² that is maintained throughout his interview. Thus, 22DF seems to suggest that the high presence of English locally is excessive, if not negative. Yet, the participant immediately goes on to also portray this dominance as an advantage when considering its effects for pronunciation learning. While the presence of English in Mexico may seem too widespread, practices or measures that would lower that presence are also constructed negatively (i.e. “vice”, “harmful”). This treasuring of contact with cultural products in original version (i.e. English) appears to be facilitated/supported by a reproduction of ideologies on language learning according to which the exact or most approximate replication of native speaker's ways of using English is a measure of the quality of the English spoken by L2/additional language/multilingual users. Thus it is important to remember that repertoires in which English represents the excessive spread of outsider influences, co-exist in students' accounts with repertoires in which English is portrayed as a useful and valuable resource.

The accounts provided by Chilean students on the presence of English in their locality were divided into two main groups. On the one hand, some students constructed English as having a strong or very high presence in Chile, especially in the media as well as in the world of advertising. These participants also mentioned a variety of domains in which English was perceived to be currently playing a role (similar to those cited by Mexicans,

⁴² Mexican and Chilean students invoked links between the process of the expansion of English in their localities and the geographical proximity of the USA, and/or the influence and unequal relations of power reported to be held with the USA. These links appear in interviews by Mexican and Chilean students to a significantly higher extent than in the interviews undertaken with Spanish participants.

with the exception of tourism). Participant 50V, for instance, also draws from similar imagery of invasion of North American culture in her descriptions of English in Chile, thus seemingly drawing from discourses akin to linguistic imperialism as well. However, after requesting further elaboration on this idea, 50V begins to describe the spread of English as a “fairly allowed invasion”, therefore identifying and expanding on the role of Chilean’s agency involved in the process. On the other hand, a minority of students described the spread of English in Chile as “very poor” (40s) or “non-existent” (52V). These discourses tended to make a distinction between the relatively high presence or availability of English and the low amount of people that could actually speak the language – or speak it well in the words of 40S. In these cases, the description of English in Chile was often linked to matters of education and “privileged contexts” (e.g. 40S).

Closely connected is the fact that some students constructed Chile as being “far away” and/or an isolated country (e.g. 40S, 44S, 47S). To some extent Chile is therefore positioned as a developing region in the world and therefore as a space in the periphery of the world scheme (Blommaert, 2010; Westinen, 2014). English is therefore portrayed as a resource that allows connections with the areas of the world identified as centres (see 44S below), typically referring to the US (e.g. 52V), and it can therefore connect with or provide access to the opportunities and benefits typically attached to the developed world. In this sense, English is seen a resource that has the potential of making the geographical peripheriness of Chile de-marginalised or less-marginalised, a resource that may grant scalar mobility or possibilities for up-/re-scaling oneself:

Extract_5.26.

44S: i think that in general in general there’s been a **feeling of opening** in no way it’s been a threat [...] i think that everyone in the world understands that it is necessary and **we are so far away from the rest of the world** that i think that everyone understands that **it is use ful speaking english in order to communicate with the rest of the world from here** since **we are so far away**

While the repertoire of isolation may resemble the feeling of being behind expressed by Spanish students, most Chilean participants suggested that the spread of English had experienced a rapid catch up in the country within the last 30 to 20 years, whereas being behind was construed as a *contemporary* problem for Spain. In fact, a common evaluation among Chilean participants was that perhaps Chileans had gone too far in embracing

English with “too much love” and even “idolatry” by the population, with (potentially) negative consequences for local cultural aspects and the Chilean national identity (e.g. 40S, 47S).

5.4.2.1 English as USness and/or localness: *malinchismo* vs. (sub)cultural creation

As I mentioned above, numerous Latin American participants constructed negative and conflictive evaluations of the presence of English in their localities due to identifying English language with US culture. This is not to say, however, that all participants agreed in suggesting that English is a part of US culture *only*. There were also extensive reflections over the extent to which the presence and use of English in students’ localities could signify the abandonment of local culture for the adoption of a foreign one, whether English could be used to represent USness and localness at the same time, or whether English can be used to go beyond specific cultures (i.e. translocal cultural practices). In terms of discourses or orientations, there seems to be a clash/conflict between the conceptualisation of local uses of English as *malinchismo*, that is, as the practice of valuing foreign cultures over local cultural aspects, and English as an additional resource to perform locality, culture and identity.

Within the first kind of discourse, the local presence of English and its use among Mexicans/Chileans was conceptualised as copying external foreign or outsider cultural practices. Malinche or copycat tendencies were evaluated negatively by some students, who also tended to emphasise the need for safeguarding their local culture (e.g. 23DF; 50V; 47S), thus indicating a sense of cultural threat and/or already-experienced-loss. As evidenced in the extracts in previous sections, students’ accusations of local uses of English as a form of *malinchismo* tended to link or equate English with US cultural expansion. This conceptualisation of the language draws from understandings of culture(s) as separable items or entities with clearly identifiable boundaries, which should be maintained. English resources are therefore still constructed in opposition to the protection and maintenance of speakers’ own culture, own language, own uses and own traditions. Nevertheless, other students also reported awareness of these discourses of *malinchismo* in relation to the local use and learning of English, but dismissed malinchistic accusations as “nationalisms” (e.g. 22DF; 33C). For instance, 22DF rejects the warnings of *malinchismo*, although not necessarily due to not perceiving fixed links between a language and a national culture or identity. Instead, he rejects *malinchismo* guided by what we could call a

pragmatism drive/ideology according to which the ends (international communication) justifies the means (i.e. leaving national identity and cultural aspects behind).

These notions and evaluations of English contrast sharply with the ones constructed by a few of students from Mexico and Chile (32C; 33C; 54V). As we can see below, 32C conceptualises English as a resource that can be used locally (i.e. in situated contexts) for subculture creation, group differentiation, play and or creativity:

Extract_5.27.

R: ok ok and do you think that it could have had any consequence for english language in itself the fact that it expanded?

32C: eh:: well not for english language in itself well no no i don't think so [...] eh::

people already start to as i said to create that kind of culture so people already say no ey put it in english the movie right instead of watching it in spanish or hey let's watch that series right? but then i want to watch it in english i mean **it has already created its culture** right? or already we see people make or they can **make jokes like this in english** people **here** or they are:: i've seen a lot for instance **in web pages** where there is like a **post with images and words in english** and well **already many people:: laugh with that and some people understand it others don't** and that's precisely it xxx the person will try to learn the language because i don't understand right?

In this extract and other parts of the interview, 32C explains how the use of English is a way of doing group differential work, in the sense that it serves him and his friends to create or become part of practices and (sub)cultures to which non-English users cannot gain access. He mentions jokes for instance, and in particular the specific kind of humour-making that takes place through online memes⁴³ in the interplay between virtual and non-virtual social worlds. Thus, he makes reference to a form of cultural creation which cuts across geographic spaces and scales and goes beyond local/global or national/international divides. In other parts of the interview 32C even makes an overt disassociation between *a* language and *a* national culture, and he rejects deterministic conceptualisations by which speaking a language determines who you are and how you think.

⁴³ Defined by the online Oxford dictionary as “an image, video, piece of text, etc., typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by Internet users, often with slight variations”.

The idea of being cultural copycats was strongly and repeatedly expressed among Chilean participants too, as if this was a generally accepted and well-known discourse. Yet, participants' conceptualisation and orientations towards this idea are by no means simple. Despite using the word *copión* (copycat), negative meanings were not always assigned to this practice. In fact, as we can see below, 54V appears to define the act of copying as normal, as something that is implicit in Chileans' behaviour and even as a feature which is part of or embedded in the local culture itself. This makes it difficult to distinguish between clear-cut scales or spheres in some students' conceptualisations and evaluations. Hence, while constructing a differentiation between local and outsider cultures, 54V is also blurring the boundaries of what is Chilean and what is non-Chilean cultural behaviour:

Extract_5.28

R: mm mmm ok ok ok very interesting ok mm well going back to chile i wanted to know how you think that english has been received right here [...]

54V: xx chile or just chileans **we are like super like copycats** {‘copiones’ in Spanish} let's say maybe **we like the the stimuli from outside our our culture** so i think that maybe it has been received well but it has been gradual [...]

R: mmm ok ehh i'm interested in the idea you expressed about copycats? in relation to english tell me a bit more

54V: ehmm yes well we like maybe you've noticed if you've been around here in chile we kind of try to copy many things from other countries [...] **so i find chilean culture it's like being foreign must be something good** because not a lot of emphasis is given to anything that comes from here or produced here it is not given as much value as something coming from abroad let's say i don't know **it is like a culture** this way like unlike other cultures that really value their own stuff that's what i think

Although I have presented these types of discourses separately, sometimes the contradiction between or combination of both, English as US-ness and English as localness was present within individual's accounts throughout the interview (e.g. 22DF; 47S).

5.4.3 Evaluating the images of the local spread

Spanish students were fairly uniform in condemning the low or delayed influence of the language in the country and in welcoming and desiring the further spread/uptake of

English resources in their locality. In most cases, the idea of the spread of English not being as extensive/efficient in Spain as in other countries was constructed negatively, as a problem that needed solving rather than as a justifiable local characteristic to be proud of. The majority of Spanish participants discussed dubbing practices in negative terms, that is, accusing them of the (perceived/real) lack of need to speak English, and therefore of withholding language learning improvement. Generally, no fear of introducing English further in education and increasing its local roles were mentioned and students did not expect negative a cultural impact or imperialistic threats. Despite the general negative evaluations of the low presence of English in Spain and the wishes for English to be seen, appreciated and taken up as a useful resource by Spanish society at large, some students show tensions between their wish to work towards increasing the learning and speaking of English, in effect to stop the stigma of being behind, and their own views as to how relevant or useful English may actually be (10L, 11L).

The evaluations of Mexican and Chilean participants constituted a wider variety of positions and arguments on the local presence of English. Very few participants were able to construct a purely positive view of such presence as advantageous without pointing out limitations. In general, even when English was described as a relatively normal phenomenon from positions of acceptance or indifference (e.g. 30C), these evaluations were, in their majority, accompanied by additional concerns thus producing complex and often ambiguous claims at the same time. These conflictive evaluations normally involved tensions between the functions and benefits attached to English (e.g. gatekeeper to personal enrichment, professional development, international communication, commerce, economic relations and gain, status and other symbolic benefits) and other local or individual interests, including the ethnolinguistic vitality of local indigenous languages (e.g. 22DF; 30C; 23DF), the perception of local cultural practices being under threat or risk of loss (e.g. 40S; 50V), matters of identity by which the presence and use of English resources can be thought to turn Mexican/Chilean individuals or group of nationals into *agringados* or US-ised (e.g. 47S; 52V; 54V), or personal dislike or lack of interest and preference for local language (e.g. 23DF reports a personal lack of interest, passion or motivation to speak English together with societal or structural pressures/restrictions to learn it).

5.5 The globality of Spanish: between obstacle and hope

Participants often made references to Spanish when describing the spread of English at/between local and global scales of use. A particularly striking kind of discourse constructed around Spanish entailed the positioning of the global status of the language as an obstacle or impediment for the learning and (proper) use of English by Spaniards (e.g. 07B, 10L, 11L, 13L and various students from the pilot and MA study). As the following extracts illustrate, these students did not draw from the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish to celebrate the expanding role of the language in international spheres or its growing numbers of speakers, but to point to this factor as an additional reason for which Spain is behind, and therefore, a part of the perceived problem. An example is provided by 07B below. When asked to talk about effects that the spread of English may have for other languages in the world, the student decides to emphasise that being the speaker of a language with a *limited* ethnolinguistic vitality is actually positive, because this sociolinguistic ‘fact’ acts as a motivation to learn and use English, and juxtaposes this to the situation of Spanish speakers, and how they become discouraged from learning English due to the strength of Spanish in the world.

Extract_5.29.

R: ehh the expansion of english do you think it may have had any effects for other languages or not? what do you think about that

07B: ehh (.) well i don't know let's see it is true that maybe for minority languages tch ehh yes it may have had an effect a bit of (.) **well i believe that it is also beneficial for them** i don't know for instance **us spaniards we are lucky** because spanish is a language that is spoken in many places around the world i don't know for instance i have greek friends and they tell me it's just that if:: you don't speak greek in greece **if you don't speak english in greece you just cannot cannot do anything** because **where do you go with greek:** you cannot go anywhere so we have they must have a much more powerful level of english than us so **i think that's one of the reasons for which in spain we don't speak english WELL** because we are too confident: we believe that our language is strong and it really is and **therefore people settle** and think that's it i can go to all southamerica i can go:: all around spain i can go to many countries where spanish is spoken **so i don't need to speak another language**

Although the fact that Spanish is spoken in numerous parts of the world is described as a reason for which Spaniards are “lucky”, the strength of the language leads its speakers, according to 07B, to develop attitudes of conformism and overconfidence, and to believe that speaking an additional language is unnecessary. However, being a speaker of Spanish is not only portrayed as affecting decisions over whether to include English as a linguistic resource into the repertoires of Spaniards. 07B also depicts orientations towards Spanish as a contributing factor to the idea that English is not spoken “well” in Spain, and the participant equates not speaking English well with having an accent among other aspects later on in the interview. In other words, Spanish is a factor that also affects the ways in which English is learnt or acquired and spoken by Spanish speakers. In this case, by foregrounding evaluations of how (well/badly) Spaniards speak English, the participant constructs a negative evaluation of the effects of the global spread of Spanish. In the following chapters I examine how all participants construct the notions of speaking well in further detail.

Despite the evidenced growth of Spanish as a global language, 07B, among others, thinks of the expansion of Spanish as something of the past. Some Spanish students from the pilot also referred to this idea of the past by limiting the spread of Spanish to colonial times and not seeing a potential successful trajectory for Spanish as a global language in the future. According to 07B, Spaniards need to stop looking backwards and need to embrace English in order to move forwards:

Extract_5.30.

R: mhm ok very well eh:: how do you see? the expansion of english or the presence of english here in spain catalonia @@

07B: [...] **we can't can't go around:: thinking that our language is important** i mean **that is tch it's in the past** we have to adapt ourselves to: the future **if we want to do something:: with our future really we have to speak english** [...]

In this conceptualisation of Spanish, participants constructed images of lethargy or stagnation in terms of the spread and use of English and associated them to excessive inwards-looking attitudes and cultural safeguarding practices among the general population. Whereas some participants acknowledged to have themselves embraced or reproduced such reticent views towards English (e.g. 11L), they strongly argued that this is no longer their personal orientation.

This negative image of Spanish does not constitute the only kind of discourse created about Spanish and its global status in the data. The global status of Spanish is not only recognised but also positively evaluated by some students. These accounts go from expressions of hope for Spanish to become *the* global or hegemonic language in the future (e.g. 07B), to expressions of support and encouragement to its international promotion (11L, 50V, 30C) and celebrations of the perceived growing role of Spanish in some international spheres (e.g. 44S in relation to music markets) or perceived centres of the world (e.g. 50V Spanish in the USA). In ambivalent cases, students recognise the strong position of Spanish as a world or global language, but this recognition is always followed by a series of limitations that suggest that Spanish as a resource is not yet/no longer enough for its speakers to succeed in a globalised world. Interestingly, representations of Spanish as an obstacle or as a global triumph/promise are not incompatible among themselves (e.g. 07B constructing Spanish as something of the past and longing for its hegemony).

Despite this complexity, an interesting contrast of general patterns emerges between accounts produced by Latin American participants and those produced by Spaniards. The majority of positive conceptualisations and evaluations of the growing globality of Spanish were produced in Latin American contexts, where the spread and local roles of English had been generally depicted as extensive and often as excessive (although these were not restricted to such contexts). Thus, in Latin America, Spanish was more often positioned as a language in need of protection and promotion, rather than as an obstacle for locals' English (e.g. 40S talks about how Spanish may have been "forgotten" and even "degraded" in some Chilean elite circles because of providing too much attention and value to English). Alternatively, negative evaluations of the globality of Spanish due to perceiving it as an obstacle for locals' English learning/speaking, were voiced by participants in Spain only, that is, in the national setting in which the spread of English was thought to be insufficient or behind, due to excessive cultural safeguarding.

5.6 Closing remarks

In this chapter I have presented the conceptualisations and evaluations that students produced of English as a labelled language (i.e. a bounded set of resources). Matters of access, importance or value, and communicative and symbolic need emerged as key

themes in relation to the LF function that students attribute to English. I also introduced the ways in which participants perceive the spread of English in their particular localities, its uses and functions, how it is received or oriented to locally, and how English relates to possibilities for identity performance and cultural references. Chapter 6 presents the conceptualisations and evaluations that participants produced in relation to ways of speaking English, that is, it analyses form-based interpretative repertoires


Chapter 6: Orienting to ways of speaking English


This chapter presents findings on the ontologies of language with which the participants conceptualise and evaluate spoken English *use* (i.e. perceived ways of using English, and ideas about how English should be used). In other words, I consider what kind of formal use counts as English (Gal, 2013) in their accounts and why (e.g. under what conditions of production, by what speakers, what meanings can be/are associated to any perceived linguistic variation). In particular, I discuss the extent to which the participants reported to perceive differences or particular ways of speaking in the linguistic production of their own English use, and that of other interlocutors (whether real or imagined, whether native or non-native, whether international or national), and how they labelled, conceptualised and evaluated such differences or ways of speaking. Due to the strong connections found in previous studies between pronunciation features and/or perceived accents and the projection of identity (e.g. Jenkins, 2007; Lippi-Green, 2012), I encouraged participants to discuss perceptions on pronunciation (i.e. what they and others *sound like*). Although commentary on other aspects of participants' English speech were also provided (i.e. fluency), a greater deal of data was collected in relation to pronunciation, and I therefore focus especially on this aspect of speaking in the analysis.

Overall, this chapter provides answers for RQ2 and partly for RQ3, although the data analysed also has implications for RQ4.

1. How do university students from Chile, Mexico and Spain conceptualise and evaluate 'English' and its spread at/between 'global' and 'local' spheres of use?
- 2. How do these university students conceptualise and evaluate the *use* of English in lingua franca interactions and their own and other's *ways of using* English?**
3. How are key language and communication notions conceptualised and used in participants' accounts of English and ELF interactions?
4. To what extent is there evidence of the globality of Spanish being influential in students' perceptions of English?

Table 6 Themes, IRs and Codes for Chapter 6 (also in Appendix G, p. 275)

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As indicated in Table 6 above, I first examine the variety of labels, constructs, ideas, language ideology assumptions and general dimensions that participants' draw from in order to conceptualise their *own English use* (i.e. theme one), and I present how participants use different interpretative repertoires (i.e. sets of conceptualisations) to produce evaluations. Then, these are compared to conceptualisations and evaluations of the *use of other speakers* of English (i.e. theme two), and followed by findings on the ways in which participants perceive and evaluate the use of *English in ELF interactions* (i.e. theme three).

6.1 Conceptualising own spoken English use

Numerous participants produced conceptualisations of their own English by focusing on aspects of *form* production and/or knowledge. That is, they described their own English along matters of linguistic difference or variation, correctness, rules, learning errors or interlanguage, standards, varieties, dialects and so forth. Most students constructed their descriptions by making clear that their own pronunciation is *particular* in one way or another. As I analysed participants' accounts, I was able to identify five different form-oriented interpretative repertoires, that is, five ways of conceptualising and describing their own English linguistic use.

While form-oriented commentary was abundant in the data, participants also described their English by making reference to *skills or activities achievable in practice*. In other words, participants also constructed interpretative repertoires based on the activities or tasks they can perform through a particular ways of speaking English. Most of the students described their English in relation to its communicative functions (i.e. production and reception of referential meaning) and its immediate consequences (e.g. being able to study abroad). Yet, some students also made references to their English as a tool for social-meaning making (i.e. as social practice). I therefore identify two main function-oriented interpretative repertoires as well. As the following subsections show, pragmatic functions were intimately tied to commentary on linguistic aspects of English and its use in students' descriptions, and these sets of interpretative dimensions often overlap in students' discourse.

6.1.1 English-with-an-accent as variation

Numerous students described their own linguistic distinctiveness as *speaking English with an accent*, more concretely as "Mexican" (e.g. 30C), "Spanish(ised)" or "Latino" accents (e.g. 11L, 54V). In this interpretative repertoire, I include descriptions of perceived linguistic distinctiveness that were constructed as sociolinguistically motivated *variation*, rather than as erroneous pronunciation. For instance, 54V conceptualises his Latin(o) accent below as a way of embedding his land in his speech, and as a way of indexing his area of origin ('tu tierra' in Spanish), that is, a way of performing difference that he explicitly reports to enjoy elsewhere in the interview:

Extract_6.1.

R: @@ ok well those were hypothetical cases but i would like to know what you think what is the reality like right now what would you say your english is like

54V: my english? i think it's medium high i can communicate i understand english well and: (.) well suddenly i may talk a bit like tarzan in english but it is understood well but no i speak well fluidly i have had good good com conversations i think **but i think that i probably have an accent like a latino accent maybe i like it**

[...]

R: mmm ok you said before that you even like it right? that it sounds latino and you like it

54V: yes

R: tell me more what do you like what

54V: because i don't know i find it **beautiful** {*'lindo' in Spanish*} **like having implicit in your language like a bit of your land** because maybe it would be xxx that we spoke like southamericans maybe people for example your accent here is beautiful you see? The spanish accent xxx **it is different** to chilean one so or like a peruvian or or argentinians **they are all different** and that makes it it gives you a bit like like **a feel of what your country is** it's like xxx but it is the same when you are like like **a speaker or spanish or in english** it gives it **its own charm** i think

The student therefore appears to be drawing from ideological assumptions of language according to which linguistic diversity and variation is not only *not* a problem, but it is in fact welcomed, “beautiful” and desired. Interestingly, 54V draws from his experience and knowledge of the international variation of Spanish to frame the ways in which he conceptualises his own English use. That is, he makes reference to the visible variation in the Spanish-speaking world to support the fact that although his English pronunciation differs from the one a US speaker would produce, he can still enjoy it and both can be placed on equal footing. While the student establishes boundaries for linguistic variation alongside national levels in Spanish (e.g. Argentinian, Peruvian, Spanish, Chilean), he draws from a supranational or wider cultural-group level (i.e. Latino) to label or put boundaries to his own variation. Thus, although 54V does not seem to operate with native-speaker ideology, his conceptualisation therefore still entails a great deal of *erasure* (Irvine and Gal, 2000) of the variation that may take place within national/supranational groups of English and Spanish speakers.

6.1.2 English as non-native or foreign English

Not all interviewees associated their perceived distinctive pronunciation to ways of projecting locality alongside levels of nationality and/or L1/cultural group indexicals. Some students favoured making slightly looser descriptions of their pronunciation as a feature that designated or classified them as a specific kind of speaker due to having experienced language learning differently from ‘native- or mother-tongue speakers. In these cases, descriptions of participants’ pronunciation were equated with sounding like a “foreigner”, a “non-native speaker” or any second language speaker (e.g. 10L, 36C, 44S).

Extract_6.2.

44S: i think that my english is good i have good capacity to communicate **emm i do not think i have any accent** i think it’s like what i was telling about this being **the same accent that a german person may have** or in (.) or i don’t know but **i don’t think i have an accent from any specific place** emm a bit like the english that teachers have i mean they they teach ehh and who haven’t heard **who haven’t learnt in a specific place only** amm [...]

As can be seen above, 44S does not describe his English pronunciation with reference to local, national or supranational indexicals of membership. Instead, this student invokes for himself a more general category or group of speakers, that of users of English as an additional/foreign language. Although he does not use the term non-native speakers or any particular label in this specific turn, 44S positions himself as part of a group of users of English “who haven’t learnt in a specific place”. The fact that by this expression he implies users who have not learnt English within a place considered to be native-speaking becomes clearer later on by comparing the kind of use produced by these speakers against North Americans, Australians or British. In his conceptualisation, phonological particularities perceived in cohesive bundles may only be labelled as accents for speakers who have acquired English within native-speaking places.

In his account, potential linguistic differences *within* non-native speakers of English go unappreciated or unacknowledged. It is not entirely clear whether the student does not *perceive* any production of linguistic differences within groups of non-native speakers, or whether some differences are perceived but not seen as consistent or fixed enough to count

as accents or as enregistered⁴⁴ types of English (i.e. seen as too variable or fluid). The suggestion that he can have the same English pronunciation as a German person, points however to a characterisation of the linguistic production of non-natives as homogenous in form. Thus, while 44S does not engage in cases of erasure (Irvine and Gal, 2000) of variation to create national and/or L1-background linguistic constructs or labels for non-native speakers' use, the concepts he uses to theorise perceived linguistic differences appear to be even less fluid. In this case, erasure of variation and variability could be taking place at a higher scale levels, thus maintaining an idealised clear-cut opposition between natives and non-natives (i.e. fractal recursivity in Irvine and Gal, 2000) as two different groups of users for whom variation and meaning-making processes work differently.

6.1.3 English as standard/native-like

Although in a minority, some participants described their English and their pronunciation as being exactly like a native-speaker standard- and/or variety (e.g. 32C, 33C and 50V). That is, without reporting any/major differences between these constructs and their own use of English. Not only was this description uncommon in the data, it was also only produced by Latin American participants. Below I analyse an example by Mexican student 33C:

Extract_6.3.

R: mhm mhm fine ok ok ok very well ok then what do you think about your English what what would you say your english is like?

33C: no well i **definitely** have **all the northamerican accent** because **that's what i learnt with** (.) ye::s eh even if i try to imitate i cannot i cannot imitate not even as a joke i cannot imitate the accent from other places i can't do it @@ but::: and often I use many expressions that are northamerican oh yeah SOMETIMES i use some expressions that are:: er **english** {referring to British English} but it is weird right? but because i cannot use them so easily {‘no me salen tan bien’ in Spanish} @@ so it would be like:: **faking it** and what's the point of that right?

⁴⁴ Processes of enregisterment are defined as “processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms” (Agha, 2003: 231)

In her narrative, 33C defined her English pronunciation as “Northamerican accent”, thus invoking a static and homogenous image of English pronunciation according to a particular variety, an imagined standard without room for discussions of variation or variability within it. Of especial interest is the fact that, in this particular extract, the only variation that the student imagines as a possibility would require attempting to reproduce another variety confined to a different native-speaking context (i.e. British English). In addition to resorting to monolithic constructs informed by ideologies of standard language and nativespeakerism, the student also invokes ideological dimensions of authenticity to justify that, in her experience, producing anything different from that specific standard/variety would be pretending or faking it. Ideological notions of neutrality typically associated to international standards were also used in this type of conceptualisation, although to a lesser extent (e.g. 50V).

Of course, standards and established (native-speaker) varieties were not only invoked by students who claimed to speak that way. Some students constructed descriptions of their own English pronunciation by making reference to its standard-/variety-proximity or its degree of nativenesss. Within this type of interpretative repertoire, students also established iconised relationships between perceived linguistic differences in their pronunciation and associations of bad, incorrect or imperfect use. For instance, although 16L describes below his pronunciation as a sign of membership to a Spanish community, the student condemns difference from standards as error:

Extract 6.4.

R: mm and if i ask what is your pronunciation like how do you sound or what do you sound like when you speak english what would you say?

16L: @@

R: @@

16L: well i think that this should be judged by someone else @ i don't know i think well you **will surely always notice that i am spanish** because that is obvious but within that we have the extreme of [**prɒnunsieɪsɪn**] {*imitating a heavily-Spanish influenced pronunciation*} and **native english** so there are many shades of grey let's say

The student therefore positions this way of speaking in a continuum between nativeness and a heavily Spanish-influenced pronunciation, and in later on in the interview, 16L

conceptualises phonological uses that depart from the native-speaking end as “pronouncing badly” and as a sign of “lack of knowledge of rules” (i.e. learning problem). Similarly, 07B and 01B reported to speak English like “a Spaniard” and like a “typical Catalan speaker (of English)” respectively, and this kind of distinctiveness was constructed as a learning problem or an obstacle yet to overcome or eradicate. In such cases, participants are more likely to be drawing from ideologies of nativespeakerism, standardisation and interlanguage that have conflated associations of incorrectness and error with linguistic performances that index identification with or memberships to any kind of group though to be non-native or non-standard.

6.1.4 My English as hybridity

Some students described their spoken English as what I can only refer to as *hybrids*, that is, by claiming to have both, American(ised) or standard linguistic features and some local influences, variations or accent as well (e.g. 30C, 40S, 42S, 47S). 40S below has relatively no problem in combining two broad categories in his description, a homogenous and static English – as produced by the Northamerican user of English – and the equally homogenous and static conceptualisation of a Latino accent.

Extract_6.5.

R: mhm what do you sound like what do you sound like when you speak english

40S: i mean i think that:: like a **northamerican** <@raised in the sea@> @ or with:: i mean with **latino accent** obviously but: (.) everyone tends to at least here we tend to speak like that with (.) with those terms like:: the the expressions are more like the english of the united states

6.1.5 My English as variable style

In addition to external frameworks for comparison, some participants also described their own English by making reference to their own intra-speaker variation. The following example of reported intra-speaker variation is especially interesting for the reason that, although participant 22DF describes pronunciation features that differ from standard or native accents (such as British accent) as “ugly”, erroneous or badly pronounced, he

recounts how he deliberately continued to use them with a particular group of friends with whom he experienced lingua franca communication during his study abroad experience.

Extract_6.6.

R: mhm what was that english like going back to your experience with the mates you used to speak with in english and who had from different mother tongues what was that english like that you used to use among yourselves

22DF: so::: funny {*chistosisisimo in Spanish*} because with the ones i met first **we kept speaking** with an **UGLY** accent like the one with which we arrived in england (.) because: well i don't know **that's how we met** and so i i would go and and i would **pronounce words wrongly** and: and it and they would always pronounce words wrongly **because that's how we met with THAT english** and we would **laugh** and say of course I understand what you are saying but **we know that it is wrongly said** did you learn it already? yes: well **yes but** right? and:: and then with the rest then: as i was meeting them i was speaking **a better english** [...]

The participant describes that his English pronunciation varies or changes across time alongside correctness dimensions where British accent represents the pinnacle of correctness. Yet, he also reports awareness of the fact that his own phonological performance, and that of others, changed, varied or depending on which interlocutors were involved in each ELF interaction. 22DF reports to have *purposefully* continued to reproduce (“kept speaking”) an ugly or bad pronunciation with a specific group of friends, despite having already learnt that those uses are incorrect. Thus, conceptualizations of any phonological production that differs from an idealised British pronunciation are still informed by assumptions according to which correctness is inherent in a particular fixed set of linguistic forms (e.g. nativespeakerism and standard language ideology). In practice, however, the student engages in persistent linguistic performances that contradict what his own theorisations of language suggest he should always do. In seeking an explanation for this apparent contradiction, 22DF talks about how those particular incorrect phonological features were doing pragmatic or social work in the group. Although the experience reported is not very clearly theorised by the student, 22DF seems to be referring to social group work such as building solidarity between members or signalling group membership (also in Kalocsai, 2009; 2014). The student is therefore becoming aware of his own use of accommodation and of the fact that his own intra-speaker variation was not motivated by

lack of knowledge, learning problems or to seek intelligibility as referential meaning exchange, but it was motivated for other social and pragmatic reasons.

6.1.6 English as intelligibility (referential meaning exchange)

For many students it was also relevant to invoke an interpretive dimension of function/ability-in-practice in their descriptions. Within this kind of interpretative repertoire, we can identify practice-oriented types of description, that is, talk about particular functions that could be achieved or what participants thought they could or could not do with their own English use. The majority of comments referred to explicit concerns over the *intelligibility* or ability to be understood (i.e. transmission of referential meaning) that was afforded by their way of speaking the language.

Fairly direct links were drawn between intelligibility, standard forms and variation by some students. 16L for example, establishes a correlation between these elements while reproducing ideological assumption that there is one best way of pronouncing:

Extract 6.7.

R: ok ok ok eh when you find yourself in that situation for instance what do you tend to think what do you pay attention to when you are speaking

16L: mmm well **pronunciation** above anything else it's what you want that the other person **understands** you properly whatever it is you are saying sometimes you pronounce a **word wrongly** because you don't know how it is pronounced or maybe the stress of the word is supposed to go on a different syllable [...] so you can try to put emphasis in that in **doing it properly**

As 16L reflects on his own performance, he invokes a standard-based ideological conceptualisation of language according to which variation from homogenous phonological standards is not only bad or incorrect, but also a threat to intelligibility and communication, a claim that contradicts much of ELF research findings on intelligibility being negotiable and attainable in interactions, and on form variation being characteristic of ELF interactions without necessarily becoming an intelligibility impediment.

While being understood was brought up as a significant element in students' self-descriptions, it was often also limited to being understood by native-speakers of English, who were therefore positioned as linguistic authorities in determining who is intelligible and who is not, with the implications that that judgement may have towards how good or bad their English pronunciation is. For instance, 52V established a direct link between the degree of goodness of her pronunciation and being understood by a British relative.

Despite the cases in which such native-speaker ideology was invoked to describe and evaluate their own pronunciation, there were also cases in which students began to consider both native and non-native speakers as potential judges of intelligibility of their English as well, although intelligibility was still being conceptualised in static ways as directly dependant on form-productions rather than on negotiation strategies (an in-depth analysis of how participants conceptualise English users is provided in Chapter 7).

In contrast, other students reported to be understood whilst emphasising that their self-perceived phonological variation, presumably from (native-speaker) standards, is not necessarily a cause for intelligibility issues (e.g. 11L; 23D; 40S, 44S, 54V). Participant 44S, for example, challenges the idea that there may be a single fixed way of speaking to imitate or reproduce in terms of accent, idiomatic expressions or vocabulary use. In fact, the lack of a particular centre of reference for form-production to which to orient to seems to be the reason for which he assigns more relevance to communication or intelligibility than to aspects of form (reproduction), correctness or accuracy of imitation.

Extract 6.8.

R: ok well you just said that that you don't think you have any accent from any place how do do you feel about sounding that way what do you think about sounding like that

44S: how do i feel about speaking having that? feel good i think it's normal i think it's what i was saying **english is not something that i think has to be imitated** that way to **perfection** in terms of accent and use of words i mean idioms ehh english is at this moment **so generalised** that **i don't think there is a ehh specific way of speaking** it so as long as you can **communicate** as long as there are no no difficulties between people communicating **i don't think there is a problem**

6.1.7 My English is identity/social practice

In this interpretative repertoire I include conceptualisations of English in which intelligibility was prioritised over standard norm reproduction, and in which English use and variation were described in more holistic ways (e.g. 30C; 54V). 54V offers an interesting description of his own English below by emphasising both communication and identification as the functions as the aspects of his own English that interest him the most:

Extract_6.9.

R: aha aha ok my next question was how do you think you sound when you speak

54V: oh how do i sound?

R: aha

54V: funny i must sound @@ but **i am interested in communicating more than anything**

R: aha

54V: but **the accent it's like it doesn't influence that** a lot because maybe **when i was in the united states i liked to feel like like a foreigner and latino**

R: mm

54V: but that that gets heavily noticed it does not but more than anything I just care about being understood yeah

The student not only describes his own way of speaking English as different (i.e. a variation), but far from seeing it as an axiomatic obstacle for intelligibility, he finds in it a treasured function, the possibility of using certain linguistic features to project foreign or Latin identities. He is therefore not reproducing standard ideologies of language or working with conceptualisations of intelligibility as homogeneity-dependant. Instead he appears to be working with ideological conceptualisations of language that invoke or defend the appreciation of linguistic and cultural diversity and which do not a priori label linguistic variation produced by non-native speakers as problems or errors (i.e. variation/multilingual/ELF ideological orientations).

6.2 Evaluating own English use

The descriptive dimensions and constructs seen so far were invoked in intricate ways in students' evaluative practices during the interviews. For example, although standards of

correctness or native varieties were frequently used by students to compare and describe their own English, these idealised notions were not always evaluated as legitimate or relevant for such students. In broad terms, I identified three main trends in the evaluative practices produced by students: metalinguistic commentary that *purely* included *positive* evaluations of participants' English use, *purely-negative* metalinguistic evaluation, and metalinguistic commentary that combined *multiple* and often *conflictive* conceptualisations of language constructs (e.g. correctness), ideological assumptions and personal experiences or observations in order to construct *complex* evaluations (i.e. not clearly/only positive nor negative).

6.2.1 Negative evaluations of current English

Perhaps following the trend of 'Spain being behind' introduced in Chapter 5, it seems that the least favourable evaluations tended to be made by students from Spain (e.g. 02B, 13L) rather than Latin America.:

Extract_6.10.

R: ok ok very good how would you say you sound when speaking english?

13L: **bad** @@ **very bad** you could notice my accent a lot i am sure i am really sure @
bad i would sound bad i think that:: practising and through:: using it it would improve but
i don't think that:: tch **it will never come to be a really (.) perfect english** that would get
me confu **as if I was a native** @ no @ I don't think so @ I don't

Although negative evaluations produced were only a minority, all the cases found invoked notions of language in which the 'native' speaker provides the ideal for perfection and where L1 influences or accents are seen as rejectable features in their use or as a signs for needed improvement (i.e. native-speaker and/or standard ideology). However, not all of these students drew from the same elements to discuss their learning *goals*. For instance, although 13L above produces a highly negative evaluation of her English because of not being confused with a "native", she explicitly points out elsewhere in the interview that she aims to achieve intelligibility, rather than to speak like a native-speaker. While nativespeakerism appear to frame her conceptualisations and evaluations, she however does not seem to favour or endorse such ideologies of language.

6.2.2 Positive evaluations

On the other extreme, a minority of participants reported to be content with their spoken English use for a variety of reasons. Some were happy due to perceiving that they could reproduce a specific pronunciation variety or standard (e.g. 50V, 32C). Nonetheless, a considerable group of participants who found differences between their English use or pronunciation and idealised constructs, also expressed satisfaction with those differences/accents (e.g. 11L, 54V, 30C, 44S, 40S). The conceptual moves identified behind such positive evaluations are:

- a) considering standards/varieties as correct but claiming to give priority to or only be interested in intelligibility and/or other practice-oriented functions (e.g. 40S)
- b) drawing from ideas of variation being natural and even beautiful (e.g. 54V)
- c) considering their phonological distinctiveness as a way of doing identity (e.g. 11L, 54V)
- d) challenging assumed objectivity of evaluations of correctness⁴⁵ (e.g. 30C),
- e) no longer finding *one* single point of reference for correctness or accuracy to reproduce (e.g. 44S)

6.2.3 Ambivalent and/or conflictive evaluations

The majority of participants evaluated their English use and their pronunciation, in ambivalent and/or conflictive ways. Some students experienced difficulties for the reason that, while they had positive points to make about their English, some language ideologies in their set of interpretive repertoires were simultaneously preventing them from evaluating their own use as good. In the next extract, 07B was expressing a desire for audio-visual content to be broadcasted in original version instead of dubbed to help Spaniards speak a “perfect English”. When I asked to him elaborate on the concept of perfect English, 07B provided a response that represents well this idea of conflict between multiple repertoires:

⁴⁵ See Chapter 7 for a detailed analysis of the multiple ways in which students conceptualise the notion of correctness.

Extract_6.11.

R: ok when you say a perfect english:: what would a perfect english be for you?

07B: a perfect english for me:: well speaking **almost like a native** tch well having:: an accent a good accent:: having ample vocabulary:: ehh not eh not making mistakes in grammatical structures it often happens to me **i consider that i speak a good english:: i communicate** without any problem with people but it's true that maybe **they tell me tch you speak very well english** but **you speak like a spaniard** you know the structures maybe:: well i don't know i can't pick up certain things or the accent so tch yes these are **minor** things but:: but well **i do not consider i speak a perfect english** because **i don't have an: optimal accent** nor tch i do not not make mistakes i do sometimes: i mean i need to stop and think and say how do i say this i can't:: **i can have a fluid conversation without any kind of problem** but it **lacks:: well the accent** and that

Here, the participant struggles to evaluate his own English as he moves back and forth between the elements that do and do not allow him to use the word 'perfect' on himself and the elements that lead him to consider that he actually speaks "a good English". The former includes a lack of being able to reproduce an accent that does not signal his Spanishness (i.e. native-speaker/standard language ideologies and a repertoire of non-native speakers' variation as interlanguage). The latter include can-do, ability or function-oriented comments such as fluency, lack of problems, being understood and understanding others, and so forth (i.e. a function or intelligibility interpretative repertoire). This kind of good but not good evaluations show how participants can be aware and make use of alternative ways of thinking about their English *at once*. The main sources of conflict identified in ambivalent or conflicted evaluations involved:

- 1) Different degrees of dissonance between dominant macro-level assumptions of what English is thought to be (e.g. native/standard/form/monolingual-oriented ideologies) and participants' own ideas, personal experiences and/or goals (e.g. practice/communication/meaning-making-oriented /variation-friendly conceptualisations of language).
- 2) Complex clashing of ideological assumptions and conflicts of indexicality and identity performance. These include for instance, tensions between wishing to project "perfectionist" identities that require the pursuit of correctness in English pronunciation and wishing to avoid meanings of 'pedantry' associated to 'correct' English (e.g.01B, 25DF), tensions between the projection of fakeness/wannabe and

high social class identities (e.g. 42S) or clashes between considering non-native speaker variation to be learning problems or errors and associated to laziness or conformism or as indexicals of local/national/(sub)cultural identities at the same time (see Chapter 7, section 7.4 for an in-depth analysis and examples of identity-related commentary).

- 3) Considering their English (pronunciation) to be good, and feeling satisfied with it or even liking it, but feeling unable to say this is (more than) enough (e.g. 36C, 07B).

Perhaps more interestingly, some students reported that their self-evaluative practices can actually be *variable* (e.g. 10L, 25DF, 40S, 42S, 50V). The perceived evaluative variation depended on situational contexts, conversational purposes or domains, and different types of interactants and/or (imagined) audiences (also in Kitazawa, 2013). Some participants for instance report to experience more anxiety and insecurities about their own English pronunciation when other Spanish-speakers, of different or same nationality, are listening. In Spain, while 10L reports to evaluate the way he sounds more negatively in front of other Spaniards due to his belief that those around him now expect him to be excellent at English after having lived in an English-speaking country, 01B reports pressure to speak badly when other Spaniards are present due to this way of speaking being more fashionable locally, that is, more accepted. 42S also reports to feel pressure to “sound good” when other Spanish-speakers in general are present in the conversation, especially if she thinks they speak better English, meaning more native-like. In other words, her self-evaluation depends on the level of English that her Spanish-speaking interlocutors have due to matters of personal pride, as she puts it, but claims to not care at all about making mistakes and being corrected when interacting with non-Hispanic users of English.

These narratives point to the relevance that some students place on interlocutors’ understandings, expectations and evaluations. Although associations of correctness to certain linguistic forms seem to remain fixed, some of these students expressed awareness of the multiplicity of social meanings, connotations, evaluative and ideological frameworks available to different interlocutors and the variability in situated use *across* and also *within* different scales, which in turn affects how they evaluate themselves too.

6.2.4 Evaluating the present by considering the future

In the interviews, I also sought to explore which were the targets or goals that students had set for their own English use, so I encouraged them to freely speak about any aims or aspirations they could think of for themselves, if any. The kind of goals that they chose to report or ignore also tell us a great deal about how they evaluate their own current use and how much relevance they assign to the dimensions identified above or to any ‘deficiencies’ in English use they might have pointed out during their descriptions.

In response to my elicitation, a surprisingly high number of participants responded that *nothing* in particular was in their list of areas to improve, that they were simply interested in *maintaining* their English skills or proficiency as it was or keep practicing in order not to lose it (e.g. 11L, 22DF, 33C, 40S, 44S, 47S, 54V). Within this group of participants, only a minority had reported to speak a native-like English (e.g. 33C with North American English). Thus, unlike in Jenkins’ (2014) findings, the majority of my participants that did not seek to change or improve their English were satisfied with their somehow different English use, regardless of the particular label invoked to describe variation before (i.e. mistake, error, accent, L1 influence).

In terms of their pronunciation, only a minority of students reported to *strive for and wish* to eventually *attain a native-like or perfect* pronunciation (02B, 32C, 36C).

Extract_6.12.

R: ok do you have any objective with your pronunciation?

02B: eh hh trying to practice the more the better **with people who have a pronunciation that from my point of view is correct [...]**

R: for instance?

02B: it would be ideal for instance to go to do a tch travelling in:: in **england** for instance and practising english there and try to (.) eh **adapt a bit my pronunciation to theirs**

There were however several instances of explicitly *rejecting* to pursue a native, standard or perfect (i.e. correct) English pronunciation, even for those that reported a wish to improve on other aspects of their English (e.g. 30C, 01B, 13L, 11L, 52V, 54V).

Extract_6.13.

R: and mmm do you have any objective with respect of pronunciation? or:: (.) or GOAL or::

01B: yes **i don't want to pronounce perfect and sounding like an english person** but at least not getting confused and pronounce an o instead of a u tch more basic things like reading a word and knowing MORE or less show it is pronounced but not:: having to make it up

01B's refusal is slightly conditioned by her use of the words "at least" which suggests that to a certain degree she considers perfect pronunciation should be the goal, although she does not pursue it herself. 30C, on the other hand, makes a clearer refusal of altering the way in which he currently pronounces English:

Extract_6.14.

R: i see and in terms of your pronunciation do you have any goal or any objective or maybe none?

30C: i am **happy with my pronunciation** (.) i consider that **it is not bad** and **whoever listens** shouldn't:: **shouldn't judge me me for how i pronounce** because:: if they understand about **globalisation** they understand that:: well:: that the english i learnt i learnt it in mexico **and i am going to pronounce the way it is pronounced in mexico** the closest to the place in which learnt it

In this way, an English pronunciation that reflects the fact that he speaks "as it would be pronounced in Mexico" no longer equals a 'bad' pronunciation in a globalised world, which suggests that 30C may be aware of different ideas on correctness that have been lingering as dominant up to now. Other students produced slightly more *ambiguous* responses. For instance, 42S made a distinction between pronouncing as a native-speaker and "pronouncing as it corresponds". Thus, 42S appears to conceive that standard and native pronunciation is not necessarily the same.

A skill that was often conflated with comments about pronunciation and which was also frequently raised as a linguistic target is fluidity (e.g. 10L, 20DF,54V, 23DF,50V, 52V, 54V). The fact that in general the students that expressed an interest in developing their fluidity did not mention attaining native-like production in their English is fairly

significant, as it suggests a lack of centrality being assigned to nativeness or correctness in terms of participants' goals for themselves, despite having heavily drawn from these ideological dimensions as comparative frameworks when describing their own English use.

6.3 Conceptualising other users' English

I examined the kind of talk that students produced about the linguistic use of other English speakers in order to gain deeper understandings of their larger theories of language. In particular, I sought to compare the extent to which participants draw from the same notions or dimensions to judge others as they do to judge themselves. In total, I identified four main interpretative repertoires in the interview data. Since the pronunciation of other speakers of English was conceptualised in multiple and often conflictive ways that highly resemble the interpretative repertoires used to describe their own English use, I do not go into lengthy discussions here to avoid unnecessary repetition.

Before I introduce these repertoires, it is important to briefly present the descriptive and labelling practices with which these participants talked about other users of English. In their descriptions, participants mainly grouped other users of English according to nationality⁴⁶ (e.g. Swedish/Nordic people's do X and Y, *or* Italian people's English is Z). Participants often used these nationality references to indicate how the major languages of Expanding Circle nations are influencing the English use of these group of users. In other occasions, users were grouped according to L1 to discuss perceived influences (e.g. French speakers to refer to Canadians). While monolingual and nationalistic ideologies (i.e. one language to one nation) were dominant to group, label and discuss other people's English, speakers were also grouped to a lesser extent under larger supranational labels such as Latin American, African or Asian (e.g. 44S: "asian's english is well characteristic"). I now proceed to list and briefly explain the ways in which students described the English use of these different groups of speakers.

⁴⁶ I consciously avoided introducing the loaded dichotomy native/non-native and only made use of it when students had introduced themselves. I referred to international or intercultural users of English, people from different parts of the world, speakers whose mother tongue is not English, which may have encouraged the use of a national references in participants' responses. It is however significant that nationality was brought up and/or maintained rather than swapped for forms of nativeness in many cases – although the dichotomy was often implicitly embedded.

6.3.1 Other speakers' English as native variety or error

Some described other speakers' English use by invoking associations between national territories, their inhabitants and perceived accents or type of pronunciation. This association was applied mainly to refer to the pronunciation of globally established varieties (i.e. American/US, British, Scottish or Australian accents). Although erasure of variability and variation was common in this interpretative repertoire, some participants also reported awareness of the existence of variation within perceived national varieties in the Anglophone world, by talking about cities' Englishes such as Manchester's pronunciation or USA's regional ways of speaking (e.g. 01B, 10L, 50V). As indicated above, Anglophone speakers were often referred to by nationality rather than by the term 'native'. However, a native/non-native divide was implicit in this specific interpretative repertoire. The divide is clearly observable in that students assigned validity to variation produced by British, American or Australian speakers on the one hand, and condemned variation produced by the rest of nationalities mentioned.

Thus, the use of English of other 'non-native' speakers was described by means of comparison with the more stable notions of native-speaker and/or standard pronunciation. A minority of participants (e.g. 10L, 25DF, 32C) even divided the pronunciation of the entire pool of non-native users of English between American and British English. At one point or another, most students described phonological differences produced by non-native speakers of English as incorrectness or interlanguage (e.g. 02B, 03B, 07B, 11L, 16L, 22DF, 25DF, 32C, 36C, 40S, 47S). 40S for example suggests that a non-native speaker accent shows "how well one can speak english" or a lack of "concern with:: speaking well" with being "careful". References to perceived multilingual influences (i.e. Jenkins' 2015 notion of 'language leakage') were then conceptualised as interference (e.g. 02B or 07B). However, in most cases, this repertoire sat uncomfortably with other assumptions related to the inevitability of variation and with the dubious relevance of achieving correctness or accuracy over matters of communication identity projection (see complex evaluations in section 6.4).

6.3.2 Other English speakers' difference as variation

On the other hand, some students conceptualised phonological variation or perceived non-native accents as actual *variation*, therefore invoking and reproducing diversity-friendly

ideologies of language (e.g. 33C 36C 42S 52V). Accents produced by speakers of English as additional language were for instance referred to as “natural” (36C) or simply as part of what happens to a global language (44S). Some participants simply explained phonological variation or accents of speakers of English as an additional language as L1 influence or “language contact” (e.g.10L). 30 below provides one of the most explicit conceptualisations of linguistic difference as adaptation:

Extract_6.15.

R: ok great eh also you were talking a bit about that the different accents:: different pronunciations: what what do you think about those different accents that you found in your experiences

30C: well it's normal:: i mean **i cannot demand that an andalusian speaks like a catalan@** (.) **i cannot tell a guy from saudi arabia to speak like a BRITISH** person either because **GANDI** was from india and **he didn't speak a british english** (.) mm well it's natural@ **that you adapt your accent**

30C explicitly extends the right of producing variation in English to non-native speakers of English, which suggests that he does not perceive major qualitative differences between native and non-native users of the language. Although the participant is aware of the dichotomy, he does not even use these terms himself.

6.3.3 Other speakers' English as social practice

Other students also associated phonological variation or perceived accents by users of English as an additional language with its social, indexical or identification functions (e.g. 25DF, 33C, 42S, 44S,52V,36C 47S). In general, commentary of this kind conceptualised this variation as a way of projecting aspects of one's linguacultural background including first language, culture or nationality, as well as a way of performing personal/individual identities. 33C, for instance, constructed phonological variation of other speakers in a slightly essentialising way as carrying aspects of culture and worldviews, and reflecting aspects of “personality”, “character” and even “charisma” (although she had previously reported to reproduce American accent herself as the only natural or authentic option for herself).

6.3.4 Other speakers' English as level

In some cases, participants also made a further distinction within the group of non-native speakers of English between having high or a low level of English, only conceiving the latter negatively. However, it was not always clear whether a high level was associated to native-like form-reproduction (e.g. likely in 36C's case) or whether it was associated to function-achievement (e.g. likely in 42's case).

6.4 Evaluating other English speakers' variation

Among those students that claimed to perceive variation or 'accents' in others' English use, I probed further for their judgment or positioning on such linguistic phenomena. The cases in which only *one*, clear, *unambiguous* and *non-conflicted* language ideology/conceptualisation or repertoire was invoked for evaluation purposes are significantly few, and so are the cases in which the conceptualisations made by the participant match or agree with his/her evaluation. Within this small group, various students invoked conceptualisations according to which non-native speakers' phonological variation (from standards/varieties) is problematic in one way or another (i.e. 02B as the opposite of good pronunciation, that is, as incorrections, errors; 32C and 40S as learning failure, attitudes of conformism, or 50V as intelligibility obstacle) in order to produce corresponding *negative evaluations* of such errors. In all of these cases, either native or standard language ideologies are drawn upon:

Extract_6.16.

R: ok what were those accents like the ones that they had the different people you encountered

32C: er yeah well er YEAH **many people had the pronunciation corresponding to their mother tongue** right? yeah:: a japanese well she pronounced english with a japanese accent right? people in italy with a little bit of italian right but **there were people** who DIDN'T the opposite because **you would not even notice that they were er:: for instance french no and they spoke PERFECT english [...]**

R: ok what do you think about finding those different accents or people who brought a bit of their accent from their mother tongue how do you see those differences

32C: well i think that that's:: eh well like everything right? eh **people learn in different ways** and maybe **they lack a little of perfection** in their english **because they:: well want to have that level** some **people settle for that right?** speaking eh simply speaking it but not making it perfect their pronunciation but **I think that in order to speak a language one must must make perfect it to a high level** right [...]

32C proposes a conceptualisation according to which having a “perfect English” implies *not* having a non-native accent, which in turn is seen as laziness or conformism and an obstacle to intelligibility. For all these reasons, 32C states that seeking perfection is the only acceptable option, thus not assigning any degree of acceptability to phonological variation of non-native speakers. Presumably, this participant assigns meanings of imperfection and laziness to other English users who, unlike him, cannot/do not want to reproduce what he considers to be perfect.

A few other students produced *clearly positive* evaluations of non-native speakers' variation, whilst drawing from corresponding diversity-embracing conceptualisation(s) of language (e.g. 20DF, 30C, 42S, 52V). Student 20DF, for instance, had earlier identified an accent or even bad pronunciation in her own English use which caused her difficulties to describe and evaluate herself positively. On the contrary, when discussing other speakers (including references to ‘non-natives’), she talks about “difference” and evaluates it as “cool”. As I introduce the word “diversity”, she recycles it instead of switching to dimensions of (in)correctness and continues to praise the existence of differences:

Extract 6.17.

R: YES yes yes yes you are doing brilliantly i mean it's also your own experience ok ok very well and how about the aspect of accents? I don't know if

20DF: ah yes (.) yes yes it's very **different @@** maybe with myself for instance i don't perceive it right? But for instance i did perceive with **germans** or with **polish** yes there are like certain words or intonations that are **different (.) (it is very cool) @@**

R: i was about to ask how do you feel about that **diversity** of accents that you have found

20DF: well **personally i really like it** i like **diversity** a lot which:: if it is only one way and and well it is still the **same LANGUAGE** in english yes you can find **those differences**

The same use and praise of diversity can be seen in 42S's interview as well, despite having also been inflexible on her own pronunciation evaluation. Thus, some participants invoked different ideological assumptions when judging themselves and others, and often they tended to be harder on themselves than on other (non-native) users.

As indicated above, the great majority of the participants produced *complex* combinations of ideological conceptualisations of language and evaluations that could be said to be at odds with such ideas about language. The most common case is that of having produced a conceptualisation by which the phonological variation of non-native speakers of English was assumed to be damaging or undesirable (e.g. 03B as an error; 07B, 10L, 01B and 47S as potentially/certainly harmful to intelligibility; 16L as negative L1 interference; or 22DF and 47S as bad language use) but unexpectedly, constructed positive evaluations similar to the ones examined above. Among the most common reasoning behind these positive evaluations I found the assignation of centrality to the idea that intelligibility can be achieved or negotiated across phonological differences (e.g. 03B, 10L, 13L, 22DF, 50V). Other students evaluated different 'accents' or variation as "rich" (07B) and/or "funny" (e.g. 01B, 07B) or even suggested that "diversity is always good" (16L), despite having conceptualised diversity as incorrect. The following extract exemplifies cases of complexity in conceptualisation and disagreement in evaluation.

Extract_6.18.

R: ok and:: i don't know how do you see the the english that each different intercultural person brings those that you may have found in your trips for instance in terms of accents::

25DF: **germans** speak VERY **well** english when i have been asked by people in the street in germany and i don't speak german (.) you don't have problem with them **they speak perfect english** I THINK due to the languages coming from the same root (.) i also met **swedish** met **finnish** they spoke english **PERFECTLY** (.) **dutch** also i think that it is even a second language in holland

R: aha what is their english like::

25DF: it is very **very fluid::** (.) **VERY correct::** with a very ample vocabulary:: (.) it is perfectly intelligible i mean:: eh:: you understand it very well almost **ALMOST WITHOUT accent** you could say:: they speak

R: aha

25DF: er and for instance(.) mmm the erm **chinese @ the asians @ i think that they are the ones that speak the worst**

[...]

R: ok and what do you think about the existence of those different accents [that you may find]

25DF:[i think it's **BEAUTIFUL** (.)] i mean i find it beautiful (.) **it shows who you are right? if you are italian you speak like an italian and well you are speaking english (.) DON'T speak badly in english but (.) ah pff yes you will have an accent because: i don't know (.)** i don't know very well how it works [...]

Since “perfection” (i.e. fixed understanding of ‘correctness’) is equated to an almost lack of accent and to fluidity, 25DF is invoking at the very least standard language ideology to conceptualise and judge the pronunciation of other speakers of English as an additional language. This perfection is then assigned to a series of non-native speakers from Scandinavian, Dutch and German regions and 25DF condemns the English pronunciation of Asians/Chinese as speaking badly or being the “worst” due to her past experiences of being unable to understand them. On the other hand, after I probe for explicit evaluation, 25DF evaluates phonological variation among these speakers as beautiful and invokes an ideology of language according to which accent is also a way of performing identity, even if in fairly essentialising ways (e.g. “demonstrating who we are”). It is of course not clear to what extent variation in lexicogrammatical aspects could be conceived in the same way.

I also found a case of awareness of *variability* in the evaluation of others speakers during 11L's interview. This participant reports to have noticed that while she is generally tolerant of such phonological variation, that is, drawing from a diversity-friendly ideology or orientation, there are particular situations in which she draws from less flexible assumptions to judge others.

Extract_6.19.

R: mm ok ok tch when you find these opportunities and you are speaking english with people of other languages or whatever what are you thinking about normally?

11L: (.) in the conversation @ @ @

R: @@@ ok (.) what do you pay attention to is there anything to which you put attention or something like that?

11L: mmm no not really the conversation and:: and well maybe i don't know maybe if i am not interested in the conversation i say **look at this guy what a pronunciation** but **because now i am very concerned with:: with studying it** and that and i try to pay attention to that but **otherwise no not really i am very tolerant** with it

It is highly significant, if not worrying, that she directly associates the more restrictive and less tolerant conceptualisations and evaluations of other speakers' pronunciation to education. According to her statement, educational discourses that presumably require her to erase traces of phonological variation (from idealised standards) of her own English use, could be encouraging her to exercise negative linguistic discriminatory evaluative practices with others as well. Similar commentary in which ELT educational discourses are associated to less diversity oriented language assumptions is also found in a few more of students' accounts (e.g. 50V, 47S).

6.5 English use and variation in ELF interactions

After having invited each participant to tell me about their personal experiences and/or expectations of ELF interactions, I undertook further probing for general descriptions on what the English used for such communicative scenarios was thought to look/be like. Of course, not all of the participants recruited had experienced ELF interactions before, so in those cases, students were asked about their expectations. Although this question turned out to be too abstract for a few students who needed further probing, the majority was able to produce highly interesting responses that have now allowed me to identify four major interpretative dimensions or ways of conceptualising form in English as a Lingua Franca interactions.

6.5.1 English-in-LF-use as native-speaker English

In this interpretative repertoire, what counts as 'English' in Lingua Franca (LF) use was defined by fixed notions of correctness as inherent in native-speaker varieties. Since this conceptualisation corresponds to the ones introduced in sections 6.1.3. and 6.3.1, it will not be discussed here again.

6.5.2 English-in-LF-use as an international standard

In this type of interpretation of English use in ELF I include students who invoked monolithic notions to refer to the existence of a relatively fixed and idealised standard that is formally/linguistically international (i.e. a standard that does not correspond to any regional, national or local varieties/models). In these cases, participants clearly identified differences/variation in the linguistic production of different speakers, but condemned such variation as non-conducive of communication in ELF, even when produced by native-speakers. The variation of the latter group was referred to as “localisms”, “regionalisms” and even as “poor English”. In other words, they acknowledge variation in the production of different groups of native-speakers as well, but explicitly discuss them negatively as communication interference. These participants go beyond invoking nativespeakerism, instead they operated with notions of standard language ideology without assuming that native-speakers’ language use is axiomatically standard. 44S for example makes an explicit plead to go beyond established native or national standards, varieties or “dialects” in overt regulation of what English-in-Lingua-Franca-use should be:

Extract_6.20.

R: mm ok yes you were also talking about the dictionary about including words and that how do you feel about the existence of an institution with that function? *{with reference to the RAE – Royal Academy of Spanish language}*

44S: i think that it clearly needs to exist a because otherwise well **the idea is not that each person uses their own words or their own dialect in english** or their idioms clearly **there needs to be an entity that regulates** this but **it does not need to be american or british it’s like more global already**

6.5.3 English-in-LF-use as appropriated Englishes

Within this interpretative repertoire, I have included descriptions that characterised English-in-lingua-franca use by the production of linguistic differences between different (groups of) speakers and this difference as normal, inevitable, acceptable or even desirable language variation (also in 6.1.1 and 6.2.2). Students who invoked this type of

conceptualisation used terms such as “adapting”, “mixing”, “tropicalizing”, “giving your own flavour”, “giving it your personality” or “variants” to refer to the variation produced by ‘non-native’ speakers as well. They therefore use a metaphor of appropriation.

Although similar descriptions of non-native’s’ linguistic difference have been introduced in previous sections, I find this conceptualisation to be subtly different in quality for the reason that, in these cases students are beginning to talk about variation as bounded at national levels. They are therefore discussing the emergence of newer national varieties of English, although it is not clear whether the on-going variability that emerges from ELF interactions is not known or whether it is being erased from the discourse. 11L for instance constructs English-in-LinguaFranca-use in this way below after having discussed personal ELF experiences during her year abroad in Finland:

Extract_6.21.

R: mhm ok what was the english that you used among yourselves like? between:

11L: AH well i think that we adapt it a little bit **you end up adapting it because:: expressions are different the pronunciation as well so** (.) yeah english never is:: **perfect english**

R: mhm mhm ok that’s interesting tell me a bit more about: that the this english and these adaptations that

11L: (.) well i think that even some day it is possible **that each country will dictate their own english dictionary** with their own expressions @ and their own:: because it is something that we **are all taking for ourselves** i mean **for each country** it’s something that’s already:: (.) basic and another added language in many places it even begins to be official **even where there was no:: english heritage**

R: mhm ok very well interesting ehm and how do you feel about those different adaptations that you could find

11L: well i think they are **positive** because for me **now all the differences:** tch at a time in which **we are so globalised difference now** starts to be:: the point:: the point:: that provides:: **benefits** right? so i think that’s positive

R: ok

11L: because if we were all the same in the world many things would not make any sense (.) like travelling or::

11L introduces a discourse of appropriation of English at a national level and evaluates these perceived national “adaptations” as a positive development. However, the fact that 11L laughs after imagining the creation of future dictionaries of English by non-native countries suggests that she thinks of this idea as having low social sharedness or preponderance for now, that is, as still being relatively eccentric or laughable. 11L is clearly drawing from a diversity-embracing ideology of language according to which linguistic variation can be suited for processes of group membership, and this pragmatic function is not only restricted to native-speakers. Curiously, this student frames her nation-oriented conceptualisation within what seems to be a fairly transformationalist notion of globalisation, as she looks into the small differences that allow us to stand out and differentiate ourselves from others in an environment in which increasing sharedness is also becoming the norm. Similarly, 30C conceptualises non-native speakers’ variation as adaptation:

Extract_6.22.

R: aha aha ok and:: i don’t know if you think that this could have had any consequence for english itself? The fact that it has spread?

30C: emm well it’s:: **natural** that it **diversifies** and that it is **tropicalised** (.) eh just like there is: spanish in argentina: in costa rica in mexico:: and in SPAIN there also is english in other places and you know it and:: well **i DON’T** (.) **think that it is adequate that english arrives to a new place and it FORCES that place to speak english like the original english** (.) it has got to **adapt** (.) [...] the language arrives it has **to adapt** to:: (.) these things

R: mhm when you say adapt::

30C: it’s **to tropicalise it’s** eh (.) that:: it maintains its principles and its functionality **BUT it:: it adapts to the:: eh things from the region where it is** (.)

In addition to considering that diversification or tropicalisation⁴⁷ are ‘natural’ processes as the language spreads to other contexts where it has not been spoken before, his reference to the possibility of maintaining the functionality of the language evidences that he is not here operating with the myth whereby variation in form equals communication breakdowns. Like various other students (e.g. 36C), 30C draws from his own understanding of the

⁴⁷ The use of the word tropicalisation is a particularly interesting one. It could be motivated by the fact that the student comes from and lives in a part of the world situated in the tropic of Cancer. However, in business terms, tropicalising a product entails adapting its nature to the local space where it is consumed (e.g. tropical temperatures, cultures, social conditions). In this sense, it resembles the notion glocalisation.

spread and variation of Spanish at national or regional levels to frame English use and variation. On the whole, this repertoire suggests that metalinguistic processes of enregisterment (Agha, 2003, Johnstone and Kiesling, 2008) may be starting to emerge within English users' discourse. In other words, uses of English that had previously lacked designatory labels (other than interlanguage) seem to be assigned coherence or boundaries (i.e. socially constructed varieties, dialects), as well as meanings of indexicality tied to particular places and their inhabitants.

6.5.4 English-in-LF-use as emergent language

This type of conceptualisation overlaps with the one previously outlined. I believe that discussing it separately is however warranted due to small but significant details. Within the image constructed in this type of discourse, we not only find reports of variation due to contact (whether old or new) or L1 influence or language mixing/leaking, we can also identify the reporting of situational generation or on-line creation of language. This has important implications in terms of the metaphor or ideology of language that is being invoked to describe English use in ELF, for the reason that it differs from understandings of language as 'abstract', 'bounded' entities that exist 'out there'. Instead, a view of language as created or negotiated intersubjectively during the lingua franca interaction is posed. Although only one example of this kind of conceptualisation has emerged in the interview data, the account provided offers clear evidence of its possibility/availability as an interpretative repertoire. Nonetheless, as can be seen below, for this participant, the emergence of such language use seems to be in a complex relationship with notions of correctness:

Extract_6.23.

R: ok very well and how do you see this type of communication between people:: whose mother tongues are

[...]

O1B: NO tch i am saying that even with people whose mother tongue is not english either i::: have learnt english this way too

R: mhm mhm

01B: and you also **help correct** @ others @ and in the end **there is a language forming** which in the end **i don't know if it is english** but @ @ @ it is an **international language** @ @ @

R: mmmm ok and how do you feel:: about this language forming::

01B: NO i mean it would be better that it didnt't:: WELL (.) to be honest i suppose that we speak about english but english there is british english and well there are different englishes and eh it has never been said that we must use the british or the american::

R: hmm

01B: so i think it is **NORMAL** that **this halfway language is forming** tch if someone specifies i would try to learn only british but nobody suggests that so i listen to english and i take what:: whatever @@ regardless of who it's from

01B explains that she has learned English in interaction with speakers whose mother tongue is not English as well. It is then revealed that the learning takes place through intersubjective correction in the production of form, and that, as a result of intersubjective collaboration, an “international language” is “forming”. The fact that 01B uses a progressive tense evokes the idea of emergence that I have used to name the conceptual repertoire. It is important to acknowledge that 01B also shows doubt about the extent to which the linguistic product obtained can actually continue to be called English. Although correctness is here used, whether emergence and correctness are in disagreement or conflict is less clear. This depends on the type of conceptualisation of correctness that this participant is using in this instance, whether correctness is understood as flexible and situationally negotiable (similar to linguists' notion of appropriateness) or whether the student conceives of correctness as inherent in particular fixed linguistic forms. Since, the correcting is what seems to lead to the forming of an international language, the former conceptualisation of correctness seems more plausible, although the extract does not allow to go beyond speculation on this matter.

6.6 Evaluating ELF interactions

Beliefs that communication tends to be problematic or unsuccessful in LF situations if variation from native-speaker/standard ideals is experienced, are thought to be widespread outside (socio)linguistic circles. I was particularly interested in students' perceptions on and/or experiences of how communication works in ELF interactional contexts and on the

extent to which they thought that intelligibility was or is easily attainable. Although I encouraged participants to elaborate on how they thought communication works in ELF encounters (i.e. how effective/successful), participants brought up this construct themselves as well on numerous occasions. In this section I introduce the evaluations that students produced of the likelihood that ELF interactions in which linguistic variation exists between speakers have to be communicatively ‘successful’ or ‘doomed’ (whether due to personal experience or to expectations).

Only a minority of students reported to perceive ELF encounters as largely unintelligible due to form variability (e.g. 02B, 36C). Most students, on the other hand, constructed communication in lingua franca encounters as “more difficult” or complex, to different degrees, but as ultimately achievable (e.g. 44 “I don’t know if easy but it is successful”). Some students assigned especially high chances of success to ELF intercultural communication. This success was attributed to specific experiences of or beliefs in the possibility of negotiating meaning between speakers (i.e. across variation) by some students. Others believed that most interlocutors achieve intelligibility easily in ELF because of largely producing a kind of native (i.e. American – 32C) or ‘neutral’ English (e.g. 50V). Some students also conceded that achieving communication depends to a high degree on the particular situational context and especially on the interlocutors you encounter and their behaviour or English level (e.g. 22DF, 25DF, 52V). One student (11L) even made a point of suggesting that the meaning negotiation efforts and the potential for interpretability issues of ELF interactions is similar to those involved in any kind of interaction, even between L1 speakers thought to belong to the same speech community. Since intelligibility was conceptualised in multiple ways by different participants, I look at this notion in-depth in Chapter 7, section 7.3.

6.7 Closing remarks

In this chapter I have identified the main constructs, images and ideologies that compose participants’ interpretative repertoires. Far from finding a polarised division for or against variation and variability in ELF and in non-native speakers’ use, participants produced multiple, complex and often contradictory conceptualisations and evaluations of the language. The findings also show the complex relations that some participants draw

between English form and matters of communication, intelligibility, identity and correctness. Chapter 7 provides a detailed analysis of how participants understand and use these language and communication constructs.


Chapter 7: Conceptualising language constructs

As the inquiry for general sets of interpretive repertoires progressed, I began to observe that some of the constructs discussed by students were sometimes being conceptualised differently across the discourse construction of different students, and at times even *within* them. I therefore deemed it necessary to have a closer look at how some of the most relevant language and communication constructs or elements were being theorised and used in these participants' metalinguistic practice.

In the following subsections I elaborate on the different ways in which participants associate linguistic authority with categories of speakers, I look at how they produce remarkably different theorisations of the notions of correctness and intelligibility, and how differently they experience and understand matters of identity assignation and/or projection (see Table 7 below for the themes and interpretative repertoires presented in this chapter). The results presented in this chapter respond mainly to RQ3, although they also exemplify and further clarify the complexity uncovered in previous chapters and therefore have implications for RQS1, 2, and 4:

1. How do university students from Chile, Mexico and Spain conceptualise and evaluate 'English' and its spread at/between 'global' and 'local' spheres of use?
2. How do these university students conceptualise and evaluate the *use* of English in lingua franca interactions and their own and other's *ways of using* English?
- 3. How are key language and communication notions conceptualised and used in participants' accounts of English and ELF interactions?**
4. To what extent is there evidence of the globality of Spanish being influential in students' perceptions of English?

Table 7 Themes, IRs and Codes for Chapter 7 (also in Appendix G, p. 275)

			
Ch.	Themes/Constructs	Interpretative Reps. (IRs)	Codes (informing IRs)
Chapter 7	1. (II)legitimate speakers	1. Native speakers as legitimate target 2. Native speakers as illegitimate authority 3. Non-native speakers as norm-followers 4. Non-native speakers as legitimate targets 5. Native speakers as ‘difficult’ ELF communicators 6. Non-native speakers as ‘high-maintenance’ ELF communicators 6.A. Good ELF communicators as individual-dependent	-POWER -Inequality -Def English speaker -Other speakers’ interactional patterns -Communication in ELF -Intelligibility in ELF -Culture -Stereotyping -English spread locally -Negative resistance -US proximity dependence influence -English level -ELF conceptualisation -ELF experiences -Economic issues -Identification -exclusion inclusion group division
	2. Correctness	7. Correctness as form-inherent 8. Correctness as iconised subjective evaluation	-Indexicals associated to ways of speaking -SocioEcoCult Background -Wannabe

	3. Communication and intelligibility	<p>9. Intelligibility as fixed-in-form</p> <p>10. Intelligibility as negotiable (speaker- and hearer-dependent)</p>	<p>-Audience related comments</p> <p>-(IM)Perfection</p> <p>(IN)Correction</p> <p>-Accommodating form</p>
	4. Indexicality and Identity performance	<p>11. Passing as a native-speaker as being authentic</p> <p>12. Passing as a native-speaker as being a 'hard-working' student</p> <p>13. Not passing as a native as being authentic</p> <p>14. Not passing as a native as being a multilingual global citizen</p> <p>15. Perfect English as professionalism, credibility and social class</p> <p>16. Perfect English as pedantry</p> <p>17. Native English as inauthentic wannabe</p> <p>18. Native English as uneducatedness</p>	<p>-E uses in ELF interactions</p> <p>-Language Learning Beliefs</p> <p>-Origin misrecognition</p> <p>-Origin recognition</p>

7.1 Speaker categorisation and authority assignation

Participants invoked different kinds of speakers of English in order to provide descriptions of their own and others' English use. These speakers were categorised or labelled in particular ways alongside the native-non-native divide, or with references to specific nationalities as seen in the previous section. Although the native/non-native dichotomy was dominant in the data, albeit often in implicit rather than explicit ways, participants produced varied and complex associations between these labels and the degrees of authority/legitimacy, patterns of communicative behaviour and power positionings that each group of speakers is thought or expected to have.

7.1.1 Native-speakers of English: legitimate and illegitimate authorities

Often, indirect references were made to native speakers without using this term, by grouping nationalities of Anglophone countries together in discussions. The purposes behind the use of these terms and discursive consequences of such references varied from discussion to discussion. Some students made references to native/British/American speakers in order to describe what they think they should sound like, that is, making them the highest point of reference or comparison, which shows a shared understanding of natives being the target we are supposed to imitate or aim for (e.g. 13L, 07B, 52V). In these cases, native or mother-tongue speakers are portrayed as the ultimate *legitimate authorities* in judging these students' pronunciation performance and authorities who can convince participants themselves that they are legitimate speakers *if* they can sound native-like. Thus, the inability to reproduce these speakers' pronunciation is perceived as negatively or as a problem to a certain extent.

Nonetheless, there were cases in which, while the construct of native-speaker was also invoked, the ideology that positions them as targets or authorities was actually challenged to different degrees rather than reproduced (e.g. 44S, 23DF, 30C). 23DF below provides one of the most striking and eloquent of examples:

Extract_7.1.

R: well ok you are talking a bit about the <Eng>speaking<Eng> which is maybe the area that that you find most that way {*difficult*} eh what do you sound like or how do you sound when you speak english ?

23DF: well **like a mexican** @@ ah i mean no@@ **like latino** er::: @ [...] no **i don't give it that accent** that :: well that a: or a **native speaker** would [...] i mean it's **different** [...]

R: aha what do you think about sounding like that latino when speaking english?

23DF: it's just that look (.) i **don't see any problem**? I mean it is **not our LANGUAGE** it's xxx what i was saying about locating ourselves i mean it is not our language i mean (.) **however people sometimes (.) think it's WRONG right?** i mean it's like AY you don't pronounce it well right? It's like (CHIN) **you feel bad:: right?** but (.) **well it's not that it's got nothing bad about it in fact** (.) i also think that it is due to that influence that i say we have from sorry for mentioning the **united states** so much but sometimes it's all that influence that we have:: (.) but er often **people want to imitate how people speak there** [...] **AH I understood you well that's it** (.) i mean **that's what matters** so er **i don't have any problem** but however often i do think that **people think it's wrong because** AY **you don't speak well** yeah **we can see you do not master it** right: oy:: i don't know the (important thing) is that you understand me right? right? also depending on what context right? yeah I don't know

After labelling his own pronunciation as Latino-like and distinguishing it from the one that would be produced by an abstract native-speaker, 23DF engages in a deep reflection on his own position on the linguistic authority of these speakers and the general socially-shared expectations of non-native speakers like himself and his own personal views and expectations. 23DF disagrees with what he can recognise as status quo ideologies, although he confesses to simultaneously feel affected by these negatively at times as well. Curiously, his idea of not being able to claim ownership of English for himself is what encourages this participants' challenge to the assumed status of native (US) speaker' as the role model for him and other Mexicans to imitate, a take on the construct of ownership that goes in the opposite direction of the discourses normally found in ELF studies and other GE's scholars (e.g. Seidlhofer, Jenkins and May, 2003).

7.1.2 Non-native speakers: between norm-follower and legitimate target

Non-native speakers of English were also invoked as comparative frameworks in some of students' descriptions of their own language use, although the purpose of drawing on these speakers was often related to measuring how native-like they speak and evaluating their own use accordingly (e.g. 11L, 42S, 36C). Perhaps more unexpectedly, a few participants also invoked specific non-native speakers of English as an attractive comparative framework or even target (e.g. 10L, 25DF). While some non-native speakers, especially those from Scandinavian countries, were invoked as ideal speakers due to their ability of producing accent-free, native-like speech (e.g. 22DF, 25DF), or even due to being able to communicate better or produce a more standard or intelligible use (e.g. 11L), other non-native speakers of English whose linguistic production was markedly different from that of native-varieties and/or standards were positioned as ideal points of reference too (e.g. 25DF, 33C). The following two extracts from 25DF's interview illustrate the second case:

Extract_7.2.

25DF: but yes i think that:: i mean by not practicing it daily it causes it not to be good i mean at least the pronunciation

R: aha aha so WHAT do you sound like or how do you think you?

25DF: like **penelope cruz** @ @ @ @ @

R: @ @ @

25DF: but a little bit less polished the accent @ @ (.) **the problem** is that **i like** very much how she speaks i mean **because she doesn't care** if she sounds (.) very: spanish **and she says this is how I speak right?**

R: aha

25DF: **it's beautiful** (.) well it is very beautiful the spanish accent @ @

25DF here compares her pronunciation to that of the famous Spanish actress Penelope Cruz, an individual that she has made a reference to earlier in the interview as an example of what speaking English with a Hispanic accent sounds like. 25DF explains not only that she actually likes this way of speaking but also that to some extent, she holds this actress as a role model for the reason that Penelope Cruz speaks English without feeling embarrassed or ashamed of her accent, without hiding it, and without showing concern about the way in

which she is expected to sound (also in Cogo and Jenkins, 2010). Nonetheless, the text reveals a clear tension between 25DF's reported defence of Penelope Cruz's accent, and the fact that she labels her liking of this accent "a problem". 25DF exposes a conflict between (at least) two language ideologies that are part of her interpretative repertoires. The former comment draws from a language ideology by which what is perceived as a Hispanic accent is simply another way of using English, that is, one which should not be labelled as erroneous or illegitimate, an accent that a Spanish-speaking user of English has the right to maintain or perform. The latter shows awareness of an ideology of language by which certain Spanish-speaking users of English are expected to speak perfect English (i.e. without an accent) in Mexico. In fact, she emphasises elsewhere in the interview, that "the Hispanic accent should not come out" because it is "VERY criticised" in Mexico.

25DF is drawing on Penelope Cruz to exemplify what she sees as a way of resisting socially shared conventions about English pronunciation, and positions Cruz as a challenger of general expectations of non-native speakers of English. This student therefore appears to operate with multiple ideologies of language, and she seems to be aware of the dominance of one over the other. We can then conclude that orienting to multiple centres can also be an option for these students in relation to the assignation of authority to different kinds of speakers. Other famous Spanish speakers whose English pronunciation was perceived as distinctively Spanish/Latino and who were also heralded as role models are the famous actress Sofia Vergara (33C) and the singer Macaco (also in Morán Panero, 2009).

7.1.3 Speakers' intelligibility and interactional patterns in ELF

As in numerous other studies (e.g. Jenkins, 2014), a perceived distinction was often drawn between native (e.g. 01B "the real English speakers") and non-native speakers in relation to their accommodation practices and other interactional patterns, especially by participants with extensive reported ELF experience. Whenever this distinction was emphasised as part of the narrative of students' own experiences, native-speakers were described as the group that was most difficult to understand. Students reported to find a lack of accommodative knowledge, skills and behaviour on the part of native-speakers. Their concerns included complaints over inability to adjust speech speed accordingly for a lingua franca situations and a lack of capacity to select or adjust linguistic forms for a

lingua franca situation, with special emphasis on the use of opaque regionalisms and idioms.

Extract_7.3.

R: maybe in other moments in which you have eh spoken like with intercultural people in english emmm what is that english that that is used like [in in those conversations]

10L: [WELL i was going to] tell you i think that sometimes **it is easier to understand a foreigner** who who can speak english than a person eh:: engl: well an english speaker i mean: i think that: because maybe that english speaker well they have their accents and their manners and maybe he speaks in his own way maybe he **speaks faster:** or he speaks **more: blurry** [...] sometimes it is more difficult to communicate even than with a person from germany or from:: china who speaks english because that person like they speak more structured and they speak calmly pronouncing: **trying** (.) so it's like you understand better sometimes than: [...] or i mean the american eh well i don't know about england right? but **the armerican finds it A BIT harder to understand people** who:: who come from abroad even if they can speak english really well **however the one that comes from abroad** can speak and **knows how to understand** all the englishes (.) whether from abroad or from::

Thus, 10L establishes a contrast by which speakers of English as an additional language *know how* to understand while native-speakers in the USA do not. Thus he also points out native-speakers' unfitting behaviour as listeners/receivers due to an inability to infer meaning. Nonetheless, 10L assigns this problem very specifically to US English (native) users, as an attempt not to overgeneralise beyond his own experience and knowledge. On the other hand, some students suggested that this is more generally a native/mother-tongue speaker issue *across* languages rather than an issue reduced to English native-speakers or a particular nationality (e.g. 44S, 50V).

Within the identification of these interactional patterns, some participants specified that the lack of accommodation experienced was not (only) a matter of linguistic capacity of awareness/knowledge or ability to implement that knowledge. Aspects such as attitudes or orientations, willingness to make an effort, socially shared assumptions or expectations, social positioning and power issues were pointed out as causes of intelligibility problems with native-speakers as well. For example, during his discussion of consequences

associated to the spread of English, 22DF makes an explicit reference to the last two issues below:

Extract_7.4.

R: [...] which do you think could have been the consequences that the spread of english may have had that is if you think there has been any consequence or effect

22DF: [...] this:: i think for instance (.) there is a great deal of **POWER** eh eh i mean like: **imperialist**

R: mhm

22DF: having english:: as a spread language (.) because when you speak with with someone **who:: is an english speaker** (.) [...] **right then due not having english as a mother tongue i am immediately beneath him**

R: ah i see

22DF: so HE is the one that masters the language better and HE is the one who will not have problems to be understood and i felt this a lot in england for instance

R: ah yeah? mhm

22DF: for instance when i would try to share or try to negotiate something right? Like renting a house:: **since i was the one that didn't speak english i was beneath and i was the one that had to make the extra effort and in case of misunderstanding i was naturally to blame**

This extract represents one of the very few cases in which a participant clearly invokes a linguistic imperialism ideology of language. As can be seen above, it is characterised by a highly deterministic perception of social positioning and power hierarchies in conversations between a native and a non-native speaker of English. The student constructs an image of fixed macro-social assumptions that he believes to be generally shared and present in all native-non-native type of interaction without considering situational factors, the possibility to negotiate his own position, or the possibility of encountering native interlocutors who have developed more accommodative, multilingual or translingual skills and orientations (see Canagarajah, 2013). Nonetheless, the discursive construction of the last paragraph in the extract points to a disapproving tone that signals disagreement with the sole assignation of responsibility for intelligibility and for accommodative effort to the

non-native speaker. While he suggests that “later on” he learnt to evaluate his experience of these fixed dynamics as “natural”, thus showing more clearly his own past disagreement, 22DF continues to admit later in the interview that such ways of thinking and positioning actually “BOTHERED” him (i.e. “me daba un poco de CORAJE”). In fact, his discomfort with the general claims he had presented above becomes more apparent later on, as he discusses his personal year abroad experiences in England, concluding that “people who are english speakers who don’t want to communicate with you they just want to shout at you [...] there was no interest in communicating just into TALKING”.

Although most participants agreed in that achieving communication in ELF interactions is more difficult when interacting with other non-native speakers due to requiring a higher amount of effort, fewer cases were reported on problematic aspects with non-natives’ interactional patterns. Participants 22DF and 47S discussed loss of fluency, particularly the loss of immediacy and spontaneity in ideas exchange, as embedded in interactions with other non-natives and evaluated these negatively due to having to negotiate meaning further or not knowing at first what resources were shared resources. Being able to “hear too much L1 influence” in other non-native speakers’ English was also reported as an intelligibility drawback by a few students. Only one participant, 32C, reported to feel that he could communicate with natives better than non-natives due to the lack of English repertoire/knowledge of the latter group.

In relation to this dichotomy Jenkins (2000) – and later on Seidlhofer (2011) too – anticipates that we will witness (or that we are already witnessing) a future change in connotations according to which ‘native’ no longer equals asset, and that these terms are likely to become obsolete. The findings in this section show that while ‘new’ connotation patterns are indeed emerging, these continue to be available simultaneously with ‘old’ ones for now. Seeing the resistance to long-held idealised views of native-speakers is surely a reason for celebration for ELF researchers. It also is important, nonetheless, to remain critical if students’ accounts of native-speakers become stereotypical in the opposite direction, that is, when all native-speakers are described in essentialising ways as well.

It is important to highlight that not all students that expressed views on interactional patterns drew a native-non-native divide. For some, communication and intelligibility attainment was a matter of the particular person encountered as an interlocutor at a particular time. Although *personality* was also mentioned (e.g. 33C), some of these

students specified that intelligibility depended on the English *level* (i.e. proficiency) rather than on whether speakers could be labelled as native or non-native (e.g. 03B, 16L, 25DF, 40S, 42S, 47S). In most cases, perceptions of low English levels were assigned a high likelihood to produce unintelligibility, to require spending more (or too much) time in assessing what forms to use, in negotiating ideas and requiring a stronger communicative effort. Whereas some participants were negative about having to go through these processes (e.g. 47S), others explicitly favoured interacting with English users whose level was not perceived to be too high, for the reason that this helped them maintain their own confidence (e.g. 01B dislikes speaking to Dutch people in English because of feeling uncomfortable with their perceived high level).

7.2 (In)Correctness: social meaning or objective fact?

So far, it is already far more than apparent that the language construct of (in)correctness or (im)perfection is one of the elements most frequently invoked by students to describe and evaluate their own and others' use of English in general, and pronunciation in particular. Only few participants described their pronunciation without resorting to notions of correct or perfect English unless prompted (e.g. 54V is an example of such exceptions). Thus, the data in this thesis corroborates the prominent concern with this construct among students, as it has been found in previous research studies such as Preston's (2009) continuing descriptions of folk theories of language, and Jenkins' (2007) exploration of attitudes and ideology in relation to the use of English as a *Lingua Franca*.

However, the analysis of the particular ways in which this construct was conceptualised and used by the participants in students' metalinguistic commentary reveals that the notion of correctness is not always conceptualised and used in the exact same way by all students. In fact, some students appear to work with multiple and often opposing understandings of correctness/perfection⁴⁸ at the same time.

⁴⁸ I put careful scrutiny into deciding whether the words 'good/bad' or 'perfect/imperfect' were being used in relation to notions of correctness or other aspects of English use (e.g. fluidity, wide vocabulary, expressions typical of a particular register such as academic English or formal English).

7.2.1 Correctness as form-inherent

The notion of correctness was invoked by a large number of students in order to reinforce the construct as inherently (pre-)existent within a given fixed way of speaking or a particular kind of language (use), rather than as a socially and potentially locally constructed notion. Thus, in these cases, it was often presented as an unquestionable and somewhat objective reality that corresponds with notions of varieties and/or standards. In the extract below a male participant draws a clear connection between correctness and standard/native pronunciation:

Extract_7.5.

R: what does **pronouncing well** mean to you [then]?

14L: [**doing it**] **as closely as possible to**:: I was going to say british but well it
DEPENDS what english you adhere to because:: but anyway **to stick to to**:: **to the (.)**
how do you how would you say? hispanophones in spain so they would be::

R: anglophones? @

14L: **anglophones @@ so the closest possible to them** it would be

Although 14L reifies the notion of correctness as objective and inherent in the ‘native-speaker standard’, his consideration or awareness of diversity between different groups of ‘native-speakers’ (albeit only at national level) poses an initial struggle for his definition of good pronunciation and opens up various possibilities at once. By settling on the term Anglophones (i.e. native-speakers), 14L produces a clearer case of intentional erasure, that is, he purposefully discards differences he seems to be aware of in order to maintain this belief/assumption intact or to avoid having to deal with inconsistencies within the native-speaker ideology he has just invoked. There were, however, instances in which students invoked a perfect/correct English (pronunciation), without aligning their goals with such ideas. 40S for example suggests that, while it may be possible to speak English perfectly (as opposed to speaking with his self-reported Latin accent which would therefore be imperfect), he is actually not interested in pursuing that perfection.

7.2.2 Correctness as iconised subjective evaluation

Other participants did in fact challenge traditional assumptions on perceived non-native accents equating incorrectness, as well as dominant assumptions about the notion of correctness itself. As we saw earlier on extract 6.8 (p.170), 44S already suggested that there no longer is *one* way of speaking English perfectly or correctly. 30C below provides an example of what appears to be a challenge to assigning the labels good or bad to speakers' pronunciation of English or to national styles of pronunciation:

Extract 7.6.

R: mhm mhm so how would you describe your pronunciation for instance

30C: my pronunciation:: (.) is eh (.) **i cannot say good or bad** because that would be getting into the **subjective** but ::: it's more like:: the style:: from the united states and::a bit canadian but canadians have a bit from the:: the british but::: my pronunciation (.) you would have to: **judge it yourself**

30C is therefore working with a very different conceptualisation of correctness from that of participants 02B or 14L above. In this case, it is not theorised as an objective linguistic 'fact' inherent in certain forms, varieties or accents, but as a subjective act of evaluation. Correctness is therefore a malleable construct, which may vary from moment to moment and context to context.

Despite identifying these challenges and complex understandings of correctness, students that produce them do however tend to work with various dominant/alternative and fixed/flexible types of conceptualisations of the construct at different times (e.g. 11L, 47S, 30C). For instance, when discussing her English education experience and reflecting on what her ideal English teacher would be like, 11L initially engages with the notion of having a teacher that makes an effort in getting students to pronounce properly, therefore invoking an ideology of language by which a proper way of pronouncing exists, is identifiable and should be copied or imitated. Nonetheless, as I probed her to describe proper pronunciation, she invokes a different available conceptualisation according to which a proper pronunciation does not exist, but is in fact a belief:

Extract_7.7.

11L: so the ideal:: *{English teacher}* well **(.)a mixture @ @**

R: a mixture:: of::

11L: yeah @ @ (.) regardless of being or not being native someone who makes an effort in that **you pronounce well**

R: ok ok ok

11L: in that you learn well

R: pronounce well? what does pronouncing well mean for you?

11L: (.) pronouncing well **NOBODY pronounces well** because we all have our own different voice tone [...]

R: mhm

11L: (.) so **pronouncing well there ISN'T a good** but the features and and what i was saying **the native** *{referring to a native teacher}* well **it is believed** that **maybe his pronunciation is good** or **spanish too [...]**

This participant is therefore demonstrating awareness of the fact that the correctness normally assigned to native-speakers and/or standards is a subjective indexical meaning relation that has been iconised. This student in fact provides further evidence of the multiple conceptualisations around correctness/perfection in English use in multiple occasions during her interview. For instance, in the following extract she invokes a conceptualisation of correctness by which a perfect English not only exists but it is equated to London English (probably meaning British English). Nonetheless, this idea of English is invoked for the purpose of rejecting perfect English as an ideal target for her language use due to a perceived lack of need or advantage being achieved by this way of speaking in a globalised world:

Extract_7.8.

R: hmm ok could you say a bit more? [...] about this topic of identity which you say is **IMPORTANT** *{quoting participant back}*

11L: YES because:: well things go up and down come and go and so in moments of such globalization (.) what stands out is not being the SAME or speaking a **perfect english** or:: **an english from london** (.) so yeah

Contrary to what could be expected, participant 11L seems to be attributing a rather negative connotation to her association of perfect English and London English here, as

something *undesirable* for a speaker of English as an additional language in a global context. This could be interpreted as an example of drawing from a standard language ideology or native speaker ideology in her discourse, and yet resisting or changing it at the same time.

7.3 Communication and intelligibility

Intelligibility, communication and or understanding were also thoroughly discussed in students' commentary on ELF interaction, as well as in descriptions of their own and others' English use. In this section, I am using the term intelligibility in a broad communicative sense, that is, to include word recognition, comprehensibility of text meaning as well as more pragmatic and social aspects of interpretation (see chapter 4 in Jenkins, 2000 for a detailed discussion of definitions of intelligibility). During the data collection, I actually preferred to use the term communication to avoid narrowing down the scope of the question, should integrative or expanded conceptualisations of communication emerge in their responses (i.e. beyond linguistic features and referential meaning). I had also anticipated that the term intelligibility could be too technical and therefore unknown for some students. There even were cases where communication was a too abstract concept for participants, in which cases I often referred to understanding. I use intelligibility, communication and understanding interchangeably because participants did not produce consistent distinctions between these *terms* that warrant treating them as separate constructs. Instead, participants produced fine distinctions in their conceptualisation of what intelligibility/communication/understanding is. I now proceed to discuss them and to identify associated language ideologies where possible.

7.3.1 Intelligibility as fixed-in-form and/or as negotiable-in-interaction

Cases in which *intelligibility* was *only* understood *as fixed* or purely inherent in particular linguistic forms or features were minimal (i.e. particular accents, varieties or variations being intelligible in themselves regardless of interlocutors or situational context). 02B's extract below shows how although the participant concedes that non-native speakers' variation could be understood as a form of "evolution", he still draws from ideologies of language by which a kind of evolution that entails variation not only precedes fragmentation in intelligibility but also in "the integrity of the language":

Extract_7.9.

R: oh and from your experience with with people from around the world with whom you spoke english is there anyone with whom you feel more or less comfortable?

02B: [...] maybe with english people or with someone from the united states maybe there are words that do you don't understand either and from other countries maybe other **speakers who are also learning english** eh then their mother tongues al also influence their pronunciation and **it is more difficult to understand** (.) however the the well the:: **people who have english as their mother tongue in england** well who ehh er i don't know it is easier to understand them better since:: this is the english that tch at least i have been taught in the institute the teachers tend to come from:: there and::

R: mhm ok you say that maybe other speakers in the world that maybe their their use of english is different due to their mother tongues how do you see those different uses of english? that you may find

02B: (.) xxx i don't know maybe they end up **evolving** the no no i don't think so (.) *puff well er no * (.) i think i maybe see it as:: (.) as **a threat to the integrity** of english or:: {inhales} maybe **it helps to develop: different branches** of the same the same language **but::**

R: mhm and how would you feel about that?

02B: er of course ehh if other let's say uses develop or other tch like languages a bit different from the same english then **it would not be eh an international language** and people would already speak their own english and:: tch **that would make international relations very difficult through that language**

R: mhm

02B: and i would see it **as a negative point** from my point of view it would be @@

As Jenkins (2000) puts it, intelligibility and acceptability were conflated together in these few cases. Nonetheless, the same students also suggested in different parts of the interview that understanding can actually be achieved or negotiated *across* variation that deviates from the fixed forms that supposedly carry intelligibility in the first place (including variation produced by non-native speakers). That is, conceptualisations of intelligibility as fixed-in-form co-existed with views of intelligibility as negotiable-in-interaction in the discourse of these students. The latter type of conceptualisation was often invoked when

discussing their own memories of ELF experiences (examples of conceptualisations of the negotiability of meaning are provided next).

7.3.2 Intelligibility as speaker- and hearer-dependent

Comments on intelligibility in relation to other speakers' English use were very frequently made in relation to groups of speakers according to their nationality, the L1 they were thought to share, the native-speaker variety they were thought to speak, and even by groups of continent (to a high extent based on perceived families of languages). For instance, Asian, Chinese, Korean, Australians, Indians or Sri Lankans (sometimes referred to as Hindus) were repeatedly put forward as instances of unintelligible groups of speakers in all research contexts. On the other hand, English speakers of Scandinavian and Latin American/Spanish-speaking countries as well as speakers from middle, Eastern and Southern Europe were commonly invoked as examples of easily intelligible English users (despite the heavy accents often assigned to the latter group). Curiously, French, US, British, Arab and African users of English received descriptions as both intelligible and unintelligible from different participants and such mixed evaluations could not be neatly explained by exposure through the model or variety that they were introduced to in their formal education. Clearly this type of metalinguistic commentary contains enormous amount of erasure of intra-group and intra-speaker variation in English use/performance, whether due to unawareness or to fit a particular discourse. While these types of intelligibility claims on whole groups of speakers could suggest a fixed relation between intelligibility and a particular way of using/pronouncing English, most of these associations were accompanied by explicit recognition of the role played in understanding or comprehending such uses by the knowledge, experience and repertoire of the participants themselves as receivers/hearers.

Some students therefore pointed out to the role of their own processing in (non)understanding by pointing out their own exposure or lack thereof to different uses or accents. 01B below provides a strikingly eloquent example:

Extract_7.10.

R: ok very well perfect mmm well and when this type of communication happens we may find different accents from: people who come from different countries how do you feel about those accents: about there being these: how:

01B: well it's good it's **fun** @@@ it is also **complicated** at the same time

R: mhmm

01B yes it's **very complicated**

R: complicated:::

01B: **sometimes it is difficult to understand someone whose accent you are not used to**

R: mhmm

01B: for instance **a german i don't know anything about german language and i find it very difficult to know why he makes a certain sound instead of another** in english and **if i was able to understand why he always substitutes one by another then @ it would be easier** but **at first** it is always more difficult

During my elicitation of 01B's evaluation of diversity in pronunciation, she brings up intelligibility. Although she finds accents of speakers of English as an additional language to be "fun" (divertido) she concedes the complexity of understanding unfamiliar accents. Rather crucially, 01B explains that attaining intelligibility in ELF communicative contexts is influenced to a certain extent by her own knowledge of pronunciation variation and the ability to anticipate the use of particular features in order to better process differences. The fact that she uses the expression "at first" suggests that, for 01B, this complexity can be overcome. Although 01B makes a call for the need to address a knowledge gap that is highly in line with educational recommendations found in the field of ELF studies, when explicitly discussing ELF literature in the focus groups, the student curiously rejected the inclusion of this type of knowledge in the local ELT classroom as unnecessary.

Another related reason commonly provided by participants for their own (un)comprehensibility of others' English use is the perceived proximity of the mother-tongue of the speaker/group of speakers in question to the student own L1. Thus

participants frequently mentioned that intelligibility was aided by sharing Latin-based languages as L1 among interlocutors (including both Spanish speakers from different parts of the world or other Latin-based languages and Greek) and hampered by perceived radical differences in L1 such as tones in Asian tonal languages.

Most of the students who showed awareness of the responsibilities held not only by the role of hearers/receivers but the role of speakers, that is, processes of accommodation of speech production, processing skills and other meaning-negotiation strategies required of all interactants, constructed conceptualisations of intelligibility in ELF encounters as attainable due to its negotiability across English levels or linguistic variation (e.g. 10L, 11L, 16L, 20DF, 30C, 44S).

7.4 Indexicality and identity performance

Chapter 5 revealed that performing certain kinds of identity is possible, according to students' reports, simply by using English resources or by indicating that these are part of a linguistic repertoire. This chapter and Chapter 6 show that, for some students, the projection of social meanings and identity performance can also be done through the particular ways in which English is *spoken*. While many participants brought up indexical meanings and identity performance in relation to English use themselves (i.e. bottom-up), I also elicited participants' views and experiences (i.e. top-down) on what it would mean for them to pass as native-speaker or to be recognised⁴⁹ by others as a Chilean, Mexican, or Spanish user because of their English (informed by Jenkins, 2007). That is, I explored whether the latter was understood as a way of indexing belonging or a kind of local/national identity or whether it was seen as a problem that needs to be corrected.

Throughout the interviews, participants from all contexts discussed a variety of indexical meanings that tend to be associated to specific ways of using the language and the effects that speaking in such ways could have for their own identity/ies in terms of both, what participants themselves wish to project, and the indexicals and identities that could be assigned to them by real or imagined interlocutors. As the following subsections show,

⁴⁹ 'Recognition' or 'misrecognition' are *not* conceptualised as the discovery of a 'true' self/culture/nationality, but as *a reading* or a possible interpretation of the self in an interaction (see Blommaert and Varis, 2012). The speaker may or may not *believe* this reading to be 'true' for him/herself (i.e. may or may not feel Chilean, Mexican or Spanish).

associations between English use and indexical projections were, for most students, complex and multiple.

7.4.1 Passing as a native-speaker as authenticity and hard-work

In general, when students commented negatively on aspects of linguaculture and/or of their hybrid/multilingual repertoires being projected or identified through their English, a variety of elements, evaluative dimensions and ideologies were invoked in their discourses. As expected, speaking in a way that would lead to being ‘recognised’ as a Spanish-speaking English user or as Chilean, Mexican or Spaniard was suggested to index lack of correctness, *imperfection*, *low level/competence* and *incomplete learning* and even *laziness* or *conformism*. On the other hand, passing as a British or American person when speaking English was thought to index *naturalness* or a *local* way of speaking as well as a way of projecting a *hard-working student* type of identity.

The association of indexical meanings to the reproduction of linguistic forms that allow you to pass as a native-speaker are therefore mediated by ideologies of *authenticity*, *native speakerism* and interlanguage language learning which dictate that indexical relations between English use and locality can *only* be established between the ways in which native speakers use English and the local spaces inhabited by them. This connection between one space, one language and one identity has also been labelled a nationalistic ideology (Heller, 2010). This conceptual frame therefore implies that users of English who are conceived as non-native speakers are not allowed to use English to index locality or authenticity, or at least local identities that do not correspond to those of native-speakers.

Participant 07B is an example of how the recognition of his nationality through English is constructed negatively and being taken for a ‘native speaker’ of English is praised. As I ask the student to elaborate on a concept he had just introduced earlier, “perfect English”, he brings up an experience of being told by others that he speaks very well but, as he puts it, that he “speaks like a Spaniard”:

Extract_7.11.

R: ok when you say a perfect english:: what would that be for you? a perfect english

07B: [...] I consider that I speak a good english:: [...] **they tell you tch you speak english very well but you speak like a spaniard** [...] tch I can have a fluid conversation with no problems but I lack:: well the accent and that

R: when they say:: in those situations that they say [...] {*scenario is repeated again*} ehh how does that make you feel?

07B: **it angers me right@@ because it's a bit like DAMN i would like to speak an English:: yeah a perfect English** but well it also makes me want to **improve** right? [...] and: and i'm going to come here and watch twice as many movies in english I'm going to practice english more and if necessary i will **pick up a book and start studying again**

07B claims to associate this experience with feelings of anger, which seems to be caused by the realisation that his way of speaking English is not “perfect” after his nationality is pointed out by other interlocutors. This group membership assignation seems to suggest that he is not ‘done’ being an English learner, as this experience brings him back to the educational plane and to the idea of needing to “pick a book and start studying again”. This indicates that he relates ELT with the pursuit of an English that does not index aspects of his national linguacultural background. Despite reporting to not have any fluidity or communicative problems and having earlier claimed to have “a good English”, other people’s inferences and evaluations appear to have had a stronger impact on the self-perceptions and aspirations of this student. Interestingly, 07B claims to have experienced passing as a native-speaker when speaking French, and offers quite a complex reason for his positive evaluation of the experience:

Extract_7.12.

07B: ah but you are french that makes me feel very well you know? [...] i smile and think WOW how COOL how how **happy i feel with myself** [...] for me [...] learning languages **hasn't been easy** i didn't have the luck to have parents that could pay for a: British o a French school

Hence, for 07B, not being recognised as a Spaniard/Catalan speaker would also be a recognition of the great amount of hard work and effort that he has had to put into learning

languages, which he thinks is particularly exceptional because of being un-privileged economically-speaking. In this particular part of the interview the student seems to be projecting a specific kind of student identity (e.g. good/achiever) and invoking aspects of socio-economic identity (e.g. unprivileged student). The justification provided by 07B is interesting for the reason that it invokes standard and native speaker ideologies and blends them with identification aspects, thus reflecting a complex set of conceptualisations and evaluative practices (see Kitazawa, 2012 for examples on ideological aspects invoked beyond nativespeakerism).

7.4.2 Non-native variation as indexing the local, authentic and multilingual

There were also many positive evaluations of the idea of being recognised as a Chilean, Mexican or Spaniard because of your English use. A way of using English that can be perceived as different (from idealised native speaker standards) and which can be associated with membership to a non-native English speaker national group were also described as being just another “way of speaking” (i.e. variation), an indexical of national/cultural “roots” or “pride” (i.e. a way to perform multilingual speaker, national or regional identities), a way of indexing multilingualism, and a way of being “natural” or “genuine” (i.e. doing authenticity).

These evaluations are therefore mediated by ideologies of variation and linguistic diversity appreciation (see Cameron, 2012). Some students also seem to draw from nationalist ideology to highlight the relevance of signalling their nationality or nationality-based views of culture through English. These however differ from the ones invoked earlier in that the indexing of locality and local/national identities is not restricted to native-speakers of English. Curiously, the notion of authenticity was also drawn upon to evaluate being recognised as Catalan/Chilean/Mexican/Spaniard through English use positively by students who conceptualise passing as British or American as a type of betrayal to their national identity (see Moody, 2012 for complex acts of authentication).

The following student represents an example of how the second type of discourse is constituted. As I asked him to discuss potential experiences of being recognised as a Spanish person by other international or home students because of his English, he recalls his exchange programme in the USA, and says the following:

Extract_7.13.

10L: that: that they recognise me when i speak?

R: mhm yes if the recognise that you are spanish

10L: well **i don't really care** to be honest eh? i mean i:: i want to speak english **but i don't want to lose my roots** either no? i don't mind saying i am from spain in fact **i LOVE that they know i am from spain right?** [...] i mean **one thing is** what i was saying that that we can speak English (.) to communicate **and another thing is that we lose everything to become like:: (.) them** no simply the ability to communicate and for me i don't care at all if they realise i am Spanish when i speak (.) BETTER (.) @@

R: ok ok and if i ask about the opposite if perhaps:: you are abroad and people think you are an:: american or: british guy for instance? how would that make you feel?

10L: tch (.) WELL i prefer to:: **i prefer to show that i am spanish** i mean i don't want to because **i am not ashamed@ of my roots** right? and all that right? but:: (.) it is not something that i care that much about simply but well i would always like i would prefer for people to know where i come from than that they don't

R: ok

10L: i mean **i prefer to maintain my identity** (.) knowing i can talk to them and communicate with them and but i prefer:: **to keep my identity**

As we can see 10L appears to have a strong appreciation for what he calls his “roots”, which represent his nationality and the cultural associations or heritage associated to Spain, and he claims to prefer to show or express these meanings in his English use. The participant thus draws links between producing a kind of English use that is perceived by others as different and that warrants him the membership to the Spanish nationality and indexicals of local, national or cultural identity. The fact that he repeats “i don't care” and that he uses the word “them” in “lose everything to become like:: (.) them” indicates an understanding that there is a group of speakers towards which he is *supposed* to or expected imitate, and perhaps even that failing to do so might be evaluated by others negatively. Nonetheless, while 10L may be indicating an awareness of such assumption being generally shared or accepted, he appears to be changing the meaning of his English use by invoking a nationalist ideology and processes of identification to justify his positive evaluation of indexing locality. Thus, he claims to favour a way of speaking that allows

him to do both; communicate and perform a specific identity or identities to which he relates.

In addition, I identified positive evaluations of not passing as native-speaker that went beyond national or L1 indexicality. Indexing membership to Spanish-speaking groups of English users was seen as a way of projecting *multilingual speaker identity*, which also gives access to the performance of identities of hard-worker, competent language user, and even as globalisation-informed or mobile global citizen (e.g. 11L).

7.4.3 Conflict and multiplicity in indexical projection

It is very important to highlight that examples in which students' views to both cases remain consistent like the ones analysed so far, only represent less than a quarter of the total. The majority of students talked positively about both *passing* and *not passing* as a native-speaker. From an approach which assumes that stable or real attitudes or orientations reside within participants, this could suggest that there may be a validity issue in terms of the reliability of the responses (i.e. there can only be one 'real' preference). Perhaps we could also interpret that in those cases, this aspect is simply not particularly relevant or that students have not developed strong attitudinal orientations about this topic one way or another. However, when talking about the process of evaluation of linguistic practices or varieties, Coupland (2007: 45) reminds us that we tend to make judgements on "many dimensions simultaneously" and that they "often work against each other, creating complex profiles". The majority of participants were calling on and mixing different dimensions in their attempts to make sense of each scenario and, while these may be opposing, they are not mutually exclusive in students' evaluative practices⁵⁰.

The multi-dimensional nature of evaluative practices may also be useful to explain or account for the interesting cases in which students' responses were highly ambiguous or contradictory *within* their discussion of a particular scenario. In some cases, contradictions emerged from participants' construction of complex understandings of the relationships that can be held between identity, cultural stereotypes and language use, or from complex reflections on whether different ways of speaking English and/or other languages can be

⁵⁰ See Appendix H, p.281 for an example of the multiple and contradictory conceptualisations and ideologies invoked by two participants that evaluate both scenarios positively.

evaluated as good/bad language use (e.g. 40S in Appendix H). An example from such complexity, is provided below as a student narrates his experience of being recognised as a Mexican student through his English use during his year abroad. From the extract we see the varied evaluative dimensions invoked and blended together:

Extract_7.14.

22DF: WELL it it in in in some way:: (.) **it is disappointing** (.) because you think well i don't speak an english to to:: to a **level which::** (.) **SO good** that my ACCENT doesn't get noticed immediately no?(.) **it was fun** it was always the **guessing game** all semester(.) and **where are you from let's see let's see speak speak** AHH now i know right? and:: well yeah (.) i don't know i don't know i don't know how that makes me feel (.) i mean disappointment (.) disappointment **disappointment because many times they recognised because of of my:: and upon realising they would STICK me a stereotype and that was shocking**(.)

R: mm

22DF: then **AH it is the mexican ah THAT's IT then you're the guy that runs fast the speedy gonzalez or you're the** (.) and i thought:: it would have been better they never knew right? cos now they stick me a stereotype but also well **it gives you gives::** (.) **something to talk about** and that also is fine right?

According to 22DF's first interpretation, the pointing out of his Mexican nationality seems to signal a lack of good level of English, something that has traditionally been established in EFL theoretical objectives/aims and the ideologies of language that inform it. Yet, the participant then discusses this experience in playful terms, that is, as something fun, as the guessing game or riddle (*adivinanza* in Spanish) of the semester. In this sense, discerning particular features in the spoken use of other students' English to assign national group membership is therefore portrayed in a positive light by the participant. 22DF's account also supports the tenet that suggests that mobility promotes awareness of linguistic difference, and that it therefore promotes processes and cycles of indexicality and semiotic associations between linguistic features/uses and spaces (Clark, 2013; Johnstone, 2010). However, participant 22DF spends some time going back and forth between the idea of disappointment and the idea of this being a fun conversational starter (i.e. a way of doing pragmatic work or social cohesion), which was also reported and evaluated positively by other students who had been abroad (e.g. 47S). Having several meanings and possible

interpretations available could explain the difficulty that the student faces in trying to express or choose “how [he] feels about it”.

The second time he justifies the disappointing side of being recognised, he introduces yet another different and equally interesting element, one that can also be of high significance from the point of view of conversational inferences. He recounts his memories of being attached stereotypes due to perceived links between his accent, as he puts it, and his nationality. According to 22DF’s story, as a result of such link, his interlocutors were assigning a particular local/national identity to him and presupposing the existence of certain attributes typically associated with Mexicans or Mexicanness. Interestingly, this student had challenged the construct of nationalities in other parts of the interview, suggesting that this concept no longer works for him to categorise people anymore for the reason that “from any culture anything can emerge nowadays”. Although this statement could suggest a potential highly developed sense of intercultural awareness and of the fluidity of culture and variability within what are generally conceived as different national cultures, 22DF reports that he would feel anger if his English led others to take him for a US speaker. Although 22DF claims to dislike the construct of nationality due to being aware of the risks of being assigned a stereotype, when categorically rejecting any kind of association with what he calls “gringos” (i.e. US citizens), he actually seems to be invoking a stereotypical negative image of US citizens himself, thus perpetuating some of the national stereotypes that he is trying to criticise conceptually. This conflict resonates well with the tensions that researchers of intercultural communication have found in their studies. As Baker (2011a: 199) puts it, “while it would be naïve to assume that cultures, languages, and nations correlate in intercultural communication, the influence of such powerful ‘myths’ ... and the tensions they may create with the more fluid associations we might expect in ELF communication needs to be recognised”.

From a linguistic point of view, while he believes that a good level of English is conferred to users that can pass as a US speaker, he also finds himself developing feelings of anger towards being identified as the speaker he is supposed to imitate. Various other students also presented issues between the kind of English they were supposed to aim to, according to the educational goals they had reported to have identified, and the ideas or indexicals that they associated to those imagined speech communities. The fact that this was especially the case with Latin American students and the US model/community, is

probably influenced by the complex historical, political, economical and social relations and power struggles existing between these contexts (e.g. 25DF).

7.4.4 Indexicals and identities as situational, multiple and variable

An important point to be made is that, while these perceptions and ideas may reflect students' past experiences or current expectations, they are not predictions of future practice. In actual situated interactions, various and perhaps opposing dimensions could be called into judgement by interactants, resulting in complex or contradictory bundles of evaluations of what being (mis)recognised may mean in that specific moment, and they may therefore act in ways that differ from the ideas expressed to me during the interviews. As Baird, Baker and Kitazawa suggest "people always engage in communicative interactions with ideas of and positioning towards the language and behaviours of themselves and others" (Baird et al., 2014: 12) but it is important to keep in mind that "the nature and extent of these ideological values are ultimately dependent on how individuals interpret and make sense of them in context" (ibid: 13).

This is in fact a point noted by a few students in the interviews (e.g. 11L; 13L; 20DF; 40S) who constructed their responses on passing or not passing as a certain speaker along the lines of 'it depends'. That is, their feelings and reactions would depend on the particular indexicals assigned by interlocutors and the intention with which their membership to a Chilean, Mexican or Spanish community had been assigned, thus showing awareness that not one single meaning is inherent to their English or to a specific way of speaking. 13L's response is especially informative, as we can observe that, to construct her views and ideas of the topic in English, the participant draws from her knowledge and experiences of meaning association in Spanish:

Extract_7.15.

13L: (.) well er also **it depends on how it is said** maybe:: if they say it:: in a way:: maybe they say it if they say it **nicely** i would take it in a comic way (.) if they say it in a **despective** way like:: you can speak english but we can still notice where you are from i would take it a bit badly but well not really i don't think i would give it much relevance [...]

R: ok when you said in a comic way::

13L: i don't know well maybe what do i know when you speak with a galician and he has accent **there are many ways of telling him that he has an accent** you can say it **nicely comically** i mean you have a galician accent **for instance you can tell @ that i am from there** from xxx {*region in the North of Leon where Galician is spoken as well as Spanish*} and a lot of people tell me here and i take it **some people say it nicely and some people say it like:: you you are provincial** {*'eres de pueblo' in Spanish, also translatable as being uncultured*} so **depending on how they say it you would take it in one way or another** but i don't think i would care too much about that

In this case, 13L is challenging the existence of iconic relations between her way of speaking Spanish (associated to a Galician accent) and one particular fixed indexical meaning. Even in Spanish she can distinguish between her accent signalling membership to a group of speakers of a different language (Galician), and the attribution of a *villager* identity which is often associated to negative meanings of uneducatedness, rudeness and even stupidity. 13L is therefore drawing from her experience of language and meaning-making in Spanish, to interpret and theorise her English use, and to question the existence of iconic relationships between one's English use and potential meanings of competence, correctness, education, hard-work and so forth.

Other students were able to reflect more explicitly on the multiplicity of social meanings or indexicals that may be associated to ways of speaking English. In the next two subsections I introduce the multiple potential relations of meaning that participants thought could be assigned to standard or native-like English and to ways of speaking that depart from such idealised notions.

7.4.4.1 Perfect English: between professionalism, high class, hard work *and* pendency

In the pronunciation-related example provided below, 01B reveals a conflict between more and less dominant social attributes assigned to ways of speaking English that are thought to be correct in Spain (i.e. standard/native):

Extract_7.16.

R: ok ok ok very good ehmmmm well and if for instance when you are:: speaking with your laboratory colleagues:: *{an international laboratory in her Catalan university}* or you said for instance in:: in:: holland you then have been travelling around and in communication like international like the one we were talking about if i:: mm if it was if it was THOUGHT that if they recognise you as a spaniard due to the way you speak::

01B: yes @

R: what do you think about that? how would that make you feel?

01B: ah well i have accepted that @@@ yes:: no of course I don't i don't speak (.) i speak with an accent [...] but yes yes i have accent of course **but i don't: well NO it's not that i don't CARE i would like to speak it better: but::** for instance I think that here **in spain it is also very embarrassing to change and put that accent on and when someone here starts speaking perfect english** people think it is a bit **pedantic** or something @@@ yes

R: aha::

01B: **it is more fashionable to speak it badly** *{ 'se lleva mas hablarlo mal' in Spanish }*

R: @@ why do you think this could be? do you have an idea::

01B: well due to SHAME i think i don't know

Forms typically associated with good English carry not only multiple but opposing meanings. According to 01B, in Spain these perceived standards of pronunciation (i.e. not having “an accent”) work on the one hand as indexicals or icons of correctness/perfection (i.e. positive meanings) and on the other, as pedantry (i.e. negative meanings). It is thus not strange to observe 01B's conflict over the extent to which she cares about speaking more correctly. While the pressure to conform to correctness makes her wish she could speak better, she also invokes the pressure from her perception of how speaking badly is generally preferred in Spain, or “more fashionable” as she puts, to justify not caring about correctness. Whether she agrees with this statement herself or whether it is a matter of local social/peer pressure for alignment from those around her who do is not clear, and her position is likely to vary depending on the demands of the situated context.

While 01B is not able to fully explain the phenomenon reported, other students that make similar observations in Latin America provide much more detailed explanations. 25DF explains how at the moment speaking English well or not is a relevant way of projecting or claiming certain social meanings in Mexico, especially alongside the socioeconomic dimension. 25DF provides a detailed example of how the image and professional identity

of Mexican user of English thought to belong to a high sociocultural level was affected by not speaking English perfectly:

Extract_7.17.

R: so is that related in addition to the clothing and that with the way of speaking english?

[...]

25DF: [...] yeah it's eh:: it's like:: **if you speak WELL english it's because you are (.) high society or of high economic level or of high cultural level (.)**

R: i see

25DF: yes i mean you can see that like (.) a case happened here i mean anthony hopkins came (.) to an interview on his movie the rite and he was interviewed by:: a (.) a journalist that's on at ten at night and he is like xxx a star (.) and the gadget for the:: simultaneous translation broke (.) and he showed i mean he showed that his english was **DISASTROUS** awful i think that there still are jokes about it **because he spoke very badly (.)** and let's say he lost all his **credibility** because: (.) **yes it's like a prerequisite here in mexico (.) if you are someone from high i don't know cultural standing at least**

R: aha

25DF: speaking **perfect english (.)** i mean yeah yeah it's something: necessary

R: aha ok can i ask what does it mean for you to speak english well or speak perfect english?

25DF: well to understand it well and for instance when you speak **it shouldn't show a hispano accent** yes it's **VERY criticised** here [...]

Lack of a perfect English, which includes having a Hispanic accent, is said to be highly criticised among people of high standing in Mexico. The student is therefore invoking an idea of perfection or correctness within which there is no room for variation of non-native speakers. In her local context, not having Hispanic accent when speaking English is required to project or perform belonging to high socioeconomic groups (i.e. performing social class) and even credibility or professionalism. Although she is reporting her awareness of such ways of conceptualising English and its pronunciation, she is not however aligning herself with them. When asked how less elitist people view those ways

of using English that she calls perfect (i.e. without a Hispanic accent), 25DF not only brought up the quality of pedantry as an assignable meaning, but she endorsed this kind of evaluation herself:

Extract 7.18.

R: how do you think that: the rest of people who well don't have those well who don't go to the united states so much and who don't how do you think they seen those practices of of speaking like them or wanting to be like them *{referring to united states citizens}*

25DF: they say that they are **very pedantic** @@ i mean if i for instance i don't speak i am not like that and if i see someone who speaks like that *{in an american accent}* **i find it pedantic** and: that's what's called a <Eng>**wannabe**<Eng> (.) simply the word that's that's what it is **i mean a person who wants to be something they are not** simply as i said ealier this is a word that we already use here and that kind of thing

Thus, in addition to meanings of correctness, high sociocultural identity and even credibility, 25DF also identified negative meanings in relation to perfect English pronunciation as well. From her perspective, performing a perfect pronunciation of English would not only warrant her pedantic indexicals, she would also risk being assigned an entire identity label that designates fake-ness (i.e. being a 'wannabe'). While direct references to socioeconomic issues were not made among Spanish participants in this data set, some comments on speaking perfectly/correctly and sounding snobby or posh were made during the MA study in Spain too (Morán Panero, 2009), and these attributes generally tend to be associated with rich groups.

7.4.4.2 Native/standard features: between inauthentic wannabes, status and uneducatedness

The notion of fakeness and genuineness in relation to English pronunciation was also raised by 42S in Chile. This participant is however able to develop an analysis of the conflictive positive and negative meanings she assigns to English pronunciation in relation to one particular pronunciation feature:

Extract_7.19.

R: ok very well i am interested in the idea you mentioned about those accents right in english that: some people who who speak who put that accent on *{a 'native' accent}* who speak like that

42S: ah

R: **you said it's fake** and **you prefer genuine** accent tell me more i am interested

42S: [...] now when one tries to speak another language **there are a series of: grammatical sounds that do NOT belong to your language**

R: mhm

42S: or that **you feel embarrassed about saying** for instance here **s h** *{meaning to refer to the /ʃ/ phoneme}* here in chile we don't have it

R: aha

42S: we have the c h that sounds chile [tʃile] (.) chanchan [tʃantʃan] I don't know *{demonstrating /tʃ/ sound}*

R: aha

42S: and **people who speak BADLY here** use **instead of using c h** *{referring to the /tʃ/ phoneme}* **they say s h** *{referring to the /ʃ/ phoneme}* so here it is very (.) like **embarrassing @** in your day to day if you now think i **want to say she in english** **<E>she<E/>** *{applying /ʃ/ sound}* it's like: xxx it's like xxx

R: aha aha aha

42S: it's like it is more complicated to try to keep the form (.) [...] i **had classmates and when we were speaking together they would say chi** *{[tʃi] instead of [fi:] for 'she'}* [...]

As we can see above, 42S reports to have problems producing the /ʃ/ phoneme when other Chilean speakers are interlocutors or part of the conversational audience, due to the stigma associated to it when speaking Spanish in her particular locality. 42S suggests it is associated with speaking Spanish badly and, as a Chilean colleague has suggested to me, it can grant the speaker identifications of being uneducated (Carmen Gaete Mella, personal communication). This issue goes beyond not being able to reproduce this sound due to lack of capacity or skills (i.e. *not* a learning error), the production of that sound in certain

circumstances is avoided due to equally relevant social aspects, in particular, the shame or embarrassment that would be caused by having to adopt a sound that can earn her identities she is not pleased with. It is complicated for her to produce this form because it leads her to a contradiction of social meanings and identity projection, especially when other Chilean speakers are present.

Rather than playful, liberating or exploitation of resources or a decrease of indexical pressure⁵¹, 42S's account reflects a clash between different sets of normative beliefs (i.e. polycentricity). In the same physical place, her English class, she observed tensions between different 'centres' of norm or evaluative authorities. The English pronunciation "system" of norms and meanings of correctness/educatedness that attempts to travel from its position as a standard at national scales in the UK/US to other localities and which is generally thought to operate (i.e. expected to be the valid one) at global or translocal levels, meets tension or resistance when re-embedded in the locality of Chilean speakers. It clashes with the pronunciation norm batteries and associated social meanings of Spanish and the centres of authority that promote them (e.g. RAE's norms). As I insist on asking for elaboration on the idea of sounding fake, 42S's unravels further complexity around correctness and identity matters:

Extract_7.20.

R: and that idea about sounding fake that you mentioned?

42S: ah sounding fake (.) it's what i was saying that as it does not COME OUT like one tends to speak naturally like one speaks and (.) with your own sounds and you have to make that effort etcetera etcetera **sounding like a native speaker is VERY difficult** so **having to make that extra effort** to speak like to to for starters **why would you want to speak like a native speaker** if you are not a native speaker **if the most important thing is to be understood** that's my idea

R: mhm mhm

42S: or how i see it

R: mhm ok

42S: so in that case you would be **somehow disowning your origins** trying to like @ to: (.) to **simulate or to pretend** to be someone that you ARE not i mean that would mean i think that this is also related a little bit to speaking english here being a

⁵¹ Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer, among other, suggest that "lingua franca users tend to experience *less normative constraints* than monolingual native speaker users" (2013: 394, my italics). The authors seem to predefine English-native-speaking conventions as always "constrictive", and influences by regulations' associated to other plurilingual resources (2013: 396) as helpful and even "liberating" (ibid: 400).

matter of status (.) because **it differentiates you** because it is not the general rule so if on top of that you **do it like a native speaker** it's like **trying to give yourself EVEN more status**

R: mhm mhm

42S: so i think that it is linked together and **that is why i don't find it very genuine**

R: aha

[...]

42S: so right there you would have **like a (sort of) wish to assimilate** and that **annoys me::**

According to 42S, sounding like a native-speaker is not only difficult and unnatural or inauthentic, but also apparently not even relevant or practical. 42S claims to prioritise being understood over achieving correctness by imitation, that is, she prefers to avoid sacrificing or disowning the possibility of performing or signalling her “roots”, as she puts it, through English use. 42S also insists on the idea that performing a fake identity, being something that you are not or a wannabe, is not only relevant in terms of using resources typically thought to be English, but it can also be deployed depending on *how* English is spoken. She sees speaking as a native speaker as a way of attempting to project more status or prestige, a practice that she actually evaluates negatively, as not very genuine, and one that projects attitudes of *arribismo* (social climbing), as she puts it later on in the interview. Towards the end of the extract, the student even uses the notion of assimilation to a different culture to describe this practice which she claims to highly dislike. Thus, speaking like a native-speaker is seen both as a way of projecting correctness, high socioeconomic status and possibly being educated on the one hand, and wishing to pretend to be what you are not, that is, fake-ness on the other.

7.5 Closing remarks

Students not only conceptualise and evaluate English or Spanish and ways of using them in multiple and complex ways. This chapter has shown that students can also understand and operate with key general notions of language and communication in equally variable and intricate ways. The results here presented have important implications for language researchers in the sense that we can no longer safely assume that all of our research participants always work with the same understanding of correctness or intelligibility for example, and it highlights further the shortcomings of quantitative explorations of users'

perspectives, if these do not allow open spaces for participants to explain their own conceptualisations of language and communication constructs. In the following chapter I bring together all the findings presented so far in a summary, and discuss their relevance and implications further.

Chapter 8: Conclusions of the research project

In this last chapter I bring the report on this investigation to a close by providing a connection between the patterns emerging from the data, my own analytic interpretations of the findings, and the implications that these have for broader theorisations of language in a context of globalisation, for the study of the spread and use of English as a lingua franca, and for understandings of language conceptualisations and evaluations as well. First, I draw from the findings presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 to provide responses to the RQs of the study (see Figure 3 below). Then, I consider the limitations of the thesis and I move on to discuss its contributions, implications and applications. To conclude, I reflect on how future research could complement these findings.

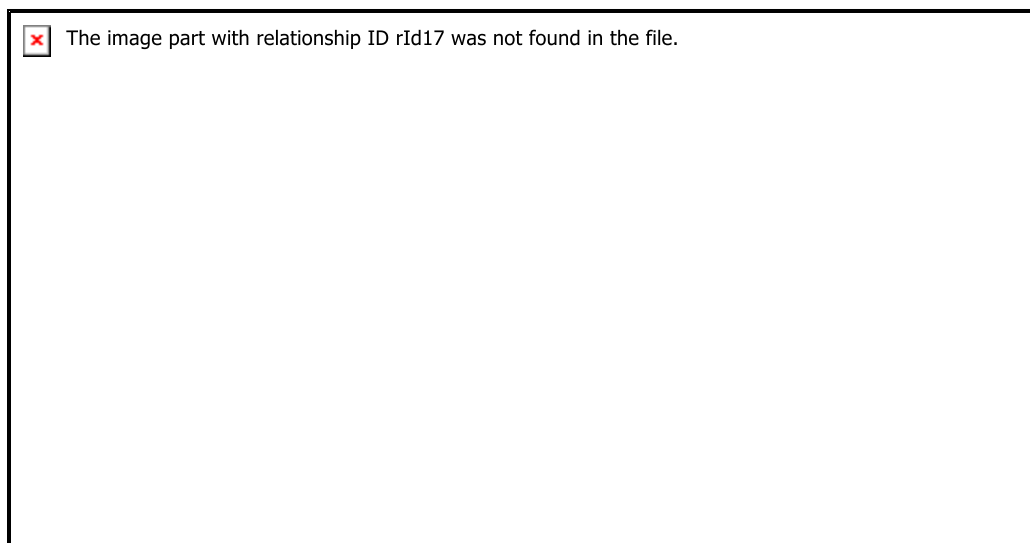


Figure 3 Research questions

8.1 Research questions and findings summary

8.1.1 RQ1: How do university students from Chile, Mexico and Spain conceptualise and evaluate English and its spread at/between 'global' and 'local' spheres of use?

English was often portrayed as being a crucial gatekeeper that connected the local contexts of these participants with global activities and/or processes in which they had an interest or which they were expected to pursue. One of the most relevant functions that was assigned to English was its possibility to work as a *lingua franca*, that is, to give access to international communication with other users of English from all over the world. Although these participants are speakers of a global language themselves, English was presented as the only or main language for international communication at present and this function was one of the most frequently and firstly referred to in participants' accounts of what English meant to them (see 8.1.4 below for views on Spanish). Thus, no students reported to use the language only for local purposes or only for communication in native-speaking contexts.

The relevance assigned to English as a *lingua franca* function is likely to rely on the fact that, for these participants, unlocking international communication by adding English to their linguistic repertoires meant gaining *access* to horizontal/geographical and upwards/social mobility (i.e. better jobs, better pay and recognition social class identities), mobility of information (e.g. texts, messages and ideas), the internationalisation of the self and global interconnectedness of larger spatial organisations or imagined communities (e.g. nation-states), economic productivity/capital (e.g. cost-effective and efficient) and cultural growth or the opportunity to learn about other cultures through intercultural communication.

In general, students discussed English mainly in terms of the added benefits and opportunities that it is thought to provide, that is, they commented primarily on its capability of opening doors. However, some students did nonetheless also produce a few reflections over the limitations that English can have for those who do have not had opportunities to learn it. Although the majority of participants suggested that the necessity

and/or importance of being able to speak English is high, a few participants challenged or rejected the validity of such claims or found further layers of complexity not captured by blanket assignations of importance. For example, some students found differences between communicative need (i.e. necessity to speak English due to having other means of communicating available) and symbolic need for English (i.e. necessity to speak English due to prestige or status maintenance or projection) in their local Spanish-speaking settings. This way, English was considered to be important symbolically but not necessary communicatively for certain jobs or in international comparison tables of educational performance (i.e. increasing the role of English in education in order to *not be less* than other countries). A few students also conceptualised the status or relevance assigned to English as variable depending on particular scales of use (e.g. English being a must in order to move beyond local/national levels but being nothing or not enough at international scale levels) or depending on particular domains of use (e.g. gastronomy).

The positive evaluations produced on the lingua franca function of English were often justified by the cultural broadening that is thought to result from engaging in ELF interactions, by a sense of safety and security provided when travelling by the shared understanding that English is ‘the’ language to be spoken in intercultural interactions or by the beliefs that English is an easier language to learn and/or a much better alternative to translation. Most students however constructed complex evaluations in which both positive and negative aspects were associated to the spread and use of English as a lingua franca. Thus, the effects, functions or opportunities that were perceived as positive or beneficial (as outlined above and in previous paragraphs) co-existed with feelings of uneasiness towards the idea of not having a choice in terms of what language to use for international communication or towards the excessive requirement of English for activities in which it is not believed to be communicatively necessary. The few purely negative evaluations that were produced of the use of English as a lingua franca did not take issue with the notion of using *a* language for international communication purposes, but the concern was instead narrowed down to the fact that English is that language. This type of evaluation was motivated by associations made between English and powerful Anglophone regions. English was perceived by several Latin American participants as surrendering to the influence of the USA and adopting ‘their’ language. Only very few students reported to be indifferent or to simply go along with current affairs.

Identity emerged as another key function in participants' descriptions of English and of its spread. Several students indicated that being able to say or show that English is part of their linguistic repertoire (i.e. that they can speak English) was also a way of gaining access to an identificational function. According to some accounts, having had the experience of speaking English as a *lingua franca* abroad helped some students to project indexicals of adventure, bravery and to be an act of transgression of tendencies of immobility thought to be characteristic of participants' local/national regions (Chile and Spain) in their contexts of origin, or to resist stereotypical national identities while abroad (e.g. 11L). Latin American students also reported cases in which Mexican and Chilean people use English 'locally' with other Spanish-speaking peers as a way of projecting identities associated to high social class, superiority or elitism and as a way of performing inclusion/exclusion. On the other hand, using English with other Spanish speakers was also attributed different functions or intentions (e.g. in-group linguistic play, sub-/trans-cultural reference creation). Some participants even reported to be aware of the fact that the meaning associated to such metrolinguistic practices could depend on the particular situational setting, on speakers' intentions and on the interpretation of interlocutors or additional observers. Thus, using English with other Spanish-speaking peers could be interpreted as membership to high social class by some, or as fakeness, elitism or poshness by other interlocutors, even if the speaker's motivation is actually related to in-group play or humour-making purposes.

In terms of how participants perceived the spread of English in their regional and/or national settings, a main difference emerges between the images constructed by Spanish students and Latin American students. The former spent a great deal of descriptive efforts in constructing an image of Spain being behind in the spread/acquisition of English, a characteristic that was largely evaluated negatively and positioned as a problem. Participants attributed Spain's delay mainly to attitudinal positions on the majority of the population, including a lack of motivation to learn English due to a perceived low communicative need for it. Spain's perceived delay with English was also attributed to the Spanish population's ethnocentric attitudes and practices towards favouring and protecting Spanish own cultural aspects and the Spanish language. Thus, these students suggest that the majority of Spanish people perceive English as an external cultural influence that could potentially displace local cultural forms if left unprotected. The few students that ascribed, to some extent, to this way of thinking about culture-language relations, actually supported sacrificing some aspects of Spain's cultural forms in favour of fixing the perceived

problem of delay. Most Spanish participants, however, claimed to see English as a useful tool rather than as a cultural threat, whilst maintaining that the threat view is widespread among the Spanish population.

On the other hand, descriptions produced by Latin American students suggested that the spread of English in their regional and/or national settings was very high, especially in Mexico. Images of bombardment and even of invasion of English were produced by some students due to its perceived high presence in public domains, in audio-visual content consumption (i.e. original version series and movies) and due to the key roles that English and its use as an international lingua franca was perceived to be fulfilling currently in these countries (i.e. access to participation in global networks and activities such as academia, international trade and economic markets or political relations with regions considered to be world superpowers). Despite the above described image being the most dominantly depicted among Latin American students, a few Chilean participants described the spread of English in the country as being low or almost non-existent due to making a distinction between its presence in the country, which was thought to be relatively high, and the actual ability to speak English among the Chilean population, which was perceived as being reduced to minority elitist groups.

The evaluations on the images of the local spread of English constructed by Latin American students were complex. Only very few students were able to produce purely positive evaluations in terms of the impacts caused by the spread of English for the student at personal level and within the local setting/environment of the students. Purely negative evaluations on the spread of English were equally scarce. The majority of students produced conflictive evaluations. That is, the positive aspects (i.e. achieving better jobs, acquiring geographical mobility, being able to undertake studies abroad and experience cultural growth) were in tension with other local interests (e.g. a perceived curtailment of learning and use of indigenous Latin American languages, personal dislikes or lack of interest in English as a language vis-à-vis societal requirements to speak it, or conceptualisations of the spread of English as the spread of US cultural aspects).

Those participants who saw English as the spread of the USA's cultural influence reported to have concerns over a process of assimilation or integration to US culture being under way, which in turn posed a perceived threat to their national and regional identities and local cultural practices as well. In these cases, even the use of Spanish locally was

perceived to be under threat. Although this type of concern (glossed as *malinchismo* by some participants) was recognised as being part of public discourses in Mexico and Chile, not all students claimed to share it themselves. One Mexican student, for example claimed to reject accusations on Mexicans' tendencies to favour external cultural aspects over local ones. This student disliked *malinchismo* accusations because of considering such claims as nationalistic orientations that are unhelpful or irrelevant in a world of globalisation, although he did not actually challenge views of English as an external cultural form and Spanish and indigenous languages as the only ways to maintain or project local forms of culture. Other students explicitly challenged conceptualisations of English as purely US culture, by arguing that the language is actually a tool or a medium of communication that is not associated to a specific culture and which can be used to perform particular transnational cultural references (i.e. memes) or by blurring the boundaries between what is considered to be part of US culture and local culture (i.e. imitating or appropriating aspects of other cultures as being a characteristic aspect of Chilean culture).

8.1.2 RQ2: How do these university students conceptualise and evaluate...

a) their own and other's ways of using English?

Descriptive conceptualisations of participants' own English use at a spoken and phonological level were produced by referring to a variety of dimensions and language-related constructs, with different degrees of relevance or emphasis being assigned to each of these. Within descriptions of students' own English, most participants reported to identify differences in their own production from idealised standards and/or varieties or from other users' specific use (e.g. British, American or other nationalities). Only a minority claimed to be able to reproduce native/standard-like English.

This formal difference in pronunciation was conceptualised in multiple ways. It was, for instance, constructed as *an accent* that indicates aspects of the student's *linguaculture* (e.g. L1-background, nationality) or which simply reflects the learning or acquisition process of English language (i.e. acquiring English through educational learning rather than living in an English-speaking context) without necessarily attributing negative connotations to any of these indexical characteristics. Some participants even produced descriptions of this difference as language-contact-influenced variation (i.e. just another way of speaking).

Other students constructed conceptualisations of English use according to which any departure produced from (native) varieties or English standards are to be understood as errors, learning problems and incorrectness or imperfection. Finally, some students conceptualised their English form as hybrids, albeit not using this term themselves. These hybrid spoken Englishes were described as being partly similar to an established native-speaker variety, whether UK- or US-based, and also as partly different due to also having an L1/linguistic repertoire/Latin influence or accent. Within this type of hybrid descriptions, we find both positive and negative evaluations of the aspects that are perceived to be different from established varieties or standards. In addition to conceptualising intra-variation as a necessary strategy to achieve intelligibility or understanding, some students also reported to intentionally use it as a way of doing social group cohesive work (i.e. using English differently with different groups of friends, even if this implied using English incorrectly intentionally).

Nonetheless, form was not the only relevant aspect invoked by students in order to describe their own English use. Almost all students, at one point or another, made descriptive efforts in relation to self-perceived abilities, skills or communicative functions in interactive practice as well, with special emphasis being put on the ability to be understood and to understand others (i.e. intelligibility), and the possibilities it offered to perform identity (e.g. feeling Latino). Some students even prioritised these dimensions over descriptions or evaluations on the form or shape of their use of English.

Purely negative evaluations of students' own English use were highly scarce among participants. In the cases in which they were produced, the reported dissatisfaction or disapproval were motivated by participants' adherence to standard language ideologies and/or nativespeakerism. On the contrary, some students, although again only a few, produced purely positive evaluations of their own English use for a variety of reasons. These include perceiving their English as native/standard-like already, seeking intelligibility instead of form perfection and drawing from ideologies of language according to which variation from idealised standards/varieties is understood as beautiful, normal and even authentic.

The majority of evaluations produced by participants of their own English use were, nonetheless, multifarious and/or conflicted, that is, neither purely positive nor purely negative. These evaluations reflect for instance a tension on whether one's English

pronunciation can be evaluated as ‘good’ due to a clash produced by simultaneously drawing from multiple language ideologies or evaluative dimensions (e.g. drawing from both, fixed notions of correctness and communicative ability and function-oriented understandings of language). Other students experienced difficulties in evaluation due to facing conflicts between the ideological assumptions they were operating with and their own identificational goals (e.g. wishing to project an identity of good, hard-working or perfectionist student and wishing to project nationality or localness through English use at the same time). Intricate or complex evaluations were also produced due to perceiving conflicts between what the participant reports to believe as an individual and pressure from wider or status quo assumptions and expectations.

Conceptualisations of other speakers’ English also enlisted a very similar set of interpretative repertoires, constructs and ideologies as the ones invoked to describe their own English use. Curiously, when evaluating perceived linguistic differences from standards/varieties in other interlocutors, the majority of the commentary produced was positive, even when such linguistic difference was conceptualised as erroneous. Thus, the results in this study also suggest that speakers tend to be more negative when evaluating perceived variation in their own English than when evaluating others.

a) the use of English in lingua franca interactions?

The participants conceptualised the fixity and fluidity of English forms in the use of English as a lingua in a number of ways. Understandings of English-in-LF-use as either native/native-like or incorrect were common in the data. However, not all interviewees thought that the variation produced by native-speakers is acceptable in lingua franca situations. Participants criticised the use of native-speakers’ localisms or idioms in lingua franca interactions, and even evaluated them as a poor type of English use (i.e. ‘English-in-LF-use as an international standard’ repertoire). Within this interpretative repertoire, participants portrayed English-in-LF-use as a fixed core of linguistic features, and believed this core was to be necessary for the ease and success of communication. Participants removed nativespeakerism from their conceptualisation of ELF, but they continued to draw from homogeneity-dependent conceptualisations of the relation between language use and intelligibility (i.e. standard language ideology).

Some participants also produced fairly fluid conceptualisations of English-in-LF-use. Although not in the majority, some interviewees proposed that variation or variability are a characteristic of lingua franca English use. Within this type of conceptualisation, participants presented linguistic differences as adaptations or appropriations, including those produced by non-natives, thus taking away negative connotations from such productions and placing them within a diversity-oriented ideology of language. English-in-LF-use was also conceptualised as emergent practice, that is, as intersubjectively created in interaction rather than as appropriation or L1-influence. Although I identified diversity-oriented conceptualisations of English-in-LF-use in the data, these often co-existed with status quo, fixed conceptualisations and they often seemed to be in a relation of discomfort with evaluative dimensions of correctness in students' talk.

Participants also discussed English as a lingua franca in relation to the notions of intelligibility and communication. In line with numerous other ELF studies (e.g. Kalocsai, 2009; 2014; Jenkins and Cogo, 2010; Sweeney and Zhu Hua, 2010), students reported fairly consistent ELF interactional patterns. Interviewees frequently accused native-speakers of English of being more difficult to communicate with, due to their lack of ability to select linguistic forms or expressions for a lingua franca environment, due to a perceived lack of ability to adapt the speed of their speech, and also due to attitudes and assumptions of asymmetric power relations thought to be held by this group. Criticisms over ELF interactions with other non-native speakers of English were reduced to complaints over the loss of immediacy that results from the length of time required to exchange referential or social meanings (perceived to be longer due to required negotiation) and to complaints over some English uses that were thought to be unintelligible due to excessive L1 influence. Despite the frequency with which this interactional picture was drawn, some students also constructed interactional patterns that go beyond speakers' status of nativeness. Participants also referred to individuals' characteristics such as personality, and more commonly, a speaker's English level in order to judge experienced and/or expected cases of intelligibility. In general, intelligibility in ELF interactions was thought to be difficult to attain (i.e. extra effort, hard work, needing to recruit specific strategies). Yet, very few participants suggested that intelligibility in ELF communicative contexts is (mostly) unattainable.

The study also explored participants' ideas about the kinds of linguacultural aspects or identities that can and/or should be indexed in ELF interactions (e.g. Anglophone/UK/US

membership, national or regional identity, hybrid cultural aspects or membership to transnational communities). Discussion around identity and forms of belonging not only revealed the views that these students claimed to hold themselves, but also the ideas that participants thought their interlocutors would have on this topic. Participants provided negative and positive evaluations of both, passing as a native-speaker (whether British or American) and being assigned membership to groups of English users whose local identities (i.e. at national or supranational levels) do not correspond to native-speaker groups. In fact, most participants constructed positive evaluations towards both scenarios.

Participants assigned notions of correctness, high level/competence and naturalness or authenticity to passing as a native-speaker because of producing a native-like English use. These meanings were therefore thought of as helpful for the projection of identities of successful, educated, hard-working or high-achieving students/speakers of English. In the few cases in which participants evaluated indexing group-membership to British or US speakers negatively, participants criticised strongly the native groups or communities in question even if these were presented as target communities in students' education (e.g. negative perceptions of US culture, way of living and people). On the other hand, participants drew positive associations between indexing membership to groups of non-native speakers of English (i.e. students' national/supranational identities) and standing out. In these cases, not passing as a native-speaker was related to linguistic diversity, multilingualism and also to the production of local authenticity (as opposed to assimilation). In the few cases in which students evaluated not passing as a native-speaker as unacceptable, interviewees reported fears of projecting incompetence, which were in turn informed by standard language ideology and nativespeakerism.

8.1.3 RQ3: How are key language and communication notions conceptualised and used in participants' accounts of English and ELF interactions?

During the interviews, some language and communication-related constructs were particularly recurrent and discussed in more depth. Among the most prevalent notions in participants' talk about English, its spread and its use, I analysed participants' conceptualisations of correctness, speaker categories, intelligibility, and identity, for the reason that these elements proved to be used in multifarious and often in conflictive ways.

As anticipated, students engaged intensely in the discussion of matters of communication or understanding and its perceived relation with English form in highly interesting and variable ways. On the one hand, intelligibility was conceptualised as being inherent in the exact reproduction of particular linguistic forms, rules or more general ways of using English (i.e. native-speaker and/or standard use). Thus some students talked about message exchange as homogeneity or standard-dependent in order to justify perceived needs to speak well or correctly. This type of conceptualisation was, however, only produced ‘on its own’ by a minority of students. Instead, understandings of intelligibility as form-inherent were often combined with ideas that displayed awareness of the active role that can be played by the speaker’s and hearer’s knowledge of variation and by their interpretive and accommodative skills in a (*lingua franca*) interaction. Thus, in these cases, students also recognised the relevance of variables that go beyond the production of homogenous form between interlocutors. On the other hand, a few students conceptualised intelligibility as a negotiable process. In these cases, intelligibility was seen as compatible with variation in English language use and as compatible with the pragmatic functions that such variation was perceived to be accomplishing (e.g. performing foreigner, multilingual or Latino identities).

Students also used the construct of correctness frequently in their conceptualisations and evaluations of ways of using English. As I probed on the meanings that were being assigned to this notion by participants, it became clear that it was also understood and used in a variety of ways. Some interviewees conceptualised correctness as fixed in the reproduction of idealised native varieties and/or standards. Yet, other students also theorised correctness as a subjective social convention, which is changeable or negotiable and therefore *not* form-dependent. References to the former were frequent and students who reproduced them tended to depict a relationship of dependency between correctness, constructs of (native) varieties or standards and the attainment of intelligibility or communication. While many interviewees held it as key for the description and evaluation of English use, some reported to lack interest in attaining it due not perceiving it as necessary for their own communicative purposes. Other students referred to conceptualisations of ‘correctness as native variety- or standard-dependent’ to question or challenge them, whilst also reporting to feel pressured by them due to their status quo prominence. That is, some students used both types of conceptualisations of correctness in different parts of their interview.

The possibilities for identity performance that students attributed to the production of perceived correct English were also complex. On the one hand, correctness was linked with the projection of desirable identities such as high socioeconomic and sociocultural class or student identities associated to indexicals of success and hard work. On the other hand, correctness was also linked to indexicals of poshness, pedantry, fakeness, interested social climbing and even betrayal to national/cultural/regional forms of identity (i.e. a wannabe identity), which were all largely evaluated as undesirable. In numerous cases, students drew static relations between English, particular ways of speaking it and the projections of the indexicals and identity identified above (e.g. non-native speaker language variation or errors as intrinsically linked to being a conformist or lazy student for example). However, a few participants showed awareness of the multiple meanings and identity possibilities that could be assigned to the use of English resources in certain communicative contexts or to a particular way of speaking English (whether labelled as error or variation, as correct or incorrect). In other words, these participants were aware of the situationality of social meaning-making, of the potential negotiability of processes of identification, and of the variability of social expectations and interpretations that may be encountered across different interlocutors, scales and contexts.

A similar case is observed in the use of the notion of culture. Many participants made references to culture that reproduced essentialising relations between cultures, languages and nation-states (e.g. claiming to be prepared to sacrifice Spanish cultural aspects to speak English, or suggesting that learning English means assimilating into 'US culture'). Yet, some participants considered the possibility of enacting aspects of their own culture through particular ways of using English (e.g. through a Spanish-influenced or hybrid pronunciation of English). In other words, these participants did not establish fixed links between *a* language and *a* culture, although in these cases cultures were still thought of as bounded with nationality. While more complex conceptualisations of culture that resemble postmodernist scholarly theorising of global cultural flows were also recorded (e.g. challenging stereotypical views of national cultures or engaging in cultural practices that were perceived to be transnational), these were still used alongside modernist ideas.

Students' accounts and their use of these constructs seem to support the conclusion reached in the work of Baker (2009; 2011b) in the sense that they evidence that the use of English by non-native speakers is *not* neutral (i.e. not culture- or identity-free) and in that it cannot only be explained through simple nation-language-culture-identity correlations. Numerous

participants in this study show an understanding of these pragmatic dimensions and a few are even able to articulate the complexities and tensions involved in their use in ways that resemble the discourse produced by contemporary sociolinguists, as well as the work of previous scholars that inform current postmodernist thinking. It is therefore fair to conclude that it is not just scholars who are challenging long-standing theorisations of key language constructs or “thinking otherwise” (Pennycook, 2012a). The accounts of some of these participants echo similar critical reflections, that is, they also demonstrate thinking that differs from dominant ideologies of language. Nonetheless, the data shows no signs of this awareness emerging from their ELT education, but from personal experience of use and interaction both in English *and* in Spanish. On the contrary, less fluid understandings of language were more clearly linked to the educational discourses that participants had experienced in their learning trajectories (also in Wang, 2015), although they were *not* reduced to the educational dimension only (e.g. references to peer or social expectations outside the classroom or at job interviews).

This study not only reveals the multiplicity of ideological assumptions that are reproduced by participants in order to conceptualise and evaluate English and its lingua franca use, it also shows that language constructs such as the ones discussed above can be theorised and used in different, complex and conflictive ways as well. In fact, even the same participant may draw from different conceptualisations of the same construct in different communicative contexts or for different situational reasons. In addition, the data also provides insights into the potential that explicit metalinguistic commentary can have as a way of reproducing, challenging, rejecting or redefining constructs and ideological assumptions. There are observable cases in the interview data in which students began to rethink some constructs or to unravel conflicts in their aspirations, expectations or ideological assumptions as a result of our one-to-one discussions (e.g. 42S’s realization of being caught between social class/climbing interests and wannabe identity projections). The findings therefore also suggest that talk about language or dialogic platforms of metalinguistic discussion can be good opportunities for students to critically examine long-held, changing, and/or conflictive views of language (see Razfar and Rumenapp, 2012 for a discussion in relation to critical language awareness in ELT in an English-speaking context).

8.1.4 RQ4: To what extent is there evidence of the globality of Spanish being influential in students' perceptions of English?

As expected, Spanish, its global status and its perceived variation across the world were highly discussed topics in the interview data. Spanish was not only commented on due to my own elicitation towards the end of the interview, students also often brought it up themselves in order to construct conceptualisations and evaluations of the status of English in the world, of its use as a *lingua franca*, of perceptions of English within students' localities, and even in order to theorise and explain aspects of variation and variability of English as well.

The global status of Spanish was curiously positioned by a few participants in Spain as a problem for English language learning, and therefore part of the cause for Spain's perceived delay in the spread of English. These students therefore echoed media and scholars' hypothesising on the discouraging effects that the globality of Spanish could be having for the acquisition or learning of English in Spain (Kormos, Kiddle and Csizér, 2011; Rubio and Martínez-Lirola, 2010). Nonetheless, the students that made these accusations did not report to align themselves with such ways of thinking, at least at present. Instead, the globality of Spanish was portrayed as a frail sense of security due to not seeing Spanish as a strong enough language in terms of its use for international purposes. A few students even overtly glossed the globality or spread of Spanish as something of the past that needed to be let go in order to focus on learning and using English in the present and future. The production of discourses in which Spanish was clearly positioned as a problem for locals' English, emerged only in interviews with students in Spain. Although some Latin American students also reported seeing Spaniards' efforts to protect their culture and language as influential for the level of English competence acquired in the country, they did not suggest that the globality of Spanish had had discouraging effects in the acquisition of English for Chileans or Mexicans. Conversely, in all three national settings, I found references to Spanish in which the ethnolinguistic vitality, spread and international power or status of the language were perceived to be growing and even promising. Although Spanish was always said to be behind English in the international arena, a few students suggested that it will soon become a stronger contender.

Only a few participants suggested that the globality of Spanish is making Spanish-speaking users of English feel more ‘relaxed’ towards a perceived need to speak English more or less correctly (e.g. 07B). However, Spanish was resorted to explain and theorise language form, intelligibility and language meanings associated to variation and variability in English and/or in intercultural communication in numerous occasions (e.g. invoking awareness of the existence of different Spanishes to justify positive evaluations of non-native speakers’ variations, or drawing from complex understandings of how social meaning works in Spanish to interpret indexicals associated to ways of speaking English). This points to the relevance that students’ experience and language awareness in their ‘first’ (or any other) language can have in order to theorise and evaluate English use too. In a sense, it may even be possible to talk about these instances as a form of translanguaging at ideological levels.

Before I move onto the discussion of the implications and possible contributions of these findings, it is important to acknowledge that this study is not able to provide responses to all questions related to the perceptions of the spread of English as a *lingua franca*. Like all studies, this one has its own limitations too. I next review the areas of knowledge or research aims that this study cannot inform.

8.2 Challenges and limitations of the study

One of the main limitations of this type of study is that it is not always able to explain *causality* of the data produced. While I was able to identify a series of key conceptual dimensions, and to observe when these have been used, in relation to what topics and how these have been used in discourse, the data does not offer insights into the different factors or motivations that may be involved behind the complex evaluative practices produced in each moment. For instance, in this data I do not have information on why certain interpretative dimensions are drawn from on different occasions by the same participant (e.g. 11L with correctness) in the interview.

In addition, the current findings do not offer the possibility of prediction for future behaviour or for large generalisations over what these populations of students ‘do’ or ‘think’, although these objectives were not sought to begin with. Despite this limitation, the findings do provide rich insights on the range of language-related dimensions, constructs

and ideas that *can be* called on to make metalinguistic judgement by students, and on how these *can be* used, mixed, reproduced, resisted or negotiated through talk. In fact, the realisation of the multiplicity of conceptual and evaluative dimensions with which some students work, and the variability in conceptual and evaluative constructions observed in situational talk (e.g. variation in evaluations on the same construct or topic in different parts of the interview), could suggest that predicting students' evaluative orientations may not be an easy or even possible task. We may only be able to describe and explain explicit metalinguistic practice a posteriori if we have a clear understanding of the specific situation or contextual factors and interlocutors that were at play.

Another important limitation of the study is that it does not contain non-elicited data (see Park, 2009: 21 on limitations of elicited data vis-à-vis naturalistic data). However, I should stress that I do not make clear-cut distinctions between interactions that take place in research interviews and non-elicited data in terms of the degree of 'reality' that can be assigned to each. In other words, I understand both elicited and naturalistic interactions as social practices, although each is a different kind of social practice and such differences need to be present in our mind during processes of analysis and interpretation. Thus, although I maintain that the present study and its elicited data simply offer a different *type* of contribution or insights, without this making the findings less valid or relevant, I also sustain that it is also necessary to complement the study with ethnographic observation of how conceptual and evaluative repertoires are negotiated/redefined in non-elicited situated (Lingua Franca) interactions, and/or among groups within educational settings.

The process of analysis is not free from limitations either. Human error is always a possibility not only in transcription, translation or codification, but also in the task of discerning the different types of conceptualisations, evaluations or dimensions emerging in the data as well as in the interpretation of the results. Measures such as, periodic reviewing and correction of codifications, constant contrasting between data and interpretations and supervisors' second opinions on the identification of conceptual repertoires and the interpretations of the results were put in place to counteract potential inconsistencies and subjectivities of the main researcher (i.e. myself). However, since the study has been and will continue to be shared with the research community for scholarly discussion (i.e. conferences, publications), other scholars will have the opportunity to evaluate the truthfulness of my interpretations or contribute with additional aspects I may not have identified or anticipated.

8.3 Relevance, implications and contributions of the study

8.3.1 Implications from GEs and ELF perspectives

A great deal of research has explored attitudes towards English and its use in Lingua-franca communication in the past decade. Some researchers draw from the prevalence of non-native students' reported preferences for native-speaker varieties and their persistent aims of adherence to their reproduction to support the maintenance of traditional models in ELT (e.g. Kuo, 2006, Sowden, 2011; Sybing, 2011). However, these scholars often fail to consider how ideology and social meanings and power constraints may be intertwined with students' claims, and fail to consider how continued reproduction of these ideologies in education may be simultaneously causing damaging social consequences for students in the long term. Other scholars simply gloss students' attitudes or ideologies as a problem, and conclude that the translation of ELF theorisations into ELT principles cannot be undertaken successfully until students *change* their views (e.g. Sewell, 2013).

Alternatively, ELF researchers have drawn from the dominant native-speaker ideologies expressed in much attitudinal research to analyse the negative effects that reproducing such assumptions can have for non-native speakers (Jenkins, 2014), without ignoring the voices of users/students who are already thinking about English in ELF-oriented ways (e.g. Cogo and Jenkins, 2010; Wang, 2012).

My research study suggests that, although most participants operate at one point or another with these kind of dominant theorisations of English language, those who only had these ideas as interpretative repertoires were in the minority. While the study also shows that some students invoked 'ELF/multilingualism/variation/diversity-oriented' conceptualisations, such as those recorded in previous ELF attitudinal studies, to evaluate their own and/or others use (whether in lingua franca or not), students who only drew from these were even in a smaller minority. In general, whenever students invoked status quo conceptualisations in their talk, these were in direct conflict with students' own experiences and/or alternative ideological dimensions, in which functions such as identity performance or constructs such as correctness were informed by variation, contact and diversity or hybridity-oriented ideological assumptions too. In other words, the data shows more complexity than simply stating that students 'prefer native-speaker models' or that students hold ELF-oriented views.

The complexity of views found within single participants seems to support Coupland (2007) when he suggests that multiple and often conflictive ideological dimensions are available at once for language evaluation and judgement. If this is the case with further speakers (depending of further empirical evidence), and ‘multiplicity’ of available meanings, ideologies and conceptualisations of the same construct is ‘the norm’, it may be necessary for us to abandon discussions of students’ views as if they were fixed in, or slowly moving along, an ideological continuum between standard/native-speaker homogenising ideologies and language variation/diversity oriented ones. This continuum imagery has been recurrent in scholarly writing outside but also within ELF studies, as exemplified in the following quote:

opinions towards ELF or other different ways of speaking English are already *changing*, although still heavily influenced by identity and ideology ... they seem to be *moving towards* appreciation of diversity and feelings of ownership

(Cogo, 2012:103, italics added).

In contrast, the data in this study suggests that some students can invoke both ends of the continuum to interpret and evaluate their own experiences with English in the same metalinguistic commentary. In other words, we may need to think of students’ interpretative repertoires as potentially containing multiple ideological orientations, images and language conceptualisations or metaphors that can be variably invoked in practice, and which can also be added to, challenged or negotiated in actual practice. Just as Jenkins proposes the term “repertoires-in-flux” (Jenkins, 2015: 76) to refer to speakers’ multilingual resources, I believe we may also be able to talk about ‘*interpretative repertoires in flux*’.

If that’s the case, it may also be necessary to engage with students’ awareness of their likelihood to face or encounter ideological conflicts in their theorisations and experiences of language as opposed to representing this as a rare and unusual case of what a participant in Jenkins’ attitudinal study (2007) called “linguistic schizophrenia”. This is *not* to say, however, that ideological conflicts should be left unaddressed by researchers and/or educators because of not necessarily being ‘abnormal’. Whether we conceptualise these conflicts or ambivalences as transient cases in a process of discursive change or as usual multiplicity of ideologies and conceptual constructions, waiting for a majority of students to show ELF-oriented conceptualisations *only* in order to undertake rethinking of the

discourses and ideological representations promoted in principles behind ELT, would be to let down our responsibilities with students' current problems and needs.

As this study evidences, some students are already drawing from conceptualisations that challenge ideological assumptions generally found in ELT principles⁵² in order to interpret the spread of English and its variability in use, despite being aware of the status quo that such assumptions hold. This suggests that ideological partiality or one-sidedness in ELT is impractical and outdated. For as long as students are experiencing ideological conflicts without having access to an educational space from which to critically examine and address them, we are neglecting opportunities to prepare students to deal with them. This study therefore contributes to highlight that a gap exists at a symbolic level as well as at linguistic formal one between students' ideas and practices on the one hand and ELT principles on the other. It therefore also supports claims over the need for pedagogical change demanded by numerous ELF and GE scholars so far.

Among the theorisations that emerged in opposition to monolithic ideas of 'native-speaker' language ideologies, I also found a certain degree of staticity that does not seem to match empirical evidence of variability of use. The degrees of staticity or fixity invoked varied, going from claims over intelligibility depending on a fixed although international standard that is not necessarily based on native-speaker varieties, to predictions on the emergence of varieties of English at national level in Expanding Circle contexts. This staticity works as a reminder for critical researchers who, like myself, seek to transform the status quo to debilitate the reproduction of identified inequalities, in the sense that not every departure from nativespeakerism assumptions or even from standard language ideology is necessarily or instantly more 'democratic' or 'fairer'. In other words, even departures from nativespeakerism can be used to develop stereotypical and essentialising depictions of particular constructed groups of users and/or perceived ways of using English (i.e. a priori and general constructions of native-speakers as inherently bad communicators in lingua franca interactions).

In the same vein, the findings of this study suggest that we need to be careful not to dismiss monolingual, standard or native-speaker centred orientations as systemically function-less positions (even if they are further away from representing actual practice) or as void of potential social benefits when invoked by language users. For instance,

⁵² I should highlight that when discussing principles, I am referring to general aims, targets set, and evaluative criteria that correspond to standard and native-speaker ideologies, but I am not suggesting that teachers' and classroom practices are necessarily or solely introducing those representations of language.

according to some participants, invoking these orientations at local levels allow some of these speakers to perform identity work that could result in positive effects of social climbing (among other), or group differentiation work that would allow a participant to recreate and benefit from a position of power (e.g. 32C benefits from projecting himself as native-like and does social group work of exclusion from which he creates a position of power for himself and others like himself). Nativespeakerism orientations were also found useful by some participants to project identities as hard-working and successful students. We therefore need more research exploring how different orientations are used or may be used across scales or situational contexts by non-native students to achieve their own situated goals, even if these goals are uncollaborative and likely to maintain power differentials.

However, acknowledging the fact that the reproduction of native-speaker/standard ideologies of language may be beneficial for non-native speakers of English in a specific context, is not incompatible with promoting the awareness of ‘alternative’ ways of thinking about language use, variability, social meanings and identity projection in the classroom. In fact, it would be especially necessary to raise students’ awareness of the agentic role we play in generating social consequences of inequality or power differentials, depending on how we conceptualise and evaluate other speakers’ English use. Although more empirical investigation is needed, I believe that encouraging students’ awareness of multiple ideologies of language in the classroom (i.e. dominant and alternative) can have a transformationalist effect on students’ metalinguistic and evaluative practices.

8.3.2 Implications for attitudinal/ideology research

This study also has important implications for the research of attitudinal/ideological aspects of language in general. The findings appear to support warnings voiced by Discursive Psychology scholars in terms of the interpretative minefield faced by ‘snapshot’ research on attitudes/evaluative practices and beliefs/conceptual assumptions, whether quantitative or qualitative. The data suggests that participants can operate with multiple ideologies in the creation of different evaluative practices, and that these may even be intersubjectively modified in interaction (i.e. in an interview with a linguist whose presence and potential authority may make us critically assess assumptions). Thus, when interpreting the findings in this kind of work, we need to understand that we may only be obtaining one or a few of the ideological strands or repertoires that a particular person can

use to produce an evaluation. In other words, we may not be able to claim that a person has *a* particular attitude in relation to a topic, even when based on available findings. This can therefore make generalisations over groups or large populations problematic too, even if obtained in quantitative studies and based on statistical projections over large samples. Although I cannot make claims about what Spanish-speaking users of English (or even what these participants) *think* and *do* evaluatively-speaking, as if this could only take *one* shape, this study contributes to the field by identifying some of the diverse conceptualisations and evaluations that are available to students, and by shedding further light on the ideological dimensions and assumptions that can be part of students' interpretative repertoires.

The findings also evidenced that some students could produce variable evaluations of the same language construct even within the same interview extract. These evaluative variations depended for instance on matters of the scale that the participant was using as a contextual frame for evaluation (e.g. 11L with English being “nothing” and “indispensable” simultaneously), or the identity position from which each evaluation was to be produced (e.g. 23DF evaluating the role of English in higher education as an international economist or as a Mexican university student). As Discursive Psychologists argue, it is necessary to carefully analyse why variable and potentially contradictory evaluations may be constructed by the same participant and to reflect on the kind of social work that is being performed in each evaluative situation, instead of dismissing contradiction as a sign of unreliable data.

Studies that examine users' perceptions through closed quantitative methods also have the added issue of lacking clarification on (or lack of wider context to interpret) whether the language constructs being invoked in a questionnaire were being understood or conceptualised equally by the researcher and the participant(s). For example, the idea of a correct/perfect English was commonly referred to by almost all my participants. Yet, by undertaking a careful analysis of how this concept was being constructed, I found that different participants attach meanings to the idea of correct English in different and sometimes variable ways (correctness as form-inherent or negotiable, or as indicator of indexicals of educatedness but also of pedantry). My findings corroborate that, when exploring participants' orientations towards a series of language related constructs, we cannot assume that the meanings and understandings we assign to those constructs as linguists or researchers correspond to the ones assigned by our participants, or that these meanings would be assigned consistently *across*, or even *within* individuals for that matter.

In terms of implications for the study of users' ontologies of language, this study shows that, although participants reproduced static and entity-like notions of language, alternative and more fluid understandings of language were constructed as well. Thus, folk theories of language may not be as confined to Chomskian understandings as Niedzielski and Preston (2009) had observed in their work in the USA.

8.3.3 Implications for English language teaching (ELT)

When we think about how ELF scholars are trying to reconcile the variable ways in which English is used as a LF with how it is being taught around the world, we see that many directions of enquiry have emerged, and that a lot of questioning is particularly being made in relation to the complex question of which linguistic forms to teach and how. Although this controversial area is of maximum importance, the more symbolic aspects of English use/learning deserve equal consideration too, especially if we consider these as intrinsically intertwined. Given the nature of this study, I will focus the following discussion on the role that conceptualisations, attitudes and ideology play or could play in English language classrooms, and the pedagogical implications that 'talk about language' may offer to address social and symbolic aspects of language use from an ELF-informed perspective.

So far, explicit reflection on language conceptualisations, ideologies, socially shared (or thought-to-be-shared) language indexicals and context/situation-dependent social meanings appear to have been largely absent, or better yet non-directly-observable, in actual language instruction. Despite the relevance that the ways in which we think and talk about our own or others' language use can have socially, classroom explicit talk or reflection about language is often reduced to formal/grammatical aspects of language (e.g. verbs, subjects, tenses and so forth), to the appropriateness of fixed styles or registers for particular pre-defined contexts and, more recently, to strategies of communication as well (see Fairclough, 1992 for a critique on narrow approaches to appropriateness in some early work on language awareness). Generally, it seems that language continues to be taught *as if* it was an objective, ideology-free system in which social meanings such as good or bad, (in)correct or standard were inherent characteristic to specific linguistic use/norms. Thus, emphasis on the possibility for creating new social meanings and values for ways of speaking and linguistic variation needs yet to be fully addressed and exploited in class. Although my findings suggest that these aspects of language use are however in no way alien to students of English, overt educational support on these topics has commonly been

ignored or seen as unnecessary, and students have frequently been left to deal with and make sense of ideological complexities and contradictions on their own.

This is not to say that English has been taught in an ideology-free manner. Such a way of looking at what language is of course also ideological in itself, but the idea that language is an abstract, fixed and bounded system that can be taught ‘objectively’ has been naturalised and has come to be seen as the ‘only’ or the most ‘scientific’ (i.e. neutral and therefore best) pedagogical option. Despite the prevalence that this approach still seems to have in mainstream ELT, it no longer corresponds with contemporary understandings of what language is and how it actually works. In Canagarajah’s words, “we have to understand how language is *meshed with other symbolic systems* and embedded in specific environments, both *shaping* and *being shaped* by them” (Canagarajah, 2007: 934- added italics) and therefore more attention needs to be provided to the “attitudinal, psychological, and perceptual factors that mould the intersubjective processes of communication” (ibid).

Teaching English as if it was neutral or separable from power, ideological dimensions and social meanings (other than correctness, which is not treated as critically as it should be) not only clashes with what students have produced in the data (e.g. reports of using English for social work involving identification, group inclusion/exclusion, power hierarchies or social categories reproduction or contestation, etc.) but it appears to be actively leading to conceptual problems of educational discourse on what language is supposed to be versus students’ own experiences. We can therefore conclude that approaches to language teaching that are in principle ‘divorced’ from symbolic aspects of language use are nowadays obsolete, if not detrimental, and insufficient to prepare students for the complex processes of social meaning-making or negotiating and ideology-managing that they then find in ‘real-life’ contexts of language use, whether lingua franca or other kind. In fact, the argument for the introduction of language awareness over sociolinguistic and symbolic aspects of language has actually been for long supported by researchers engaged in language awareness research (e.g. Denham, 2010; Hawkins, 1987; James and Garrett, 1992; Jessner, 2006) and critical language awareness research (e.g. Fairclough, 1992; Razfar and Rumenapp, 2012), especially – but not exclusively – in contexts in which English is taught as an L1.

Another reason to strongly consider addressing these symbolic aspects in the classroom is the disparity in availability of (dominant and/or alternative) conceptualisations and

evaluations that has become apparent across students in this study. While some students only drew from fairly simplistic and static understandings of language, other worked with multiple representations of language, often combining fixed, standard-oriented and fluid, diversity-oriented constructions of English in what more often than not are conflictive accounts. Although some of them show awareness of the multiplicity of meanings and functions that are performable in English use, only a few articulate understandings of their negotiability or of their own potential agentive role in such negotiations. We could be talking about a potential case of inequality in terms of the availability of interpretative tools that these students may dispose of to negotiate meanings, identities and positions of power across situations of language use (whether inside or outside educational contexts)⁵³.

For all these reasons, this study points to the need of actively addressing language conceptualisations, ideological assumptions, processes of indexicality and the social impact of language evaluation *in the ELF/EFL/EIL classroom*. If we consider that it is our responsibility as teachers and researchers to adapt our teaching in order to better prepare students for ‘real-world’ linguistic and communicative needs, and that we should aim to provide equal opportunities for all students (and personally I think it is), then we should explore the potential benefits that can be gained by opening pedagogical spaces for students’ critical reflection over symbolic aspects of language use too. This is particularly relevant if we consider that language (re)conceptualisations work as “an emergent process *out of* the classroom, not just into it” (Dogancay-Atkuna and Hardman, 2012:115).

However, the need for a shift in focus not only applies to ELT, but to language teaching in general, and I strongly believe that much of this work should be done in L1/mother-tongue classrooms (i.e. Spanish or Catalan subjects for my participants) – if not done already – as well as in the teaching of an L2/L3/Lnth/additional language (see Lindberg, 2003 for a discussion on how critical language awareness is relevant for both, native and non-native users of any language). In fact, since some of my participants draw from their understanding of ideological aspects of perceived non-standard Spanish variation in order to deconstruct and make sense of (non-native and/or non-standard) variability of English, I would argue that the teaching of English as an additional language in Spanish-speaking

⁵³ Further empirical investigation of actual practices would be needed to explore the extent to which English users with a wider range of ideological dimensions in their interpretative repertoire (e.g. 11L or 30C) are more likely to undertake negotiation successfully to their advantage and less likely to reproduce stereotypical, discriminatory, or unfair evaluations of others. Likewise, we would need to observe to what extent the opposite is more likely of English users who displayed narrower and more fixed ways for representing and interpreting language use (e.g. 02B, 32C).

contexts could benefit strongly from including the analysis of students' own experiences with Spanish variability as a metalinguistic strategy for critical reflection and language awareness promotion.

Support for the need to address linguistic awareness also exists within the literature of ELF/EIL studies. For instance, already in 2006 Jennifer Jenkins suggested that in ELT we need to move from exclusively teaching (a variety of) English to *also* teaching “about Englishes” (Jenkins, 2006a: 173). This would require not only showcasing different ways of using English around the world, but also the active engagement of students in learning about the fixity and variability of the language, about intelligibility and communicative strategies, and about processes of identification embedded in English use. It seems to me that another key need is the active reflection over aspects of social evaluation, meaning-association and negotiation, and the social impact of conceptual orientations and their corresponding evaluative practices. Thus, ELF researchers are also considering possibilities for “changing *the subject*” Widdowson (2012b) itself rather than simply reconsidering the linguistic features that are taught. As authors such as Cogo (2012: 104), Matsuda (2012) or Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013: 401-202) have already voiced, in line with other (critical) language awareness scholars, *language teaching* needs to be understood as a wider process that *also* addresses speakers' knowledge or ideas, evaluative orientations and that increases general awareness of social and political aspects of language. In fact, the relevance of developing this kind of knowledge and awareness with ELF/EIL *teachers* in teacher-training programmes has already been recognised, and work with teacher-trainers has already begun (e.g. Baker, 2015a; 2015b; Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Dewey, 2012; Dogancay-Atkuna and Hardman, 2012; Kumaravadivelu, 2012; Lantolf and Johnson, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011).

Although this is indeed a crucial first step, it may also be necessary to start considering the role that *English learners/students* play in language theorising and how developing or engaging with students' awareness may be necessary to enrich classroom practices as well. Lay language users such as non-linguistics students (of English or any other language) are also active participants in complex processes of language conceptualisation which at times even resemble vanguard linguists' thinking. As seen in this thesis, folk language users and students participate of processes of ideology management and of social evaluations that contribute to the reproduction, modification or challenging of larger social structures and language variation (cf. Eckert, 2008, Johnstone, 2010, Irvine and Gal, 2000). Despite the

general agreement on this, and the recognition in critical pedagogy orientations of the value that students' own ideas, and experiences bring to the classroom (e.g. Norton and Vanderheyden, 2004; Park, 2009; Pennycook, 2007; Preston, 2004; 2009), the provision of educational spaces for students to articulate and examine their own knowledge and evaluative stances on what language is or should be still seems to be largely restricted to MA linguistics programmes (cf. Razfar and Rumenapp, 2012) and often to an even lesser extent to language-related undergraduate degrees (i.e. the experts). Pennycook (2007: 144) captures this way of thinking in the following quote by Willis (2003: 413):

Educators and researchers should utilize the cultural experiences and embedded bodily knowledge of their students as starting points, not for bemoaning the failures and inadequacies of their charges, but to render more conscious for them what is unconsciously rendered in their cultural practices.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, some learners are already finding ways to challenge dominant representations in metalinguistic narratives. As Yu's (2015) study suggests, students' challenges may already be taking place even within their actual classroom. Yet, including language awareness as part of ELT curricula is still necessary (see Jenkins, 2012; Matsuda, 2012; Pennycook, 2007; Canagarajah, 1999) so that *all* students, and not just *some*, have the opportunity to learn about social and symbolic processes involved in the use of English, in order to be as prepared as possible for their future use of English. And, precisely because of the predominant use and learning of English for global communication purposes, awareness on the specific use of English as a lingua franca is thought to be key in numerous classrooms across the world regardless of whether these are in 'Inner', 'Outer' or 'Expanding' circle contexts. This way, we increase the possibilities of raising awareness of 'alternative' representations of English for students who had not had the opportunity to experience counter-discourses (whether in or outside the language classroom), and we also create a space to engage with 'already-ELF-aware' students in order to help them make sense of potential ideological clashes which, according to my findings, are generally extended.

Nonetheless, it is important to go beyond introducing ELF or raising awareness of ELF theorisations of language. It is necessary to encourage students' critical reflections of contemporary 'alternative' representations of language such as ELF

theorisations as well. As Kubota puts it, both teachers and students should have the chance to be critically reflective, and to engage in constant-questioning of multiple ways of thinking about language, even those that we, as researchers, hold as the most accurate or fair depictions of reality:

It is necessary for *teachers and students* to be always critically reflective and engage in constant questioning *of even critical appraisals* of existing assumptions (Kubota, 2012: 67 - added italics)

Work on the area of developing *students'* awareness of symbolic and sociolinguistic aspects of English *as a global lingua franca* in the ELT classrooms of non-native speaking contexts is still incipient (see Galloway and Rose, 2014, or Wang, 2015 for examples). I aim to contribute to the development of scholarly discussion that focuses on this task by reflecting on how to actually embed these aspects in language teaching from an ELF-informed perspective. In section 8.3.4 below I explore how the object of study of this research project (i.e. explicit metalanguage) may also be a useful starting point to address the ideological gap in ELT principles and policies.

8.3.4 Pedagogical *applications* of metalanguage

Explicit metalinguistic commentary is *not* just innocent talk about language, but a form of social practice through which we can assign social meaning or values to specific ways of speaking or do or perform different kinds of identity and that, as any other social practice, can also work at an ideological level where particular linguistic representations may be naturalised, modified or challenged (e.g. Cameron, 2004; Jaworski et al., 2004; Mertz and Yovel, 2003). More importantly for this section, *talk about language* is also considered to be an effective educational tool, especially within the field of Critical Language Awareness or CLA (see Coupland and Jaworski, 2004). This premise is normally based on an understanding that knowledge, or in our case knowledge about language, is a form of discourse (Fairclough, 1992) that can therefore not be thought of as neutral, natural or unquestionable. In other words, knowledge is mediated by ideology and agents' subjectivities (Pennycook, 2012a) and it therefore needs of constant, action-oriented, critical reflexivity⁵⁴ in order to advance.

⁵⁴ Coupland and Jaworski (2004) recycle Giddens' (1991: 20) definition of action-oriented critical reflexivity as the "chronic revision [of knowledge] in light of new information".

For instance, Kumaravadivelu (2012) recommends the exercise of collaborative dialogic inquiry among language teachers, given its potential as a formative and transformative activity. The idea behind encouraging such collaborative dialogic inquiry with students also is that, by exercising dialogic revision of taken-for-granted assumptions and of new information, students are likely to learn more about their own and other people's ideas, and these new understandings are expected to inform and perhaps even transform their conceptualisations and their evaluative and linguistic practices as well. For this reason, I see metalanguage as having the potential to introduce ELF-informed perspectives into the classroom in a similar way. For instance, through reflective group discussion, students could be encouraged to critically examine both, 'dominant'⁵⁵ conceptualisations of what counts as English (forms) or what English is used for (functions), and 'alternative' representations such as those offered by ELF research. Students could be asked to identify the ideological assumptions that underpin each of the available representations, and think about the social effects these may have for speakers across different contexts, from their local English classroom, to job interviews or everyday informal interactions. For those already working with multiple ideologies in complex ways, these dialogic spaces could help them address apparent contradictions in class and think about ways of resolving them.

Through talk about language students could also become more aware of a series of ELF-related aspects, from the negotiability of social meanings and linguistic forms in situated interactions, to the social and ideological impact that different ways of evaluating use can have on themselves and on other English speakers. Ultimately, this new co-constructed knowledge is expected to inform and potentially transform students' linguistic and metalinguistic practices (see figure 4 below for an example of what 'ELF-informed pedagogical reflectivity' may entail). However, as will be discussed later on, this is not as straightforward as it may sound.

⁵⁵ Bearing in mind that whether a particular conceptualisation is 'dominant' or 'alternative' may vary from context to context or even from individual to individual. It is important to be cautious of assigning these labels a priori. It could be more helpful to have students and teachers establish and/or these categories in the actual classroom.

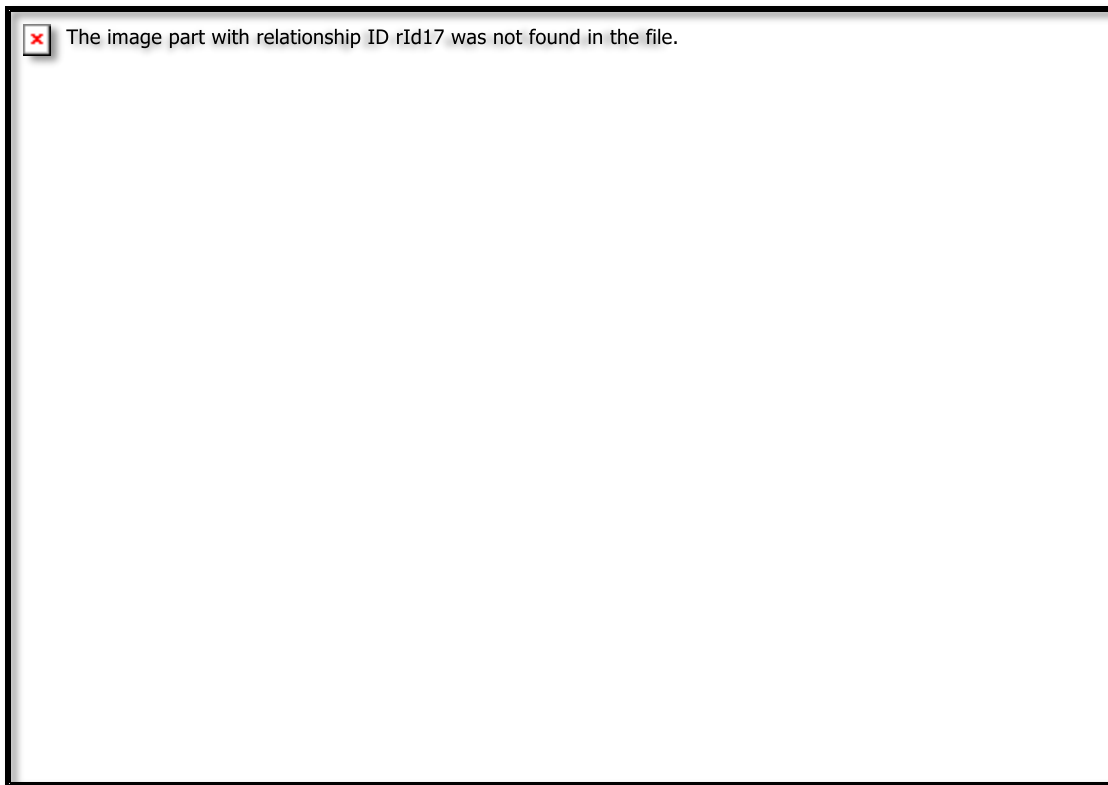


Figure 4: Visual summary of elements deemed relevant for an ELF-informed approach to classroom ‘critical metalanguaging’.

Further and periodic studies are necessary of students’ ideas, both within the currently investigated research settings and in other research settings, in order to identify yet unknown or newly emerging available interpretative resources/repertoires and language ideologies on English, its globalisation and ELF interactions to build a more comprehensive understanding of the language and communication processes and constructs that would benefit from explicit ‘metalanguaging’ (i.e. critical explicit and reflective analysis) in the classroom. Nonetheless, based on the findings reported in this study, I can so far tentatively include the following as areas in need of explicit treatment:

- metaphors/representations of language and variation;
- symbolic and communicative values associated to English,
- notions of standard language, correctness as social conventions;
- notions of intelligibility and communication;
- indexical meanings and their relation to language forms;
- processes of identification through English;
- power positioning and its negotiation;

- the socially constitutive potential of evaluation and social consequences such as social discrimination;
- labels assigned to groups of speakers and users and their impact (see Wang, 2015 on the need for critically reflecting on the ‘imagined communities’ of speakers with whom students will use the language);
- erasure of variability within communities, nations and other processes of iconisation and indexicality;
- and relations between language and culture (e.g. see Baker 2011a for an already developed framework on how to introduce intercultural awareness in the classroom).

I also believe that reviewing historical understandings of English of language ideologies or of what Pennycook refers to as “discursive shifts” in language theorisation and their “political and social implications” (Pennycook, 2012a: 131) could help students identify differences between contemporary and previous representations. This might in turn help them to start thinking differently, that is, to “unlearn” naturalised assumptions or to imagine different “social futures” (Pennycook, 2012a: 149). As this study evidences, students’ own experiences, not only with English but also of the global spread and tensions between sameness and variation of their first language (e.g. ideologies and indexical associations of rural ways of speaking vs. standards or transnational diversity) can be valuable ways to stimulate reflection in classrooms across the Spanish-speaking world.

It is not my intention however, to suggest that using metalanguage in the classroom to discuss such topics would be an unproblematic task. Considering the creation of spaces for reflexivity in the classroom poses many challenges and questions too. For example, in terms of material design, crucial decisions would have to be made in terms of *which* perspectives (i.e. theorisations of language) and topics (i.e. correctness, intelligibility, variation, identification) to introduce when and in what type of formats (e.g. what adapted scholarly literature, whether to use VOICE interaction examples, instances of other students’ theorisations and conflicts faced such as the one found in this data, and so forth). Another significant difficulty would be trying to predict in advance how the materials we have selected may be interpreted and whether they could actually reinforce old dichotomies or even establishing new unhelpful ones (e.g. NSE –NNSE; ELF/EFL/ENL).

Special attention would be needed to decide how different theories of English may be introduced and reviewed by the instructor. In my role as interviewer, I tried to avoid treating ELF representations as more or less right or real than any potential alternatives constructed or experienced by students. This could be particularly relevant for the classroom too, given the fact that the literature from which we draw to inform our teaching design and practices tends to always offer partial, on-going and rapidly-changing understandings. This is evident in the swift processes of re-conceptualisations of ELF that have taken place in publications over the past decade (see Jenkins, 2015 for a review). According to my own personal experience, my understanding of ELF was not the same the first year of my PhD or during data collection as it is now, and it is very likely to be different again in the future.

In other words, we should be cautious of not indoctrinating our students or prescribing a decontextualized ‘right’ way to interpret English use as if we, linguists and teachers, had a vantage point of view on what theorisation is the ‘best’, but to make them consciously reflect on, discuss, challenge and contrast different ideological representations of language available as well as the processes and interests behind them. That is, we should enable critical thinking on which of these seem to be dominant, and the impacts and social effects that drawing from these in linguistic and metalinguistic or evaluative practices can have for ourselves and others. We would then be working with an “enquiring rather establishing” approach (Baird et al. 2014), a recommendation that Baird, Baker and Kitazawa make in relation to the research goals for ELF researchers but which I believe could also be a beneficial approach to critically explore language theorisations and ideologies with students in the classroom. Moreover, since we seem to normally operate with multiple conceptualisations and ideologies, we should prepare students to expect such multiplicity and to develop skills to negotiate their identity, social meanings assigned to linguistic forms, ideological assumptions and so forth, in particular situated moments.

On the other hand, Pennycook (2012) warns us of the tensions that we may encounter with overly reflective approaches and the maintenance of the status quo. Falling in a loop of reflection can also be counterproductive if we intend to foster transformative action. I personally advocate for an approach that allows students to think and decide how relevant or obsolete different conceptualisations may be for them and their current English needs, and to think about how positive or harmful these conceptualisations are for different groups of speakers. In other words, to think about the social impact that particular

conceptualisations and evaluations of language tend to (re)produce in practice (especially if the impact is harmful and unjustified). This would also require explicitly addressing how the practices of critical reflexivity exercised in the classroom could affect or inform their linguistic and metalinguistic practice (in and outside educational contexts) to try to achieve balance and work towards alleviating tensions between *reflection* and *action*. Practising critical reflection should also be encouraged beyond the classroom as well. Thus, similarly to the ‘intercultural awareness’ framework that Baker (2011a/b) recommends for the teaching of cultural aspects and intercultural communication, and in line with claims made from (critical) language awareness research traditions, I also advocate for the development of a ‘critical metalinguistic competence/awareness’ in EFL/ELF classrooms.

Finding spaces to negotiate dialogic reflection can be equally changing. This requires exploring whether it is possible to include sessions for critical metalanguaging within in already packed curricula, whether it would be viable as an extra-curricular activity, or whether this would be better left for “critical moments” emerging in the locality of the classroom (Pennycook, 2012a). In fact, as Rosamond Mitchell (personal communication) reminds me, another important lesson from language awareness research in L1 English contexts is that language policy makers may not even be willing to contemplate such incorporations (see Carter, 1994 for an example of researched arguments on the benefits of including sociolinguistic and ideological knowledge in the national English and Welsh curricula for the subject of English which had no success in terms of curriculum reform influence in the 1990s). Even if we manage to persuade policy-makers to accept the need to broaden the curriculum, additional challenges or limitations would include considering at what age students would be prepared to engage in critical metalanguaging activities, dealing with asymmetrical relations between or within teachers, researchers, students, especially if the most authoritative figure/individuals adopt an *establishing* rather than *enquiring* approach during exercises of critical reflexivity, or deciding the degree of knowledge, awareness or dialogic preparation that should be required for teachers. We would also need to consider whether it would be beneficial or even necessary to undertake teacher-researcher collaborations in the classroom. This is of course a non-comprehensive list of challenges, and putting these ideas to practice would probably generate many more issues to resolve.

Thus, in addition to providing answers, this study also raises some new questions, and points to new areas of further investigation. To conclude the chapter, I now propose future

research projects that could complement or expand on the findings and implications here presented.

8.4 Further research

It is clear that the study undertaken here, although involving participants from three different countries, is of relatively small scale. Larger scale investigations that examine students' constructions of English, whether qualitative or mixed-methods in nature, would still be necessary in these three countries – as well as other Spanish-speaking regions – to gather a fuller picture on students' perceptions of English (i.e. meanings, functions and values associated to English as a resource or to particular ways of speaking it). For example, a wider array of student participants should be investigated. The current study did not seek to establish comparison across disciplines of study, but this area may be fruitful from a research perspective, especially if including groups of English language/linguistics students. Due to having recruited participants who volunteered, the study is very likely to have had a wide cohort of students with a strong interest in English, as sometimes stated by participants themselves. Reaching less motivated students would also be necessary.

Further research would be required in order to go beyond the Higher Education levels here explored (i.e. compulsory education students, adolescents, adults returning to education, etc.). Also, the majority of students that reach higher education in Latin America normally belong to privileged contexts. In the study, references were made to locals who had a close relation with English without having necessarily ever been formal students of the language in an educational environment, especially in Mexico (e.g. 22DF, 23DF, 33C). Future research therefore needs to begin to reflect the perceptions and experiences of less advantaged or less educated users of English in Spanish-speaking contexts. It is our duty to try to access the narratives of those students whose life is affected by the spread of English but who perhaps have not had access to its education or who dislike it or reject it or simply those who are not even minimally interested in the language.

From a methodological perspective, I believe that, in addition to the need for ethnographic work on the processes and effects of non-elicited metalinguistic commentary, it would also be highly interesting to undertake longitudinal studies of particular individuals in order to

gather understandings of how and when different people incorporate different ideological assumptions of language into their interpretive repertoires, and how these repertoires develop overtime.

In terms of the pedagogical implications and applications introduced in the previous sections, I am particularly interested in examining the potential for transformation that is attributed to metalinguistic discussion or dialogic inquiry, and therefore its potential as a way to address students' complex interpretative repertoires and to introduce ELF-informed perspectives of language in the classroom. In particular, I would like to establish whether critical metalinguistic reflection also has an effect on students' linguistic and evaluative practices *beyond* formal education (i.e. outside the classroom). It is therefore part of my research agenda to further explore the relationship that there may be between reflexivity, reconceptualisations and transformation of actual (meta)linguistic practice. To this end, it will be especially useful for ELF researchers like myself to engage further with (critical) language awareness and dialogic pedagogy research traditions (see Leftstein and Snell, 2014 for a recent example of scholarly work on the latter) and analyse the extent to which educational and practical proposals made in these fields may be beneficial or applicable for the teaching of the symbolic aspects on the spread and use of English an international lingua franca that I have sketched above.

8.5 In conclusion

In this investigation, I have explored how university students from the Spanish-speaking world orient to the spread and use of English as an international lingua franca, vis-à-vis the 'globality' of their own local language. Informed by qualitative frameworks that focus on the discursive construction of evaluative practices and beliefs in situated interaction, I examined how students draw from experiences, language ideologies, social meaning relations and communication constructs in their metalinguistic talk, to conceptualise and evaluate functions and affordances of the international spread of English. I also explored how students conceptualise, label and evaluate the linguistic variability and hybridity that is empirically proven to characterise the use of English as a lingua franca.

The findings of the study underscore the need to address the sharp contrast that exists between the interpretative complexity and ontological multidimensionality with which

students portrayed their relationship with this language, and the one-sided (i.e. standard and native-speaker-oriented) representations that typically dominate principles and policies of ELT. The analysis of users' explicit commentary has also proven the discursive potential that reflexive metalanguage can have in the reproduction, maintenance, challenge or negotiation of larger language ideologies and their corresponding social consequences. As a result, this study also stresses the importance of exploring the transformationalist benefits that may be gained from including critical reflection over symbolic aspects of the spread of English in the language classroom. With this investigation, I hope to encourage active collaboration with language-policy makers and educators to work towards the inclusion of updated sociolinguistic knowledge and language representations in English language education, in order to better guide the learning of English as an international lingua franca.

Appendices of the study

Appendix A Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet (V.1/01-01-12)

Study Title: The spread of English as an international language in the Spanish Speaking World

Researcher: Sonia Moran Panero

Ethics number: 1086

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form (also attached).

What is the research about?

This investigation is part of an ESRC funded Doctoral research that I am currently carrying out at the University of Southampton. I am very interested in the international spread and uses that English language are experimenting at the moment in the globe, and more particularly in the Spanish Speaking World (Spain and Latin America). My research investigates how Spanish speakers relate to, learn, and conceive English and its spread at an international level and at within local Spanish-speaking communities. I could only fully understand this phenomenon by incorporating the voices and opinions of students like you to the study, for the reason that you are the ones using, learning the language and encountering the results of its presence in your contexts.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been invited to participate in my research because you are a Spanish speaking university student, who has had experience of the educational system in your country, who has been an English student at some point (or continues to be) and because you, therefore, represent the community of people I am interested in including in the study. You may have also been approached because you belong to one of the two groups of university students I would like to include: students who have experienced an international exchange abroad and those who have not yet lived abroad for a long period of time.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to collaborate, you will be asked to fill in a short form to provide some basic personal information details when returning your consent form. You will also participate in an individual interview (60 minutes long approximately), in which you can exchange your thoughts and experiences related to English language with the researcher. In addition, you will participate in a group activity (90 minutes long approximately) in which you will have the chance to share your own opinions and ideas with other Spanish-speaking students about other related, interesting, and perhaps new topics. Both activities will be carried out in Spanish so you can express your views as freely and easily as possible. Both activities will also be recorded so that the researcher can access the valuable information you will provide the project with at a later stage. Finally, I would like to carry out a follow up activity in the form of a brief on-line questionnaire (30 mins approx), if possible three or four months after our face to face meetings, depending on your availability and internet access.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

If you decide to become a participant you will not only be helping me analyse the issues listed above for my PhD study, but you will also be contributing to the addition of knowledge in Applied Linguistics research and to fulfil a research gap in the discipline. Also, your contributions could have an influence on future language policy and educational decisions regarding English in your contexts. You can benefit from taking part on the activities as these will probably aid you to reflect on various interesting linguistic issues you may have never considered before, and you could also learn about new stimulating and thought-provoking theories/controversies of this field.

Are there any risks involved?

By taking part in the study you will not suffer any particular harm or face any additional dangers apart from the minor risks that you encounter on your daily life (e.g. getting to and leaving the meeting point, sitting down, having a discussion, etc.) I will offer you a choice of snacks and beverages to thank you for your time during face to face activities, but I will always make sure these items are on good condition, and they will not interfere with your health or potential allergies. I will also ensure that the meeting places for our activities are public, safe and appropriate.

Will my participation be confidential?

The information you share with the researcher will be recorded and stored securely in a password-protected computer immediately. It will only be accessible by authorised research members of the study (myself and my supervisor) in order to guarantee your confidentiality. Complying with the Data Protection Act and the University of Southampton policy, the data gathered will be transcribed and made anonymous by removing any names of individuals and places so that the information provided cannot be traced back to you by outsiders to the study. You will be assigned a number or pseudonym for the study, and your personal information will never be revealed by the researcher under any circumstances, even if the study was to be published. During the focus groups activities you will share your thoughts and opinions with other participants who may be able to recognise your contributions amongst the data. You can be assigned a pseudonym prior to your participation in the group activities if you wish to avoid unfamiliar participants being able to link your real identity to any data.

What happens if I change my mind?

As a participant, you agree to take part in the activities mentioned above freely and voluntarily. It is important to highlight that, should you change your mind and wish to withdraw from the study, it is your right to do this at any given point without needing to state a specific reason or explanation for it. In addition, you can request that I do not use the data collected from you until my research analysis is finalised and I submit my PhD thesis.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case that something goes wrong and you need to raise any concerns or complaints with someone else other than the researcher, you could contact an independent party, external to the study, to discuss any potential issues: Prof. Ros Mitchell, Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee (02380592231, rfm3@soton.ac.uk).

Where can I get more information?

If you have any additional questions or need further information regarding any part of the study, participant involvement, rights or any other query, please feel free to contact me and I will be more than happy to discuss any doubts with you:

Sonia Moran Panero (*researcher*)

smp1e08@soton.ac.uk (*email address*)

+44 (0) 7975733884 (*UK number*) or _____ (*local number*)

Appendix B Consent form

CONSENT FORM (*Version 1/01-01-12*)

Study title: The spread of English as an international language in the Spanish Speaking World

Researcher name: Sonia Moran Panero

Staff/Student number: 2 22931759

ERGO reference number: 1086

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (V.1/01-01-12) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

☐

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.

☐

I agree to participating in recorded interviews and focus groups, and depending on my availability and internet access, a posterior on-line questionnaire.

☐

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected.

☐

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Contact number/email address.....

Appendix C Personal information form

Thanks for showing an interest in my research and for being willing to participate! Please provide as much accurate information as it is possible for you in the following sections (if you feel uncomfortable with responding to any items you can always leave those blank). This general background information will help me guide our interview and understand better the contributions you share with me later on. Please feel free to

PERSONAL INFORMATION		
Name & Surname(s):		
Date of Birth:		
Place of birth:		
Nationality:		
Mother tongue(s):		
Language(s) mostly spoken at home:		
Language(s) mostly spoken outside home:		
Other local/national languages spoken:		
Foreign Languages:	1)	Proficiency:
	2)	Proficiency:
	3)	Proficiency:
Mother's details	Occupation:	
	Highest education obtained:	
	Occupation:	
	Mother tongue: Foreign Langs:	
Father's details	Occupation:	
	Highest education obtained:	
	Occupation:	
	Mother tongue: Foreign Langs:	

write on the boxes/margins to add information if you want or the options offered don't cover your situation.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND					
The institutions where I completed my education were ...			In these institutions my study of English took the form of:		
Primary education			Primary education		
Private Education <input type="checkbox"/>	Public Education <input type="checkbox"/>	Other _____	A language subject <input type="checkbox"/>	The language of instruction <input type="checkbox"/>	Other:
Province/State:					
Secondary Education			Secondary Education		
Private Education <input type="checkbox"/>	Public Education <input type="checkbox"/>	Other _____	A language subject <input type="checkbox"/>	The language of instruction <input type="checkbox"/>	Other:
Province/State:					

If you learned English at other institutions :	Name/type of institution or academy:			
	For how long:		Up to what level:	
IF studying English at the moment...	Name/type of institution or academy:			
	For how long:		At what level:	
EXPERIENCES ABROAD				
Have you ever lived abroad for a long/short period of time?		Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Please complete below		No <input type="checkbox"/>
Experiences 'living' Abroad (from longest to shortest stay)	Name of Country (1)	Name of Country (2)	Name of Country (3)	
Length of Stay:				
For what end/with what programme (Holiday, Erasmus..., work placement...)				
What language(s) were spoken there				
What language(s) did you use mostly there to communicate with those around you				
What language(s) did you use mostly to communicate with those of a different mother tongue from yours				
In what language(s) did you study				

THANK YOU so much for taking the time to complete this!

Appendix D Interview guide

0- Warm-up topics: current **studies**; English learning **history**; daily **contact**

1 – English global spread:

- **English in the world**
 - expansion
- **Expansion effects**
 - Tool vs. Threat debate
- **English speaker** conceptualisation
- **Ownership debate** awareness/views

2- Local spread of English

- **English in Chile/Mexico/Spain** perceptions
 - Consequences / effects
- **Comparison with other contexts (L.Am/EU)**
- **Personal effects**
- **Other Chileans/Mexican/Spaniards’** reactions
- **Parents’/Friends’** relation with E
- **English outside the classroom**

3- English as an International Language

- **EIL awareness/conceptualisation**
- **Example + Experiences**
 - Effectivity/understanding
 - Preferences in terms of intercultural partners?
- **Other ELF speakers’ Englishes** (accents)
- **Origins being (mis)recognised** in English

4- Own English

- **Own English use** description & feelings
- **Own sound/pronunciation** descript & feelings
- **Targets/aspirations**
- **Future use expectations**

5- Educational English Experience

- **Type(s) of English** seen in class (description & choice evaluation)
 - Variety views/preferences
 - Variety pronunciation
- **Any culture(s)** seen in class
- **Ideal teacher description**
- English as real world communication preparation? – Anything different?
- **Subject start age + freedom of choice** (description & evaluation)
- English as **language of instruction** (experience/views)

6- Spanish/Castilian in the world




- Views of **Spanish in the world (expansion, consequences)**
- Spanish international uses & accents (awareness and evaluations)
- ‘Standard Spanish’ (RAE)


Appendix E Transcript conventions


Transcript Conventions	Explanation/meaning
08B: 14L: 22DF: 30C: R:	Pseudonyms for speaker participants. Each participant is assigned a unique number, and the letter that represents the context in which the data was gathered: Spain B = Barcelona L = León Mexico DF=Mexico City; C=Cancún; Chile S=Santiago de Chile; V=Viña The researcher (interviewer/moderator) will always be represented by the letter ‘R’
xxxx	Unintelligible speech
(perceived speech)	Unclear/guessed speech
CAPitals	Emphasis
* between stars *	Utterances which are noticeably quieter than surrounding speech
Elongation::	Noticeable elongation in word utterance with approximate length marked by repeated colon symbol
[overlapping] [between] speakers	When overlapping takes place, the simultaneous speech of various speakers will be bracketed with the bracket symbols []
(.)	Short pause (1 second or below)
(6)	Longer pause in approximate seconds
?	Rising intonation (question-like)
@@@ <@speech@>	Laughter speech uttered whilst laughing
{researcher's information}	Additional information provided by researcher. This could regard external events occurring during the recording, participants' coughing, sighs, confidential names removal, and so forth.
[...]	Indicates that some data has been edited out due to not being key for or related to the discussion of that particular extract.
in bold	Item(s) highlighted by researcher
<Eng>corporate<Eng>	Utterances produced in a different language to Spanish are bracketed by the symbols <Eng> <Eng> to indicate the language used. A translation, clarification or the actual Spanish term(s) may be provided by the researcher if relevant.
[]	Phonetic transcription of a specific utterance due to its particular relevance

Appendix F Interview coding and categorising


F.1 Final nvivo codes and categories

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F.2 Final nvivo categories and free standing codes


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Appendix G Research themes, IRs and codes




Ch.	Themes	Interpretative Reps. (IRs)	Codes (informing IRs)
Chapter 5	1. English as a global resource		-English functions -EFL/ESL function -ELF EIL function -Gatekeeping function -Integrative function -Message reach -Mobility gatekeeping
	1.1. Access	1. English as a key/gatekeeper	
	1.2. Need vs. Status	2. English as 'important'	-ELF conceptualisation -English intrinsic qualities -English values/status -LANG CHOICE -Language Learning Beliefs -OTHER LANGS Mentioned -Compet. Bt. Langs -Multilingualism
Chapter 5	1.3. Identity-making	3. English as a 'differentiating' resource 3.1. English as 'transgression' 3.2. English as 'social class' 3.3. English as 'betrayal'	
Chapter 5	2. The spread of English 'locally'	4. Spain is behind 5. English as invasion 6. Chile is isolated 7. English as 'US-ness' 8. English as 'localness' 9. Ethnocentricity vs. English	-E groups and territories association -E spread LOCALLY -Local need Lack of need -Negative resistance -Culture -STEREOTYPES -Identification
Chapter 5 Chapter 5		10. Spanish as hope	-exclusion inclusion group division

	3. The globality of Spanish	11. Spanish as obstacle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Indexicals associated to ways of speaking -SocioEcoCult Background -Wannabe -Economic issues -Inequality -Culture -Ethnic National Pride -E and territories -SPANISH -E contact -Personal Impact of E spread -Personal future use -POWER -Inequality
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Ch.	Themes	Interpretative Reps. (IRs)	Codes (informing IRs)
Chapter 6 Chapter 6	1. Own English	1. My English accent is variation 2. My English is 'non-native' English 3. My English is 'standard/native-like' 4. My English is 'a hybrid' 5. My English is 'variable'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -OWN ENGLISH USE -E contact -Own English -Own pronunciation accent -Personal aims targets -Personal future use -Personal impact of E spread -OTHER E USERS use -Def English speaker -MONGLICH

		<p>6. My English is 'intelligibility'</p> <p>7. My English is 'identity' (social practice)</p>	<p>-Other E users English</p> <p>-Other E users pronunciation</p> <p>-WAYS OF USING E</p> <p>-Audience related comments</p> <p>-(IM)Perfection</p> <p>(IN)Correction</p> <p>-Accommodating form</p> <p>-E uses in ELF interactions</p> <p>-Communication in ELF</p> <p>-Intelligibility in ELF</p> <p>-E VARIATION</p> <p>VARIABILITY</p> <p>-E Appropriation</p> <p>-E hybridity meshing</p> <p>-E registers genres</p> <p>-E regulations on form</p> <p>-E styles</p> <p>-E varieties</p> <p>-Variation within varieties</p> <p>-Standards</p> <p>-English level</p> <p>-ELF conceptualisation</p> <p>-ELF experiences</p> <p>-Language Learning Beliefs</p> <p>-Identification</p> <p>-exclusion inclusion group division</p>
	2. Other speakers' English	<p>1. Other speakers' English as 'native-variety' or 'error'</p> <p>2. Other English speakers' difference as 'variation'</p> <p>3. Other speakers' English as social practice</p> <p>4. Other speakers' English as 'high/low level'</p>	
	3. English use and variation in ELF	<p>1. English-in-LF-use as 'native-speaker English'</p> <p>2. English-in-LF-use as an 'international standard'</p> <p>3. English-in-LF-use as 'appropriated Englishes'</p> <p>4. English-in-LF-use as 'emergent language'</p>	

			-Indexicals associated to ways of speaking -SocioEcoCult Background -Wannabe -Economic issues -Culture
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Ch.	Themes/Constructs	Interpretative Reps. (IRs)	Codes (informing IRs)
Chapter 7	1. (II)legitimate speakers	1. Native speakers as legitimate target 2. Native speakers as illegitimate authority 3. Non-native speakers as norm-followers 4. Non-native speakers as legitimate targets 5. Native speakers as 'difficult' ELF communicators 6. Non-native speakers as 'high-maintenance' ELF communicators	-POWER -Inequality -Def English speaker -Other speakers' interactional patterns -Communication in ELF -Intelligibility in ELF -Culture -Stereotyping -English spread locally -Negative resistance -US proximity dependence influence -English level -ELF conceptualisation -ELF experiences -Economic issues -Identification
Chapter 7			

		6.A. Good ELF communicators as individual-dependent	-exclusion inclusion group division -Indexicals associated to ways of speaking -SocioEcoCult Background -Wannabe -Audience related comments -(IM)Perfection (IN)Correction -Accommodating form
	2. Correctness	7. Correctness as form-inherent 8. Correctness as iconised subjective evaluation	-E uses in ELF interactions -Language Learning Beliefs -Origin misrecognition -Origin recognition
	3. Communication and intelligibility	9. Intelligibility as fixed-in- form 10. Intelligibility as negotiable (speaker- and hearer-dependent)	

	<p>4. Indexicality and Identity performance</p>	<p>11. Passing as a native-speaker as being authentic</p> <p>12. Passing as a native-speaker as being a ‘hard-working’ student</p> <p>13. Not passing as a native as being authentic</p> <p>14. Not passing as a native as being a multilingual global citizen</p> <p>15. Perfect English as professionalism, credibility and social class</p> <p>16. Perfect English as pedantry</p> <p>17. Native English as inauthentic wannabe</p> <p>18. Native English as uneducatedness</p>	
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Appendix H Example of multidimensional evaluation

The following table shows how participants 50V and 40S (randomly chosen) evaluate ‘passing’ and ‘not passing’ as a native-speaker positively and includes the meanings, evaluative dimensions and ideologies they invoked in each case:

Participant 50V			Participant 40S	
Scenario	Being assigned Chilean nationality	‘Passing’ as a US speaker of English	Being assigned Chilean nationality	‘Passing’ as a US speaker of English
Evaluation	+	+	+	+
Conceptualisation	-just another way of speaking English (i.e. language variation/contact)	-a way of producing a local English (i.e. native-speaker English as authentic) -a more fluid English	-irrelevant deficiency - another way of speaking (i.e. language variation)	- speaking well/properly (i.e. native-speakerism, standard language ideology)

Appendix I Participants' reported ELF experience

Participant in bold = *fully transcribed*

Participant in italics = *attentive listening and partial transcript*

Participant	ELF experience(s)	Location	Interlocutors	Additional comments
01B (Exchange)	Daily/frequent -Erasmus year abroad -Summer months abroad	-Bcn -Holland -North England	-Greek boyfriend -Biology lab -Erasmus students -Manchester people	
02B (Domestic)	-Interactions with lodgers during the summers	-Ibiza (hometown)	- Finnish, English and French tourists	
03B (Domestic)	-2 weeks of interactions with students and family as part of a school exchange abroad - 1 week of interactions with students and family as part of a school exchange abroad -General travelling	-England -Sweden	-	Maintained communication through emails with Swedes
<i>04B</i> (Domestic)	-Three weeks spent in summer exchange	-USA -Canada		

	-One month summer exchange			
05B (Exchange)	-An academic year as Erasmus exchange - 3 week language learning summer course	- UK -Ireland		
06B (Domestic)	- 15 days English summer course abroad	-England		
07B (Exchange)	-2 months of interactions while studying at an academy abroad -Erasmus	- London -Belgium	- People from all over the world -Brazilians, Swedish people, Chinese, Italians, Greeks	Maintained online communication (Skype)
08B (Exchange)	-4 months high school study abroad - 5 months Erasmus experience	- Ireland -Poland		
09L (Exchange)	-Regularly as part of her role as an 'Erasmus buddy', welcoming Erasmus students at the university. -Constantly during	-Leon -Finland	-Incoming Erasmus students from various nationalities -With German housemate and other international friends	

	Erasmus experience			
10L (Exchange)	-Amicus exchange in the USA	Leon USA	-Lebanese teacher, US teachers and students -Students at the international club	
11L (Exchange)	-Interactions with lodgers during summer months -Erasmus	-Leon -Finland	-Students at an English summer camp -Students of multiple nationalities	-Maintains contact online
13L (Domestic)	Talking to the mother of a British friend sporadically	Leon	- British national living in Spain	
14L (Exchange)	-Rarely the beginning of Erasmus experience with one classmate, then only used Spanish and Italian mainly as lingua francas -Constantly at English summer courses abroad	-Italy -Britain	-With an English-Italian bilingual student (until the participant learnt Italian)	
15L (Domestic)	None reported			
16L (Domestic)	-Very sporadic online use (chat)	Online	-USA friend	

	-Interactions during summer exchange (very sporadic)	France	-Germans, Italians	
17L (Domestic)	-Regularly during a short summer English course	- Toronto, USA	-With English students from a variety of nationalities.	
20DF (Exchange)	Erasmus experience	Wales	Polish, Germans, Spaniards, Indians	
21DF (Domestic)	-45 days spent at a youth science club during the summer -25 days spent at a youth science club during the summer	-USA -USA	With other international young students	
22DF (Exchange)	-Sporadic interactions with tourists due to living in touristy location -Erasmus experience	-Mexico -England	-Foreign tourists (e.g. North Americans, Germans) -English friends and international friends (Russian, Saudi, German)	
23DF (Domestic)	One occasion	Mexico	A French student	
24DF (Exchange)	-Six months spent at Erasmus exchange	-Holland	With students from a variety of nationalities and mother tongues	
25DF (Domestic)	-Sporadic seminars at	-Mexico	- Swedish, German speakers	

	university degree -Hostels and transport systems during travelling experience through Europe	-Germany	-Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Indian, German speakers	
26DF (Domestic)	None reported			
27DF (Exchange)	- 6 months of Erasmus programme	- Netherlands	-	
30C (Exchange)	- Interactions during 5 weeks while studying English abroad -Regular local interactions with tourists	-Toronto -Mexico	People from all over the world	
31C (Exchange)	-Few experiences during 6 months in Erasmus abroad	-Spain		
32C (Exchange)	-During Erasmus (very sporadically) -Travelling through Europe	-Spain -Germany	-Dutch, French, Germans -German and French speakers	
33C (Domestic)	-Interactions during 2 months work placement at local hotel area	-Mexico -Mexico	US, Canadian, French, Brazilian and Indian people	

	-Frequent interactions with tourists			
34C (Domestic)	None reported			
35C (Domestic)	None reported			
36C (Domestic)	<p>-Interactions with customers during work placement in tourist area</p> <p>-Regular interactions with tourists in the streets</p> <p>-Conference event at the local university</p> <p>-Local cooking event with other chefs</p>	<p>-Mexico</p> <p>-Mexico</p> <p>-Mexico</p> <p>-Mexico</p>	<p>People from all over the world (Japan, China, USA, Brazil, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Canada)</p>	
38C (Exchange)	-Regular exchanges with international students while on study abroad during 4 months	-Spain		
40S (Exchange)	-Constantly during Erasmus experience	Holland	People from all over the world (Europeans, Mexicans, Greeks, Germans)	
41S (Exchange)	- Constantly during a year abroad experience	<p>-China</p> <p>-Europe</p>		

	-Regularly during summer travelling experience			
42S (Domestic)	-Rarely with tourists she approaches in the street -International law event abroad -Friends' cousin during holiday	-Chile -USA -Chile	-Canadians, Lithuanians, US citizens, Chinese, Russians, German -German	-Maintained contact through Facebook
43S (Domestic)	- Regularly during a three month summer stay abroad to work and travel	- USA		
44S (Domestic)	-Interactions during a trip in Bolivia	-Bolivia	-Australians, English, Israelis, Spanish	
45S (Exchange)	-Rarely during her year abroad experience (reports to have used Italian mostly)	- Italy		
46S (Exchange)	-Rarely during her year abroad experience (reports to have used French mostly)	-France		

47S (Exchange)	-Interactions during trips to Europe -Erasmus year (sporadically)	-France -Brazil	-Europeans, Africans, Ugandans, Russians, Lithuanians, Indians	
48S (Domestic)	-Frequently during summer stays abroad and trips that tended to last 3 months	-New Zealand -England -Germany		
50V (Exchange)	-Erasmus trips and recurrent trips to the USA	-USA	- Australians, Finnish, US citizens, Mexicans, Polish, Scottish, French	-Maintained a bit of contact through Facebook
51V (Exchange)	-Frequently during a three month stay abroad to work and travel	-USA		
52V (Domestic)	-Rare encounters	-England	A German, a French and a Chinese person	
53V (Domestic)	-None reported			
54V (Domestic)	-Interactions during summers abroad	-USA	-Brazilians, Syrians	
55V (Domestic)	- Brief experience during a one month summer English course	-USA		
56V (Exchange)	-Regularly during a four month exchange	-USA		

	abroad to work			
57V (Domestic)	- Few cases during a year abroad high school exchange (reported to have used mostly German)	-Germany		

Appendix J Interview sample

Interview Transcript	
Context/uni	Leon, ULE
Participant No	11L
Details	Female, 24, public, Erasmus (Finland)
Location	Café in Leon city centre

- 1 R: vale pues 11L te las voy a poner:: por aquí así y tal y así ya nos olvidamos
2 11L: no vaya a ser que no se oiga
3 R: @@ eso son bastante buenas recogen bien el sonido así que
4 11L: vale
5 R: y:: nada por que no empezamos con algo sencillito me puedes contar pues un poco cual es tu carrera que
6 estas haciendo en que curso estas y si tu carrera tiene ya alguna relacion con el con el ingles vale?
7 @@@
8 11L: vale pues yo estudio administracion y direccion de empresas (.) eh relacion con el ingles yo considero
9 que tiene bastante porque cada vez los negocios se desarrollando mas en ingles tch y: : me faltaba algo
10 que::
11 R: en que curso estabas me decias
12 11L: ah si me quedan dos asignaturas para acabar
13 R: que bien eh? @@
14 11L: si ya es hora @@
15 R: muy bien podemos repasar muy brevemente juntas las instituciones en las que has aprendido ingles mm
16 desde que empezaste y todo?
17 11L: mm vale el ingles en la escuela de idiomas que estuve un año solamente luego he hecho cursos fuera
18 en holanda en grecia:: en oxford de ing relacionado con los negocios tambien en ingles y:: tambien he
19 dao una asignatura mas en la universidad y ahora estoy en la escuela de negocios de de aquí
20 [preparándome] xxxx
21 R: [vale entonces:] la:: la asignatura que dist en la universidad era una asignatura::
22 11L: si era como basico ingles: relacionado con los negocios basicamente
23 R: y estos cursos que has ido por ahí a diferentes sitios por ejemplo holanda como eran estos cursos de
24 ingles?
25 11L: eh hh eran relacionados con: con con mi carrera eran de diferentes topicos como: croscultural de
26 direccion de medianas empresas
27 R: mhm
28 11L: cada uno de ellos (.) [un area]
29 R: [y todos esos] eran en ingles no?
30 11L: si y en la universidad de allí de la:: de la ciudad
31 R: y estos cursos como te los has buscado me:: resulta muy interesante @@
32 11L: pues eh hh algunos de ellos tienen la la empresa o sea la universidad con las: (.) las universidades a las
33 que llevan erasmus tienen esos tipos de convenios entonces hacen algun curso relacionado y lo
34 ofrecen a los estudiantes (xxx)
35 R: muy bien y esto ha sido en plan en verano o durante el curso o algo
36 11L: uno fue en verano y los otros donde durante el curso
37 R: vale vale y mas o menos la duracion de esos cursos suele ser:
38 11L: quince días un mes
39 R: vale quince dias o un mes vale que interesante oye [es una buena oportunidad]
40 11L: [SI:: la verdad] es que si pero es eso lo para para lade bueno para economicas en general
41 R: si porque me parece a mi que en otras carreras @@
42 11L: @@@
43 R: vale muy bien y y mm habia como un concurso era como una beca para:: conseguirestos cursos o::
44 11L: bueno basicamente no mucha gente los solicita entonces mas o menos siempre suelen sobrar
45 plazas pero si que:: tiene que tener requisitos de que tienes que saber el idioma: que tienes que:: tch
46 pue vamos de alguna manera tambien conocer un poco al profesor que sepa tambien un poco tu
47 experiencia:: vamos que no sepas allí y no sepas nada de ese mundo y:: que estes en los ultimos años
48 tambien te lo valoran
49 R: vale y te piden algun:: nivel de ingles en particular:: o algo así o::?

50 11L: si bueno medio alto pero bueno he estado en alguno tambien que ha ido gente de mi universidad que no
51 sabia mucho ingles o sea que perdidisimos bastante @@
52 R: vaya
53 11L: pero bueno pero es por lo que te digo eh? no mucha gente:: al final quiere ir
54 R: que raro no? porque:
55 11L: ya tch hombre tambien hay que pagar un poco tu o sea tienes que poner un poco de dinero pero no:: ha
56 sido muchisimo
57 R: por que crees que la gente no le interesa: pedir tanto este esta::
58 11L: pues unos porque como van a marchar tantos dias otros tambien he oido mucha gente de que en verano
59 que si hacen las practicas algunos trabajan: (.) yo en eso tengo bastante flexibilidad
60 R: vale
61 11L: que si pierdo clases::
62 R: vale si
63 11L: lo tipico de que la gente no se quiere mover de aquí eso @@
64 R: vale @@ muy bien eh pues luego ya fuera de clase eh hablando fuera de clase mm como me dirias que es
65 tu contacto con la lengua inglesa en tu dia a dia?
66 11L: pues: mi contacto ahora esta bastante: avanzado pero primeramente siempre:: **suspendia** ingles nunca::
67 mm **no me gustaba estudiar ingles lo veia totalmente::** (.) **innecesario** o por lo menos no
68 importante pero una vez que me puse me he puesto y en **tres o cuatro años he dado un giro total**
69 R: mhm cuando mas o menos sucedio el el cambio?
70 11L: pues en se:: si en segundo de carrera o algo asi para empezar a mirar por el erasmus
71 R: y que paso que?
72 11L: que queria irme fuera y que aprender ingles o sea mejorarlo
73 R: y como fue ese cambio de:: de como veias el ingles y como lo ves ahora?
74 11L: uh eh radical (.) radical porque ahora me parece: necesario no imprescindible no incluso:: basico @ (.)
75 R: y antes lo veias:: como lo veias?
76 11L: antes lo veia como una cosa:: que se me daba mal que no:: no veia que fuera importante
77 R: vale vale vale eh fuera de:: del estudio y tal en plan:: como seria tu contacto si es que tienes alguno? con::
78 el ingles por ejemplo no se a traves de peliculas de musica o libros::
79 11L: si ahora:: si me he puesto a ver peliculas y ya llevo unos cuantos libros leidos pero porque me estoy
80 preparando el ielts y me lo estoy tomando: medianamente serio si (.) tambien tengo algunos amigos
81 bueno porque cerca de mi casa hay un campamento de ingles y: por decirlo asi mis padres en verano
82 les alquila mi casa entonces me:: han dejado un monton de libros en ingles:: entonces pues bueno pues
83 ya que los tengo ahí pues los leo
84 R: si
85 11L: y ha sido todo un poco:: coincidencia que hayan abierto este campamento que tambien me ha motivao
86 bastante porque tengo amigos americanos luego:: tambien tengo otra amiga que estudia en londres:
87 que ha viajado muchisimo porque su padre trabaja para una multinacional y todo ha llevado un poco a
88 esa motivacion
89 R: vale y tienes amigos:: con los que utilices el ingles que se a a traves de internet o no tanto
90 11L: si si si muchisimos
91 R: mhm de donde son esta gente con la que sueles hablar?
92 11L: pues:: de mas o menos de todos los sitios porque del erasmus tengo bastantes amigas y amigos de::
93 muchos paises y por ejemplo con un par de ellos si que hablo bastante en ingles si:: no es todo los dias
94 casi todos
95 R: de donde son?
96 11L: pues de grecia francia: china (.) y ya y bueno los americanos pero esos mas bien estan aquí en leon no
97 por internet
98 R: vale vale vale muy bien
99 11L: porque es que ha sido todo un cambio muy radical en estos anhos que me ha motivao bastante a ello
100 R: y en plan musica:: escuchas musicas en ingles o mas en espanhol::
101 11L: la musica me parece muy dificil en ingles entenderla y a parte no soy de mucho escucharla tampoco
102 R: vale vale vale en plan series y cosas asi::? me habias no se si me acabas de decir o no
103 11L: series eh he visto alguna pero no: me termino de enganchar prefiero ver peliculas
104 R: vale
105 11L: porque como no estoy muy puesta en las peliculas pues me parece una buena manera de ver peliculas
106 nuevas ahora sin megavideo se lleva un poco peor pero bueno @@@ si
107 R: @@ ya bueno es lo que hay entonces sueles acceder a material en ingles eh por internet oh?
108 11L: Si bueno hay algunos de uedes que tengo en casa tambien otros que me dejan:: mis amigos y demas
109 R: vale muy bien perfecto bueno pues asi te voy a hacer una pregunta un poco mas general: como ves el
110 ingles hoy en dia en el mundo? @
111 11L: pues yo antes lo veia como:: algo que **teniamos** que mejorar y que aprender y demas pero ahora lo veo
112 como que:: (.) es basico como **que ya desde niño** lo deberiamos de saber

113 R: mhm mhm
 114 11L: imprescindible
 115 R: mhm mm dices imprescindible por ejemplo para que cosas o::
 116 11L: pues para ir a cualquier sitio y que te entiendan de eso hasta:: que todo esta muy global o sea muy
 117 globalizado y es necesario (.) y que muchisima gente ya no sabe **ingles eh solo** yo saliendo fuera ya he
 118 visto que el ingles es como:: **nada** es como es como bueno si ingles se ingles ya y se tambien tal y tal
 119 y tal
 120 R: en plan otras lenguas?
 121 11L: claro
 122 R: y que te parece eso como ves tu esto?
 123 11L: lo veo que:: que estamos muy: muy mal **en espanha @@**
 124 R: si?
 125 11L: lo veo asi
 126 R: y eso?
 127 11L: hombre:: emm tambien he estado mas bien en paises nordicos y en paises un poco que que la media esta
 128 en tres idiomas dos tres entonces pues lo veo mas asi entonces y luego por la experiencia tambien por
 129 los amigos que tengo pues en america la mayoría de la gente sabe español e ingles y:: estan intentando
 130 aprender frances cuando no tienen casi contacto con el frances o portugueses
 131 R: y [aquí]?
 132 11L: [pero] tambien tengo amigos que hablan cuatro idiomas desde pequeños y eso ya es una burrada pero
 133 R: amigos extranjeros? Quieres decir
 134 11L: si
 135 R: ya y aquí me decias que::
 136 11L: es una burrada pero en en españa el que sabe mas de dos idiomas es porque alguno de sus padres es de::
 137 o sea su lenguaje materno o paterno es otro idioma
 138 R: vale vale
 139 11L: si no es dificil encontrarlo
 140 R: vale vale
 141 11L: vamos al menos de mi edad @ ahora ya mas pequeños ya poco a poco se va progresando
 142 R: vale bueno como:: el ingles se ha expandido bastante fuera de paises de habla inglesa etcetera ehh como
 143 ves la expansion del ingles? que te parece
 144 11L: (.) pues la veo que:: que ya no es que se este expandiendo en muchos sitios ya esta: en proceso de:
 145 quedarse en españa si se esta expandiendo porque todavia nos queda mucho (.) y y la veo bien la veo
 146 bien porque:: es **un lenguaje comun** con el que todos nos podemos nos podemos **comunicar**
 147 R: mhm mhm cuando dices quedarse que esta para quedarse:: podrias elaborar un poco que quieres decir?
 148 11L: que:: que como que ya esta establecido la gente ya no se plantea aprender ingles ya es algo que va::
 149 contigo mismo igual que aprender a escribir o a hablar o: andar
 150 R: en que sitios tienes algun sitio en mente con con estas características
 151 11L: finlandia que yo pense que la gente mayor no iba a hablar y te habla desde la cajera del supermercado
 152 hasta el conductor del autobus hasta:: un señor que trabaja en el campo (.) todo el mundo
 153 R: vale vale vale ehhh que consecuencias crees que ha podido tener la expansion del ingles (.) si es que se te
 154 ocurren alguna
 155 11L: (.) **podria tener la consecuencia de perdida** del lenguaje de otra de otras de otros estados o ciudades
 156 **pero:: no lo no no la tiene** o sea porque eso es lo que no me gustaria a mi que se perdiera:: tch el
 157 propio lenguaje por ejemplo **el espanol no porque es bastante fuerte** pero otros lenguajes que son
 158 mas minoritarios se podrian perder y:: **pero la verdad es que no se estan perdiendo entonces yo la**
 159 **veo positiva en ese sentido si: fuera de otra manera no**
 160 R: vale no me parece muy interesante lo que me comentas porque:: gente que interpreta un poco la expansion
 161 y demas pues tiene diferentes visiones hay gente que lo ve como una herramienta de comunicacion y
 162 por ejemplo en otro lado puede verse como una amenaza como ves tu este debate y
 163 11L: como amenaza:: tch antes en mi **version mas:: españolizada** la veia como:: como si como **amenaza**
 164 **como:: porque vamos a tener que aprender otro idioma no?** pero:: una vez que esta ya bastante
 165 establecido es lo que te digo es una es una cosa mas que va contigo y que es como que es como
 166 aprender a:: andar y entonces ehh (.) no es ninguna amenaza al contrario una vez que esta establecido
 167 la gente lo **que va a intentar es eh reforzar mas su idioma porque es un punto de diferenciacion**
 168 R: mhm un punto de diferenciacion::
 169 11L: pues:: algo que nos hace diferentes españa bueno pues todavia es un un lenguaje mayoritario pero en
 170 otros sitios no (.) el italiano por ejemplo es un punto de diferenciacion tener italiano
 171 R: ya mhm mhm vale vale ehh perfecto muy bien eh si yo te pregunto quien:: seria para ti un hablante de
 172 ingles hoy en dia? como me lo definirias
 173 11L: (.) un hablante de ingles (.) en españa?
 174 R: en general como tu lo que tu consideres lo que crees que es un hablante de ingles hoy en dia

175 11L: pues para mi un hablante de ingles pues es eh no se alguien que se puede comunicar en todas las partes
176 en todos los sitios (..) es que no se me ocurre asi:
177 R: vale vale muy bien emm cuando piensas en el ingles lengua inglesa se te:: vienen a la cabeza algun grupo
178 o grupos de:: de de personas en el mundo o no?
179 11L: mmmm (.) **no** porque yo tengo mismamente muchos conocidos amigos que no hablan español no creo
180 que que haga grupos en ingles
181 R: vale muy bien vale ehbb bueno y estabamos hablando un poquito antes quizas de mi siguiente pregunta
182 que:: que es como ves la expansion del ingles en espana no?
183 11L: si que esta creciendo pero que todavia nos queda mucho y que la gente por lo menos esta concienciada
184 porque antes yo creo que no se estaba tan concienciado de ello y cada vez veo mas gente que lleva los
185 ninhos a escuelas bilingües o a la guarderia: tch y eso ya es un paso importante para espana porque::
186 hasta ahora yo mis padres de pequeña ni se les paso por la cabeza:: darme una educacion en ingles: (.)
187 y ahora por lo menos **si cada vez tch** antes si te mandaban a la academia para aprender ingle era par
188 que pasaras los dos (años) ahora ya no intentan que **no es que solo pases los exámenes sino que**
189 **llegues a hablar y a entenderte** en ingles pues:: a veces con la **crisis** pues la gente tambien se
190 conciencia mas porque sabe que cualquier dia se tiene que:: mover de aquí @@
191 R: ya es un tema interesante ahora:: si si si vale muy bien bueno estabamos comparando un poco en
192 comparacion con otros paises europeos:: como ves el ingles en espanha
193 11L: (.) pues pero que: la mayoria de los paises (.) MUchisimo peor porque incluso hasta italia y francia que
194 tambien estan muy verdes lo llevan mejor que nosotros ciertos puntos:: en general
195 R: mhm
196 11L: a ver empezaron yo creo que concienciandose un poco antes que nosotros
197 R: vale cuando dices un poco peor y ellos un poco mejor cuales serian por ejemplo la:: diferencia o::
198 11L: es que yo creo que en italia y en francia esta como mas diferenciada la:: gente que sabe y la gente que
199 no sabe (.) tch es como que:: las escuelas de negocios ya van mas avanzadas y ahí por ejemplo la
200 gente ya sabe hablar mas ingles sin embargo en espanha pues todavia estamos empezando ahora
201 entonces el que sabe ingles sabe ingles en esos paises y el que no sabe no sabe
202 R: y en espana la situacion como seria entonces?
203 11L: en espana pues empezamos a saber ingles pero en menor cantidad de la misma manera y y yo creo que
204 estamos todavia un poco por de UN POCO por debajo no hay mucha diferencia pero:: si un poco por
205 debajo
206 R: vale vale por que crees que puede haber esta diferencia con el resto de europa? Que cosas crees que han
207 podido motivar
208 11L: yo creo que **somos muy:: orgullosos de lo nuestro** y:: y hemos y vemos eso (.) como una amenaza o
209 como una amenaza intrinsecamente (.) es que no se como explicarlo como que:: la gente **no es que**
210 **no quiera pero** que que no:: les da no les da importancia y: y si lo ven como algo:: **que no que no**
211 **que pa que que no tenemos necesidad ninguna o no teniamos @@**
212 R: vale dices orgullosos::
213 11L: si mm (.) no se pero cada vez donde hay un español intentas deci por ejemplo vas fuera y donde haya un
214 español el español va a intentar enseñar a los demas el español las cosas que hacemos en espana:
215 vamos que nos gusta bastante nuestra cultura: y la intentamos llevar a donde sea sin embargo que::
216 otro {*babycries and interrupts*} que gentes de otros paises pues son como mas abiertos e intentan
217 intentan:: saber mas a cerca de otros y no tanto y no tanto como hablar de lo uno: de lo de uno mismo
218 R: mhm vale no es muy interesante eh? Lo que me cuentas @@ vale perdona @@
219 11L: no no no
220 R: vale bueno y quizas eh bueno no se si tienes idea de como es el ingles en espana en comparacion con otros
221 paises hispanohablantes por ejemplo latinoamericanos?
222 11L: si tambien se mas o menos y tambien puedo decir que:: el nivel es bastante mas bajo y al igual que y
223 tambien hay muchas diferencias entre las clases sociales y entonces el que esta:: un poco bien situado
224 si que habla ingles y el que no no habla nada de ingles
225 R: vale perdona dices BAJO donde en aquí o allí
226 11L: en el no no allí como que las clases sociales estan mas divididas entonces el que el que esta: tch el que
227 tiene dinero por asi decirlo o el que tiene buena educacion o demas sabe tiene **bastante mejor nivel**
228 **que los españoles** y el que esta: por abajo pues no sabe
229 R: vale
230 11L: pero aun asi esta como mas globalizado el el ingles porque es como mas:: hay mas anglicismos yo creo
231 R: mhm mhm y que te parece esa diferencia con otros paises
232 11L: pues me llama mucho la atencion porque generalmente son paises menos menos desarrollados que
233 espana y tienen bastante mas conocimiento de ello quizas tambien por la emigracion que emigran
234 bastante ahhh ahh america y sus tios su no se quien habla ingles todos los productos vienen de allí
235 porque ellos no tienen desarrollo: como quien dice (.) yo creo que viene por ahí un poco **que sepan**
236 **mas mas ingles que nosotros tambien son** muy:: (.) tch muy **POSH** muy de ir a escuelas publicas y

237 demas a:: escuelas privadas y entonces las escuelas privadas tambien llevan mas ingles que las
238 publicas alli el que tiene dinero pues va a la privada pues:vamos si o si
239 R: vale vale vale vale muy interesante@@ bueno y si yo te pregunto:: que significa el **ingles para ti?** eh a
240 titulo personal?
241 11L: pues que significa:: ahora mismo:: (.) crecimiento y eh bueno ahora va bastan siendo bastante
242 importante porque quiero estudiar el master fuera porque lo veo que es **diferenciador** que la gente
243 no:: quiere moverse mucho fuera entonces es importante en ese sentido y:: importante tambien
244 porque:: vamos en mi area que es en el area de las empresas trabajos aquí o trabajos fuera vas a tener
245 que relacionarte con:: **con otros paises y van a usar el ingles porque es:: lo comun**
246 R: mhm vale vale vale muy bien emm como lo ven por ejemplo tus padres el ingles?
247 11L: UUH mis padres lo ven como que es el no va mas como que saber ingles ya eres ahi:: uff que estudiosa
248 @@
249 R: que piensan ellos de que hables ingles? *[interruption by someone picking up my scarf]*
250 11L: que piensan pues nada con mucho orgullo y y muy bien pero bueno tambien como tienen bastante
251 contacto con el campamento que te digo y otra amiga que tengo que es la que:: ha viajado tanto y ha
252 vivido en tantos paises pues ya lo van viendo como algo que ya: no es tantisimo:: como que es **mas**
253 **normal fuera de españa**
254 R: vale vale emm como lo veria tu entorno de amigos cercano?
255 11L: bueno pues como tengo bastante diferenciados mis amigos porque al vivir en un PUEBLo hay gente de
256 pueblo@@ y al estudiar en la ciudad tengo tch amigas de ciudad pues:: si que es bastante diferente
257 mis amigas del pueblo pues lo ven como yo lo veia hace unos años como que algo que:: bueno que si
258 que lo puedes hacer y si que esta bien pero (.) que no: ven VEN la necesidad porque ah si hay que
259 aprender ingles pero no lo hacen o sea que lo ven y no lo ven @@
260 R: @@
261 11L: y mis amigas de la ciudad no se si: por suerte o por desgracia por coincidencia o no tambien han estado
262 de erasmus y son tambien ellos un poco los que tambien me han motivado porque para ellas es: pues
263 ya tambien basico como para mi
264 R: mhm mhm mhm vale muy bien ehh perfecto bueno estabamos hablando antes un poco emm de de pues de
265 si como era tu contacto personal:: con el ingles aqui en espanha y tal en tu día a día yo te queria te
266 queria preguntar como crees que es la la posibilidad de acceder a materiales en ingles aquí en: en
267 españa?
268 11L: bueno pues precisamente hoy fui a la biblioteca @@ a ver que libros tenian en ingles y bueno te podre
269 decir que solo tienen una estanteria abajo y como de:: dos metros por tres (.) solo eso la verdad es que
270 es bastante poco nadie:: los coge por desgracia y bueno el contacto pues cada día va siendo mayor
271 pero todavia nos queda muchisimo porque aquí:: todavia se ve la television en español:: las madres
272 nos ponen las peliculas de dibujos animados en español:: en ese sentido nos queda bastante
273 R: el cine como::
274 11L: el cine en español tambien que me da rabia porque ahora que estoy estudiando me gustaria que las
275 pusieran en ingles por lo menos que hubiera esa: oportunidad no se y: comparado con otros paises
276 vamos totalmente:: ATRAsaos no no atrasao porque:: tch genera tambien puestos de trabajo y esta::
277 esta bien pero que no doblen las que las que son: inglesas por ejemplo o eso no lo veo yo ya tambien
278 R: vale entonces como verias estas practicas de doblaje: eh no crees que estan bien o que
279 11L: yo creo que nos perdemos parte de la pelicula en ese sentido no es que las ve ni mal ni bien porque
280 siempre fue así:: y ya te digo genera puestos de trabajo y hoy en día lo que genere puestos de trabajo
281 esta bien @@ pero lo que nos perdemos nos perdemos cosas por ello
282 R: mhm mhm y en la television tampoco hay mucha opcion?
283 11L: a ver ingles bueno mi hermano me ha dicho que se puede ver la tele en ingles que nunca lo he probado
284 porque como siempre veo la tele con mis padres pues no voy a verla en ingles pero vamos si: la hay
285 me parece muy bien
286 R: es algo que tu hermano haga o simplemente sabia de ello y te lo ha dicho
287 11L: si eso es sabia de ello y me lo ha dicho
288 R: o sea que es algo que no:: has utilizado mucho ni::
289 11L: no pero por lo que te digo porque veo la television con mis padres y no no les voy a poner ahí @@
290 las noticias en ingles o @@ porque no se van a enterar absolutamente de nada @@
291 R: vale vale bueno muy bien ehh vale perfecto ehh como crees que han recibido los españoles el ingles
292 entonces?
293 11L: eh eh (.) como lo han recibido eh bueno (.) bien simplemente el que no quiero no lo@ recibe y el
294 que quiere lo recibe no se como:: pero:: pero ahora bien porque la gente ve que es necesario cada vez
295 mas cada vez mas
296 R: vale mm sabrias decirme por que o cuando crees que se ha empezado a producir esta diferencia me estas
297 diciendo ahora la ge ahora mejor ahora la gente se conciencia mas
298 11L: pues en:: no se cinco seis años siete tengo un poco de todo yo por ejemplo una amiga que tengo ya la
299 mandaban desde los doce años a irlanda todos los veranos pero eso ya era:: era el no va mas ya es una

300 familia de (xxx) y ahora tch pues bueno a parte de **las becas tambien la gente sale mas** (..) pero
301 todavia nos queda bastante nos queda bastante

302 R: vale

303 11L: Y y claro los padres los padres que estan concienciados con el ingles son un pues de mi edad o un poco
304 mas entonces ahora nos queda mucho por ver porque hasta que esos niños crezcan pues queda un poco
305 todavia

306 R: mhm que crees que ha podido causar esta motivacion asi de la gente asi mas joven como dices?

307 11L: **la globalizacion::** (..) eh la presencia de empresas españolas que no es mucha:: fuera (..) ehh poco mas la
308 verdad poco mas porque si: el el turismo:: pero aquí tampoco nos toca mucho ahora nos esta
309 empezando a tocar tambien un poco porque el turismo rural esta empezando tch a ser un poco: mejor
310 visto (..) pero la verdad es que leon una zona que no es muy turistica o por lo menos no lo era

311 R: mhm vale vale si

312 11L: pero poco mas @@

313 R: vale perfecto emm hoy en dia se habla bastante de ingles como lengua internacional habias oido:: referirse
314 al ingles asi como lengua internacional?

315 11L: ss si: no se si referido asi pero vamos que lo he visto YO que es internacional porque:: hasta en
316 finlandia se dan las clases en ingles entonces eso es bastante internacional porque esta:: muy lejos de
317 aquí

318 R: vale que significa eso del ingles como lengua internacional para ti que significaria?

319 11L: pues significa:: **movilidad de personas ante TODO** porque:: te permite:: estar al alcance de cualquier
320 país y de la educacion de cualquier país

321 R: mhm

322 11L: **y relacionarte con otras personas porque sino:: sino fuera tan internacional: pues la gente**
323 **estudiaria en inglaterra y y solo en inglaterra:: vamos masters o carreras solo en inglaterra que**
324 **aun asi todavia se sigue haciendo porque tiene mas prestigio (..) PERO (..) pero yo creo que:: que**
325 **poco a poco se esta generando mas movilidad**

326 R: vale perdona me interesa eso que decias de mas prestigio?

327 11L: SI es que precisamente estoy mirando un master y como es (xxx) pues en inglaterra tiene mas prestigio
328 o eso he oido pero porque las universidades son mas anTIguas:: tch ha tenido mas mas alumnos
329 durante toda:: su vida universitaria entonces pues genera mas prestigio porque:: hay gerentes de
330 empresas o:: medicos o l que sea que han estudiado ahí

331 R: vale vale vale muy bien vale ehh bueno pues hoy en dia es posible que:: nos encontremos en cualquier
332 parte del mundo un colombiano un aleman un japonés y entre ellos estan comunicando eh en ingles
333 aunque sus lenguas maternas sean otras diferentes no? emm no se si tambien habras tenido tu quizas
334 este fenomeno eh que te parece un poco este fenomeno

335 11L: me parece friamente si te paras a pensarlo es un fenomeno:: (..) positivo y cuanto menos extraordinario
336 porque:: (..) la verdad es que vamos no se como ha surgido esto pero:: si lo piensas friamente (..) es
337 increible

338 R: vale has tenido

339 11L: todavia el español estamos cerca de inglaterra pero:: otros sitios como:: no se como bueno africa
340 tambien tiene habla oficial inglesa pero me refiero a que es muy muy muy global

341 R: mhm ah se te viene a la cabeza algun ejemplo de situaciones en las que hayas utilizado el ingles asi con
342 otros hablantes interculturales?

343 11L: si con gente de todo el mundo con gente de todo el mundo pero por ejemplo pues por ejemplo la gente
344 no lo sabe que por ejemplo tch en china hay colonias inglesas en africa hay colonias inglesas en
345 america de:: de la america del norte tambien o sea en america se habla ingles tch pero por ejemplo los
346 rusos o finlandia o todos los países nórdicos no tienen ningun contacto con el ingles o **ninguna**
347 **herencia inglesa** y es:: vamos increible claro y que es muy diferente del idioma porque:: el español
348 viene tambien del latin y el latin esta un poco mas relacionado y es mas similar pero en otros países
349 que no lo es tanto es increible que nos podamos comunicar::

350 R: por ejemplo en tu erasmus tenias ehhh situaciones asi en las que te comunicabas normalmente con gente
351 de varios de varias lengua maternas o

352 11L: si

353 R: de donde serian los ejemplos si te puedes pensar si te viene a la cabeza algun ejemplo de un tipo de
354 comunicación asi con gente de otras lenguas maternas?

355 11L: si en la en la carrera:: vamos en la universidad en:: todos los momentos porque todos yo no era:: la
356 **típica española** que estaba todo el tiempo con españoles y ademas en la mayoría de los trabajos nos
357 mes nos mezclaban en todos por nacionalidades no nos dejaba que estuviéramos: o sea maxi como
358 muchISimo dos españoles en el mismo en el mismo:: trabajo asi que pues si que pues con gente de
359 korea yo eh habia el de:: países arabes de todos los sitios

360 R: mhm vale y como era un poco el ingles que utilizabais entre vosotros? Entre:

361 11L: AY pues yo creo que lo adaptamos un poco ehh se termina adaptando porque las expresiones son
362 distintas:: la pronunciación tambien: (..) entonces (..) eso el ingles nunca es: ingles perfecto

363 R: mhm mhm vale me interesa cuentame un poquito mas de: esta de este ingles de estas adaptaciones que
364 11L: (.) pues yo creo que incluso algun dia puede ser tambien que cada pais se dicte su propio diccionario de
365 ingles con sus propias expresiones @@@ y sus propios:: porque es una cosa que ya la estamos
366 cogiendo para cada uno o sea para cada pais como ya algo:: (.) algo basico y otro idioma mas que en
367 muchos sitios ya empieza a ser oficial cuando no:: habia ninguna herencia inglesa
368 R: mhm vale muy bien muy interesante ehm que te parecen esas diferentes adaptaciones que que podias
369 encontrar
370 11L: pues me parecen positivas porque para mi ahora todas las diferencias: tch en un momento ya en el que
371 estamos tan globalizados la diferencia ahora empieza a ser:: el punto:: el punto:: que nos da::
372 beneficios no? entonces yo lo veo positivo
373 R: vale
374 11L: porque si todo el mundo fuera igual no tendrian sentido muchas cosas (.) por ejemplo viajar o::
375 R: vale vale vale interesante que te parece me hablabas de pronunciaciones y tal que te parecen las diferentes
376 11L: @@
377 R: pronunciaciones o acentos que te puedes ir encontrando con hablantes [en este tipo de] conversacion
378 intercultural
379 11L: [pues dificiles dificiles] pues:: los acentos son caracteristicos totalmente al margen del nivel de ingles
380 son caracteristicos porque:: yo no se que:: lo hace caracteristico si:: la estructura de la boca o lo que::
381 quieras pero es caracteristico de cada pais
382 R: mhm
383 11L: en españa si que puedes **decir:: vaya:: acento español que tienes pero bueno porque tenemos un**
384 **nivel BAjo** pero por ejemplo en africa que te encuentras con gente que: ha estudiado en universidades
385 y colegios privados y que han estudiado de pequeños ingles tienen un acento que:: que es de ellos
386 11L: mhm y eso pff vamos tipico tipico de ellos y dificil de entender @ y en **china** lo mismo
387 R: vale pues justo te iba a preguntar si hay hablantes interculturales eh con los que te hayas comunicado en
388 ingles eh si hay alguien o algunos que te resulta mas o menos comodo eh hablar con ellos?
389 11L: (.) mm pues menos comoditos sobre todo el acento **africano** y:: y el de **asia**: (.) un poco tambien y:: mas
390 comfortable (..) paises nordicos si te digo la verdad porque:: el frances muy mal@
391 R: si? por que?
392 11L: **bueno porque tienen mucho acento frances incluso si ha estudiado desde pequenho casi:: la cosa**
393 **esa se les queda en inglaterra pues tienen un acento muy cerrado porque estan: muy muy muy**
394 **acostumbrados a hablar eh por ejemplo en sitios como los paises nordicos es mas gramatico yo**
395 **creo (..) es como:: lo que siempre se dice de que los que menos ingles saben son los ingleses @**
396 **porque:: ya lo tienen tan revisto que: lo hablan fatal @ y para mi los los paises nordicos lo**
397 **tienen perfecto**
398 R: mhm mhm que:: que es lo que te hace decidir un poco:: que te sientes mas o menos comoda hablando con
399 esta gente por ejemplo me has mencionado asiaticos quizas un poco mas incomoda?
400 11L: si porque se les entiende peor con los ingleses depende de DONde porque como estan tan orgullosos de
401 <special tone>su:: idioma::<special tone> si no les entiendes es que eres un poco:: vamos que no
402 tienes un buen ingles @@ sin embargo pues de pue de otros sitios pues al no ser su lenguaje materno
403 mmm intentan mas comunicarse (.) o:: o les importa mas si les entiendes o no
404 R: mhm mhm vale y que te parece esa diferencia esto me resulta MUY interesante esto que me comentas que
405 percibes que percibes de los ingleses asi un poco mas asi y los demas mas centrados en la
406 comunicación
407 11L: pues porejemplo que:: en inglaterra es muy dificil que la **gente aprenda otros idiomas** vamos no se si
408 tu tienes experiencias con ello o lo has visto pero la mayoria de ellos solo saben ingles @ (.) por que?
409 Pues por una parte:: les encanta que el ingles sea el idioma mas hablado pero por otra parte le genera::
410 celos en el sentido de que de que:: nunca vas a poder hablar ingles como yo lo hablo yo creo que
411 tienen un poco como esa cosa de:: quiero ser conocido en todo el mundo pero que nadie llegue a ser
412 como yo o a tener lo que yo no?
413 R: ya muy interesante @@ vale vale muy bien pues te voy a poner un caso igual un poco hipotetico pero no
414 se si te habra pasado ya si por ejemplo cuando estas por ahí conociendo gente en tus viaje en tus
415 cursos de:: gente internacional o de donde sea y se piensan que: pues o reconocen tu origen no? Que
416 eres española por la manera en la que utilizas el ingles
417 11L: si si
418 R: eso como te hace sentir?
419 11L: (..) **VAh** no se soy muy:: no extrovertida pero al principio me daba **mucha vergüenza** hablar o::
420 muchas veces no:: por ejemplo cuando he ido a hacer cursos de business fuere pues no me:: no me
421 desenvolvía tanto **pero por miedo a mi ingles no por mis conocimientos** entonces si que me daba
422 cosa pero ahora:: he cambiado y he dicho porque sino no tiene: no tiene sentido no? Y:: y si a veces es
423 un poco despectivo porque como somos **casi de los que peores hablamos ingles pues es como que::**
424 **ahh españolita no habla ingles (.) BIEN** pero que me reconozcan que soy española pff (.) **me da**
425 **igual @@** vamos bien

426 R: vale muy bien y si te pongo el caso contrario por ejemplo estas lo mismo en un curso conociendo gente y
427 de repente todo el mundo asume que eres una chica inglesa ehh eso como te haria sentir?

428 11L: (..) pues bien porque dices:: que:: nivel de ingles que: vamos que no se me: reconoce por ejemplo mi
429 amiga esta que ha vivido en tantos paises que sabe cuatro idiomas no le reconoces ningun acento tu
430 habla ingles y piensas que es inglesa habla español piensa que es argentina habla frances piensas que
431 es francesa tch y::: eso pues bueno (.) no se (.) es como que:: **entonces no tienes identi identidad o**
432 **por decirlo de alguna manera**

433 R: mhm

434 11L: o tienes o tienes **multiidentidades** y para mi la identidad hoy por hoy es bastante importante

435 R: mhm (.) val podrias contarme un poquito mas que me tienes fascinada @@

436 11L: @@ pues::

437 R: el tema de la identidad me estas hablando que es me dices importante

438 11L: SI porque:: eh vamos las cosas tienden a subir o a bajar y a ir y a venir entonces en un momento en el
439 que hay tanta globalizacion: lo que destaca no es ser IGUAL ni hablar todos un ingles: perfecto o:::
440 ingles de londres (.) entonces bueno

441 R: vale! no bueno vale vale muy interesante perfecto ehhh bueno pues yo te quiero preguntar ahora un
442 poquito como es tu propio ingles? como lo ves?

443 11L: pues lo veo que esta **bastante españolizado**:: porque claro @@ he empezado bastante tarde (.) tch y
444 bueno progresando bastante (.) eh la verdad es que yo soy bastante pesimista y bastante negativa
445 conmigo misma pero como ya te digo tengo bastantes amigos de fuer y:: e ingleshablantes y mm me
446 valoran bastante bien entonces pues bueno ahíando que a veces pienso oh pues si me siento alaga
447 pero otras veces comaparados con otros españoles ya no me siento tanto@ y bueno y ando un poco a a
448 ratos @@

449 R: @@ vale te entiendo emm si yo te pregunto porejemplo eh a que sueñas cuando hablas en ingles?

450 11L: espanholno se @@ español (.) sonar

451 R: que te parece que te parece que suenes asial hablar ingles

452 11L: pues:: me parece:: por una parte bien (.) a ver luego hay muchisima gente:: que ya:: se le nota
453 demasiado o tal y ya si que es demasiado: que no se le entiende en ingles pero que se note que eres de
454 otro pais me parece bien

455 R: vale muy bien si te pregunto:: si tienes alguna meta u objetivo con tu ingles ? [si es que tienes alguno]
456 sino::

457 11L: pues [mi objetivo mi objetivo] mi objetivo es pasar el ielts para que me de un seis o un siete para que
458 me acceso a una universidad y lo demas es no perderlo

459 R: vale vale vale perfecto

460 11L: ahora ya puedo comunicarme y puedo mas o menos mantener:: igual alguna relacion de cara a trabajar
461 en alguna empresa o demas pues para mi ya es suficiente no tengo por que terminar hablando ahí::
462 perfecto::

463 R: vale cuando dices perfecto eh

464 11L: perfecto o:: bilingüe o saber todas las palabras en ingles (.) con saber sinonimos de momento me
465 definiendo: y lo veo suficiente @@

466 R: vale vale muy bien cuando se te presenta una oportunidad para hablar ingles como sueles reaccionar?

467 11L: pues:: te puedo decir que intento hablar ingles pero luego con amigos que tengo que hablen español ya
468 lo hablo en español pero porque les conozco de antes de hablar ingles entonces hablo con ellos en
469 español pero si que claro ahora mismo estoy intentando::esforzarme y: hablar lo maximo que puedo
470 pero ahora quiero pasar eso una vez que lo pase:: y:: consiga lo que quiera en ese sentido lo que te
471 digo con tal de no perderlo

472 R: mm vale vale tch cuando se te presenta la oportunidad y estas hablando ingles con gente yo que se de otras
473 lenguas o lo que sea en que estas pensando normalmente?

474 11L: (.) en la conversacion @@@

475 R: @@@ vale (..) a que le pones atencion o hay algo si es que hay algo a lo que pongas atencion o algo asi?

476 11L: mmm no no a la conversacion y:: y bueno igual yo que se igual si no me interesa mucho la conversacion
477 digo **mira este que pronunciacion** pero porque ahora estoy bastante concienciada con::: con
478 estudiarlo y demas y me y me procuro fijar pero sino no soy bastante **tolerante** con ello

479 R: vale perfecto muy bien emm vale muy bien ehh bueno eh me gustaria tambien hablar un poco del ingles
480 que has visto en clase no? El el ingles que ve en clase que se estudia en clase por ejemplo en la
481 educacion ehh obligatoria no? como como me describirias el ingles que que ingles veis en clase?

482 11L: pues:: malo no lo siguiente @@ bueno (.) depende (.) ves ingles @@ pero **un ingles que no te sirve**
483 **para nada porque::** si: luego **no sabes comunicarte**: pues no se para que lo quieres si luego no vas
484 a entender una pelicula ya al margen de que trabajes fuera o no trabajes o:: ya para ti mismo si no vas
485 a entender una pelicula o no vas a entender **nada para que vas a estudiar ingles? si solo vas a saber**
486 **leer** (.) BUENO pues tambien te puede servir no? pero yo creo que **el objetivo no es ese** y entonces
487 yo lo considero que es bastante **bajo** no obstante

488 R: cual crees que es el objetivo que:: que se da en la clase?

489 11L: bueno no **el objetivo** es bastante **contradictorio con la realidad** porque:: (.) no se con que:: que
490 **pretenden** pues mandandote:: tres semanas a inglaterra cuando:: **hay mas españoles** que ingleses @@
491 o poniendo **colegios bilingües** cuando se requiere que tengan el **PREliminary** o:: de nivel de ingles
492 porque tengo así alguna amiga también que esta estudiando magisterio y les piden el mas basico
493 entonces no se cual es el objetivo (.) vamos o por lo menos es **contradictorio** porque:: **así yo creo**
494 **que no vamos a:: a llegar muy lejos**

495 R: mhm

496 11L: y el objetivo yo creo que va a ser que que es un poco como **mejorar el nivel** comparado con tch o por
497 lo menos mantenerlos en la media de otros países no?

498 R: mhm

499 11L: porque al fin y al cabo **necesITARlo** bueno pues lo que te digo **ahora mismo que estamos en crisis**
500 pues si que igual se puede necesitar mas o en los **negocios** pues igual si que se puede necesitar mas
501 pero en otras áreas no (.)

502 R: mhm vale

503 11L: entonces pues el objetivo yo creo que es ese mas o menos pues como otros saben pues nosotros no
504 vamos a saber menos

505 R: vale me interesa lo que dices que es contradictorio con la realidad eh:: si puedes expandir un poquitin @@

506 11L: es contradictorio con la realidad porque no no se (.) vamos mmm (.) IGUAL los objetivos los tienen
507 claros pero luego a la hora de:: intentar hacerlo no lo estan haciendo bien (.) que queda mucho
508 trabajo? Si porque tu no puedes tenerlo puedes seguir ahora que:: gente que ha empezado a estudiar
509 hace: veinte años vayan a ser bilingües y vayan a enseñar a tus hijos a hablar bien ingles pero hombre
510 exigir el menor nivel de ingles para ese profesoren un colegio bilingüe o como muchas amigas que yo
511 tengo que estan dando en colegios privados ingles a niños que nunca han estado fuera de España: (.)
512 bueno o ya no fuera de España porque no no tiene nada de malo no haber viajado o algo pero que ni si
513 quiera nunca han hablado con NADIE en ingles pues:: no se que ingles puede tener

514 R: vale

515 11L: YA no que sea ingles sino alguien que lo han hablado también vamos que nunca lo han hablado nunca
516 ha visto una película entera en ingles como va a enseñar ingles no:: lo creo

517 R: vale dices esto por ejemplo en asignaturas que se enseñan en ingles o asignaturas de ingles

518 11L: no asignaturas que se enseñan ehh de las dos

519 R: @@

520 11L: asignaturas que se imparten in ingles y asignaturas de ingles

521 R: vale entonces cual crees que seria el objetivo me dices que igual tienen el objetivo claro y luego no lo
522 realizan cual crees que como me dirías tu pues este es el objetivo

523 11L: si el objetivo ahora yo creo es que los niños hablen ingles como otro idioma como hablan el español
524 vamos nunca vas a llegar a ser no? Pero bueno por lo menos que se intente no? Ese sera: el objetivo
525 pero luego no que:: yo se de un niño por ejemplo que va a un colegio que es bilingüe se supone que si
526 que da:: muchas asignaturas en ingles pero luego la profesora se lo explica en español (.) que es que le
527 he preguntado porque porque me interesaba no? Para saberlo y (.) y dice si lo damos todo en ingles
528 pero nos lo explica en español como que:: (.)

529 R: como ve esta iniciativa de los colegios bilingües entonces?

530 11L: **la veo bien** pero que:: los profesores hombre por lo menos que se intenten esmerarse ya no lo que te
531 digo no te digo no puedes exigir que hoy por hoy los profesores sepan ingles pero hombre pues
532 aunque sea la pronunciación este mal por lo menos no habla en español porque si es una clase en
533 ingles es una clase en ingles

534 R: ya

535 11L: lo que se esta haciendo no se cobrar la subvención de colegio bilingüe @ y luego: y luego nada @@

536 R: como ves la efectividad de estas decisiones de:: de dar clases materias en ingles? Materias que no son::
537 bueno de contenido de::

538 11L: pues **no lo veo que sea necesario tampoco para aprender ingles** (.) si que igual:: se podría dar en
539 bilingüe pero lo que no puede ser tampoco es por ejemplo que den biología en ingles solo y luego no
540 sepan las palabras en español eso tampoco porque:: en la vida normal no vas a hablar con tus padres
541 de:: biología entonces nunca vas a saber tampoco la palabra española o sea que eso también por otra
542 parte esta mal y no es necesario (.) yo si que lo pense siempre pense: la cosa de que:: **en otros países**
543 **desde muy pequeño las clases eran ya en ingles o o empezabas muy pronto pero en finlandia** por
544 ejemplo empiezan con NUEve años (.) a aprender ingles y hablan muchísimo mejor pero eso es por la
545 televisión no porque den las clases en ingles (.) porque si tu sabes matemáticas o biología o historia::
546 en ingles y luego no sabes las palabras en español pues no se hasta que punto es bueno eso tamPOCO

547 R: vale vale vale muy interesante vale @@ si son reflexiones muy interesantes desde luego

548 11L: si que

549 R: muy bien ehh bueno una pregunta que te queria hacer seria bueno en la clase soleis trabajar hacia:: para
550 conseguir el ingles algun tipo en concreto de ingles o varios tipos de ingles o de un país o varios
551 países que es un poco lo que se ve: en clase

552 11L: en clases de ingles
 553 R: en el colegio: el instituto:: si
 554 11L: no entiendo la pregunta como que
 555 R: mm por ejemplo eh estudiais el ingles de algun pais en concreto o se ve el ingles de varios paises o algo
 556 asi o
 557 11L: se ve el ingles de inglaterra
 558 R: vale
 559 11L: pero si que:: igual:: pues si un año das sesenta clases por decirlo asi igual das dos de conceptos
 560 americanos que:: son totalmente disTINtos pero dos de sesenta
 561 R: mhm mhm
 562 11L: que:: el ingles de inglaterra esta mas expandido y yo creo que es el que deberiamos de aprender (.) que
 563 no te puedes dedicar a:: todo (¿) BUENO (.) no lo veo mal del todo es que es como:: otro idioma
 564 bueno NO es otro idioma pero: (.) para mi estudiar entre ingles: britanico y ingles americano es como
 565 no dos lenguajes por ej distintos porque se parecen mucho pero (.) si vas a una cosa no puedes ir a la
 566 otra
 567 R: vale vale muy bien emm me gustaria preguntarte como seria tu profesor ideal por ejemplo?
 568 11L: mi profesor de ingles o que hable ingles por lo menos
 569 R: si profesor de ingles ideal
 570 11L: pues:: (...) pues hombre (.) he tenido:: no se profesores nativos y profesores no nativos y:: te puedo
 571 decir que:: si que:: se tiende a buscar un nativo no? Porque habla **mejor** el ingles:: y tal pero igual a la
 572 hora de enseñar no te ensena bien entonces (.) **depende el ideal** (.) pues que se esfuerce porque tu
 573 aprendas al margen de si sabe o no sabe pero por lo menos que lo intente si que por ejemplo me choca
 574 mucho porque: mm este año me apunte asi como a una optativa de ingles no? Y **el profesor** era
 575 español y ya estoy un poco mas **hecha al acento ingles: britanico de gente nativo** tch y cuando le
 576 oi hablar pues (.) me sonaba:: **curioso y gracioso** porque es como: **vaya:: como te cambia** porque le
 577 **oyes hablar en español y cuando habla en ingles pues es como que IMita** la voz o no se como que
 578 intenta **sacar una voz que no es de el y entonces eso es gracioso** pero si luego friamente si que ves
 579 que asi es como de verdad aprendes a pronunciar Y:: intentandolo asi es como se aprende
 580 R: mh mhm
 581 11L: y:: intentandolo es como se aprende porque luego tambien vas con un: **nativo** que te habla en **su::**
 582 **ingles de barrio @@** y ni no aprendes ni a pronunciar ni a nada o @@
 583 R: vale
 584 11L: entonces el ideal:: pues (.) **una mezcla @@**
 585 R: una mezcla:: de::
 586 11L: si @@ (.) que sea o sea nativo o no lo sea que se esfuerce porque tu pronuncies bien
 587 R: vale vale vale
 588 11L: porque aprendas bien
 589 R: pronuncia bien? Que significa pronunciar bien para ti?
 590 11L: (.) pronunciar bien **NADie pronuncia bien** porque todos tenemos un un distinto tono de voz pero si por
 591 ejemplo las características de cada palabra lo que te digo no m por mucho que estudiemos nunca un
 592 español va a hablar igual que un africano el ingles y eso que la pronunciacion es igual nunca vamos a
 593 poder yo creo vamos
 594 R: mhm
 595 11L: (.) entonces **pronunciar bien NO hay una pronunciacion bien** pero si los rasgos y y lo que te digo el
 596 **nativo** pues **se cree** que igual el su pronunciacion es bien o el **español tambien** pero tambien si es
 597 español pues mas o menos tambien te:: enseña porque sabe cuales son las dificultades para un español
 598 en cuanto a la pronunciacion y lo **te ves mas reflejado**
 599 R: vale vale vale muy interesante perfecto (.) emm muy bien vamos a ver:: no se cuanto tiempo te estare::
 600 @@@ tengo que ser breve
 601 11L: yo da igual por ti::
 602 R: no yo tambien tengo tiempo pero no quiero abusar me gustaria preguntarte que te parece el ingles
 603 britanico como se centran en el britanico en clase?
 604 11L: el ingles britanico me parece: bien y como ya te digo que como cada acento pues:: me gusta en general
 605 R: vale a que te suena un britanico? Cuando te habla ingles a que te suena
 606 11L: hombre tambien depende de la zona y demas (.) y:: pues pues **gracioso** pero como me puede parecer me
 607 puede parecer el ingles de un italiano o el ingles de un frances cada uno tiene su:: su acento distintivo
 608 al margen de si has estudiado desde pequeño y sabes todas las palabras del diccionario en ingles vas a
 609 hablar distinto entonces pues cada acento pues **interesante**
 610 R: vale muy bien perfecto vale emm bueno hablabamos un poco comenzaste a estudiar ingles en la academia:
 611 o en el ins o en el colegio antes recuerdas?
 612 11L: no en el colegio
 613 R: en el colegio vale

614 11L: si yo hasta:: bachiller no:: nunca fui a una academia y fui a academia para reforzar para la selectividad
 615 (.) pero siempre: siempre siempre suspendía el inglés siempre hasta septiembre iba septiembre y ya
 616 bueno ya:: a trancas y a barrancas lo sacaba ya en selectividad ya fui a a una academia porque claro
 617 ahí ya no valía:: (.) y después de eso pues: poco más
 618 R: vale y em como es que comenzaste a estudiarlo en el colegio?
 619 11L: porque era obligatorio
 620 R: mhm vale
 621 11L: y:
 622 R: y luego en el instituto y demás también era obligatorio o fue alguna vez optativo:: o
 623 11L: no no no fue siempre obligatorio
 624 R: vale que te parece esta obligatoriedad que se le da a la:: a la asignatura?
 625 11L: (.) me parece bien porque:: es un lenguaje común y no estoy ni a favor ni en contra de globalizar y de
 626 poner algo en común en todo el mundo pero tch siempre está bien tener una herramienta no? y el
 627 inglés lo veo así
 628 R: vale
 629 11L: y si que tch A VER no me gusta poner nada obligatorio pero como a mí no me gusta poner igual las
 630 matemáticas o la: lengua obligatoria pero bueno hay que estudiar ALGO y ese algo pues el inglés me
 631 parece que está bien ahí
 632 R: mhm vale como ves la efectividad de que sea obligatorio para con el aprendizaje de los alumnos?
 633 11L: para mí es como el una asignatura más (..) entonces obligatorio tiene que haber asignATURAS y que
 634 sea el inglés una de ellas pues si me parece que tiene que estar ahí
 635 R: vale por ejemplo con tu experiencia: eh para ti para tus alumnos eh tus compañeros no se como veáis la
 636 obligatoriedad ENTONCES
 637 11L: entonces mal porque era como un por que tenemos que aprender inglés? (.) y por que no: no otro porque
 638 mientras menos estudies mejor pero@ (.) pero no lo veíamos como que:: (.) pues si como lo que
 639 siempre se dice no cuando vas al colegio por que voy a estudiar para que tengo que estudiar lenguaje o
 640 pa que tengo que estudiar historia si luego no me va a servir de nada pero es cultura general todo
 641 R: vale vale vale y como fue por ejemplo para vosotros ahh hasta que puntos os resultó efectivo: que fuese
 642 obligatoria para aprender
 643 11L: (..) pues:: para aprender igual que otras asignaturas te tienen que motivar y si no te motivan pues:: no
 644 hay nada que hacer pero: igual que es que para mí es como otra asignatura pf otra más
 645 R: vale
 646 11L: entonces efectivo pues: depende de la motivación pero no la había @@ no la había para nada
 647 R: vale y mmm ya como crees que podría haberse:: cambiado algo para que hubiera más motivación o::
 648 11L: tch es:: cuestión de cultura si **tus padres** no:: ni saben ni tienen la motivación ni:: nada te lo pide: (.) ni
 649 nadie actúa alrededor lo habla ni:: viaja muchísimo pues tu no:: lo vas a necesitar ni ni a motivarte
 650 para ello (.) es cultural
 651 R: vale vale vale muy bien eh vale perfecto eh me gustaría preguntarte eh bueno si eh estábamos hablando
 652 de lengua co de el inglés como lengua en que se enseñan asignaturas tu has tenido experiencias así en
 653 España de:: dar una asignatura en inglés o algo así?
 654 11L: no
 655 R: como verías por ejemplo si tuvieras la oportunidad de hacerlo en la universidad emm ehn como verías esto
 656 te interesaría o no?
 657 R: si me interesaría pero me gustaría también que se pudiera tener la opción de español y luego ya tu que
 658 elijas (.) más que nada pues por mejorar tu inglés o demás lo lo volvemos a lo mismo no:: puedes
 659 estudiar toda la carrera en: inglés porque lo que no sería justo es que sepas los conceptos en inglés y
 660 luego no sepas traducirlos al español porque no tienes ese concepto: esa palabra: en tu idioma no? Y
 661 tu idioma materno siempre será tu idioma materno
 662 R: vale
 663 11L: entonces la opción pero tch siempre y cuando para mejorar y para (.) y para tener más conceptos en
 664 inglés pero sin perder sin perderlos en español claro
 665 R: vale muy bien me gustaría preguntarte me mencionabas también algo de la lengua española o? como ves
 666 la lengua española en el mundo?
 667 11L: pues:: la bastante bien bastante bien si que por ejemplo los franceses pues hay mucha gente hay
 668 muchos franceses que intentan aprenderlo los italianos porque está cercano pero se sienten también un
 669 poco celosos de que sea el español y no sea el de: ellos (.) tch luego también transmitimos pues eso
 670 no? Lo de **un país mediterráneo** que todo el mundo lo admira:: por la playa el solo que somos muy:
 671 muy alegres espontáneos y tal y entonces también les gusta aprender el español por eso que eso en los
 672 países nórdicos está muy valorado es como español tal y hay mucha gente que estudia español y a parte
 673 de ello creo que va a ser el tercer idioma en:: oficial es decir (.) la gente una vez que: el inglés este
 674 más o menos:: todo el mundo lo tenga yo creo que el idioma es el español el siguiente
 675 R: mhm

676 11L: es mas en el campamento este que te decia de ingles ahora ya no: solamente se trabaja con niños
 677 españoles que:: aprendan para que aprendan ingles sino que estan contemplando en hacer cursos
 678 durante el invierno porque hay gente de otros paises que esta interesado en aprender el español
 679 R: mhm
 680 11L: porque:: (.) en españa no no tenemos mas de un idioma pero en otros paises que ya tienen unos cuantos
 681 el españoles el siguiente que quieren aprender una vez que tienes el ingles el español cobra bastante
 682 bastante importancia
 683 R: muy bien que te parece la expansion del ing del español esto que esto que se esta: dando?
 684 11L: BIEN (.) todo lo que se sepa a mayores bien pero siempre y cuando el:: suyo propio claro
 685 R: vale vale muy bien sabes como se utiliza el español en otros paises o por otra gente que lo habla otros usos
 686 que se hagan del español:: por ejemplo en latinoamerica eh como utilizan ellos: eh la lengua: como es
 687 su español::
 688 11L: si distinto con sus distintas pronunciaciones y sus distintas expresiones claro
 689 R: mhm que te parece esa diversidad o e e esas diferencias que se dan?
 690 11L: BIEN porque:: eh mexico no es esPAÑA entonces pues tienen que tener su propio español SI bien
 691 R: vale conoces la institucion de la rae la real academia de la lengua? sabes
 692 11L: española?
 693 R: si sabes que hacen a que se de a que se dedican
 694 11L: a hacer el diccionario no@ y ya no se mas @@@
 695 R: @ vale
 696 11L: bueno y el instituto cervantes creo no? que:: enseña español o sea tiene academias fuera pero no se mas
 697 R: que te parece esta funcion de::
 698 11L: bien bien incluso:: me parece que ya estabamos tardando porque (.) somos lo que te digo como que
 699 somos muy:: nos gusta lo nuestro y estamos muy orgullosos de ellos y siempre intentamos enseñarle a los
 700 demas todo lo que sabemos todo lo que hacemos aquí o lo que tal pero luego andabamos un poco verdes
 701 intentando promocionar nuestro lenGUAJE cuando es muy: hablado
 702 R: mhm
 703 11L: y en ese sentido estabamos un poco:: verdes o que no se por que no lo querian entonces me parece muy
 704 bien que se haga
 705 R: vale muy bien vale pues para terminar me gustaria volver al ingles em quizas esto es algo que me has
 706 comentado un poquito por la superficie ehh debido a la expansion:: pues bueno hay gente que:: pues surge un
 707 poco de debate sobre pf a quien le pertenece ya el ingles hoy en día no se si has oido algo asi:
 708 11L: no pero podria ser si
 709 R: vale pues bueno por ejemplo hay dice que con la expansion incluso las personas que vienen de otras
 710 lenguas maternas que lo utilizan muchisimo en su día a día para lo que sea para sus negocios pues que
 711 tambien pueden sentir un poco que el ingles es suyo y pues tienen derecho pues de adaptarlo a su manera de
 712 usarlo:: y evolucionarlo un poco a su manera no? mientras que otros pensarian que esto solo deberia ocurrir
 713 con los nativos no? entonces hay ahí un poco de debate de en ese sentido em com ves tu esto?
 714 R: (..) hombre es como todo no? **porque un lenguaje no se puede:: adaptar a tu: pais** y la tecnologia si o::
 715 **o la patata:: que** aquí no la teniamos ahora la tenemos no? (.) que:: el lenguaje es un bien cultural y eso no
 716 se puede pero para eso esta la evolucion no? Para:: adaptar las cosas que te gustan de otros sitios: que no
 717 estoy muy a favor de ello por lo que te digo las diferencias (.) para mmi es importante hoy en día lo que no
 718 podemos es hacer aquí es no se como: una cosa sale bien en:: alemania pues por ejemplo: en: lo laboral en lo
 719 industrial tch adaptarlo aquí (.) no va a funcionar entonces no se hasta que punto:: (.) las diferencias estan
 720 bien ahora ROBAR un lenguaje robar podemos llamarlo asi no se yo no lo no lo no lo veo que que se llegue a
 721 hacer (.) si que: no se si habra algun pais que igual lo haya puesto como idioma oficial
 722 R: mhm
 723 11L: porque si tu ya pones un idioma oficial lo tendras que registrar no? Y hacer tu propio diccionario o
 724 cosas asi
 725 R: entonces
 726 11L: no se hasta que punto eso se podra hacer porque los ingleses según son no creo que lo permitan @@
 727 R: y eso? que te hace pensar eso que::
 728 11L: como que quieren ser los diferentes y el ingles es solo de ellos y::
 729 R: y que opinas de esta idea de los que dicen que por ejemplo pues gente de: alemania china japon que
 730 utilizan japon que utilizan el ingles muy a menudo que pueden sentir pues que el ingles es suyo y sentirse
 731 pues bien acerca de sus diferentes usos que hacen con respecto a los nativos
 732 11L: a con los diferentes usos que hacen pues bien (.) cada uno:: coge las cosas y hace con ellas lo que::
 733 mientras no sea:: ofensivo o algo
 734 R: vale a una pregunta que se me habia olvidado cuando:: por ejemplo volviendo a la idea de la
 735 comunicación:: entre:: gente que viene de otras lenguas maternas intercultural quizas basado un poco en tu
 736 experiencia por ejemplo erasmus como ves la comunicación como crees que funciona la comunicación entre
 737 gente:: de diferentes lenguas maternas
 738 11L: (.) como funciona::

739 R: en plan eh en respecto a entendimiento::
 740 11L: no se que::
 741 R: @@
 742 11L: (.) que como funciona ehh no se
 743 R: en plan es facil o es dificil enterse:: se llega a un entendimiento: o: es
 744 11L: puede haber malos entendidos porque la cultura siempre esta ahí y siempre intenta interpretaremos las
 745 cosas en funcion a nuestro:: pasado y a nuestras cosas entonces siempre puede haber inte malos interpretados
 746 incluso: (.) con las aunque entiendas todo tch la la:: ay como decir la interpretacion puede ser distinta en
 747 funcion a tu pasado pero como de todo no? Entonces en los lenguajes pues igual si tu vienes de diferente pais
 748 de diferente cultura vienes de todo eso la interpretacion de una misma frase puede dependeren el mismo
 749 idioma
 750 R: entonces en general en tu experiencia es problemático o al final se llega a entendimiento no?
 751 11L: si si ehh problemático? pero:: eso pasa e incluso ahora entre tu y yo depende del tono de voz depende
 752 de:: de tal podemos llegar: cuando tu estabas intentando expresarme una cosa igual no sabes expresarte
 753 expresartelo bien y yo te puedo entender de otra manera pues conflictivo siempre va a haber esos conflictos
 754 no?
 755 R: vale vale muy bien pues ahora si que creo que ya: se me han acabado las preguntas hay algo que quieras
 756 añadir?
 757 11L: no @@
 758 R: no algo que creias que te iba a preguntar y no te he preguntado:: o
 759 11L: mmm no se no me doy cuenta ahora @@ luego que seguramente igual lo piense si pero @@
 760 R: no no tranquila entonces ha sido un poco exhaustivo no eh? @@ ademas llevamos aquí bastante raro bu:
 761 una hora y once bueno pues muchisimas gracias voy a pararlo ya
 762 71:17

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