Eastern European Manifestations of English as a Lingua Franca

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Zusammenfassung

Der Status und die Anwendung des Englischen in den Ländern, in denen es als Fremdsprache gesprochen wird, waren in den letzten Jahren von großem Interesse (Kachru 1992, Knapp und Meierkord 2002, Seidlhofer und Widdowson 2009 u.v.a.). Die Anwendung der englischen Sprache von slawischen Sprechern im Kontext der ELF-Kommunikation ist bisher noch nicht erforscht worden (zur englischen Sprache in Russland wurden einige Studien von Proshina und Ettkin (2005), Ustinova (2006), und Proshina (2006/2010) durchgeführt). Das Ziel der vorliegenden Dissertation ist es daher, die Anwendung des Englischen von slawischen Sprechern im Kontext der Lingua-Franca-Kommunikation zu analysieren. Das hauptsächliche Forschungsinteresse liegt auf der Untersuchung (i) der Einstellung slawischer Sprecher gegenüber dem Englischen als Lingua Franca, (ii) der selbst gestellten Anforderungen der Sprecher an ihre eigene Performanz, wie beispielsweise flüssiges Sprechen und grammatische Korrektheit, und in welchem Maße diese erfüllt wurden, (iii) des strategischen Verhaltens der Sprecher in der Performanz, und (iv) der lexikalischen und grammatischen Besonderheiten, die in der Performanz slawischer Sprecher auftreten.

Zur Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen stützt sich diese Studie auf die *spontane gesprochene Produktion* sowie auf *introspektive* Daten, die mithilfe von semi-strukturierten, auf Video aufgezeichneten Interviews von 15-20 Minuten erhoben wurden. Fünfzehn Sprecher slawischer Sprachen, deren jeweilige Muttersprache Ukrainisch, Russisch, Polnisch oder Slowakisch war, nahmen an der Studie Teil. Während die sich auf die spontane Produktion bezogenen Daten es ermöglichten, die auftretenden lexiko-grammatikalischen Besonderheiten zu erfassen und das strategische Verhalten der Sprecher zu verfolgen, gaben die introspektiven Daten einen Einblick in die Selbstwahrnehmung der Sprecher in ELF Situationen und in ihre Einstellung gegenüber der englischen Sprache in ihrer Verwendung als Lingua Franca.

Die Studie hat gezeigt, dass die Einstellung slawischer Sprecher gegenüber dem Englischen als Lingua Franca positiv ist. Keiner von ihnen nannte jedoch nicht-muttersprachliche Varietäten des Englischen als Vorbild für den Spracherwerb. Vor den ELF-Situationen gaben die Sprecher an, Anforderungen wie grammatische Korrektheit und flüssiges Sprechen an ihre eigene Performanz zu stellen. Diese an sich selbst gestellten Anforderungen spiegelten sich in den strategischen Verhaltensweisen der Sprecher sowie in

den verschiedenen Performanzstrategien wider, welche die Sprecher an den Tag legten. Einige Performanzstrategien wie beispielsweise Paraphrasen trugen dazu bei, den Sprachfluss zu verbessern, wirkten sich aber gleichzeitig auch positiv auf die grammatische Korrektheit aus. Wenn lexikalische Besonderheiten in der gesprochenen Performanz auftraten, entstanden diese aufgrund der Verwendung von Performanzstrategien seitens der Sprecher oder ihrer Kreativität bei der Wortwahl. Die Zuordnung von Tempus und Aspekt brachte Eigenschaften zum Vorschein, die einzigartig für Sprecher slawischer Sprachen sind. Die englische Vergangenheitsform *simple past* wurde tendenziell mit Verben benutzt, die in der Muttersprache der Sprecher perfektiv sind, während das Präsens (*present*) sowie die Verlaufsform *past progressive* mit Verben verwendet wurde, die in der Muttersprache der Sprecher einen imperfektiven Aspekt aufweisen. Da der progressive Aspekt des Englischen benutzt wurde, um imperfektive Verben wiederzugeben, tauchte er im progressiven, nicht obligatorischen Kontext auf, häufig zusammen mit den Aktionstypen der Vollendung (*achievement)* und des Zustands (*state),* und in Bezug auf Ereignisse habitueller und repetitiver Natur. Diese Entwicklung verursachte die übermäßige Verwendung des progressiven Aspekts.

In Anbetracht dieser Beobachtungen konnte gezeigt werden, dass der Gebrauch des Englischen durch slawische Sprecher den Prinzipien der ELF-Kommunikation folgt, wie beispielsweise denen der Anforderungen an die Performanz und der Verwendung von Performanzstrategien, und dass er abhängig von den erst- und drittsprachenspezifischen Parametern wie Tempus und Aspekt variiert. Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass die Anwendung des Englischen durch slawische Sprecher offenbar das Produkt der Wechselbeziehungen zwischen diversen sprecherspezifischen Dimensionen ist, wie beispielsweise der Muttersprache, der kommunikativen Kompetenz in der Drittsprache, sofern vorhanden, den Anforderungen an die eigene Performanz und der vorteilhaften Verwendung von Performanzstrategien.

Abstract

The status and use of English in the countries of the expanding circle has been of significant interest in recent years (Kachru1992, Knapp and Meierkord 2002, Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2009, and many others). The use of English by Slavic speakers, in the contexts of ELF communication, has not been studied before (some studies on English in Russia were conducted by Proshina and Ettkin (2005), Ustinova (2006), and Proshina (2006/2010). The motivation behind this thesis was, thus, to analyze the use of English by Slavic speakers in the context of Lingua Franca communication. The main research interests lay in examining (i) *the attitude of Slavic speakers toward English as a Lingua Franca,* (ii) *the speakers' self-imposed requirements of performance*, *such as fluency and grammatical correctness and the realization of them in performance*, (iii) *the speakers' strategic behaviour in performance*, and, (iv) *the lexical and grammatical features emerging in the spoken performance of Slavic speakers*.

To answer the research questions, the study drew on *the spontaneous spoken production* and *introspective* data elicited by means of semi-structured video-recorded interviews of fifteen to twenty five minutes in duration. Fifteen speakers of Slavic languages with L1 *Ukrainian*, *Russian*, *Polish* and *Slovak* participated in the study. Whereas the spontaneous production data allowed eliciting the emerging lexico-grammatical features and tracing the speakers' strategic behaviour, the introspective data gave insight into the speakers' self-perception in ELF encounters and their attitude toward English used for lingua franca purposes.

The study revealed that Slavic speakers have a positive attitude toward English as a Lingua Franca. None of them, however, named non-native varieties of English as preferred English learning models. Prior to entering ELF encounters, speakers claimed to have imposed such requirements as *grammatical correctness* and *fluency* on their performance. The self-imposed requirements of performance manifested in the strategic behaviour of speakers, and the types of performance strategies used by these speakers. Although some performance strategies, such as *paraphrase*, for example, contributed to improving fluency, they also had a positive affect on grammatical correctness that speakers achieved. Where lexical features in the spoken performance were concerned, they emerged out of the speakers' use of performance strategies and literal creativity that was involved. The use of temporal and

aspectual devices displayed properties unique to speakers of Slavic languages. The English simple past tended to be used with verbs which were perfective in the speakers' first languages, and the English present and past progressive with verbs, which were imperfective in the speakers' first languages. As the English progressive aspect was used for rendering imperfective verbs, it emerged in the progressive non-obligatory context, often with the predicate types of *achievement*s and *states*, and with events having *habitual* and *repetitive nature*. This development caused the overuse of the progressive aspect.

Taking these observations into account, it was possible to claim that the use of English by Slavic speakers shared principles that applied to ELF communication, such as *the requirements of performance*, and *the use of performance strategies*, and varied depending on the L1- and L3-specific parameters, such as tense and aspect. In summary, the use of English by Slavic speakers appeared to be a product of an interrelation of various speaker-specific dimensions, such as *speakers' L1*, *communicative competence in L3*, if available, *performance requirements*, and *the beneficial use of performance strategies*.

Abbreviations

CEF - The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

ELF - English as a Lingua Franca

ELFA - The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings

FLG - Foreign language German

IAWE - The International Association of World Englishes

IEALTS - International English Language Testing System

L1 - First language

L2 - Second language

L3 - Third language

NL - Native language

NLG - Native language German

NLR - Native language Russian

NLU - Native language Ukrainian

NNS - Non-native speaker of English

NS - Native speaker of English

RQ - Research Question

TELF - The Tübingen Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca

TOEFL - Test of English as a Foreign Language

VOICE - The Vienna Oxford International Corpus

Contents

Chapter 1. Setting the scene

English, as a language, has been thoroughly studied. Knowledge was assembled in various domains of linguistics, such as syntactic theory, morphology, phonology, psycholinguistics, semantics, language acquisition, sociolinguistics, intercultural pragmatics, and language variation. Over the recent years, with the circulation and spread of knowledge around the world, a need to take a closer look at communication, and its complex underlying processes has emerged. English – the most powerful communication tool in the present – began to draw attention from an increasing number of interest groups, such as linguists, language teachers, and language learners, and began to be viewed as a means to opening the door to new knowledge and a wider world.

A great number of private language schools, with a strong emphasis on Business English and English for Special Purposes, grew quickly and flourished in Europe and beyond. Virtual English learning environments and free English tutorials were promoted, and degree programs in various disciplines were offered in English. English has become an integral part in the globe-trotter identity, and part of everyday life for a great number of people. However, the spread of English and its use in various contact situations by the speakers of diverse linguistic backgrounds caused English to change and develop into various native and non-native English varieties. The use of English was neither restricted to Great Britain and the United States, where it was an official language and a native language for most of the residents, nor to settlement colonies in Asia and Africa, where it was used for trade and exploitation in the past. English has thus expanded beyond the initial domains and borders of use and changed through contact with indigenous native languages.

Speculating about the role and status of English in the present day, David Crystal pointed out, making a general statement about languages, that '*a language receives a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country'* (Crystal 2009: 4). According to Crystal, this can be done in two ways: the language can be made (i) *the official language of the country* to be used in such domains, as the mass media, education, and government, and (ii) *a priority in the country's foreign language teaching*, even though it does not have an official status. This is the language that most children are likely to learn when they are in school, and adults will use for various reasons (Crystal 2009: 5). In the Newly Independent States, Russian is still a dominant language, although it is not an

official language in most of the countries. The language may become *an official language* when it is the sole language spoken by most of the residents of the country and, when it possesses features that official languages are likely to possess. As far as becoming *a priority language in foreign language teaching*, the reasons may include *historical tradition*, *political expediency*, and *the desire for the technological and educational contacts* (Crystal 2009: 5). In most countries, where English has a status of a foreign language, it is the desire for educational, technological, and business contacts that makes English attractive, and a good competence in it highly desirable.

From the history and spread of English, two developments have become obvious: (i) English has become the international lingua franca because of the colonial expansion of the British Empire in the past, and the growing role of English for the educational, business and technological purposes in the present, and (ii) English changes when it goes from culture to culture, language to language, and speaker to speaker under the influence of such linguistic factors as the first language of the speaker, contacts with other languages, and such extralinguistic factors, as individual differences among the speakers, language attitudes and motivation.

The two linguistic disciplines – *World Englishes* (WE) and *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF) – found the focus of their attention to be the spread, change, and development of the present day English. The foundation of *World Englishes* as a discipline goes back to the early eighties, when Braj Kachru (1982), the founding father of World Englishes, drew attention to the issue of the diversity of Englishes around the world. Analyzing the language situation in India, especially the development of English, Braj Kachru pointed out that native Indian languages shaped English in India, and left their indigenous touches on how English was used and developed by its speakers. The description of a non-native English variety, however, was not the sole contribution made by Braj Kachru to World Englishes. Acknowledging the existence and diversity of English, Braj Kachru proposed a model that could categorize English(es) used throughout the world (Kachru 1992). The proposed model visually consisted of *three concentric circles*, which he named (i) *the Inner Circle*, (ii) *the Outer Circle*, and (iii) *the Expanding Circle*. In the model, the English(es) used throughout the world belonged to these concentric circles. *The inner circle* included such countries as Great Britain, the United States of America, Australia, and Canada, where English was an official language, and a mother tongue for most of the residents. *The outer circle* included such countries as Ghana, Zambia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines, where English

fulfilled the role of an official and administrative language, while the residents had their own native languages. The use of English in *the outer circle* countries was often attributed to the colonial settlements and exploitation in these colonies. Finally, *the expanding circle* included countries that did not fit in either of the two circles: for most of the residents, English was neither an administrative nor a native language, hence, used and taught as a foreign language only. Most of the European countries, Japan, China, Thailand, Egypt, to name a few, belonged to *the expanding circle*. By proposing the model that categorized varieties of English spoken around the world, Braj Kachru made an important contribution to the study of English, in that he downplayed the role of inner circle countries and the English native speakers in providing and establishing language norms, and drew attention to the outer circle countries. The outer circle countries were then said to obtain their own right and provide their own norms where the use of English was concerned.

Although the model of Braj Kachru made an important contribution to World Englishes by acknowledging the status of non-native English varieties, and providing the first conceptualization of English varieties around the world, it had some weaknesses. One of the weaknesses noticed by Edgar Schneider was that the model could not adequately incorporate countries where English was spoken widely, but not predominantly, as a native language (Schneider 2010: 379); South Africa and Canada were given as the two examples of this.

Another attempt to classify varieties of English was made by McArthur (McArthur 1998: 42). Similar to Kachru, McArthur incorporated *inner*, *outer*, and *expanding circle* countries into the model. McArthur, however, changed Kachruvian terminology and replaced *the inner*, *outer*, and *expanding circle* by *contact situations* in which English was used. Thus, *the inner circle* was labelled as a situation where English was used as a native language, *the outer circle* as a situation where English was used as a second language, and *the expanding circle* as a situation, where English was used as a foreign language. One of the main weaknesses of the model, seen by Schneider, was the inability to capture *the dynamics of the development* of English, and the categorization of English as a static phenomenon[1].

The three first models that recognized *the dynamics of English* were proposed by Moag (1982), Llamzon (1986), and Schmied (1991). Unlike *the categorial models*, these models focused on the specific regions of English use, and not on the similarities and

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[1] Schneider refers to the models of Kachru and McArthur as *categorial*, and the models that recognize the internal development as *cyclic* (Schneider 2010: 379-381).

differences between English(es) spoken world-wide. Moag (1982), examining and analysing the situation with Fiji English, suggested that English went through four developmental stages: (i) *transportation*, (ii) *indigenization*, (iii) *expansion in use and function*, and (iv) *institutionalization*. Further elaborating the model, Moag later suggested the fifth step, namely, that it was possible for English to develop in two ways: (a) *to lose the dominance and status as a foreign language in the country of use*, or (b) *to become a native or an official language in the country of use* (Moag 1992: 247). Llamzon (1986) applied the same principle to the situation in the Philippines and suggested that the development of English in the post-colonial countries was likely to go through *the fifth stage,* where *English as a language loses its dominance and status*. Adapting the same principle, (Schmied 1991) examined the situation in Africa with a special descriptive focus on Nigeria and Tanzania. Similar to the view expressed by Llamzon, he pointed out two ways for the development of English in Africa: (a) *the recognition* of English, and hence, *adoption* of English, or (b) *the repression*, and hence, *deinstitutionalization* of English. Although the first three cyclic models differed in their scope of attention, they were similar in that they looked at the countries where English had a special status before entering into four of the five developmental stages.

One of the recent models of English development '*A Dynamic Model*' was proposed by Schneider (2003, 2010). This model, similar to other cyclic models, recognized the dynamic nature of English, and attempted to incorporate the stages of English development. According to Schneider's model, the development of English in the countries where it was used depended on *the political history of this country*, *sociolinguistic conditions* of language contact, *linguistic usage* and *language* (Schneider 2010: 381). His model of World Englishes proposed that English was to go through five developmental processes: (i) a *foundation phrase*, when English is brought to a new territory; (ii) *exonormative stabilization*, when the politically dominant mother tongue determines the norms of the linguistic behaviour, (iii) *nativization*, when new structures and lexical items are likely to emerge because of phonological and structural transfer; (iv) *endonormative stabilization*, when the newly emerged structures and lexical items are observed to exist, and, finally (v) *differentiation*, when dialectal differences increase with a growing importance of group identities (Schneider 2010: 381).

Out of many models, *Kachru's Circles Model* of World Englishes (Kachru 1988, 1992) and *Schneider's Dynamic Model* (Schneider 2003) were the most influential. *Kachru's Circles Model* conceptualizing the use of English, in terms of three circles, treated the inner

circle English varieties as '*norm-providing*', and the outer and expanding circle varieties of English as the ones that rely on the external norms. Schneider, in contrast, avoided conceptualizations based on geography and politics, and based his model on the underlying processes of language change.

Whereas the models provided the theoretical foundation for discussing World Englishes, the empirical studies described the linguistic features of the non-native varieties of English in relation to the native speaker norm. The studies on Indian English (Mukherjee 2010), Sri Lankan Englishes (Mendis & Rambukwella 2010), East and West African Englishes (Simo Bobda 2000) Malay and Singapore English (Lim 2004), East Asian Englishes (Takeshita 2010) and Chinese English (Bolton 2003) have illustrated that these varieties possessed certain features, which made them distinct from other native and non-native English varieties.

In some parts of the world – in North America and Asia mostly – the scholars described the new varieties of English from the regional and geographic perspective and aimed at identifying the features that made one non-native English variety distinct from the other non-native or native variety of English. The focus in Europe was on the description of the linguistic and pragmatic features that emerged when English served *the function of communication* and was used by its non-native speakers. Whereas in European *Applied Linguistics*, the focus was on the identification of features common for all or most non-native speakers of English in the situations of language contact, the focus in *World Englishes* was on the identification of features unique for particular non-native English varieties. Advocating the need to study the use of English for the purpose of communication, hence, for lingua franca purpose, Anna Mauranen, one of the founders of the discipline of *English as a Lingua Franca* emphasized, that in contrast to the native and established second language varieties, the use of English for lingua franca purposes has been little studied (Mauranen & Ranta 2009: 2). In Mauranen's terms, *a lingua franca situation* was defined *as an encounter that included the speakers of different first languages, who have to use English for the purpose of communication*. Disagreeing with her, I define a lingua franca situation as an encounter that may involve speakers, who (i) *do not share the same first language*, or (ii) *do share the same first language, but have to, or want to use English as the situation requires.* In both situations, one has to deal with *the function* and not *the variety* of English. The function of English usually lies in providing the means of communication for the domains of everyday

communication, business negotiations, customer support, telephone calls, conferences, and education, to name a few.

The study of *English as a Lingua Franca* is relatively new. The first empirical work can be attributed to Jennifer Jenkins (2000) and Barbara Seidlhofer (2001). In the book '*The Phonology of English as International Language*', Jennifer Jenkins described her empirical work on phonology of English as an International Language, and proposed to differentiate between the '*core*' and the '*non-core*' phonetic features of English. The '*core*' features included the basic English phonemes that learners of English had to master to avoid misunderstandings and achieve mutual intelligibility. Although the approach taken by Jenkins had weaknesses, and was not recognized, it was an important step in the development of *English as a Lingua Franca* as an independent discipline.

Cleary, in the early days of ELF research, the investigations have mostly centered on the description of phonological, lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic forms. Barbara Seidlhofer, another scholar who stood at the birth of ELF research, argued in her paper in the International Journal of Applied Linguistics, that it was necessary to systematically study and describe the use of English in the contexts of spread and growth (Seidlhofer 2001). Being interested in the formal properties and linguistic forms that were important for mutual intelligibility, the researchers worked on the collection of the linguistic data that provided a firm foundation for the elicitation of these features. The first corpus of English as a lingua franca – *The Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE)* – was compiled by Barbara Seidlhofer and her research team at the University of Vienna and launched in 2001. The corpus contained data from various domains of English use that, apart from providing complete speech events, gave additional information about the location of the speech event, the speakers, and the purpose of the interaction. Another important ELF corpus – *the Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA)* was launched by Anna Mauranen and her research team at the University of Helsinki in 2003. Both VOICE and ELFA contained databases of transcribed spoken interactions containing *one million plus* words. A more recent *Asian Corpus of English* was compiled by Andy Kirkpatrick and his research team at the Hong Kong Institute of Education in 2010. Apart from these large-scale corpora of English as a Lingua Franca, there were small-scale corpora developed by various research groups in the institutions around Europe and beyond. For example, *the Tübingen*

Corpus of English as a lingua franca[2] (*TELF),* developed at the University of Tübingen under the supervision of Kurt Kohn, consists of thirty discussions of a business problem, and includes 160 speakers with more than thirty different first languages. In addition to the output data, this corpus contains *introspective data* on the speakers' performance requirements to their ELF interactions, *the questionnaire*, where the study participants assess their proficiency and performance in English, and *the retrospective accounts* following the discussion. The access to different data types allows analysing and systematically examining such features of ELF interaction as *misunderstandings*, *co-construction of meaning* and *self-expression* (Kohn: to appear in Yasemin Bayyurt and Sumru Akcan '*Current Perspectives on pedagogy and ELF'*).

As far as the areas of inquiry are concerned, the research on English as Lingua Franca falls within the following areas: (i) the conceptualization of English as a Lingua Franca (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2009), (ii) the development of language skills and language education (McKay 2012; Löwenberg 2012; Kohn 2007, 2011), (iii) the speakers' strategic behaviour and the use of communication strategies in ELF performance (Uhl Chamot 2004; Cogo 2012), (iv) pragmatics and features of ELF interactions (Lesznyak 2004; Meierkord 1996; Jenkins 2000, 2005), including accommodation in ELF interactions (Cogo 2009; Cogo & Dewey 2012), co-construction of fluency in ELF interactions (Hüttner 2009), idiomaticity of ELF and the use of metaphors in ELF interactions (Pitzl 2009), (v) ELF and interpreting (Albl-Mikasa 2013), and (vi) the use of ELF in various registers (Ehrenreich 2009; McNamara 2012; Schneider 2012 – the talks given at the Fifth International Conference of ELF, Istanbul in 2012).

Recent revealing studies on ELF communication were the research projects of Alessia Cogo and Martin Dewey, conducted in the frame of their PhD studies (2007), and published later in '*Analysing English as a Lingua Franca: a corpus-driven investigation*' (2012). In their studies, Alessia Cogo and Martin Dewey emphasized that English used for lingua franca purposes had a complex and dynamic nature (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 4). Analyzing audio-recorded spoken interactions of 58 hours, Cogo and Dewey have found out that '*speakers in ELF interactions manipulate the linguistic resources in English in* <u>*systematic*</u>*,* <u>*regular,*</u> *and also* <u>*varying*</u> *ways*', and '*routinely exploit the language to fit the immediate communicative*

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[2] TELF - The Tübingen Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca: http://projects.ael.uni-tuebingen.de/telf/ (retrieved on June 11, 2013).

environment, <u>adapting</u> and <u>blending</u> English innovatively and resourcefully in order to achieve a jointly constructed means of conveying and interpreting meaning' (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 4). Examining various facets of ELF communication from lexicogrammar to negotiation strategies, the scholars concluded that pragmatic motives, communication and negotiation strategies often led to lexicogrammatical innovations (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 4).

In the last year's *International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca* (2012), held in Istanbul, Barbara Seidlhofer, Anna Mauranen, and Henry Widdowson drew the scholars' attention to the issue of future research on ELF. Barbara Seidlhofer remarked that ELF research has mostly centered on the use of English for academic and business purposes, and it was also interesting to investigate other areas of activities where English was used. Initiating this development, Edgar Schneider carried out a small-scale study, examining the use of English by scuba diving instructors. Jennifer Jenkins, in turn, suggested that particular attention should be paid to exploring the lexical and morphosyntactic features of ELF with an intention to compare the emerging features in learner varieties. Whereas these recommendations dealt with the expansion of already abundant empirical data, Henry Widdowson proposed to narrow down the research questions, reconceptualize the emerging ELF phenomena, and develop theoretical models that capture the ELF reality, and outline and clarify the area of ELF research. In the opposite case, he pointed out, the ELF research would remain heavily biased toward descriptive work, and short on theoretical and conceptual work (Widdowson 2012: ELF5). Since then, a slight shift in focus has been noticed from simply describing the distinctive emerging features of ELF interactions to finding reasons and explanations for their emergence.

Discussing the role and status of English in Continental Europe as compared to the countries of inner circle, where English is spoken as a first language, and the outer circle, where English is spoken as an official language, Barbara Seidlhofer pointed out the following: '*Although <u>Slavic Englishes are also thought to warrant separate treatment,</u> Europe is considered to be one geopolitical entity, but it is obvious that linguaculturally Europe is an extremely diverse area, a whole continent, in which English plays a distinctive and unique role*' (Seidlhofer 2010: 355). Clearly, Slavic languages and the countries in which they are spoken belong to Europe and contribute to its multilingual and ethnic diversity. Slavic languages, however, differ significantly from other languages of Europe, and the use of English by Slavic speakers is, therefore, likely to display features that are unique only for Slavic speakers of English. The use of English by Slavic speakers in the ELF contexts has not

been researched. Some studies on Russia English were carried out by Proshina and Ettkin (2005), Ustinova (2006), and Proshina (2006, 2010). Speculating about the status of Russian English, Zoya Proshina (2011, 2013), the current President of the International Association of World Englishes (IAWE), pointed out that '*Russian English has yet to win social acceptance, and a few Russians will acknowledge they are speaking Russia English or Russian English* [3](Proshina 2006). Moreover, she remarked that '*the attitude toward Russian English is mainly negative, as it is always associated with broken and bad English rather than with the variety able to convey Russian culture and Russian ways of thinking to others*' (Proshina 2010: 307).

The motivation behind this thesis is to contribute to the accumulated knowledge in the areas of World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca by examining the use of English by Slavic speakers in the context of lingua franca communication. When a non-native English variety is being described, the interest of the researchers lies in the identification of emerging features and the comparison of features and properties that this non-native English variety displays with the native varieties of English. The sole interest of the researchers thus lies in the identification of features allowing for the claim that the variety described is distinct from other varieties previously studied, hence meeting the criteria for being '*a variety*' of English. Although Russian English is not yet recognized as a regional variety of English, it possesses such distinctive features, as *the omission or inconsistent use of articles*, *the omission of copula 'be'*, *distinctive use of gerunds*, *topicalization of the object and its inversion* (Proshina 2010). It appears that most studies on variation are abundant in spoken and written data that naturally allows for the elicitation of lexical and morphosemantic features. Where the studies on variation seem to be short, is on the data about the speakers themselves, including such areas, as *English learning history*, *self-imposed requirements to performance*, *preferences toward varieties of English*, *and native and non-native interlocutors*, to name a few. By means of eliciting the introspective data, my thesis attempts to integrate the afore-mentioned dimensions into a small-scale of the use of English by Slavic speakers. By integrating *the introspective data* on the speakers' personal profiles, I attempt to demonstrate that (i) the studies on language variation can be enriched, if this data type is taken into account, and (ii) the emergence of some lexicogrammatical features may be explained by the features that the speakers' requirement profiles possess.

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[3] Safonova (2000) opposes the idea that Russian English is a local variety (Safonova 2000).

As the limited number of studies dealing with Russian English examined the written data from mass media, literature and translation, and there have not been any studies that systematically described the spoken performance of Russian and other speakers of Slavic languages, I decided to examine how Slavic speakers of English use '*their English*' in ELF encounters (Kohn 2007). My study is an attempt to go beyond the identification of lexicogrammatical features and examine such features of ELF communication, as *the realization of performance requirements* in ELF performance, *the attitude of Slavic speakers* toward ELF, and their strategic behaviour.

Focusing on such first languages as Russian, Ukrainian, Polish and Slovak, I recorded video interviews with Slavic speakers of English. The video interviews (approximately 50000 words) contained two main types of data: (i) *the spoken production data*, and (ii) *the introspective data*. Whereas the focus of studies on language variation is on the description of distinct features, the objectives of my research were not limited to this.

The main research questions, therefore, fall within such areas, as (i) *the attitude of Slavic speakers toward ELF*, (ii) *the self-imposed requirements of performance*, (iii) *the speakers' strategic behaviour in the interviews* and *the use of strategies of performance*, and (iv) *lexical and grammatical characteristics of the use of English by Slavic speakers*. Research questions, discussed in *Chapter 3* in detail, are presented below:

(i) What is the attitude of Slavic speakers toward English as a lingua franca? What is the attitude of Slavic speakers toward other native and non-native varieties of English? Do Slavic speakers have particular preferences in the choice of native and non-native interlocutors?

(ii) Do Slavic speakers impose particular requirements on their ELF performance? If so, what are they?

(iii) Is there any interrelation between the speakers' performance requirements and other speaker characteristics, such as *satisfaction with someone's English*, *self-assessment as a learner or non-learner of English*?

(iv) Does the speakers' performance comply with the self-imposed performance requirements?

(v) How are the self-imposed performance requirements related to the performance strategies used by these speakers?

(vi) What lexical and grammatical features characterize the use of English by Slavic speakers?

As mentioned above, the study was intended to go beyond the description of lexicogrammatical features, and integrate other dimensions necessary for understanding the underlying processes of ELF communication.

In general, the following questions are addressed in the study: (i) is it possible to speak of a newly emerging non-native variety of Eastern European English, as distinct from other non-native varieties of English, such as, East and South East Asian Englishes (Moody 2007; Kirkpatrick 2010), African Englishes, Indian English, etc., (ii) if Eastern European English is emerging, what are its characteristic features?, and (iii) can the lexicogrammatical features alone characterize the use of English for lingua franca purposes?

The question that may now arise is how Russian and Eastern European speakers, as a whole, are viewed. The first reason is that Russian and Eastern European speakers with L1 Ukrainian, Polish and Slovak shared a similar history and politics in the past, had similar cultural and social values, and went through the same post–Soviet transition processes. The second reason lies in the linguistic similarities between these languages. Slavic languages, especially East Slavic – Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian, and West Slavic – Polish and Slovak, share similar linguistic characteristics. *Rich morphology*, which is primarily fusional, *free word order*, *rich agreement systems* (nouns with adjectives and subjects with verbs), and *the category of aspect* (internal representation of time within events) are common features of Slavic languages (Comrie & Corbett 2002: 6-11).

Russian, an official language in Russia and in the Newly Independent States, has been a lingua franca in the post-Soviet space and migrant communities worldwide. Ukrainian, an official language in Ukraine, is recognized as a minority language in Russia and in some Eastern European states. Similar to Russian, Ukrainian is spoken in the Ukrainian Diaspora worldwide. Belorussian is an official language of Belarus and some parts of Poland, and is a recognized minority language in the Ukraine. Due to the common linguistic characteristics, the common history of the people and the motivation that was mostly driven by necessity, the three East Slavic languages – Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian – are mutually intelligible. The other Slavic languages in focus were the two West Slavic languages – Polish and Slovak. Slovak is an official language in Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and in the EU. It is also a recognized minority language in the Ukraine. Polish is an official language in Poland and of the EU.

Since Russian and Ukrainian are the most frequently used Slavic languages, I decided to focus, in detail, on the use of English by native speakers of these two languages. Polish and Slovak, as first languages, were considered in order to see whether it is possible to speak of similar tendencies in the use of English by West and East Slavic speakers of English given common language characteristics and a common communicative purpose.

This study differs from the previous studies in ELF and World Englishes in that I examine and describe various aspects of ELF communication, taking an account of (i) *the speakers' linguistic backgrounds*, and (ii) *the introspective data*.

In terms of organization, this thesis is divided into eleven chapters: (i) *Setting the scene*, (ii) *Factors influencing ELF performance*, (iii) *Methodological approach*, (iv) *ELF folk linguistics - a question of attitude*, (v) *The overview of speakers and their ELF performance requirements*, (vi) *Constellations of features in speakers' requirement profiles*, (vii) *The Global Test of English*, (viii) *Emerging patterns of ELF performance*, (ix) *Strategic behaviour, fluency, and grammatical correctness in ELF communication*, (x) *A lexical mosaic of Eastern European English*, and (xi) *Morphosemantic and morphosyntactic features of Eastern European English*.

In *Chapter 1*, I set the scene for exploring the use of English by Slavic speakers in the context of ELF communication. In particular, I introduce *World Englishes* and *English as a Lingua franca* as two linguistic disciplines that focus on the spread and development of English. Whereas in the World Englishes research paradigm I discuss the models that describe the development of English, in the ELF research paradigm, I define the main focus of research and discuss the major empirical work in the field. I place the current study within the research framework, and outline the main research objectives.

In *Chapter 2,* I discuss factors that influence the performance of speakers in ELF interactions, incorporating such forces as *the speaker's first language*, *the communicative competence in additional languages,* L2 and L3, *the self-imposed performance requirements*, and *attitude*. In this chapter, I also make an assumption that individual factors contribute to the emergence of ELF features and the speakers' ELF behaviour.

In *Chapter 3*, I outline the methodological approach used in my study, and explain why the grounded theory methodology was applied. I discuss the elicitation of the three data types – *the spontaneous spoken production data*, *the introspective data*, and *the written test of*

proficiency and reveal why the personal profile approach is applicable for the study on variation.

Chapter 4 presents the attitudes of Slavic speakers toward ELF and ELF-related issues. In particular, I discuss such issues as the attitude of Slavic speakers toward English as a Lingua Franca, the speakers' preferences toward native or non-native varieties of English, target language norms, and the '*perceived*' advantages and disadvantages of ELF communication. This chapter also gives an overview of pioneering research on attitudes in social psychology and applied linguistics.

In *Chapter 5,* I give an overview of fifteen speakers of Slavic languages who participated in the study. Apart from sketching their educational, social, and linguistic background, I discuss the requirements these speakers imposed on their performance, such as fluency and grammatical correctness and illustrate them by the speakers' comments.

In *Chapter 6,* I examine and analyse the speaker-specific characteristics in relation to the speakers' performance requirements. Such speaker-specific characteristics as *satisfaction with one's own English communicative competence*, *worst fears in communication*, and *preferences toward native and non-native varieties* are examined in relation to the requirements imposed by speakers.

In *Chapter 7,* I present a written test of English proficiency completed by the study participants, and discuss the results of the speakers' performance on the test. The differentiation between *the speakers' certainty rate* (what the speakers think is correct), and *the speakers' correctness rate* (a number of correct answers with regard to the native speaker norm) is made (Kohn 1990). The speakers' certainty rate and correctness rate are discussed in relation to the overall test results and the test segment that tested the speakers' competence in the use of tense and aspect.

In *Chapter 8*, I examine the speakers' interview performance in relation to such performance requirements as *fluency* and *grammatical correctness*, and integrate the available test results into the analysis. Comparing the speakers' interview performance against their performance requirements, I assert that the performance of some speakers complies with the self-imposed performance requirements, whereas the performance of others does not, or complies only partially.

In *Chapter 9*, I consider the speakers' strategic behaviour and the use of individual strategies in the interview performance. I question the nature of the relationships between the speakers' requirements of *fluency* and *grammatical correctness* and strategies of performance, assuming that speakers are inclined to (subconsciously) select strategies that help them to meet their requirements of performance.

Chapter 10 and *11* provide a description of the linguistic features that emerged in the use of English by Slavic speakers. *Chapter 10* presents the lexical mosaic of the Eastern European use, and suggests that some strategies of performance generate the emergence of new lexical items and expressions. *Chapter 11* focuses on the grammatical forms of English when it is used by Slavic speakers. In particular, I discuss how such morphosemantic categories, as *tense* and *aspect* are used by Slavic speakers, and explain this development in terms of the transfer from the speakers' first languages. I conclude the chapter by showing how such morphosyntactic features as agreement, and relative clauses manifest in the spoken production data.

The Conclusion summarizes the most important observations across the different areas of inquiry, and suggests that additional studies examining lexis, morphosemantics, and morphosyntax are necessary to provide further evidence for the emergence of the new non-native variety of Eastern European English.

Chapter 2.   Factors influencing ELF performance

The description of lexical and grammatical features emerging from the performance of Slavic speakers, mentioned in the previous chapter, is not the sole interest of this study. Apart from describing the emerging features, I will examine the reasons why ELF users perform the way they do under the ELF conditions. In other words, I will investigate the underlying processes when English is used for lingua franca purposes. This chapter discusses five factors relevant for explaining the performance of speakers in ELF encounters.

Considering the findings of second language acquisition, language learning, and sociolinguistic research it may be possible to suppose that the following forces influence the speakers' performance in multifaceted ELF encounters: (i) *the speakers' requirements of performance*; (ii) *the speakers' L2 knowledge*; (iii) *transfer from previous languages - L1and L3*; (iv*) the speakers' attitude toward ELF*, and (v) *creativity*. These factors, in combination with each other, seem to have an effect on how speakers perform under the ELF conditions.

(i) The speakers' requirements of performance

The way a speaker performs in lingua franca situations can, to a great extent, be influenced by requirements imposed by this particular speaker on his/her performance. According to *Kohn's performance model* (Kohn 1990), language learners are not guided by target language norms, which are objective, but by their own knowledge, which is subjective, and by the requirements they feel they must meet in a specific communicative situation. For instance, the speaker may try to convey a message while being grammatically correct as opposed to being only grammatically correct (Kohn 1990). The expectations a speaker sets for his/her performance and where he/she places an emphasis in communication may add to the final outcome of ELF interactions.

(ii) The speakers' L2 English knowledge

English tends to be used when there is no common language among interlocutors. The English(es) used for lingua franca purposes, however, is (are) different due to various reasons, such as proficiency levels, individual differences, and the speakers' use of their knowledge. The speakers' ELF performance thus seems to be influenced by the speakers' competence in the basic structures and vocabulary.

(iii) Transfer from previous languages – L1 and L3

Given that ELF users are – in many cases – multilingual speakers (having either L3 or a second L2) I suggest examining *'available'* languages – L1 and L3– as factors that add to the speakers' ELF performance. The findings in the second and third language acquisition research (Cenoz, Hufeisen & Jessner 2001; Cenoz & Jessner 2009) illustrate that knowledge of other languages – L1 and L3 – provides a good foundation for transfer of morphosyntactic structures and lexical items when the L2 resources are limited.

(iv) Attitude to ELF

Attitude, as a psychological construct, began to emerge as one of the factors that either helps a learner to learn a new language or impedes the process of learning. This was identified, initially, in the studies on social psychology and later in the studies on language learning. For this reason, I consider it is important to include attitude to the model of ELF performance, and examine whether a (positive) attitude toward ELF has a beneficial effect on the speaker's ELF performance.

(v) Other factors

ELF performance clearly goes far beyond the speakers' performance requirements, the speakers' L2, L1 and L3 knowledge, and attitude toward ELF. It often occurs that there is more than a simple interplay of the four factors mentioned when English is used for lingua franca purposes. Quite often speakers use structures resembling the native speaker norm. These structures are not an ideal copy of the language. Using particular lexical expressions and idioms is an example of this imperfect copy (cf. Kohn 2011; Seidlhofer 2006). In the acquisition and use of English, speakers of English *construct their own versions of English* (Kohn 2011). Literal creativity, filtered by individual-specific factors such as attitude, motivation and emotion, is often part of this language construction; hence, it deserves attention as one of the factors which may influence the speakers' ELF performance. In the following section, I will present the five forces in a greater detail.

2.1 *Requirements of performance*

The term *'requirements of performance'*, used by Kohn (1990) in his model of performance (Kohn 1990: 80), was developed for second language learning. In his book, *Dimensionen*

lernsprachlicher Performanz (Kohn 1990), Kohn argued that the performance of individual speakers is not influenced by target language norms, which are external and objective, but by the speakers' own target language norms, which are internal and subjective. According to this model of performance, learners and users of English have certain communicative needs, which manifest in the speakers' performance requirements. Performance requirements can be the following (Kohn 1990, 2007, 2011):

1. to communicate successfully

2. to speak fluently

3. to be grammatically correct

4. to be comprehensible

5. to learn how to communicate successfully

6. to learn how to speak fluently

7. to learn how to be grammatically correct

8. to learn how to be comprehensible

Given the diversity in language teaching, socio-cultural, and educational backgrounds that speakers come from, as well as, personal preferences and communicative needs, language users have different requirement profiles. Usually, speakers are able to differentiate between the primary and secondary goals in their performance (Kohn 1990). Some speakers may want to meet the requirements of fluency, grammatical correctness, and comprehensibility, whereas others are satisfied if the requirement of fluency is met. It appears that speakers are aware of performance requirements; furthermore, they are able to assess the extent to which their requirements are realized in their performance (Kohn 2011: 82).

It is possible to see a distinction between learning how to achieve a goal and achieving it by closely examining the performance requirements presented above. The first four requirements of performance (1-4) primarily deal with the speakers' communicative goals, whereas the requirements in (5-8) mainly concern *learning how to* achieve a certain goal.

Remember, that a speaker develops his/her requirement profile in the society he/she is raised up into, and not in isolation (Kohn 2011: 82). Thus, sociocultural, educational and individual factors have an impact on shaping the speaker's requirement profile.

The extent to which performance requirements are met in the speakers' performance depends greatly on the intentions or goals present in a particular situation and the competence of the speaker in allowing them to realize these intentions. In some situations, it is extremely important to be correct, for instance, in exam situations, whereas in others, this requirement becomes less important (Kohn 1990: 106). The same is true for the requirement of comprehensibility. In some situations, it might be important to meet the requirement of comprehensibility, whereas in others it is more important to interact (Kohn 2011: 82).

It is possible to suppose that the requirement profile of a learner or user (a combination of requirements imposed by a learner or user on his/her performance) is not a static concept. It seems to have a *dynamic character* and to be formed throughout different stages of learner development and language learning. Obviously, in the early stages of the formation of the requirement profile for a language user, it is mainly guided by goals he/she wants to achieve in language learning in general, and expectations he/she has toward different communicative situations. It is only during later developmental stages that a user is able to distinguish the primary from the secondary goals and make the required adjustments. Apart from these adjustments, speakers may adjust their performance requirements in relation to the situation. The exposure to various encounters, such as job interviews, business negotiations, exams and/or conversations with friends stimulates the reconsideration of performance requirements within the situation and the re-adjustment of performance requirements in order to satisfy the conditions of the situation and the speaker's communicative needs. Thus, the readjustment of performance requirements seems to occur continuously. The requirement profile, therefore, is subject to *situational adaptation*.

The requirements of performance are dynamic; speakers adjust their performance requirements in relation to the communicative situation (< '*situational adaptation*'). In some situations it may be more important to be grammatically correct (an exam situation), whereas in others, it is more important to be fluent. Users of English do not only modify their performance requirements in relation to the situation, but also modify them in the process of language learning.

Let us consider an example illustrating how two speakers of English – speaker A and speaker B – adjust their performance requirements to specific communicative situations. Speaker A and speaker B use English mainly in a classroom setting. For speaker A, it is important to be fluent *and* grammatically correct. Thus, both performance requirements – fluency and grammatical correctness – occupy equally important niches in the speaker's requirement profile. However, once this speaker is exposed to other contact situations that have different objectives from the use of English in a classroom setting, he/she may re-evaluate his/her communicative goals, and consequently, add more weight to the goals he/she considers more important for this particular situation. In business negotiations, for instance, speaker A may want to come straight to the point and make his/her point clear. Grammatical correctness may then be moved to the background and fluency – to the foreground.

Now, let me consider what may happen with the speaker B. For him/her, it is only important to be grammatically correct. Monitoring and self-correction are important features of his/her performance in class. However, once he/she finds himself/herself in a situation where the interaction is of great importance, he/she may, similar to speaker A – who initially valued grammatical correctness as high as fluency – re-evaluate his/her communicative goals and modify his/her performance requirements. Achieving fluency, notwithstanding the two initial requirement profiles of the two speakers, becomes domineering. Awareness of the diversity of contact situations is obviously beneficial for the English speakers, as it may become necessary to adapt their requirement profile in order to meet the needs of a specific communicative situation.

The requirement profile does not only account for the speakers' performance in contact situations, but also helps to explain the difference between a language learner and language user. It is assumed that the requirement profile of a language learner differs from the requirement profile of a language user given that the performance requirements express the speakers' communicative needs and intentions. Communicative intentions and needs of a language learner also differ from those of a language user (Kohn 1990: 107). Speakers in a language learning phase may want to try and realize what they consider important in language learning in their performance. For example, a speaker is learning English and considers grammatical accuracy an important constituent of his/her competence and performance. As a result, when it comes to performance, he/she may want to be as grammatically correct as possible according to his/her knowledge of correctness. It should be noted that grammatical correctness concerns the knowledge of correctness of the speaker (subjective) and not an

external target language norm. Maintaining grammatical correctness, however, is not the only feature of a language learner profile. A language learner may, for example, want to learn how to achieve fluency in his/her talk. In this case, he/she may try to push the requirement of fluency forward and pay particular attention to it. Quite obviously, language users, unlike language learners, are less concerned about learning. Achieving grammatical correctness and/or fluency – if both requirements are present in the requirement profile of a particular speaker – is not seen in connection with learning, but with the communicative goals the speaker wants to achieve. Grammatical correctness, as we shall see further, is desired to be maintained as it contributes to comprehensibility. Important to language users is the ability to make use of knowledge they already possess in order to achieve the communicative goals they set for themselves. Thus, the requirement profiles of a language learner and language user are quite likely to differ in terms of learning-related and communication-related goals.

Above is an account of requirements that may influence the speakers' performance in a foreign language. I showed that the requirement profiles developed by speakers in the process of language learning tend to be modified in language use and adapted to specific situations. Ethnographic and sociolinguistic factors, such as the context of foreign language learning, personality, and the speakers' future goals have an effect on the formation of the requirement profile.

In a foreign language learning and teaching context, grammatical correctness was undoubtedly seen as a goal that foreign language learners wanted to achieve, and language learning, as Kohn (2011) described it, *was a process that moved learners towards the language spoken by native speakers* (Kohn 2011: 83). In the ELF research context, however, grammatical correctness and target language approximation are hardly ever seen as goals to be obtained; the meaning, not the form, tends to be the primary focus of ELF users (Widdowson 2012: 16).

Similar to learners of a foreign language, users of English intend to achieve particular goals in language contact situations. Self-imposed performance requirements, such as *being correct* and *fluent*, *to understand* and *be understood* are manifestations of these goals. As the ELF context is dynamic, ELF users are likely to modify and adapt individual performance requirements to comply with the newly emerging communicative needs. The speakers' ELF performance, therefore, may depend on the requirements formulated by speakers in the initial stages of language learning and the subsequent stages of adaptation of their requirement

profiles. Thus, examining ELF performance while considering speakers' requirement profiles is important, since it discloses those aspects of ELF performance which could have been overseen should this approach not be applied.

Above, I have explained why the role of performance requirements is important in the ELF context and how they can influence the speakers' ELF performance. Based on *Kohn's performance model*, it was shown that language users set particular goals in communicative situations, reflected in the speakers' performance requirements. To comply with these performance requirements, the L2 linguistic knowledge does not suffice (Kohn 2011: 82). To meet the desired requirements, the speaker needs to know how to make use of his linguistic knowledge and the means of expressions best suited to the purpose. A performance-oriented approach can thus be helpful in explaining the speakers' ELF performance.

2.2   L2 English knowledge

In the following, I will discuss *the L2 English competence* from the social constructivist perspective (Kohn 2011) and suggest that this factor, along with the others previously discussed, determines how non-native speakers of English perform in multicultural encounters.

Within the framework of second language acquisition, linguists have tried to conceptualize and describe *learner language* – a language that is produced by learners. In the earlier accounts of second language acquisition, learner language was viewed as *transitional competence* (Corder 1967), *interlanguage* (Selinker 1969), and *approximate system* (Nemser 1971). These accounts of learner language were similar in the way they treated the linguistic systems developed by learners as *self-contained wholes*, which resemble neither the learners' first language nor the target language. A language learner may have a representation of a syntactic structure that is neither a structure in the speaker's first language nor the structure of the target language. In the later accounts of second language acquisition and language learning, Ellis began to refer to language produced by learners as *learner language* (Ellis 1985), and Klein as *learner variety* (Klein 1997). Klein, for example, claimed that speakers develop learner varieties, which in some cases do not substantially differ from that of their social environment. He illustrated this by giving an example of teachers' English (Klein 1997: 6). Within the sociolinguistic paradigm, the view that learner English forms *a systematic whole* is also observed: '*Language learner's knowledge of a second language forms a*

systematic whole' (Spolsky 1989: 31). Despite the many weaknesses of the early accounts, a great contribution was made to the areas of second language acquisition and language learning by observing and discussing learner language as a unified whole.

The pioneering accounts on learner language differed in how the status of the linguistic system, developed by learners, was treated. They were similar in that they only dealt with the speakers' grammatical competence, paying little attention, if at all, to a learner, a learner's performance, and the involved underlying processes (Kohn 1990: 27).

How, then, could learner language be conceptualized and described if it is more than just the knowledge of linguistic structures? The speaker's linguistic knowledge as Kohn suggested (Kohn 1990: 78) is not the competence of '*an ideal speaker/listener in a completely homogenous speech community'* (Chomsky 1965: 3). Quite contrary, learner language knowledge tends to vary from individual to individual, as there are no ideal speakers and listeners, and there is no completely homogenous speech community. According to Kohn's performance model (Kohn 1990: 79), the speaker's language knowledge has distinctive characteristics. It is considered to be: (a) *functional*, (b) *autonomous*, (c) *hypothetical*, and (d) *real* and *subjective*.

Let me briefly explain how these characteristic features manifest in learner language. First, learner language is *functional,* as the linguistic structures are geared toward the realization of the learner's performance requirements. Second, learner language is *autonomous,* in the sense that it forms a self-contained whole and not a corrupted version of the target language. Third, it is *hypothetical*. Learner knowledge varies in degrees of certainty and learners tend to formulate assumptions as to what is and what is not correct, according to their own knowledge of correctness; whether learner language conforms to the target language norms is of lesser importance in the definition of leaner language. Finally, learner language is *real* and *subjective* (Kohn 1990: 79). It is real and subjective since it is the representation existing in the minds of individual speakers. Considering the features of *functionality*, *autonomy*, *hypothesis formation* and *subjectivity*, it is possible to suggest that the learner language is a cognitive and social construction which is shaped by a learner with formed societal values, personal preferences, language learning background, communicative needs and expectations (cf. Vygotsky 1978; Kohn 2011). Additionally, it is possible to claim that utterances emerging in the speakers' production not only represent the speakers' competence but also give information concerning the performance-specific processes.

Perceiving L2 English as a process of social construction, and not as a system of rules may give more insights into the speakers' conduct and performance in foreign language encounters.

Conceptualizing learner language, in the context of foreign language learning, is quite complex. Whereas in the use of English as a foreign/second language, sociolinguistic variables are easier to identify, in the use of English as a lingua franca, these variables – due to great diversity – become more difficult to grasp. In ELF communicative encounters, speakers come from various L1 backgrounds, have different levels of proficiency and a different history of learning English, have different performance requirements and needs, and interact in various communicative situations. To be able to account for the variation in the use of English, Kohn (Kohn 2011) proposes the *My English* condition. Under this condition, formulated in the social constructivist framework, each speaker can only use his/her own individual English (Kohn 2011: 79), i.e. in Kohn's terms '*the version of English, they* (the speakers: author's comment) *have managed to make their own - be this a consolidated, stable and highly differentiated native language, a consolidated and stable, but somewhat restricted second language, or as reduced and unstable learner's language'* (Kohn 2011: 79). The speakers thus face the ELF encounters having not only different L1, and different performance requirements, but different English(es) as well. This makes the use of English heterogeneous, and the underlying communication processes more complex and difficult to identify.

Above, I gave a brief account of the speakers' L2 knowledge in language research, taking Kohn's performance model into account. It was proposed that the L2 knowledge should not only be seen as knowledge of grammar and vocabulary, but as a social construct created by individual speakers in interactions as well.

2.3   Transfer from 'previous' languages

In the following section, I will consider the role of *transfer* in language learning. Those who are involved in language teaching, language assessment, and language research often identify structures that do not resemble the structures of the target language in the performance of individual speakers. The question which now arises is where these structures come from and how they are produced. In some cases, as we shall see below, abstract and non-abstract knowledge representations of previously acquired languages – L1 and/or L3 – contribute to

what language learners produce. Thus, language learners are likely to transfer structures and/or lexical items from their native language or a second foreign language into L2.

The notion of *transfer* goes back to the late fifties, when the behaviourist approach to learning was strong. One approach to second language acquisition in the framework of behaviourism – *the Contrastive Analysis* - formulated by Lade in his *Linguistics across cultures* (Lado 1957), attributed transfer an exclusive role. Given that learning in general was seen as habit formation within *the behaviourist framework*, *the Contrastive Analysis* proposed that learning a new language is a formation of habits, and the formation of new habits was based on the old habits of a learner and imitation. Learning a new foreign language, learners were thus expected to transfer structures from previously known languages into the new language. For this purpose, it was important to systematically examine (in those days from the structuralist perspective) the learner's native and target language and identify morphosyntactic features of the two languages. This would allow for making assumptions and identifying patterns, which may be susceptible for transfer. According to this approach, language learning was easier for those learners whose native language and the target language had similar features, and more difficult for those learners whose L1 and L2 did not have similar features. When similar features among languages were identified, one spoke of '*a positive transfer' that facilitated learning, and when different features were identified, one spoke of a 'negative transfer'* that impeded language learning. The researchers working within *the Contrastive Analysis* framework examined language patterns of the languages in focus and on this basis could formulate assumptions as to whether learning a particular language would be '*easy'* or '*difficult'* for individual learners. After Chomsky's acquisition arguments (Chomsky 1959) in his review of Skinner's (1957) *Verbal Behaviour,* the mentalist-cognitive perspective on language acquisition replaced behaviourism. From this perspective, language acquisition began to be seen as a creative process, and not as imitation of 'available' chunks. The study of Dulay and Burt (Dulay & Burt 1974), for example, investigated the morpheme acquisition order of children with L1 Spanish and Chinese and showed that not all errors predicted by *the Contrastive Analysis* occurred in the production. Learning a second language began to be seen as a creative process.

With a shift to the mentalist-cognitive approach, linguists began to pay more attention to the role of the learner in language learning. Eckman (1977, 1985) and Kellerman (1978, 1979, 1983) for instance, were some of the first to examine transfer from the perspective of a learner. Eckman (Eckman 1977, 1985) examined the native language and target language of a

learner in terms of *markedness* and defined all linguistic categories as either '*marked*' (finding their realization in learner language) or '*unmarked*' (not finding their realization in learner language). The more the structure was marked, the less ready the learner was to transfer it.

The presence of a learner's dimension became evident in the study of Kellerman (1978). Similar to Eckman (1977), Kellerman's research questioned the *markedness* of linguistic categories. However, unlike Eckman, he included a learner's dimension into the study in the sense that markedness of categories was determined by whether a *learner* considered L1 categories *marked* or *unmarked* in relation to the target language. When L2 categories were more marked than the L1 categories, learners were expected to experience more learning difficulties. When L2 languages were more difficult, but the L2 was not marked more than the L1, learning difficulties were not expected. It is worth noting that from this point, the entire categorization of features was based on the learners' intuition and transfer began to appear as an *intentional cognitive strategy*.

Later, the studies conducted by Wode (1978) showed that the transfer of structures is systematic and not accidental, and various linguistic sequences are transferred at various stages of language acquisition. Examining the interference from L1 German into the acquisition of English negatives, Wode (1978) pointed out that interference only takes place when certain conditions are met. The formulation of this principle generated further research on the role of the learner's L1 in foreign language learning.

Remember, that most studies on transfer (Schachter & Rutherford 1979; Zobl 1982; Schachter 1983; Gass 1984; Odlin (1989). at that time were based on the assumption that there are universal linguistic features and that there is universal processes of language acquisition (Chomsky 1970). Schachter (1983), for instance, conceptualized transfer in terms of constraints on the types of hypotheses a learner formulated and tested, rather than in terms of processes. Based on this account, the learner's previous knowledge in a broad sense (the abstract knowledge about the language), and not only the learner's L1, constrained the hypotheses. Gass, likewise (1984) suggested that *transfer* goes far beyond the overt manifestation of native language form.

It should be noted that the proposed theoretical accounts dealt with the transfer of structures. Researchers working in this framework examined morphosyntactic structures in the source language and the target language, and identified patterns susceptible to transfer.

What was not entirely present in these approaches, with the exception of studies by Eckmann (1977) and Kellerman (1977, 1978, 1979, 1983), was that little was said about *a language learner*; in particular, it was unclear how the morphosyntactic patterns that were identified could help to acquire a language (cf. Kohn 1990: 145), and use this acquired language in performance. Thus, there was a need to take a closer look at language learners and features and functions of transfer in their performance.

As mentioned, the notion of transfer has evolved from an automatic behaviourist to a mentalist-cognitive concept. With a growing interest in the learner's role in language learning, linguists examined the learners' behaviour in terms of underlying processes, and observed that transfer could not only be seen as an automatic cognitive process, but also as a strategic process that takes place at the level of speakers' performance (Kohn 1986: 23).

It was observed that transfer was not only an automatic and cognitive process, but a *strategic one* occurring at the level of performance as well.

Learners can make use of their L1 under certain language-specific, learning-specific, psychological and cognitive conditions, and this conscious and intentional reliance on L1 may have a positive effect on language learning (Kohn 1990: 146). In the performance model that differentiates between the speakers' L2 knowledge and the use of this knowledge to meet performance-specific requirements, Kohn (1990) discussed transfer as *performance and learning process* (Kohn 1990: 150). In his performance model, Kohn (1990) proposed to consider transfer and the analyses at three levels of manifestations; namely (i) *the possibilities for structural transfer*, (ii) *the patterns of structural transfer*, and, finally, (iii) *the process of transfer itself*. Dealing with the *possibilities for structural transfer*, one can ask which connections exist between a learner's first language and foreign language and whether transfer of structures is possible (Kohn 1990: 147). In the *patterns of structural transfer*, by means of *the Contrastive Analysis*, one examines whether transfer is likely to be negative or positive. At the third level of analysis, *a process of transfer* itself is investigated. There, researchers take a close look at patterns of transfer and its products.

In contrast to earlier accounts of transfer, the account proposed by Kohn (1990) allowed incorporation of the following elements into the model, (i) a *learner's knowledge*, (ii) *learner's requirements of performance* (grammatical correctness or/and fluency), and (iii) *the realization of learner's knowledge* (Kohn 1990: 150). In addition to this, the model allowed

the differentiation – within transfer – between different types of processes; namely, between *transfer as a process of performance*, and *transfer as a learning process*.

Transfer as a process of performance can manifest in a learner's production under the conditions of tiredness, a lack of attention and concentration, and a strong presence of a learner's L1 (Kohn 1990: 150). When the use of L1 structures is not entirely controlled by imposed performance requirements, transfer can become automatic, hence, non-intentional. However, when a learner identifies a particular structure as incorrect and uses it in his/her performance, the transfer is strategic, and hence intentional. Desperate to the previous type of transfer, the function of this transfer is to fill the gap in the production, and possibly, to meet the performance requirements of a learner, such as, getting the message across. *Transfer as a learning process* can also be automatic and strategic. In both cases, it supports the formation and fosters the development of a learner language through repeating transferred patterns. Transfer may also convert from performance to a learning mode (Kohn 1990: 151).

In summary, transfer in language learning may be seen either as an automatic or a strategic process, depending on the factors influencing the speaker's performance and the speaker's performance requirements. In the present-day multicultural setting, learners are exposed to many foreign languages. A second foreign language and subsequent foreign languages are a good source of transfer of lexical and grammatical constructions to the speakers' L2.

Similar to the transfer from L1, transfer from other '*available'* languages, as L3, for example, can be an automatic, cognitive and a strategic process. Transfer is *an automatic process*, when the structures of another language are automatically transferred to the L2 by means of imitation. Transfer is *a cognitive process*, when the L2 learners transfer at the level of mental structures. Transfer is *a strategic* process, when the L2 learners strategically use the resources of other 'available' languages in order to meet their communicative needs and the requirements of performance. Clearly, each process of transfer can be characterized by the presence of one or all features – from automaticity to the strategic use.

Even if the first language of the speaker is dominant, it does not mean that speakers exclusively appeal to it for the purposes of transfer. In his work on multilingualism, Jean-Marc Dewaele (1998) pointed out that the preferred source of lexical information is the active language with the highest level of activation: *'Access to lemmas of languages that have a lower level of activation is partially blocked. It appears that the L1 is not necessarily always*

the dominant active language and that access to its lemmas could accordingly be limited'(Dewaele 1998: 488). Even when the first language of the speaker is dominant, other available languages – depending on the level of activation – may be more active, and, therefore, more susceptible for transfer.

Studies investigating transfer in the production of multilingual speakers considered the following two research questions – which '*available*' languages create favourable grounds for transfer, and what structures are more susceptible for transfer. The pioneering studies of Vildomec (1963), Stedje (1977), and Ringbom (1987) investigated the use of function words in the speakers' L3. Vildomec (1963), for example, observed that in early L3 production, functors such as prepositions, articles, and conjunctions tend to come from a learner's second language, and not a learner's first language. The use of function words from the second language was also discussed in the study of Stedje (1977), who examined Finnish speakers of German as a third language and Swedish as a second language, observed that function words were predominantly transferred from the second and not the first language. The study of Ringbom (1987) found 187 complete language switches from Swedish L2, while only 8 from Swedish L1, with 67% of transferred lexical items and 33% function words. In a two year study, Williams & Hammamberg (1998) observed that an English native speaker with German as a second language and Swedish as a third language, transferred lexical items and function words from German, not English. At the same time, studies by De Angelis & Selinker (2001) showed that speakers of three and more languages transfer more from other available languages than from their L1, if the former languages are more active in the speaker's language system. In the more recent studies on the interlingual transfer, it was noticed that in the early L3 production, certain function words do not come from the speaker's L1, but tend to come from the second language (Jessner, De Angelis & Cenoz 2009: 47).

Transfer was thus seen as one of the factors that influences on language learning. In the context of lingua franca, the situation is heterogeneous due to the variability of speakers, in terms of L1 backgrounds, their proficiency in L2, and other '*available*' languages, as well as, different communicative purposes and speakers' performance requirements. It is possible to assume that the L1 and a second L2 or L3 – may have an influence on the speakers' ELF performance. The use of previously known languages – L1 or L3 – may become obvious in the transfer of morphosemantic and syntactic structures and lexical items that non-native speakers use in their ELF performance. Some of the reasons that are often discussed in connection with transfer are the inability to timely retrieve a lexical item or the absence of the

required lexical item in the speaker's lexicon. The need to transfer from '*available*' languages in some situations may be reinforced by the self-imposed performance requirements. ELF users, for example, who prioritize fluency in the ELF context, may tend to transfer more than speakers who prioritize grammatical correctness. Given that transfer assists speakers in achieving their communicative goals, in my discussion, I consider transfer to be an indispensable communicative strategy, which compensates for the misbalance of L1 and L2 resources and not as interference.

In conclusion, in the demanding ELF context, ELF users tend to constantly search for chunks or language patterns to cope with the emergent difficulties of expressing themselves. Given that the languages at the speakers' constant disposal – L1 and L3 – offer this, ELF users are quite likely to rely on and make use of these already established patterns.

2.4 Attitude to English

Before I move to the role of *attitude* in language learning and use, I will discuss how the concept of attitude is used in social psychology. One of the earliest definitions of this concept is found in the works of the German philosopher and psychologist Karl Jung. In his work, '*Psychological Types*', which was first published in the beginning of the twentieth century (1921), he defined attitude as, '*readiness of the psyche to act or react in a certain way*' (reprint Jung 1971: par. 687).

Attempts to systematically address attitude and attitude measurement were made by Thurstone (1931) and Allport (1935), who worked in the field of social psychology. Apart from defining the concept as, '*a complex affair, which cannot be wholly described by any single numerical index*', Thurstone was concerned with finding out how to measure attitude. Expressing his concern, he gave an example of a table, a piece of furniture, saying that, '*Although, providing one numerical index is not possible, people do not hesitate to say they measure the table*', he claimed (Thurstone 1931: 255). Gordon Allport, in the first edition of the '*Handbook of Social Psychology*', introduced the topic defining attitude as, '*the most distinctive and indispensable concept in social psychology*' (Allport 1935: 784). He also pointed out that many researchers defined *social psychology as the scientific study of attitudes* (Allport 1935: 784). Allport's oft-cited definition of attitude includes the following:

   (a) Attitude is a mental and neutral state of readiness, which is organized through experience;

(b) Attitude exerts a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Allport 1935: 784).

In other words, attitude was seen as a broad concept in social psychology, evolving in human nature through experience and cognitive interpretation that is capable of exerting a directive or dynamic influence on the human. The concept was thus rather broadly defined.

It is generally accepted that there are two major competing views in attitude research – *the mentalist*, and *the behaviourist*. Within *the mentalist approach*, three major components are differentiated: (i) *the cognitive*, (ii) *the affective*, (iii) *the connotative*. The cognitive component refers to the individual's belief structure; the affective to emotional reactions, and the connotative to the tendency to behave toward the attitude object (Lambert 1967). In *the behaviourist approach*, attitude is defined as '*a general and enduring positive or negative feeling about some person, object, and issue*' (Petty and Cacioppo 1981: 6). In the critique of this view, Fasold, for example, pointed out that this kind of behaviour is much easier to observe and analyze, but it cannot be used to predict other kinds of behaviour (Fasold 1984: 147), as compared to the mentalist approach. The mentalist approach thus had been considered the most influential approach (Fishman & Agheyisi 1970).

In the nineteen eighties, attitude in social psychology was defined as '*a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event*' (Ajzen 1988: 4). David Lasagabaster, while introducing a chapter on attitude in the *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, made a reference to Jasper and Fraser (1984) and drew the readers' attention to the fact that all definitions of attitude could be classified into two groups – *the emotional*, and *the cognitive/behavioural definitions* (Lasagabaster 1984: 399).

In more recent accounts of attitude in social psychology, Eagly and Chaiken (2005) defined attitude as '*a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour*' (Eagly & Chaiken 2005:166). What appears to be common among the approaches emerging along the decades of attitude research is the presence of the referent or entity, toward which the attitude is directed. Attitude is often defined as a reaction of an individual toward an object, person or a situation, which may have an effect on the positive, negative or neutral behaviour toward the object, person or situation. The research on attitude and attitude measurement was thus one of the central topics in social psychology. Given the subject matter, namely, issues of evaluation and attitude formation,

this area of inquiry became interesting for anthropologists, language educators, and sociolinguists working in the field of language development and language change.

Similar to social psychology, in sociolinguistics there were a number of definitions of language attitude, which reflected particular research objectives respectively. One of the most common definitions of language attitude was *a tendency that a speaker of a particular language expressed by evaluating a particular language and/or speakers of a particular speech community with some degree of favour or disfavour.*

In discussing the origin and the early development of language attitude studies, two influential studies are important to mention. In the early nineteen thirties, Pear conducted a study in which he had asked study participants to listen to different voices on BBC (Pear 1931: 151). Listening to these voices, study participants categorized speakers into the groups of speech varieties they were familiar with, and supplied voices they heard with features likely to be displayed by these varieties. In addition, they supplied heard voices with personality profiles. The match of voices and speech varieties was based on stereotypical traits the speech varieties and their speakers were likely to possess, such as for example, intonation and pitch. Whether or not these stereotypes truthfully reflected the features of these speech varieties was not a concern of the study.

The important and interesting finding was that stereotypes, either negative or positive, about the language and a particular speech community have an effect on the linguistic behaviour of the speakers. Although this study was not intended as a study on language attitudes, when the data were analysed and the results summarized, it appeared to capture the dimensions significant for language attitude research. This study thus laid the foundation for language attitude research. Another influential study that marked the beginning of language attitude research was performed in Montreal by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum in the late nineteen sixties (Lambert et al. 1960). The research objective in this study was to examine how listeners evaluate native speakers of French and English and how they rate them on character traits. To conduct the test, bilingual speakers of English and French were recorded reading English and French texts. Recordings were arranged in such a way that none of the two recordings was played to listeners in succession. In this way, study participants listened to the recordings and rated them on character traits, unaware that they were ranking the same bilingual speakers. The so-called *Lambert's matched guise test* was designed to help the researchers to explore this domain of attitude research.

The research methodology in attitude research includes direct and indirect methods. *The matched guise test* and *the verbal guise test* are indirect methods of data elicitation. *Interviews, questionnaires,* and *surveys* are direct methods of data elicitation. Although questionnaires and interviews are a reliable method the disadvantage in using them is that interviewees often express opinions which are widely-accepted in the society, in other words, they are not likely to comment on the true state of affairs at the fear of losing face and are careful with making judgements that go against these widely-held assumptions.

The results of the sociolinguistic studies were not only interesting from the perspective of research, they also had numerous implications for foreign language teaching and learning. Gardner in his book, *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning* (1985), argued that attitudes and motivation had an influence on the success of language acquisition. He also pointed out that the context in which learning takes place influenced attitude formation and change. As Gardner pointed out earlier, teaching could develop '*favourable attitudes toward the other cultural community, a general appreciation of other cultures, interest in further language study*' (Gardner 1979: 199). The main concern of sociolinguists was to provide an analysis and objective evaluation of the language use in society by integrating social variables, such as, educational and social background, age, and gender into the analysis. In other words, in examining and analysing the data, sociolinguists present the language use in society as they – sociolinguists – see it. The opinions about language often reflect the observers' – the linguists' – opinions.

Above, I highlighted how attitude and its role are perceived from the perspective of (i) social psychology and (ii) language learning. In the following paragraphs, the attention will be drawn to the role of attitude in the ELF and World Englishes research paradigm, focusing on the application of a folk linguistics research methodology.

Folk linguistics, a relatively new discipline, brought the opinions of *real people* about the language and the linguistic features into the foreground. In contrast to sociolinguistics[4], the focus of folk linguistics is the examination and analysis of the opinions of *real people* about language, variation and change, and particular speech communities.

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[4] Sociolinguistics is concerned with the variation of language – the product, storage, and acquisition of such variation, including the variation the learners acquire in a target language (Preston 2001: 691).

In the introduction to the book on Folk Linguistics, Nancy Niedzielski expressed a regret that folk linguistics is not taken seriously from the science: '*From a scientific perspective, folk beliefs about language are, at best, innocent misunderstandings of language, or at worst, the bases of prejudice, leading to the continuation, reformulation and, rationalization, justification, and even development of a variety of societal injustices'* (Niedzielski & Preston 2000: 1). The proponents of folk linguistics research methodology attempt to show that folk linguistic data may be systematically collected and analysed and that it can offer valid and interesting insights in making judgements about the language. Although folk linguistics research has an old tradition, it is accepted to mark its origin by the talk, '*A proposal for the study of folk linguistics'*, given by Hönigswald at the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference (1964). In this talk, Hönigswald highlighted the importance of folk linguistics by making the following point: '*We should be interested not only in* (a) *what goes on (language), but also in* (b) h*ow people react to what is going on (they are persuaded, they are put off)*, and in (c) *what people think goes on (concerning the language). It will not do to dismiss these secondary and tertiary modes of conduct merely as sources of error'* (Hönigswald 1966: 20). Decades later, following Hönigswald, Preston defined folk linguistics as '*the instrument which is capable of tapping into cognitive states that govern the comments that people make about language'* (Preston 2006: 115).

Now, what research objectives are pursued by folk linguistics? Many of the research questions reflecting the interests of language attitude studies are part of the linguistic research. To answer this, it is important to keep in mind that the primary aim of folk linguistics research is an account of certain linguistic phenomena from the perspective of *non-linguists*. The research objectives of folk linguists include: (i) language variation and the problem of standardization, (ii) difference between varieties and their specific features; (iii) the problem of intelligibility; (iv) pleasantness and unpleasantness of certain linguistic varieties, (v) various styles and registers; (vi) men and women talk; (vii) natural and guided language learning and their accompanying processes, and finally (viii) the structure of the language. The research objectives thus spread along three major areas: sociolinguistics, language learning and acquisition, and the structure of language.

The areas of language attitude research, which are interesting for the present study, are the following:

(a) attitude of native speakers of English toward native and non-native varieties of English

(b) attitude of non-native speakers of English towards native and non-native varieties of English

Another field of inquiry within attitude research, often drawing the attention of language educators, is the attitude of English teachers – native and non-native – toward Standard English and non-native English varieties. As previously mentioned, studies in this domain of attitude research include: (a) native speaker assessment and perception of (i) native varieties of English, and (ii) non-native varieties of English, and (b) non-native speaker assessment and perception of (i) native varieties of English, and (ii) non-native varieties of English. In particular, researchers examine the following questions:

- unpleasantness and unpleasantness' or a particular variety

- intelligibility of a particular variety

- high (low) social status of a particular variety

- positive (negative) social evaluation

- attitude formation influencing factors

Below, I will briefly report on the studies, which examine how native and non-native speakers of English assess English varieties. Recent major studies[5], which applied the folk linguistics research paradigm and focused on the native speaker assessment and perception of native and non-native speaker English, were those of Niedzielski & Preston (2002) and Lindemann (2005). In the US context, the study conducted by Nancy Niedzieski and Dennis Preston (2002) focused on the native speaker perception and assessment of different US English accents. Lindemann's study (2005), on the contrary, focused on the native US speakers' perception of different English varieties, as China English, German English, etc. In the study, Stephanie Lindemann made an important observation that mass media and television in the USA had greatly affected the formation of stereotypes and a negative attitude toward what was described as *'foreign'*. The similar findings reported by Rosina Lippi Green (1997)

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[5] Earlier studies on language attitude, for example, Kalin and Rayko (1978) reported that native English speakers considered non-native speakers unsuitable for high status jobs.

earlier demonstrated that accented *'foreign'* speech was often perceived as *'unpleasant'*, and language varieties of this kind often received a low social status.

In the Canadian context, studies examining attitude formation were carried by Munro and Derwing (2006). Looking at the role of prosody in attitude formation, Munro and Derwing (2006) suggested that mispronunciation, the wrong intonation, and the pragmatic information, especially if the speakers directly transfer information patterns from their L1, may cause miscommunication (Munro et al. 2006: 69), and hence, a poor or a negative assessment of the speaker and the variety. In their earlier studies, Derwing and Munro (1997), however, pointed out that accented speech was not necessarily an obstacle to comprehensibility and speakers who had strong non-native accents were often well understood (Derwing & Munro 1997, 1999).

With a global spread of English, and a growing number of non-native speakers of English, it became interesting to find out what non-native speakers in the expanding circle say about the native and non-native varieties of English. Thus, there had been a shift in focus from the exclusive native speaker perception of non-native English to the non-native speaker perception of English varieties. In various regional contexts, studies focused on *non-native speakers* with an attempt to disclose the attitudes of non-native speakers toward Standard English and various non-native English varieties (Friedrich 2000; Shim 2002; Timmis 2002; Matsuda 2003; Hahn 2004; Field 2005; Munro & Derwing 2006; Kabayashi 2010; Rod Case & Lei Hu 2010). The studies differed in whether they looked at the attitude of non-native speakers toward the native varieties of English or towards the non-native varieties of English. Some sociolinguists focused on groups of speakers with the same L1, whereas others focused on groups of speakers with different L1s. Friedrich (2000), for example, looked at the attitude of Brazilian speakers of English toward English. The study revealed that British and American English was more prestigious than other native and non-native varieties within the non-native speaker communities. The study conducted by Shim (2002) with the Korean students of English also revealed a positive evaluation of English native speakers and their accents. None of the Korean speakers, as the study demonstrated, wanted to have either Pakistani or Korean native speakers as their English teachers. Evaluating the attitude of English students in fourteen different countries, Timmis (2002) concluded that learners preferred native varieties of English. Likewise, Matsuda (2003) in in the study observed that Japanese learners of English associated English with the inner circle speakers, even though they accepted the role of English as an International Language.

A more recent study on the attitude of English students in the East Asian context (Case & Hu 2010, unpublished paper, IAWE 2010, Vancouver) examined the attitude of Chinese speakers toward native and non-native varieties of English. Similar to the previous studies in other regional contexts, this study revealed that in spite of the growing spread of non-native English(es), Chinese native speakers preferred native speaker varieties over non-native varieties, like Chinese English, and more standard native varieties over less standard. The same tendency was observed in the study of Kabayashi (Kabayashi 2010: paper presented at 16th IAWE, Vancouver), whose results revealed that Western and North American conversation partners were still perceived as '*perfect*', and hence, preferred interlocutors. Thus, in the regional contexts, there was no substantial evidence as to the preference of non-native speakers over the native speakers of English.

In the European context, one of the large-scale questionnaire studies on language attitudes was conducted by Jennifer Jenkins. The questionnaires were distributed in the UK and countries of the expanding circle. The majority of three hundred and twenty six respondents were non-native teachers of English. The study primarily aimed to reveal how teachers of English perceive various ELF accents, and whether they regard some accents as *deficient*, *inauthentic,* and *inferior* compared to others (Jenkins 2007: 150). The secondary aim was to find out whether participants were willing to evaluate accents with which they were unfamiliar (Jenkins 2007:150). Results of the study revealed that teachers preferred English of native speakers, particularly American and British English, and valued '*correctness*' and intelligibility of these varieties. As in the North American context, European respondents ranked all non-native Englishes as non-preferred, with the East Asian accents as least preferred (Jenkins 2007: 186).

In spite of the growing role of English as a Lingua Franca in intercultural communication and that non-native speakers outnumber English native speakers, non-native speakers appeared to give preference to native speakers of English both as role models and as preferred interlocutors. To shed light on how Slavic speakers evaluate ELF communication and various native and non-native speakers of English, and whether they see any advantages and disadvantages in this development, *Chapter 4* will discuss these issues in greater detail.

2.5 Other factors influencing ELF performance

In the previous sections, the factors that have an influence on the speakers' ELF performance were discussed. They were the following:

- The speakers' performance requirements

- L2 English knowledge

- Knowledge of previous languages – L1 and L3

- The speakers' attitude to ELF

Given that speakers impose requirements on their performance in foreign language interactions, it is possible to suppose that ELF features will manifest the requirements and intentions of these speakers. If a speaker wants to be grammatically correct in interactions with native speakers, he/she may, for instance, only use constructions he/she is certain about, in such a way downplaying the richness of his/her own English. Without knowing the syntactic structure of English and the basic lexicon, a speaker would not even have the ability to speak in simple sentences. Similarly, the knowledge of previous languages – L1 and L3 – seems to facilitate ELF interactions by being a good source for transfer of lexical items and function words. Finally, the speaker's attitude toward ELF may either have a positive or negative effect on ELF interactions.

In the discussion of the previous sections, it was shown that individual factors alone do not suffice to account for the variability in the speakers' ELF performance. It is the combination of various factors and interactions between various factors which contributes to the diversity and richness of English in its use by non-native speakers. One of the factors, which have not been mentioned so far, and which, in my view, is worth the attention, is *the speakers' creativity* in their use of English. The significance of the creative use of language is illustrated by Seidlhofer and Widdowson in the following statement: '*Whereas learners in largely monolingual classrooms have their own language to revert and refer to as a back-up if and when necessary, ELF users do not. They only have whatever English they have learned as a resource, and they need to be resourceful in its use in order to cope with the exigencies of actual communication and negotiate common understanding dynamically online.*' (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2009: 105). In other words, in largely restrictive ELF interactions, where speakers have only English for meeting their communicative needs, the reliance on

other resources, such as *creativity,* is highly needed. Due to a learner's indigenous touch and a creative use of language, new vocabulary and lexical expressions can emerge. Imagination and resourcefulness of ELF users may, therefore, account for a high variability and diversity of the use of English for lingua franca purposes. For these reasons, *creativity*, together with other factors, such as *the speakers' knowledge of L2*, *previous other languages* as L1 and L3, and *the speakers' attitude toward English* may be regarded as one of the factors that influence ELF performance.

Chapter 3.   Methodological approach

The following chapter focuses on the methodological approach and research design. In particular, I discuss the research objectives pursued in the study, the application of grounded theory and introspective methods to the ELF research. I explain why this research methodology is helpful when dealing with language variability. I give a brief account of how study participants were selected and how data for pursuing key research objectives was elicited. Video interview is discussed as key method of spontaneous and introspective data elicitation and the main interview questions are presented. Finally, I refer to the test of English proficiency, used to measure speakers' English proficiency and certainty rate.

3.1 Study objectives

The current study has two points of inquiry: (i) ELF communication and its characteristic features in terms of speakers' attitude toward ELF, speakers' strategic behaviour in ELF situations and compliance with the performance requirements, and (ii) linguistic features – lexical and grammatical – of Eastern European manifestations of English. The use of English by Slavic speakers in the context of ELF communication has been under-researched (for some studies on Russian English see Proshina 2006, 2010; Ustinova 2006; Eddy 2008). Thus, the present study focuses on the use of English by Slavic speakers in the context of ELF communication. In particular, this thesis takes a close look at how Slavic users of English face the challenges of the ELF reality, in which they intend to meet self-imposed performance requirements.

Challenges of ELF communication for Slavic speakers of English are thus central to the six main research questions of the study, which are formulated by taking the grounded theory research methodology into account. The six research questions are thus the following:

Research Question 1

What is the attitude of Slavic speakers of English toward English as a lingua franca? Does it have influence on their ELF performance?

Given that in the ELF context, the question of language attitude is crucial in assessing one's own linguistic capacities, as well as, the linguistic capacities of others, linguists have given

this question a lot of attention. The attitude of Slavic speakers toward ELF, however, was under-researched. The only study of attitudes of Slavic speakers was conducted by Jenkins in her questionnaire study that among other non-native English speakers included Polish speakers (Jenkins 2007). Thus, a need to take a closer look at how Slavic speakers treat English when it is used for lingua franca purposes had emerged.

Research Question 2

Do Slavic speakers of English impose certain requirements on their ELF performance? What are these requirements?

Kohn's (1990) *model of performance*, developed for second language learning, proposes that language learners and users impose certain requirements on their performance, which are manifestations of the speakers' communicative needs and intentions. The present study applies the developed *model of performance* to ELF situations. In particular, the study questions the availability of performance requirements in the speakers' requirement profiles and identifies speakers' communicative goals, such as for example, fluency and/or grammatical correctness.

Research Question 3

Is there any interrelation between speaker-specific characteristics and self-imposed performance requirements? Are certain speaker characteristics likely to emerge in particular requirement profiles?

Since the requirements of performance are developed by learners throughout various stages of language learning, it is interesting to examine to what extent certain speaker characteristics are attached to or are likely to emerge in certain requirement profiles. Features of speakers' profiles, specifically satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's own English, self-perception as a learner or a non-learner, and/ or communication preferences will be questioned for particular requirement profiles.

Research Question 4

Does the speakers' performance comply with self-imposed performance requirements? What implications does it have for ELF performance?

Assuming that speakers impose requirements to their performance when using English for lingua franca purposes, it becomes interesting to examine to which extent these requirements

manifest in the speakers' performance. Is it the case that speakers conform to their requirements or are they likely to change them?

Research Question 5

How are self-imposed performance requirements related to communication strategies used by speakers? What patterns of speakers' strategic behaviour are likely to emerge?

The four previous research questions concerned speaker-specific characteristics, requirement profiles and their compliance and noncompliance in the actual performance. Research question 5 aims to integrate the dimension of performance strategies (Faerch & Kasper 1983) into this study and examine whether the use of particular strategies, as strategies of *paraphrase* or *lexical transfer*, is proper for certain requirement profiles. Is it possible to identify clusters of communication strategies that emerge in particular requirement profiles?

Research Question 6

What linguistic features – lexical and grammatical – characterize the use of English by Slavic speakers for a lingua franca purpose?

This research question is intended to examine how Slavic speakers perform in a lingua franca situation. Particular attention was given to the following questions: (i) what constitutes a lexical mosaic of Slavic manifestations of English for lingua franca purposes and, (ii) how do Slavic speakers express temporal and aspectual relations in spoken discourse? The major reasons for taking a closer look at the use of tense and aspect in spoken production were the results of the SLA research (Bardovi-Harlig 2000), as well as the structural differences between the Slavic-like and the non-Slavic-like temporal and aspectual systems. My previous research (M.Phil essay on the acquisition of tense and aspect by Ukrainian speakers of English) and the previous research in second language acquisition have revealed that Slavic speakers have difficulties expressing temporality in English.

The six questions refer the two broad research dimensions: (i) *ELF communication and the strategic use of English*, which is not only characteristic for Slavic users of English, but for the ELF users in general, and (ii) *linguistic manifestations of English – lexical and grammatical – when used by Slavic speakers*, which are characteristic for Slavic speakers in particular. The six research questions are investigated by looking at the *spontaneous production* and *introspective data*, which will be discussed below.

3.2 Grounded Theory

The study was based off of *case studies,* using the methodology of a *qualitative research.* Unlike quantitative research, which produces findings based on statistical and mathematical analyses, qualitative research produces findings by non-statistical and non-mathematical method. Qualitative researchers aim to gain a good understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern that behaviour. Qualitative researchers are, therefore, more interested in the reasons causing subjects to perform in a particular way rather than in how subjects perform. Given the nature of qualitative research, a small number of respondents are used.

The three major components of qualitative research are the following: (i) the *data*, (ii) *the interpretative procedures*, and (iii) *written* and *verbal reports*. Qualitative data comes from such forms of data elicitation as: (non) participant observation, field notes, reflexive journals, structured interviews, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, and analysis of documents and materials (Marshall & Rossman 1998). The *interpretative procedures* include techniques for conceptualizing data and arriving at findings or theories. Methods such as coding, writing memos, and the diagramming of the conceptual relations are often used here (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 20). Finally, *written* and *verbal reports* present either an overview of the entire finding or focus on a part of it. In what follows, I will discuss the application of a grounded theory method to the three qualitative research components.

The methodological tools for the elicitation and analysis of spontaneous production data are diverse. Traditional ethnographical research methodologies are often based on the formulation of rigid assumptions and hypotheses, which are either verified or falsified throughout the stages of data collection and analysis. Since the main concern in the study is the speakers' behaviour and performance in ELF situations, I decided to apply grounded theory research methodology. Grounded theory, as we shall see further in this chapter, allows those features of the speakers' performance which could be overseen, if the traditional research methodology was applied, to be captured. The application of the traditional ethnographical research methodology limits the scope of inquiry and constrains the ability of the qualitative data to generate theory. On the contrary, the grounded theory approach, often used in qualitative research, allows for a detailed examination of spontaneous production data and provides the framework for interpretation of results where the research questions are concerned. Grounded theory methods aim to discover the subjects' main concern and how

they try to resolve it. The questions asked by grounded theory researchers are (i) '*What is happening with the subject*?', and (ii) '*What is this subject going to do*?'

Grounded theory, put forward by Glaser & Strauss in *Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss 1967), is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data and is systematically gathered and analysed; it is an inductively derived *theory* about a *phenomenon* where data collection, analysis, and theory are in a reciprocal relationship with each other (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 23-24). Grounded theory, unlike traditional research methodology, fosters data-driven construction of a theory. Initially developed as a qualitative research tool for clinical psychology and sociology, grounded theory appeared to be useful in the social sciences later in the ninety sixties.

Throughout the development of grounded theory, from the end of the ninety sixties to the present time, it is possible to trace three major waves, which are often connected with the three major works on grounded theory: (i) *The Development of Grounded Theory: Strategies of Qualitative Research* (Glaser & Strauss 1967), (ii) *Basics of Qualitative Research* (Strauss & Corbin 1990), and (iii) *Constructing Grounded Theory* (Charmaz 2006). I will now present the theoretical fundamentals of grounded theory, relying on the three grounded theory texts mentioned above.

The Development of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research by Glaser & Strauss (1967) was a reaction against a top-down theory generation. Pioneers in grounded theory methodology made the first attempts to liberate qualitative data from a mere verification of existing assumptions and firmly-grounded hypotheses. Qualitative data, observations, and results of the study have become a fertile ground for the generation of theory. The main positions put forward by Glaser and Strauss are: (i) theory should be derived '*from data and illustrated by characteristic examples of data*' (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 5); (ii) theory cannot be separated from the process in which it is constructed (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 6); (iii) theory should be systematically formulated in relation to emerging categories; and finally (iv) the quality of a theory is determined by its ability to explain new data. Given that the theory is generated from data, the data provides the researchers with categories which stand out and give rise to the formulation of assumptions. The categories thus are drawn from the interviewees or respondents themselves. By focusing on categories that arise in the data, grounded theory researchers are able to discover what has not been previously seen or questioned; in other words, they are able to move away from the biases and assumptions

brought to, and discover and develop previously unknown phenomena during the research process.

By claiming that the theory should arise from the data, Glaser & Strauss (1967) did not imply that the research question should be approached with '*an empty head*'. What they meant by '*moving away from the biases*' rather, is having '*a clear mind'* when dealing with the research question. In this connection, they acknowledged the role of the technical literature in research development and suggested that it should be used in the pre-research stage, as it stimulates researcher's *theoretical sensitivity* (Glaser & Strauss 1967: Chapter 9). In *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss 1967) and in *Theoretical Sensitivity* (Glaser 1978), Strauss and Glaser defined theoretical sensitivity as a personal quality of the researcher, which indicated the awareness rate of the speaker in relation to the meaning and the interpretation of data. The awareness of the researcher, however, can be high or low, depending on the previous reading and experience with the research area. An access to the technical and non(technical) literature, therefore, increases the rate of theoretical sensitivity and allows the researcher to give meaning to data.

The method of *comparative analysis,* often used in social science and anthropology research, is a main tool of data analysis. Although a great many definitions of this term exist, Glaser and Strauss use it in quite a general sense to refer to social units '*of any size, ranging from men and their roles to nations or world regions*' (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 22-23). According to Glaser and Strauss, the method of *comparative analysis* is used due to the following reasons: (i) it allows for the establishment of categories or properties from the evidence and multiple pieces of evidence; (ii) it allows a multiple data check to ensure accuracy of data (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 23), and finally (iii) it allows empirical generalizations to be established, and the broadening the theory, which assures its greater applicability and explanatory and predictive power (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 24). At the final stage of theory construction, a well-constructed grounded theory should meet the four central requirements in relation to the phenomenon which was studied. These are: (i) *fit*, (ii) *understanding*, (iii) *generality,* and (iv) *control* (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 237-250). First, fit of the theory implies that the concepts, that have emerged, fit with the incidents they represent. It is here that it is possible to assess whether the comparative analysis was properly applied to the incidents in question. Second, the criterion of understanding is met when the theory is comprehensible both to subjects who were studied and to the researchers working in this research paradigm. Next, if the theory is abstract enough, it should be capable of application

to a variety of contexts related to the phenomenon. Finally, the requirement of control is met when the new theory is able to provide control with regard to action towards the phenomenon.

Let me now explain the methodological procedures used in the grounded theory approach. The approach distinguishes between the following procedures:

- scrutiny of the data, where all forms of data are treated as data

- coding, which involves the comparison of categories of the same kind, as well as, to categories with other variables (what Strauss & Corbin (1990) referred to as *axial coding,* i.e. the process of relating subcategories to a category (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 114))

- memoing, which involves the sorting, visualizing, and keeping of a record of emerging categories

- constructing or generating the theory

- presenting the research, either in a written or spoken form

First, grounded theory researchers treat *all data as data*, which implies that not only the participants' data are considered in the analysis, but also observations and field notes of the researcher. Grounded theorists may go as far as interviewing themselves to collect more data on the study participants. After all forms of data are assembled, the researcher then initiates *open coding*, i.e. conceptualizing on the first level of abstraction. All phenomena which occur in the data are coded; notes are normally taken at the margins. Categorization is normally pursued having the following two tools at the researcher's disposal: (i) *the asking of question*, and (ii) *the making of comparisons*, by means of the constant comparison method. The application of these two tools helps the researcher to examine the data and extract categories, which could be further developed into concepts. Once coding is done, the researcher sorts the data and the emerging categories, and visualizes them either by means of a diagram or mind map, and writes them down on memos. This stage of research involves the integration of concepts around a core category and the filling in of categories which need further refinement (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 217). Memos and diagrams, in turn, lead to the evolvement of theory. Therefore, the final step in this stage is the generation of theory. It should be kept in mind that although the steps in the data analysis are presented as if they follow each other in quick succession, it is not always the case. Upon noticing that more data is needed, the

researcher – being at the stage of memo writing or diagramming – may decide to return to the data collection or coding. Similarly, being at the early stage of data collection, the researcher may visualize preliminary observations, which help him/her to raise theoretical sensitivity in order to further code and categorize concepts.

In the second fundamental work on the Grounded Theory methodology *Basics of Qualitative Research*, Strauss and Corbin (1990) provide *a practical guide* in the application of grounded theory. In this somewhat weakened form of grounded theory, it is encouraged not to rigidly use the procedures described in Glaser & Strauss (1967). On the contrary, researchers are advised to tailor the grounded theory procedures to meet their research objectives. As Strauss & Corbin 1990 remark in their *Basics of Qualitative Research*: '*these procedures were designed not to be followed dogmatically but rather to be used creatively and flexibly by researchers as they deem appropriate*' (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 13). The role given to creativity in the ground theory framework is also made obvious in this approach. They consider that the researchers are forced to break through old assumptions and create new ones by using the grounded theory procedures and creativity. In addition, creativity is said to be manifested in the ability of the researcher to name emerging categories, and for finding comparisons that lead to discovery (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 27).

In the third main account of grounded theory, *Constructing Grounded Theory* by Kathy Charmaz (2006), a somewhat different account is presented. Contrary to the main positions of grounded theory, namely that the theory is discovered from the data or generated by the data (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1990), Kathy Charmaz suggests that the theory is *constructed* by the *researcher* and the study *participant*. In this connection, the author views data not as facts, but rather as constructs making up the theory.

I have given an overview of the three main works on the grounded theory methodology. The main principles of grounded theory were presented and its value for the qualitative research was outlined. In the following, I will present the approach taken in the study, consider how the grounded theory research methodology is applied to the current study on ELF performance, and how the six research objectives are met, taking the given research methodology into account.

3.3 Grounded Theory and introspection

One of the central positions of grounded theory is that *all is data*. The current study is designed in such a way as to allow the researcher to have access to various data types in order to explain features of the speakers' ELF performance since the linguistic data and linguistic analysis alone cannot explain all the complexities of ELF communication. The linguistic analysis usually describes features of a certain speech community, but sets the social, individual, and psychological dimensions aside. The performance requirements I discussed in the previous chapter are an example of that. Therefore, I decided to apply the *Personal Profile Approach. The Personal Profile Approach*, as the name suggests, implies that the collection of different data types add up to the personal profile of the study participant, allowing researchers access to various data types. These data types integrate into the analysis to explain the relationships between the research questions. In addition, access to different data types from the same study participant may help the researcher explain the speaker's performance in particular situations.

Data types elicited in accordance with *the Personal Profile Approach* from fifteen Slavic speakers of English were: (a) *spontaneous spoken production data*; (b) *introspective data*; and (c) *a test of English proficiency* (discussed in 3.6).

Let me briefly introduce the first two data types − *the spontaneous production* and *the introspective data*. Spontaneous spoken production data and introspective data were elicited in a semi-structured video recorded interview, where speakers answered questions asked by the interviewer. When speakers were willing, they could expand on the questions and give additional comments. The two data types were collected simultaneously. Introspective data, to be more precise, was part of the spontaneous production data. As the introspective data was necessary for the examination of issues put forward in the first three research questions, I will begin with the introspective data.

Introspective data is data used for the qualitative research, based on *self-observation*, *self-examination,* and a subsequent reporting of one's own thoughts and feelings. To shed light on the research questions (1-3)[6], the following introspective questions were asked by the interviewer: (a) '*What is your attitude toward English as a Lingua Franca?* (b) *Do you impose any requirements to your performance?* (c) *Do you have any fears communicating in*

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[6] Research objectives are discussed in 3.1.

English?[7] The introspective data was thus composed of the speakers' comments, and was based on the speakers' self-perception, self-observation, and the reasoning regarding the speakers' own behaviour in ELF communication. Spontaneous production data was needed to examine ELF phenomena considered in the research questions (4-6). To elicit this type of data and ensure the speakers' spontaneous production, study participants were asked to comment on the questions revolving around such issues as: (a) English learning history; (b) speaker's professional life; (c) involvement in international projects, if any; (d) daily life, hobbies, and interests (discussed in detail in 3.5). Answers given by the speakers to these and introspective questions made up the spontaneous production data, which provided sufficient ground for extracting features of performance when English was used by Slavic speakers.

To summarize, *the Personal Profile Approach* provided the researcher with such data types as (a) *spoken spontaneous production*, and (b) *introspective data*, and allowed the approach of research questions by integrating different data types.

In what follows, I will explain how the grounded theory procedures were applied in relation to the six research questions, and will then suggest the advantages offered by grounded theory to the ELF research.

I will now return to the main study objective. The main study objective was to examine how Slavic speakers perform in ELF communication. The following six research areas were thus interesting to examine: (i) the attitude of Slavic speakers toward ELF; (ii) self-imposed performance requirements and the speakers' requirement profiles; (iii) speaker characteristics and the requirement profiles; (iv) compliance with the performance requirements in the interview performance; (v) the speakers' strategic behaviour and the requirement profile; (vi) the linguistic features of the Eastern European manifestations of ELF. As the use of technical literature is allowed by the grounded theory research methodology, the previous research and the main findings in the field of ELF and World Englishes (Seidlhofer 2006; Jenkins 2000, 2005; Proshina 2005, 2010), second language acquisition by Slavic speakers (Bardovi-Harlig 2000; Proshina 2010), and language learning (Kohn 1990, 2007, 2011) were considered. Taking these results into account, data collection was initiated with the raised awareness or *theoretical sensitivity* as to the categories which may emerge. It should be kept in mind that on the one hand, grounded theory suggests not

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[7] A detailed account of the survey is presented in 3.5.

having a well–thought of hypothesis prior to data collection; on the other hand, it suggests not approaching data as tabula rasa (Kelle 2005). *Theoretical sensitivity* or the increased awareness thus contributed to the formulation of the research questions, categorization of the research questions, and data analysis and interpretation. In Glaser & Strauss' terms, it '*helped to see relevant data and abstract significant categories from the scrutiny of the data*' (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 3).

The following grounded theory procedures were implemented in the study: (i) *scrutiny* of all data types; (ii) *coding* involving the comparing of categories of the same kind, as well as, the comparison of categories with other variables; (iii) *memoing* and *diagramming* taking the form of code notes, theoretical notes and diagrams evolving in density and complexity through the entire process; (iv) *constructing the theory*, and finally, (v) *presenting findings* in a written report. In the following section, I will go over these procedures in detail and explain how they were applied to the interview data.

The first procedure within this framework is scrutiny of the data. Grounded theory does not distinguish between relevant, and less relevant, or irrelevant data types; in other words all forms of data were '*relevant data*'. The first two data types were spontaneous spoken production and introspective data elicited within video recorded interviews. Fifteen video interviews were orthographically transcribed and following this, they had been read by the researcher, keeping the research questions in mind (see above). A close inspection of the data allowed a first look into whether there would be any categories considered helpful for answering the research questions. The first research question, for instance, was aimed at examining what attitude Slavic speakers have towards English as a lingua franca. Reading transcripts, the researcher specifically focused on comments made in connection with attitude. Similarly, the second research question on the performance requirements and the other research questions (see above) were referred to in the initial reading of the transcripts. Apart from focusing only on research questions and emerging features, scrutiny of the data revealed other features which had not been previously questioned. Thus, features which had not been considered before emerged in the data. The same procedure was followed with all research questions. In such a way, scrutiny of the data helped in approaching the research questions, and formulated the assumptions regarding the newly emerged features.

The second step in data analysis was *coding*. This step allowed fracturing the data and identifying categories and their properties. As there were six main research questions or areas

of investigation, coding was done for each of the research questions, i.e. at the six research levels. Concepts related to the research question were identified first. When concepts were compared against one another and appeared to pertain to similar phenomena, they were grouped into categories. Let me illustrate this on the basis of some research questions: the first research question inquired into the attitude of Slavic speakers toward ELF. Upon scrutiny of the data, such concepts as *pride*, *self-esteem*, *beauty of the language*, *facilitation of communication*, *breaking the borders between cultures*, *British English* and *American English* etc. became evident. As these concepts repeatedly emerged in the interviews, the researcher asked herself to what class of phenomena these concepts seem to pertain, and whether they are similar or different from the ones above? Following the procedures of 'a constant comparison method' and asking questions, the emerging concepts were grouped into categories, such as, *aesthetic* and *practical reasons* for learning English, *advantages* and *disadvantages* of using English, *role models* and *language standards.* Figure 3-1 below illustrates this:

Figure 3-1. Research Question 1. Attitude of Slavic speakers to ELF: Concepts and categories

Concept	Categories & Subcategories
Speaker's pride Ability to communicate and express oneself	Speaker's self-esteem
Beauty of English A '*pleasant*' pronunciation	Aesthetic pleasure in language learning
Facilitation of communication '*Breaking the borders*' International trade	Perceived advantages of ELF communication

The same coding procedure was done at other research levels, i.e. speakers' requirement profiles, speaker characteristics and their requirement profile, compliance with performance requirements in the interview, the speakers' strategic behaviour.

On the basis of the research question 2 – what performance requirements, if any, speakers impose on their performance – let me illustrate how open coding was done and which concepts and categories subsequently emerged. Figure 3-2 illustrates this:

Figure 3-2. Research Question 2. Speakers' performance requirements: Concepts and categories

Concept	Categories & Subcategories
Distinct pronunciation Fluency Grammatical correctness Understanding interlocutors Being understood Being correct Being fluent Ability to communicate with native speakers Ability to communicate with non-native speakers Ability to express oneself	Performance requirements

Examining the emerging concepts, the researcher asked herself the following questions: (i) how are these concepts related, (ii) what makes a new concept different from an old one, and (iii) what similar features do these concepts manifest? These questions helped to identify which phenomena the concepts are related to, and, consequently, which categories emerge out of these concepts.

Bear in mind that coding did not only involve the identification of concepts and categories, but also a comparison with other variables, integrating them into other analyses, and putting categories together in new ways by making connections between categories and subcategories. Coding for addressing research questions 3 and 4 mainly involved putting new categories in new ways and comparing them with other categories which emerged in connection to other research questions. For example, such categories as performance requirements – fluency and correctness – were compared to categories such as *self-esteem*, *aesthetic pleasure* in language learning, and *perceived advantages* of ELF communication. By doing this, connections between categories and subcategories, which had not been seen previously, became visible and the new categories, which could be further developed, had emerged.

Research question 5 addressed the issue of the interrelation between the speakers' strategic behaviour and their requirement profiles. Coding was done in two steps: (a) extracting concepts and properties, and (b) connecting and comparing the new categories with the old ones (the data regarding the requirement profiles). Where the first step was concerned, such concepts related to strategies of performance as, for example, *ad hoc coinage*, *paraphrase*, *restructuring*, *transfer*, etc. were extracted; following this, categories such as strategies of performance for reducing and achieving the message came out. In the final stage of coding, the new codes were compared to the old codes, which were identified in connection with the research questions (1-3). This model enabled the researcher to think about the data and relate it in complex ways. Apart from providing categories and concepts, it allowed for the relationship between the research questions to be seen and the realization that concepts and categories are related in more than one way. Moreover, the integration of different data sets added to the explanation of the speakers' performance in particular communicative situations.

I am now moving to research question 6, which intended to examine the linguistic features of the Eastern European manifestations of English. Within this question, two goals were pursued: (a) what makes the lexical mosaic of Eastern European manifestations of English, and (b) how temporal and aspectual relations are expressed by speakers in spoken narrations. As two areas were to be examined, the interviews were coded at the level of lexis and tense-aspect use. At the level of lexis, such concepts as instances of code-switching, lexical transfer, and ad hoc coinage were identified throughout the interviews. These, in turn, were examined, taking account of similar properties and phenomena to which they were related. As a consequence, such categories as, for instance, means of vocabulary enrichment, have emerged. In connection with *the tense-aspect use*, all instances of tense and aspect forms in the interviews have been tagged. Concepts, which had emerged after the scrutiny of the data, were: *the present simple*, *the present progressive*, *the present perfect*, and *the simple past*, *the past progressive,* and *the past perfect*. Examining their common features, it became obvious that they are either related to the *past or non-past anchoring*. Thus, the two categories *of the past* and *non-past* have been identified. The use of temporal-aspectual forms in the interviews has then been compared to the functions, which these temporal-aspectual forms intended to convey. The comparison with other categories gave rise to the emergence of new categories, such as, *the present simple with the function of the present perfect*, *the present simple with the function of the simple past*, etc., and *the present progressive with the*

function of the simple present, *the present progressive with the function of the present progressive*, *the present progressive with the function of the present perfect*, etc. Categorization was not only done within individual categories. The progressive, for instance, was subcategorized into '*the present progressive with states*, *the progressive with habitual events*, and *the progressive with accomplishments.*'

Above, we have seen procedures used to code interviews. Concepts had developed into categories, the subcategories had merged into categories, and the new categories had developed out of the old ones due to the application of a constant comparison method and the asking of questions. This application of the grounded theory procedure was helpful in many ways: first, data was organized systematically; second, concepts and categories provided a general descriptive overview of the research area; third, a multi-sided integration of categories for revealing the relationships within the data was possible; and, finally, concepts, categories, and their features, as well as, connections between them allowed various properties of the speakers' behaviour to be accounted for.

According to the grounded theory research methodology, the next steps in the data analysis are memoing and diagramming. Although these steps seem to follow coding, in the research process, several initial steps may be taken simultaneously. Integrating this step with coding is not surprising, as memoing and diagramming are meant to visualise concepts and categories to which they pertain. Memos were thus written throughout all stages of research. Tables and diagrams were constructed to show relationships, comparisons, and changes throughout the research phases. It should be kept in mind that diagrams and memos evolve. Comparing the incidents of the same kind leads to the generation of certain theoretical properties of a given category. As instances of the same category become fewer and fewer and categories integrate with other categories or reduce, modifications take place and the theory gets solidified. The prominent categories are visualized in diagrams. Whereas some diagrams and tables were for internal use only, some were illustrated in the thesis. Memos and diagrams were essential parts in procedures of the analysis, as they enabled the researcher to keep a record of the analytic process. Moreover, as they contained the products of coding, the researcher could – by looking at them – discover new concepts, categories, and relationships, which could progress into the new theoretical considerations.

The final steps of research, according to the grounded theory framework, are the construction and presentation of theory. Similarly to what we have seen above, these steps

should also be integrated with the previous steps. Obviously, constructing the theory and making theoretical observations are not performed in the final stage, but are performed continuously.

Taking into account the procedures described above and advantages this research methodology offers, grounded theory seems to be applicable to the ELF research. One of the advantages of the application of grounded theory methods in the ELF research and case study exploration is simultaneous elicitation of data, which fosters the management of several research questions simultaneously. While checking data for the lexico-grammatical features of the speaker's English use, the speaker inevitably comes across other data types related to other research questions. The speakers' strategic behaviour, for instance, was not examined in their own framework, but always in relation to other decisive categories, such as the speakers' performance requirements. Research questions, therefore, are not pursued in isolation, but rather as critical components of the research area. Apart from the integration of different data types, which grounded theory advocates, there was an advantage of taking several research steps simultaneously. This permitted a constant evaluation of data and preliminary findings for an accurate description and assessment of the ELF performance. The discussion below is based on collected data, concepts that emerged, and categories that have been developed. The theory is presented in the form of a discussion of emerging concepts, categories and their features, as well as, drawn connections between them.

3.4 Study participants

Fifteen non-native speakers of English participated in the study. As the descriptive focus of the study was the use of English by Slavic speakers, speakers with L1 Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Slovak were selected. The mean age of participants was 28.3. There were six male and nine female speakers. All speakers had at least one university degree. They used English for educational and business purposes.

All study participants began learning English at the age of six or seven. In grammar schools, English was taught three hours a week by means of a grammar translation method. In private language schools, where some of the speakers took English lessons, preference was given to communicative language teaching instead. By finishing grammar school, participants

had completed eleven years of English. The speakers' proficiency in English was from the B1 to the C1 level, according to the CEF[8] classification.

Let me briefly introduce the study participants (a detailed overview of the speakers is given in *Chapter 5*). Speakers are presented in accordance with the L1 group they belong to. There were seven speakers of Ukrainian, four speakers of Russian, two speakers of Polish, and two speakers of Slovak.

The Ukrainian speakers were[9]:

1. *Tanya*, twenty four years old with L1 Ukrainian, L2 Russian and English, L3 French; employed in a business branch in Ukraine; interviewed in Ukraine;

2. *Olga*, twenty seven years old with L1 Ukrainian, L2 Russian and English; an accountant in household appliances business in Ukraine; interviewed in Ukraine;

3. *Natalya L.*, twenty seven years old with L1 Ukrainian, L2 Russian and English, L2 German; researcher in Political Science and a PhD candidate; interviewed in Ukraine;

4. *Sergey*, thirty three years old with L1 Ukrainian, L2 Russian and English and L3 French; associate professor in International Relations and Political Science in Ukraine and the US; interviewed in Ukraine;

5. *Pavlo*, twenty nine years old with L1 Ukrainian, L2 Russian and English, researcher and associate professor in Political Science in Ukraine; interviewed in Ukraine;

6. *Natalya T.*, thirty years old, with L1 Ukrainian, L2 Russian and German, and L3 English; researcher, a PhD candidate in German linguistics; interviewed in Germany;

7. *Alena*, twenty seven years old with L1 Ukrainian and Russian, L2 English and German, and L3 French, lecturer in the department of Foreign Languages and a PhD candidate in English linguistics, interviewed in Ukraine.

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[8] Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEF) is a framework of reference designed to identify a level of proficiency in a foreign language with proficiency levels varying from A1 (beginner) to C2 (native-like).

[9] Study participants gave permission to use their first names in the study.

The Russian speakers were:

1. *Lena M.*, thirty three years old with L1 Russian, L2 English and L3 German; an accountant; interviewed in Germany;

2. *Lena T.*, twenty five years old with L1 Russian, L2 English, and L3 German; a graduate student in Law; interviewed in Germany;

3. *Dmitry,* twenty five years old with L1 Russian, L2 English, and L3 German; a graduate student in Law; interviewed in Germany;

4. *Oksana*, twenty seven years old with L1 Russian, L2 English, and L3 German; a graduate student in Applied Geoscience; interviewed in Germany.

The Polish speakers were:

1. *Agnes*, twenty six years old with L1 Polish, L2 English and L3 German; an Erasmus Mundus exchange student to Germany, interviewed in Germany;

2. *Sebastian*, twenty six years old with L1 Polish, L2 German and L3 English; Lecturer and language teacher; involved in the project Communication in International Projects (2006) in Poland; interviewed in Germany.

Finally, the two Slovak speakers were:

1. *Tomas*, twenty six years old with L1 Slovak, L2 Russian and English; a project manager in a non-profit organization; involved in the project Communication in International Projects (2006) in the Slovak Republic; interviewed in Germany;

2. *Vladimir*, thirty five years old with L1 Slovak, L2 English and Russian and L3 German; associate professor in Translation; involved in the project Communication in International Projects (2006) in the Slovak Republic; interviewed in Germany.

Speakers of Ukrainian, Polish and Slovak were originally from Ukraine, Poland, and the Slovak Republic. Russian native speakers were nationals of Russia, Ukraine, and the Republic of Belarus.

All study participants were multilingual speakers. The Ukrainian native speakers had a native-like proficiency in Russian (C3). In addition, two of them were fluent both in German and French (C1) and two speakers began learning German (A1). Two Russian speakers were proficient in German (C1), which qualified them to read for a Master's degree in Germany,

and the other two were beginners (A1). Polish and Slovak speakers, similarly, were proficient in German (C1). Slovak speakers, in addition to German, were proficient in Russian (B2).

Apart from one speaker (Alena; L1 Ukrainian), participants had language experience in English-speaking countries and countries of the EU. There was a high motivation to learn English, as the Eastern European society was in a post-soviet transition and many opportunities in business, education, and research were emerging.

Nine subjects – speakers of Slovak, Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian – were interviewed in Germany. Other subjects – five Ukrainian native speakers and a Russian speaker – were interviewed at the Independent Centre for Foreign Languages, Chernivtsi, Ukraine. In the following section, I will give an account of methods used for the elicitation of spoken and written data.

3.5   Video interview

The study was intended to analyse the following research questions: (i) what attitude do Slavic speakers have toward ELF, (ii) do Slavic speakers impose certain requirements on their ELF performance, (iii) is there any interrelation between speaker-specific characteristics and the self-imposed performance requirements, (iv) does the speakers' performance comply with the self-imposed performance requirements, (v) how are the self-imposed performance requirements related to communication strategies used in performance, and (vi) what lexico-grammatical features can characterize the use of English by Slavic speakers? To answer the research questions two data types were needed: spontaneous spoken production and introspective data. A method of *a semi-structured in-depth interview* was used to elicit these two data types (Dillon 1990; Wengraf 2001).

Often used in qualitative research, this type of a face-to-face conversational interaction possesses its specific features and pursues the following goals. First, it generates insights and concepts relevant for the research questions, and second, it expands our understanding of the research question. The word '*depth*' used in the term '*a semi-structured depth interview*' therefore implies getting more detailed knowledge about the phenomena and going in depth to get a sense of how '*the apparently straightforward is more complicated*' (Wengraf 2001: 6).

Interviewing – asking by one person and answering by the other – allows the respondents time and scope to talk about their opinions on a particular subject or on a variety

of subjects. In an interview planning stage, the interviewer may prepare questions focusing on the research area(s) he or she is mostly interested in. The questions, however, must be sufficiently open that the subsequent questions of the interviewer cannot be planned in advance, but must be improvised in a careful way (Wengraf 2001: 5). During the interview, the researcher asks questions, often using such phrases as '*Can you tell me about…?* , which helps to establish a rapport with the respondent. Once rapport is achieved, the respondent is willing to express himself and is more likely to make comments and share his experience with the researcher. Apart from asking questions prepared in advance, the interviewer may ask additional questions, when he feels it is appropriate. These may be introduced by referring to the previous question as, for example, with the phrase '*You mentioned a moment ago… Could you please explain this?*' Because of this, questions prepared in advance may not be pursued in the right order, and the wording of questions may not necessarily be the same in all the interviews.

Interviews conducted for the study were video recorded. Recordings were done in Germany and in Ukraine. The German recordings were done in Tübingen in rooms and offices at the university, home of the interviewees, and the interviewer. The Ukrainian recordings were done at *the Independent Centre for Foreign Languages*, Chernivtsi, Ukraine. The reason for the selection of the location was that some study participants were taking a language course at the time the interview took place. A familiar place was meant to create a relaxing and stimulating interview surrounding. The researcher met the interviewees a week in advance to discuss the interview run and procedure. Neither the topic nor the questions were revealed to the subjects.

As the two main goals of the interview were to collect spontaneous spoken production and introspective data to tackle research questions (RQ 1-6), interview questions were designed in such a way to ensure that these data types are elicited. The interview consisted of twenty five questions, which thematically were split into the following four segments:

Introducing oneself

English learner profile

Requirement profile: self-assessment and assessment of other interlocutors

ELF communication

A detailed overview of the interview and research questions is given in Figure 3-3 below:

Figure 3-3. Interview questions and topics

#	Question	Topic	Research Question/ RQ
1.	Can you introduce yourself? What is your name? What do you do? Where do you come from? What is your educational background?	Introducing oneself	RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
2.	Why and how did you learn English?	English learning history	RQ 2 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
3.	Where do you use English?	Spheres of English use	RQ 2 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
4.	Does knowing English facilitate your work?	Spheres of English use	RQ 3 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
5.	Is your English sufficient for your needs?	Self-assessment/ self-perception	RQ 2 RQ 3 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
6.	Do you consider yourself a learner of English? What makes you think so?	Self-assessment /self-perception	RQ 2 RQ 3 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
7.	Are there any areas of English that you would like to improve? What are these areas?	Self-assessment	RQ 2 RQ 3 RQ 4

			RQ 5
			RQ 6
8.	What standard of English do you aim at?	Role models for learning English	RQ 2 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
9.	Can you evaluate someone's English?	Evaluation of someone's English proficiency	RQ 2 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
10.	What do you base your judgement on?	Evaluation of someone's English proficiency	RQ 2 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
11.	How important is it for you to be correct? Does it depend on the communicative situation you are in?	Requirement profile	RQ 2 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
12.	How important is it for you to be fluent?	Requirement profile	RQ 2 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
13.	Is it sufficient to be understood?	Requirement profile	RQ 2 RQ 4 RQ 6
14.	Does it make a difference to you to communicate with native and non-native speakers of English? Why?	Communication with NS & NNS of English	RQ 3 RQ 4 RQ 6
15.	Who do you prefer – native or native speakers – as interlocutors?	Communication with NS & NNS of English	RQ 3 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
16.	What is your worst fear when you communicate with native speakers of English (non-native speakers of English)?	Fears in communication with NS & NNS of English	RQ 3 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6

17.	What is your attitude toward English as a lingua franca or English as an international language? Do you see any advantages (disadvantages) in it?	Attitude toward ELF	RQ 1 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
18.	What do you do now?	Current occupation/Career	RQ 1 RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
19.	Why did you decide to become a (…)?	Career	RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
20.	Has someone or something influenced your decision to become a (…)?	Career	RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
21.	How did you get started?	Career	RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
22.	What did you do to get the project (if applicable)?	Involvement in the project	RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
23.	How did you become interested in the project (if applicable)?	Involvement in the project	RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
24.	What do you like to do in your leisure time?	Leisure activities	RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6
25.	Are there any things that brought about change in your life over the last few years? How have they changed you?	Recent changes	RQ 4 RQ 5 RQ 6

All four segments of the interview provided ground for the elicitation of spontaneous production data. In addition, segments (3) and (4) were concerned with elicitation of introspective data. Inferences regarding the English learner profiles, however, were made through all stages of the interview.

Each interview question was intended to assist with answers to research questions 1 through 6 (RQ 1-6). Some interview questions, as we have seen above, assisted in answering two or more research questions, whereas others were concerned with only one. Interview question 1, for instance, was intended to elicit spontaneous production data for answering research question 6. Elicited spontaneous production data, in turn, provided ground for answering research questions 4 (RQ 4) and 5 (RQ 5), which were concerned with the speakers' performance and the use of performance strategies as we have seen above. Interview question 17, for example, covered a broad area of attitude toward ELF and was intended to answer research questions 1, 4, 5 and 6 (RQ 1, RQ 4, RQ 5, RQ 6).

As it is seen from the table above, the collection of spontaneous production data was not attached to a particular part of the interview. Research question 6 – performance of Slavic speakers of English and the lexico-grammatical features which characterize it – was covered by each interview question. However, as one of the foci in this research question was on the use of temporal-aspectual devices and rendering temporal relations, particular interview questions were specifically designed to meet this goal. So, interview questions 1, 2, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 (if applicable to participants), 24, and 25 were designed to guide speakers in narrating events in the order they occurred (usually past-based). *A question-answer narrative* technique was a main technique used in the elicitation of tense-aspect morphology and other temporal-aspectual markers (Labov 1967; Bardovi-Harlig 2000; Von Stutterheim et al. 2009). When explicitly asked to talk about *past-based* events, speakers recalled events which occurred in their lives (see Dahl 1984: 116 for techniques of elicitation of past-based morphology). The use of this method, apart from eliciting temporal markers, allowed the researcher to trace the chronological order of events, in cases where verbal morphology was absent (Bardovi-Harlig 2002; Klein & Von Stutterheim 1991). To illustrate how questions were used to elicit verbal morphology for rendering temporal aspectual relations, let us consider the following interview excerpt:

Interviewer: *How did you get started?*

Interviewee: *One year ago, actually, not one year ago, this year, it was in March, when I participated in labs, and I did this actually liked this topic, because it's very interesting, and when we did it we didn't see any fractionation, we didn't do it properly.*

Obviously, interview questions 19-23 were designed to trigger the use of the past verbal morphology. The speakers' use of the non-past based morphology was elicited from the entire

interview. The speakers' answers to such interview questions as, for example 3 (‘*How do you use English?*’) and 18 (‘*What do you do now?*’) allowed the researcher to see how Slavic speakers structure temporal-aspectual narrations, i.e. which events are placed in the foreground, and which are placed in the background. The use of temporal and aspectual forms was subsequently explained in terms of L1 and L3 transfer (discussed earlier in the thesis).

As it was a semi-structured interview, asking additional questions was allowed. Questions were improvised when the researcher felt there was a need to clarify the speakers' replies and expand on certain points. Although subjects were asked the same questions, the duration of interviews varied depending on the speakers' willingness to share their opinions on a particular subject and on their familiarity with the subject matter. Thus, some interviews lasted twenty or twenty five minutes, whereas others were thirty minutes.

Fifteen video recorded interviews were orthographically transcribed by means of software, called *Transana* (Fassnacht & Woods 2010). Repetitions, hesitations, and code-switching to languages other than English were noted. After transcriptions had been made, they were proofread twice and checked for correspondence with recordings. This involved checking for spelling mistakes, turn assignments, capital and lower case letters, pauses, repetitions, and code-switching. Special attention was given to checking the transcription correspondence with the recording in ambiguous cases, such as, for instance, the past tense morpheme –*ed* and the present progressive morpheme –*ing*.

Fifteen video interviews were compiled into a small-size interview corpus of Eastern European English that contained up to 50000 (fifty thousand) words. The small-size corpus provided sufficient ground for extracting features which characterize the use of English by Slavic speakers.

Now, let me explain how the transcript data was analysed. The interview transcripts provided the raw data. The raw data, in turn, allowed the following two steps in data interpretation: (a) *obtaining objective knowledge or facts*, and (b) *making inferences*. ‘*Hard facts*’ or objective knowledge about the speakers' (i) attitude toward ELF, (ii) requirement profiles, (iii) sociolinguistic profiles and characteristics, (iv) use of performance strategies, and (v) ELF performance, were extracted from the data. The elicitation of these data was exceptionally based on the comments speakers in the interview. Obviously, at this stage of analysis, no deductions and inferences were made. Thus, the research objectives 1 and 2 (RS 1; RS 2) were met by eliciting the speakers' comments related to attitude toward ELF and

performance requirements. To give insights to the research questions 3, 4 and 5 (RQ 3; RQ 4; RQ5), the other two types of facts were needed; in particular, facts about the speakers' sociolinguistic profiles and speaker characteristics, and facts about the speakers' performance in terms of emerging lexico-grammatical features and the use of performance strategies. Once these basic facts were elicited, it was then possible to examine them in relation to each other. Research question 3 (RS 3), for example, was examined by interrelating data from research question 2 (RS 2), the sociolinguistic speaker profiles, and speaker characteristics. Similarly, research question 4 (RQ 4) was approached by examining the interrelation between research question 2 (RQ 2), and the facts about the speakers' ELF performance. Research question 5 (RQ 5) was examined by looking at the interrelation between research question (RQ 2) and the speakers' use of communication strategies. Research question 6 (RQ 6) was pursued by looking at the lexico-grammatical features that emerged from the data. A close look at the research questions with the integration of the introspective part allowed me to see how Slavic speakers perform in the ELF context, and what makes them perform the way they do.

In summary, this subchapter discussed how the spontaneous spoken production and introspective data were elicited. *A semi-structured in-depth interview*, as means of data elicitation, was discussed and interview questions were developed. It was then explained how raw transcript data was analysed in relation to the research questions.

3.6 *The Global Test of English*

Apart from eliciting spoken production data – spontaneous production and introspective data, it was decided that data should be elicited regarding the speakers' performance. The written performance data was elicited by means of a proficiency test – *the Global Test of English* – adopted from Kohn 1990 (Kohn 1990).

The examination of this data type sought the following two goals: (i) the evaluation of the speakers' linguistic competence and control of certain English structures and, (ii) the evaluation of the speakers' certainty with regard to structures tested. Where the first goal was concerned, the data from the speakers' written proficiency allowed the researcher to see the *speakers' linguistic competence* and *the speaker's control* of certain English structures. Where the second goal was concerned, the *speakers' certainty rate* allowed the researcher to see (a) how comfortable the speaker is with regard to tested structures, and (b) whether tested structures are correct according to the speaker's knowledge of correctness. Whether these

structures are correct according to the external value of correctness or the native speaker norm is irrelevant, as the speaker's knowledge of correctness, and not the correctness according to the native speaker norm, has an impact on the speaker's performance (Kohn 1990). These two types of data – *the speakers' linguistic knowledge with regard to the external or the native speaker value of correctness*, and *the speakers' certainty rate with regard to the speaker's internal representation of correctness* – gave more insights into the speakers' performance in ELF communication. The proficiency test used in the study was a modified version of *the Global Test of English* developed by Kohn 1990 (Kohn 1990).

The test consisted of eighty eight questions. The questions were divided into seven areas, which tested the speakers' linguistic knowledge of the following: (i) basic structures of English - formulation of affirmative, negative, and interrogative statements; (ii) determiners with a focus on definite and indefinite articles; (iii) tense forms, tense triggers, and tense functions; (iv) prepositions; (v) verbal forms – gerund, infinitives; (vi) active and passive constructions, and (vii) comparative constructions. The study participants were asked to do one of the following to answer the question: (a) to open the brackets, (b) fill in the gap, and (c) to paraphrase. Thus, the first objective – testing the speakers' linguistic competence – was met by eliciting the speakers' answers to the questions asked. The second objective – the evaluation of the speakers' certainty (Kohn 1990) was met by asking the study participants to indicate how certain they were about their answers. For this purpose, two additional signs were introduced: (i) an exclamation mark (!) and, (ii) a question mark (?). An exclamation mark was to be used by speakers when they were certain about their answers, and a question mark, correspondingly, was to be used when they were not certain about their answers.

Questions relating to the seven areas of inquiry were randomized to reduce bias and distract the participants' attention away from the fields of inquiry. Thus, a question on the use of tense could be preceded by a question testing the speakers' knowledge of verbal forms and could be followed by a question testing the speakers' knowledge of comparative constructions. The excerpt from the *Global Test of English* is presented in Figure 3-4 below.

Figure 3-4. The Global Test of English (based on Kohn 1990)

Task: To each of the test sentences give an answer that you think is correct; specify this answer with respect to whether you are:

Sure: I am sure it is correct (!)

Not sure: I am not sure it is correct (?)

1) a. Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement:

   b. Make a question out of the statement.

    He was home all day.

    a. _____

    b. _____

2) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).

    We arrived at _____ village at _____ sunrise.

3) Put the verb in the correct tense form.

    She (to talk) _____ on the phone tight now.

4) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).

    Lake Windermere is one of the most picturesque places on _____ planet.

5) Put the verb in the correct tense form.

    When I (to see) _____ him for the last time, he (to walk) _____ down the High Street.

6) Give correct articles (if no article is needed, use 0).

   Maria wants to learn _____ English language, before she goes to America next year. She already speaks _____German and _____Japanese fluently.

The seven areas (i-vii) mentioned above were tested, as their acquisition causes problems for learners of English, regardless of their L1. The areas (ii) and (iii), i.e. the use of definite and indefinite articles and the use of temporal-aspectual forms, in particular, pose difficulties to Slavic speakers of English in the acquisition process (Bardovi-Harlig 2000; Ionin 2004). The testing of the speakers' linguistic competence and their certainty with regard to these structures revealed the speakers' control over, and certainty about these categories. Now, let me briefly review the questions study participants were required to answer. In testing (i) basic

structures of English: formation of affirmative, interrogative, and negative statements, the speakers were asked to change affirmative statements to negative statements and vice versa, or make questions out of the statements. An example of construction, excerpted from the test, is given below:

(a) Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement. Make a question out of the statement.

They enjoy horror movies.

In addition to making alterations to a statement above, the answer had to be marked with regard to the speaker's certainty. In testing (ii) determiners with a focus on definite and indefinite articles, the study participants had to give correct articles, if necessary. An example for testing these constructions is given below:

(b) Give correct article. If no article is needed, use 0.

The attorney told the client that they had _ little chance of winning the case.

In the next group of questions, (iii) on the use of tense forms, tense triggers, and tense functions, the study participants were asked to put the verb into the correct tense form. Sentences contained tense triggers, but no choice of tenses was given. Temporal and aspectual forms to be tested were the simple present and the past simple, the present progressive and the past progressive, the present perfect and the past perfect, and the present perfect progressive. Examples below illustrate some of the test structures.

(c) Put the verb in the correct tense form.

It (to happen) _____ three years ago, when I (to graduate) _____ from the university

(d) Put the verb in the correct tense form.

When the young couple (to converse) _____ over the morning tea, the doorbell (to ring) _____.

Slavic speakers were not only tested on how they located events in time in relation to other past and non-past events, but also in relation to the internal representation of an event itself, i.e. the function usually carried by the category of aspect in English. Although all parts of the test were equally important for the research objectives, a special focus was given to the

temporal-aspectual test segment. As one of the research questions was on the speakers' use of temporal-aspectual devices (research question 6), it was interesting to test the speakers' competence and certainty regarding temporal-aspectual devices and to see to what extent they make use of their competence in spoken discourse. Overall, there were thirty four questions regarding the use of temporal-aspectual markers. Similarly to what was done in other test segments, study participants were required to mark their certainty, i.e. certainty in relation to tested structures.

The area of prepositions (iv), which similarly to other tested structures, is likely to cause difficulties to English learners in the acquisition and use of English, was tested by asking participants to complete sentences by giving a correct preposition. One of the tested structures is presented below:

(e) Give correct preposition (If no preposition is needed, use 0)

Scott has been living in Berlin_____ 1993.

In addition, the speakers' linguistic competence and certainty were checked with regard to the use of verbal constructions (v) and the active and the passive voice (vi). In questions related to (v), subjects were asked to give an appropriate verbal form (gerund or infinitive), as shown in the example below:

(f) Give a verbal form (gerund or infinitive)

I have just finished (to type) my paper.

In testing the speakers' competence in active and passive constructions (vi), study participants were required to change a sentence from the active voice to the passive voice and from the passive voice to the active voice. This is illustrated in the example below:

(g) Change the following sentence from active to the passive construction.

The postman brought the mail every day.

Finally, the speakers' use of comparative constructions (vii) was tested in the following way. First, an initial sentence was given. Study participants were then asked to express a comparison for the given situations. The example below illustrates this:

(h) Use the sentence to express a comparison for the following situation:

Harry arrived (late) Tom did:

a) they both arrive late

b) Harry arrives at 3:5 and Tom arrives at 3:30.

Above, I have introduced *the Global Test of English* which was aimed at testing the speakers' written proficiency and control of certain English structures. I illustrated which areas of English were tested and how the instructions were formulated. An example for each tested structure was given.

Tests were assessed by the researcher, taking into account Standard English grammar. Each completed test was assigned two scores: the first score was a measure of the correctness rate, whereas the second score was a measure of the speakers' certainty. The first score was based solely on the number of correctly answered questions. If, for example, a study participant correctly answered thirty six out of eighty eight questions, he or she was assigned a score of thirty six. Thus, this score was a measure of grammatical correctness.

The second score – a measure of the speakers' certainty – was based on the number of answers marked with an exclamation mark. For instance, if a study participant marked thirty six answers with an exclamation mark, he or she was assigned a score of grammatical correctness, which was equal to thirty six.

This procedure was executed with the overall test, as well as, with the test segment on temporal-aspectual devices. Each study participant with a completed test was assigned four scores, which encompassed the following: (i) a score of the speaker's grammatical correctness in the overall test; (ii) a score of the speaker's certainty in the overall test; (iii) a score of the speaker's grammatical correctness in the temporal-aspectual test segment and, finally, (iv) a score of the speaker's certainty in the temporal-aspectual test segment. These four scores allowed the researcher to examine the following questions: first, how competent study participants are in the structure of English (objective value of correctness); second, what structures are correct according to the speaker's knowledge of correctness (certainty), how confident the speakers are about some structures and what areas of English are likely to cause uncertainty for English learners; third, how competent study participants are about the linguistic means for expressing temporal relations, and finally, how confident speakers are about the structures they use and which temporal-aspectual structures are correct according to

their knowledge of correctness. The availability of these four scores for some of the speakers allowed for integration into the analysis and for explanation, by means of these scores, of some aspects of the speakers' interview performance.

This chapter presented the methodological approach used in the study. First, study objectives were discussed and the research questions were described. Second, grounded theory as a research methodology was introduced, and the way it was applied to qualitative research on ELF communication was explained. Study participants were then introduced. The use of *a semi-structured in-depth video interview* to elicit spontaneous spoken production and introspective data was subsequently explained. Finally, *the Global Test of English* as a measure of the speakers' grammatical correctness and certainty was discussed.

Chapter 4. ELF Folk Linguistics: a question of attitudes

This chapter examines the attitude of Slavic speakers toward English as a lingua franca, and other ELF communication-related phenomena, such as (i) role models in learning English, (ii) the role of native and non-native speakers in ELF communication, and finally, (iii) the advantages and disadvantages of ELF communication for native and non-native speakers of English.

This chapter aims to contribute to existing research on language attitudes by presenting an attitude study from a folk linguistic perspective, which involves Slavic speakers of English.

4.1 Study objectives

This chapter considers the attitude of Slavic speakers toward English used in intercultural settings. The primary aim in considering this research question (outlined in detail in *Chapter 3* on *Methodological approach*), was that the research area of *the attitude of Slavic speakers toward ELF* has been under-researched. The only attitude research with the involvement of Polish speakers was conducted by Jennifer Jenkins in her questionnaire study. Hence, the question required additional attention.

In order to achieve the primary objective of this study, i.e. to find out what Slavic speakers think about the use of English across different cultures, the study participants were asked to answer the following five questions:

1. What standard of English (British English, American English) do you aim at?

As there has always been a debate about the irrelevance of a native speaker, Standard English, and the Standard English norms respectively, the first question intended to clarify (a) which benchmarks Slavic speakers set learning English, and (b) to what extent the role of native speakers is relevant in the Slavic context.

The next two questions, (2) and (3) inquired into the speakers' willingness and readiness to communicate with native and non-native speakers. They are considered below:

2. Does it make a difference to you whether you communicate with native and non-native speakers of English? Why?

3. Who do you prefer – native or native speakers – as interlocutors?

In particular, these two questions were asked to examine how Slavic speakers assess native and non-native speakers in ELF communication, and whether they see communication with both user groups – native and non-native – as two distinct types. In this connection, it was interesting to find out – under the condition that they see native and non-native speakers as two distinct types of interlocutors, whether these Slavic speakers make adjustments to their performance dealing with (a) native speakers of English, (b) and non-native speakers of English. Introspective parts of the interview were supposed to supply the researcher with this data.

The question in (4) was a follow up question:

4. What is your worst fear when you communicate with native speakers of English (non-native speakers of English)?

This question was intended to narrow down the previous two questions in order to find out whether the study participants felt at ease in ELF encounters. For this reason, the question was not only limited to fears arising from communication with native speakers, but also included non-native speakers.

The question in (5) was a general and an open question, as you can see below:

What is your attitude toward English as a lingua franca or English as an international language? Do you see any advantages (disadvantages)?

Many studies on second language learning and acquisition have shown that motivation and attitude toward the language, being learned, and the speech community had an effect on learning success and the speakers' performance in foreign language encounters. For this reason, it was necessary to obtain data and reveal what Slavic speakers of English think about English and how they assess its function in the context of ELF.

Thus, the questions looked at: (a) the benchmarks for English learning in the Slavic context, (b) the roles of native and non-native speakers in ELF as seen by Slavic speakers of English, preferred interlocutors, and fears in communication, if any; (c) the attitude of Slavic

speakers toward English used worldwide, including advantages and disadvantages of English-only communication.

The survey on ELF attitudes was carried out within the folk linguistics perspective; hence the evaluation and attitudes, which I will discuss, represent *the speakers' beliefs about the role of English* as a lingua franca and issues related to it. Since an overview of pioneering and current attitude research was given in *Chapter 2* on *Factors influencing ELF performance*, this chapter focuses only on the observations made in the introspective interviews, which dealt with the issues mentioned above.

4.2 Slavic speakers and benchmarks for English learning

Except for the attitudinal study by Jenkins (2007), which included Polish speakers of English, there were no studies that examined the attitude of Slavic speakers toward English as a Lingua Franca. To fill this gap, I included questions inquiring into the attitude of Slavic speakers towards English as a lingua franca into the survey.

In the first interviews, it was noticed that the term '*English* as *lingua franca*' was not properly understood by study participants. Because of this, the term '*English as a lingua franca*' was replaced by '*English as an international language*'. This helped the interviewer to clarify the question, and make it easier for respondents to understand the question.

Before one can question what attitude Slavic speakers have toward the use of English in the international settings, as well as advantages and disadvantages of this development, it is necessary to find out what benchmarks for language learning speakers set, and what role models guide them in their process of learning and performance. In order to find this out, participants were asked to comment on the following question: '*What is your standard in learning English? What is your role model?*'

Fourteen out of fifteen speakers understood the question as the question was intended and were willing to contribute. One speaker, however, did not understand the question after many attempts to clarify it; he, therefore, did not provide any answer to it and switched to another topic. The results of the survey are presented in the table below:

Figure 4-1. The role models of Slavic speakers in learning English

British English (%)	American English (%)	Other (mutual intelligibility) (%)	No answer (%)
6 (40)	7 (46,7)	1 (6,7)	1 (6,7)

Regardless of the fact that British English is the teaching standard in comprehensive and grammar schools in Eastern Europe, seven respondents (46, 7%) preferred American English as standard; six respondents (40%) gave preference to British English; one respondent (6, 7%) reported to aim at mutual intelligibility, and one respondent (6, 7%) was not able to provide any answer to the question on learning standards. Given that British English has been a teaching model in countries of Eastern Europe, a high tendency towards American English (46, 7%) is surprising. So, what are the reasons speakers named for choosing American English as a role model?

Examining the speakers responses to this question, the following four groups of reasons were identified: (i) familiarity with the country and people; (ii) possible future encounters with speakers of a particular variety; (iii) feeling '*comfortable'* or '*at ease'* with a particular variety, and (iv) '*it sounds better to me'*.

The category of *familiarity with the country and people* was rather broadly defined, including such experiences, as participating in academic exchange programs, taking language tests – IEALTS and TOEFL, contacts with speakers of a particular variety. Thus, all kinds of past encounters with the country and people were included in this group. This group of reasons is what Jennifer Jenkins referred to as '*familiarity with an accent*' (Jenkins 2007: 182).

Let me now illustrate how speakers justified their preference for American English. In the following two examples, native speakers of Ukrainian and Russian explained their preference for American English by saying that (i) Northern American countries were the first ones she visited, and (ii) TOEFL was the exam she prepared for. See the speakers' comments below:

(4-1) *United States and Canada was the first English speaking country to which I came first.*
    (L1 Ukrainian)

(4-2) *I prepared it (American English) for the exam, which is TOEFL, so it's not British.* (L1 Russian)

Clearly, in stating their preference, the speakers are not often guided by the linguistic features of a variety, but rather by practical reasons, such as visiting the country and having language experience there first.

The second reason, which emerged in the speakers' comments, concerned *possible future encounters with the speakers of a particular English variety*. Taking an account of their own specific situations, some study participants made predictions of the future directions and spheres of their English use. A Russian native speaker, for example, believed that he would communicate more frequently with speakers from the US and Australia, and not with speakers from the UK. The excerpt in (4-3) illustrates this:

(4-3) *We have to speak mostly with Americans, not with Eng not with <FLG> Engländer </FLG> or Austr Austral Australianer, or people from from Australia. That's why American English is preferable.* (L1 Russian)

Whereas the first two ways of justifying the preference were grounded in reasons of consciousness, previous experience and expectations, the following two ways of reasoning were based on the speakers' intuitive beliefs. Such arguments as '*I feel comfortabl*e' or '*it sounds better to me'* arose often in the interviews, and quite often were the only reasons speakers gave for preferring one variety over the other. In the excerpt below, for example, a Ukrainian speaker justifies his preference for American English by saying the following:

(4-4) *I like I don't like English pronunciation. Well, I don't mean that I don't like it, but I like Canadian pronunciation, that is what I wanted to say. Sometimes I don't like American pronunciation. Well, it also depends on the states. Usually, I prefer to speak <break/>, at school, all we learnt English, British English, but I feel more comfortable with American English, I don't know why*. (L1 Ukrainian)

The initial point the speaker made concerned his dislike of British English. Realizing that this was a strong point to make, the speaker abandoned the message and improved it by saying that he preferred Canadian English. He then brought another message across; in particular, that he did not always like American pronunciation. This again was weakened by saying that

this depended on the state. The statement was finally justified by saying that he felt more comfortable with American English.

It is, therefore, common that speakers are not always confident about their preferences and likes. This could partially be explained by the inability of speakers to draw a clear line between varieties in their perception of English, as the excerpt above has illustrated. Vagueness and uncertainty, with regard to English varieties, was often present in the speakers' comments about English and what was often regarded as American or Canadian English was no more than the speakers' perception of what they thought was American, Canadian, and British English. '*Feeling at ease*' with a language variety, therefore, was another reason that speakers gave to explain their preference.

Yet another line of arguments, which was neither based on previous experience nor on any practical advantages, related to the speakers' beliefs and perception about the English variety they preferred. Such arguments as '*it is better*' or '*it sounds better to me*' were often used by speakers to explain their choice. A Polish speaker reported, for example, that even though she was exposed to British English in school, she preferred American English as '*it sounded better*'. For illustration, see the excerpt below:

(4-5) *I think I always, I've always learnt British English, but I prefer American English, it sounds better for me.* (L1 Polish)

Apart from showing why this Polish speaker gave preference to American English over the British one, this statement also illustrates that the speaker was aware of the fact that she was exposed to British English in school.

Judging her own preference in terms of British and American English, a Russian native speaker used the following argument:

(4-6) *I like American English. British English is very pathetic to me.* (L1 Russian)

Similar reasons came out in the speakers' justification of British English. The arguments given by speakers ranged from quite general ones as in (4-7) to rather specific as in (4-8):

(4-7) *I am quite used to British English.* (L1 Slovak)

(4-8) *I lived in Great Britain.* (L1 Slovak)

As seen in the case before, some speakers explained their preference for British English due to a large number of contact with speakers of this variety. A Slovak speaker, for instance, put it in the following way:

(4-9) *I prefer British English, because I have more okay have to contact more with British English*. (L1 Slovak)

Apart from these reasons, driven by benefits, there were also such that were based on *the speakers' own likes*. In the following excerpt, for example, a Russian speaker explicitly stated that she did not like American pronunciation, and that she would prefer to speak British English. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(4-10) *I want to speak <FLG> wie </FLG> En like English eh eh / FLG> Volk </FLG> <break/> like English people, yes. Their intonation, <FLG> zum </FG> for example, American people, American English I don't like. It is eh so wow wow <unclear> </unclear>*. (L1 Russian)

Here the speaker mentioned *American intonation* as one of the reasons for disliking American English. The speaker continued intensifying her message and imitating what she referred to as '*American intonation*'. As one finds below, this speaker seemed to like American English better than the UK English at the beginning of her English learning history; upon living in the UK, however, her preferences had drastically changed:

(4-11) *The same as, say America American accent, first, eh, I liked American accent very much, very much, I just didn't like English at all, but eh English people told me it's rude, it's just disgusting, and later, when I eh met somebody at at the news, American news, I just realized, yes, it's is just disgusting, it's is absolutely rude, it's rude.* (L1 Russian)

One of the arguments, which only appeared in the British context, emphasized the role of British English in providing norms and standards. American English, in turn, was reported to be a simplified form of British English. The comment below illustrates this:

(4-12) *Ah So I still think that British English is a kind of Standard English. And if I compare American English and British English so I I think that American English is easier, because I think that Americans omit a lot of tenses to use.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Although the study participants openly expressed their preferences and learning goals, some of them critically assessed the conditions for achieving these aspirations. To give an example, when a Ukrainian speaker was asked what standards she set for herself and what standards were taught at the university, she replied that it was '*Ukrainian English*'. Further, she explained this by the fact that it was British English that had to be taught, but as there were no '*real like Britain, person from Britain, who came to teach English*', English was taught by the American Peace Corps volunteers. The result, obviously, differed from what was initially intended. The excerpt, which illustrates this opinion, is given below:

(4-13) *We say, Ukrainian English. That's a joke we have at our department. We teach British English, we are supposed to teach British English, but at our department, we never had real like Britain, person from Britain, who came to teach English. We usually have Americans from Peace Corps, who come and teach English to our students, but actually, the cassettes we have, and something like the books we have, Oxford editions, they all belong to British variants of English.* (L1 Ukrainian)

This statement clearly describes a situation in one of the language teaching institutions in the Ukraine; it, however, can also apply to other institutions, which provide language education in countries of Eastern Europe. As far as the teaching standard is concerned, American English does not compete with British English in taking over the function of a role model. What is regarded by speakers as American or British English, however, is actually the speakers' representation of what they think is American or British English.

In conclusion, Slavic study participants showed their awareness of existing native varieties of English – British and American English. In addition, they were able to specify to which variety of English they preferred. The data reported that out of fifteen speakers, seven speakers (46, 7%) preferred American English, and six speakers (40%) preferred British English. Since British English is a teaching standard, a high tendency towards American English is surprising. Among the reasons for preferring a particular variety, were those grounded in the facts and expectations and those based on the speakers' intuitive beliefs. *Familiarity with the country and people* in the sense of previous experience, trips, and academic exchange programs often affected the speakers' choice, as this variety was more relevant for the speaker. Another reason for giving preference to one variety over the other was *a prediction of future developments* in the use of English by a particular speaker; namely, with speakers of which variety this particular speaker is likely to have more contact in the

future. Among the so-called *intuition-based reasons*, were reasons along the lines '*I feel more comfortable with this variety*' and '*it sounds better to me*'. Rarely did speakers explain their preferences by making negative and emotional comments about other native English varieties.

Finally, the speakers' choice for a variety is not often in relation to the teaching model, and is likely to be influenced by objective and subjective factors. The native varieties of English – British English and American English – were often named by speakers as targets they wanted to achieve. Although Slavic speakers were quite positive about use of English for lingua franca purposes (will be discussed in this chapter) and aware of the existing diversity of Englishes, none of them named a non-native variety of English as a role model.

4.3 Slavic speakers and their perception of native and non-native English(es)

The following section illuminates the following three questions: (a) whether there is a difference for Slavic speakers in communication with native and non-native speakers; (b) what interlocutors – native or non-native – speakers feel more comfortable with, and, finally, (c) whether speakers have particular fears in ELF communication. Figure 4-2 summarizes the results:

Figure 4-2. The preferences of Slavic speakers for native or non-native English speakers

Preferred interlocutors	#	%
NS	4	27
NNS	2	13
NS & NNS	9	60

The table clearly demonstrates that nine (60%) speakers in the study had 'mild' preferences, in other words, did not favour either native or non-native speakers particularly. Four speakers (27%), however, felt particularly strong toward native speakers as preferred interlocutors and only two (13%) speakers were in favour of non-native speakers. As *Chapter 5* gives the overview of speakers and details the speakers' requirement profiles, including speakers' preferences in terms of communication partners, I will not go into the specifics here. I will briefly report on instances, which display preferences either for native or for non-native speakers.

The four speakers, who named native speakers as preferred communication partners, had one common reason for their choice; namely, they all wanted to improve their English, and believed that the conversations with native speakers would help them achieve this. It was often obvious that Slavic speakers felt more comfortable with non-native speakers as '*non-native speakers do not hear the accent and the mistakes which are made, because we are on the same level*', and '*they make mistakes and they are not so good in English*', as two Ukrainian speakers put it. Native speakers, on the other hand, 's*peak very fast and use many words* (non-native speakers: author's comment) *do not know*'. Those speakers, however, who felt an urgent need to improve their speaking skills, wanted to communicate with native-speakers in the first place, because non-native speakers were not able to help them to carry out this function. The two speakers, who named non-native speakers as their communication partners, did not feel at ease in communication with native speakers. Although, the conversations with non-native speakers was less-demanding, and, therefore, possibly, less-effective, some speakers, especially those who did not want to lose face, preferred non-native speakers in communication.

Interestingly, asking speakers to express their opinions on preferred communication partners, gave rise to particular comments on assessing native and non-native varieties of English. Below, I will present some of the speakers' comments regarding (i) native varieties of English, and (ii) non-native varieties of English.

It often occurred that the speakers' evaluation of English varieties stemmed from the comparison of English varieties. Comparing British English to other English varieties, it was often concluded that British and Scottish are more difficult to understand for non-native English speakers than American or Canadian English. The comments highlighting this are shown below:

(4-14) *But it's more difficult for someone like me or anyone else to understand for example, Englishmen, because, some of them <break/>, I have spoked to some of them from Scotland, I guess, or so, and they used some words I never heard, and they have such a specific pronunciation that I was pretty confused to translate what they are saying, so.* (L1 Ukrainian)

What also becomes obvious from this example is that the speaker did not make a distinction between Scottish and British English. They were perceived by the speaker as one variety of

English. Unlike in other cases, which will be displayed below, the speaker mentioned lexical problems along with the pronunciation problems.

The same attitude toward British English is observed in the next excerpt. Besides expressing an opinion that British English is more difficult to understand, this Ukrainian speaker showed his amazement where this observation was concerned:

(4-15) *It's even more difficult for me, it's <break/> I don't know why is that so, it's weird, but anyway, it's even more difficult for me to understand the English man than the American person who speaks English… because, you know, the pronunciation of the guys from Great Britain like, and from US or Canada differs a lot …and it's easier for me to understand Americans or Canadians.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In addition to evaluating American and British by saying that '*the pronunciation of the guys from US or Canada differ a lot*', the speaker showed an awareness of the existing diversity of English.

Reporting on their preference toward British English, some speakers went further into the matter and expressed their opinions on individual British accents they were familiar with. One of these opinions – not particularly positive though – referred to the Blackburn accent. The comment is given below:

(4-16) <u>*South English is beautiful*</u>*, at least eh what I have heard and it is <break/> I I didn't speak with many Londoners I can say or York Yorkshire somebody, I didn't speak, but what I can hear on TV set, yeah, it's beautiful, and my girlfriend, my <break/> I remember I had to girlfriends in and I have two girlfriends in Blackburn, one speaks with Blackburn accent second speaks with South accent, and* <u>*South eh eh sounds very eh aristocratic*</u>*, yeah and* <u>*North and Blackburn, my husband says I don't want my son have Blackburn accent.*</u> *I can't tell that eh say somebody, people, some people yeah, who are buying some stuff in local store in Blackburn,* <u>*I don't like their accent at all.*</u> (L1 Ukrainian)

The following points of view are emphasized in the interview:

- British Southern English is beautiful.

- British Southern English is aristocratic.

- British Northern English and Blackburn English are not preferred by the speaker.

Although this speaker preferred British to American English, she was able to identify those aspects of British English that she was not particularly fond of. Another positive evaluation concerning the intelligibility of British English emerged in the comparison of British English with Australian English, made by another Ukrainian speaker. The comment is presented below:

(4-17) *I already found out that I could not understand people who speaks English from Australia, for instance, it's really hard, for me it's easy to understand persons who are coming from Great Britain, who speaks, if it's, if it would be correct to say classics.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In making this statement, the speaker claimed to have fewer problems with understanding British than Australian English, justifying it by the fact that '*classical*' British English was more intelligible.

We have seen above that comments describing native English varieties often occurred in the context of comparison. In contrast to British English, American English was often said to be '*more understandable*', '*distinctive*', '*more used nowadays,*' and '*up–to date*'. British English, on the contrary, was characterized as '*not so understandable*', '*traditional*', and '*classic*', '*outdated*', and even '*pathetic*' and '*aristocratic*'.

Non-native varieties of English have also received clear evaluative comments. Not all comments, however, were positive; it was often the case that non-native English varieties were said to be less intelligible as compared to native English varieties. English spoken by Russian, Polish, and French speakers was, for example, negatively evaluated. Let me begin with the comments made by a Russian native speaker about Russian English:

(4-18) *I can tell when I can hear Russian accent <break> yeah, yeah. It's disgusting.* (L1 Russian)

Obviously, this speaker's attitude toward Russian English is negative. Being a native speaker of Russian, this speaker characterizes Russian accent as '*disgusting*'. Supporting the point that Russian English rarely receives a positive evaluation, this speaker further refers to Russian speakers by saying the following:

(4-19) *I know some Russian people have fear of accent, Russian accent.* (L1 Russian)

Undoubtedly, the statement demonstrates that Russian native speakers in general, and this speaker in particular, do not feel comfortable about their accent and its use in the intercultural settings. Polish and French people speaking English were also negatively evaluated; '*a heavy accent*' was named as one of the comprehensibility threatening factors in this case. An excerpt in (4-20) illustrates this:

(4-20) *Well, I guess, non-native is difficult for me to understand because they have some very specific pronunciation, some accent, and I have I've spoked to some person like that, French people, Poles, and they have such a hard pronunciation that sometimes... you just cannot get what they are trying to say.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The question which may arise now is to what extent '*not being able to understand*' the communication partner is connected with the actual difficulty in comprehensibility. Very often, the factors of motivation and personal preferences affect understanding and achieving mutual intelligibility. To deepen and widen the discussion on the role of native and non-native speakers in ELF encounters, a question, inquiring into the possible fears of speakers in communication, was asked. It turned out, however, that apart from one Ukrainian speaker, who had a fear '*to lose the essence of speaking*' because of the inability to understand English native speakers, all speakers affirmed not to have any fears in the conversations in English.

To summarize, the preceding part focused on the way Slavic speakers perceive native and non-native speakers in ELF encounters. It was observed that Slavic speakers do not have particular preferences concerning communication partners. Nine speakers out of fifteen felt equally comfortable communicating with native and non-native English speakers. American English was often named as a variety, which is easier to understand as compared to British English. It was also a role model for the majority of speakers, as it was shown in 4.2.2. The speakers' comments on native and non-native varieties ranged from more to less positive (see Jenkins 2007: 165-78). Some accents, therefore, were liked more or less than the others. Russian English, for instance, was referred to as a less-pleasant variety. In general, the results of this sub-study illustrate that non-native speakers – Slavic speakers – in this particular case, are fully aware of the existing diversity in English, and have their preferences and likes regarding English(es).

4.4 The attitude of Slavic speakers toward English as a Lingua Franca

In this section, attention will be drawn toward the attitude of Slavic speakers towards English used for communicative purposes in various multicultural encounters. As attitude is a complex psychological concept, which includes many-fold evaluations of speakers concerning a particular subject matter, the aim of this sub-chapter is to present the results of the attitudinal survey, focusing on three main points, namely: (a) what attitude Slavic speakers had toward the use of English in the intercultural setting; (b) what are the reasons believed by Slavic speakers to have affected the emergence of English as an international language, (c) what are the advantages and disadvantages of the global use of English for native and non-native speakers recognized by Slavic speakers. To elicit these data, the following questions were asked: (i) what is your attitude toward ELF? (ii) why do you think English has become an international language, and (iii) what advantages and disadvantages are there in the use of English for lingua franca purposes?

The following part will primarily focus on the questions (a) what is your attitude toward ELF, and (b) why do you think English has become an international language? The question (c) focusing on the advantages and disadvantages of ELF communication as seen by the Slavic speakers, will be discussed in 4.5.

The most obvious observation was that Slavic speakers indeed treat English differently as compared to other foreign languages. That '*English is different from other languages*' was explained by the speakers for two different reasons: (i) the disassociation of English from its native speakers, its country, and traditions, and (ii) the simplification of English because of contact with other languages.

The first reason that makes English different from other languages is that English is no longer seen by Slavic speakers as belonging to the English-speaking countries, nations and cultures. The second reason for a unique status of English is the simplification of the language, and the accommodation of the speaker and hearer to meet the communicative needs of the speaker/hearer. Considering these two reasons, it becomes possible to suggest that non-native speakers of English accept the role of English as a lingua franca and recognize that it has a status, different from other languages. The points, in which a Ukrainian speaker compares English with other languages, are well-illustrated in the statement below:

(4-21) *From one point, surely, the first reason <u>it's really positive</u>, but from another, I <break/> what I under <break/> what I want to explain to you, for example for me <u>Italian is language</u>, or something like<u>. It is connected for me with country, with people, with traditions. French is language</u>, and <u>English for me is not</u> connected too much with traditions, <u>more international language</u>. So, I surely <break/> I <break/> it's connected with USA and England. But also it's some <break/> a <u>little bit separate from their native speakers</u>, really.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The main points are highlighted below:

English versus other foreign languages	1. Disassociation of English from its native speakers a) Italian and French are '*languages*' b) Italian is connected with people, country and traditions c) English is not connected with the USA and England d) English is separate from its native speakers

Comparing English with Italian and French, the speaker came to the conclusion that English no longer maintained a connection with the British and American national identity. The question, which could arise now, is whether this feature, i.e. disassociation of English with its native speakers, is perceived by study participants as a positive or negative development and a reasonable consequence of the global use of English. Looking at this paragraph, it may be possible to trace a somewhat negative attitude here. The speaker started by saying '*from one point, surely, the first reason it's really positive, but from another, I what I under what I want to explain to you*'; what followed, therefore, resembled a disadvantage seen by the speaker the global spread of English.

The same point − the disassociation of English from its native speakers − is also supported in another statement of the same Ukrainian speaker. Whereas in the preceding paragraph, the speaker discussed the use of English in general terms, in this paragraph, the speaker brought examples of interactions where she had to use English. This is illustrated in excerpt (4-22):

(4-22) *Actually, I love languages, and if to speak about languages, <u>I can't say that English is language for me</u>. It's, you know, <break/>. I don't <break/>, I can't <break/>, I don't*

know how to explain this, but maybe because <u>if I speak Italian I speak only with Italians, yes, only with native speakers</u>. If I speak German, actually I don't like German too much; it's not so melody, as for example <break/>. I love Italy and German so so. And if to say about English <u>I spoke English very often with people who are not native speakers</u>, that is why I have more feeling that it's just <u>the language for the world</u>, but not <break/> it's not, for me it's not something like language of USA or England, it's more, and sometimes, even in Morocco <break/>, I was travelling to Pakistan and <NLU> Arabsky Emiraty </NLU>, Dubai and even I have to speak <break/>, <u>when I was speaking very good English language, or with good pronunciation, they can't understand me</u>, that is why <u>I have to speak in bad pronunciation and not very, how to say, very simple words, because they understand better.</u> (L1 Ukrainian)

The main points are highlighted below:

English versus other foreign languages	1. Disassociation of English from other foreign languages
	a) Italian is spoken with its native speakers
	b) English is spoken with non-native speakers
	c) English is '*the language for the world*'
	2. Simplification of English
	a) non-native speakers understand English better if its spoken with a bad pronunciation and simple vocabulary

Looking at this excerpt, it becomes possible to extract a number of attitudes the speaker wanted to express: (i) the speaker questioned the status of English as compared with other languages by saying the following: '*I can't say that English is language for me. It's, you know I don't I can't <break/>… I don't know how to explain this*. Expressing her opinion, the speaker mentioned that Italian and German, for example, were often used for communication with native speakers. This feature of language use, however, did not hold true for English.

Moving away from native speakers and their native languages, the speaker generalized that '*English is just the language for the world*', with an adverb '*just*' intensifying the unique role of English in intercultural communication and excluding its status as a foreign language. Moreover, the speaker went as far as to detach English from its native speakers: '*It's not, for me it's not something like language of USA or England*'. The speaker then made an extremely interesting comment about the communicative function English as a world language seemed to fulfil.

The second reason, making English different from other languages, namely the simplification of English, was also partially mentioned here. By introducing an example of interaction in the United Arab Emirates, the speaker intuitively proposed that a simplified version of English tended to be understood better by non-native speakers; cooperating with interlocutors, non-native speakers, therefore, intuitively adjust their English to other non-native speakers.

The same attitude is observed in the statement of another Ukrainian speaker, which is given below:

(4-23) *It seems to me that <u>English is a very good thing, means for international communication, because, English is simple language</u>, in comparison with some Slavonic languages or <break/> not to mention Oriental languages. English grammar, it seems to me that <break/> I don't know German, <u>but my feeling is easier than German, an</u>d it seems to me that it's not easy to learn. It seems to me that for any motivated person, it takes up to <u>half a year to learn English</u> in general for communication. <u>It's not difficult.</u> It seems to me that <u>English is well designed for international communication</u>, but of course, <u>it is changing, when it goes through all cultures and nations</u>. So English <break/> it seems to me that <u>English is getting simplified</u>, it's getting more simple.* (L1 Ukrainian)

English versus other foreign languages	1. The unique status of English
	   a) English is '*a good candidate*' to be used in international communication as compared to other languages
	   b) English is an '*easy*' language to learn

	Change and development of English under the ELF conditions
	   a) English is changing when it goes through cultures and languages
	   b) English is getting simplified

Not only does the statement highlight the unique role of English in intercultural communication, it also expresses an opinion that English is changing as it goes through various languages and interacts with various cultures. It is interesting that entering lingua franca context, non-native speakers tend to be aware of the existing differences between the use of English and other foreign languages, such as German and English across the cultures. The speakers' intuitions about English being '*just a language for the world*' and its disassociation with ethnic groups, native speakers, and particular nations create favourable ground for the formation of '*a laid-back attitude*' toward English. '*The laid-back attitude*', in turn, is likely to have an effect on the formation of the speakers' requirements of performance (the ad hoc simplification of English in order to be understood by other non-native speakers).

The two excerpts shown above illustrate that users of ELF are able to evaluate the current unique status of English in the multicultural context. They intuitively accept the fact that English has taken up the role of an international language, and that it differs significantly from other foreign languages. Additionally, they tend to be aware of the processes that take place in this development as, for example, *the accommodation to the interlocutor* and *simplification of structure*.

Given that all study participants agreed on the fact that English is an international language, they were asked to comment on why they thought English, and no other languages, had taken up this role. The two main reasons for English becoming an international language were mentioned: (i) *the political and economic power of the US*, and (ii) *the simplicity and the ease of expression in English*. For example, the assumption that the USA was *a powerful country* was often made in the responses of many participants. A Slovak speaker, for instance, believed that it was not the linguistic system of English, but business that stimulated the spread of English:

(4-24) *Ahm business. Ah I think that not ah as a linguistic system but business makes it important and for example that so the US is still a powerful country'*. (L1 Slovak)

A Russian speaker, in turn, emphasized the fact that most contact situations in English involved citizens of the USA, and not citizens of the UK or Australia. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(4-25) *The reason is that American English is <break/>. Ok, <u>America ist is now is nowadays a big and <break/> Oh... <break/> powerful country</u>, and also we <u>have to speak</u>*

mostly with Americans, not with Eng not with <FLG> Engländer </FLG> or Austr Austral Australianer, or people from from Australia. (L1 Russian)

The main points made by the speaker are presented below:

- America is a powerful country.

- There are more contacts with Americans than with British and Australians.

Thus, the economic and the political status of the US, as well as, the frequency of contacts with the US citizens, made many speakers consider this as one of the main reasons for English becoming an international language.

Another opinion, which was often expressed by speakers was '*English is an easy language to learn*'. '*The simplicity of the language*', '*the easiness of expression*, '*the flexibility in speaking*', as it was pointed out by the speakers, seemed to contribute to the growing importance of English in the intercultural context. Thus, speakers giving these reasons genuinely believed that English assumed the role of a lingua franca because of its linguistic characteristics. It is interesting that speakers often compared English with other languages known or not known to them and concluded that English was easier in comparison to a particular language. In the excerpt, which is presented below, and which was also previously illustrated, a Ukrainian speaker made a comparison of English with Slavic, Oriental, and German languages:

(4-26) *It seems to me that <u>English is a very good thing, means for international communication, because, English is simple language</u>, in comparison with some Slavonic languages or <break/> not to mention Oriental languages. English grammar, it seems to me that <break/> I don't know German, <u>but my feeling is easier than German, an</u>d it seems to me that it's not easy to learn. It seems to me that for any motivated person, it takes up to <u>half a year to learn English</u> in general for communication. <u>It's not difficult.</u>* (L1 Ukrainian)

Making this comparison, the speaker concluded that English grammar did not pose as many difficulties as other languages. Further supporting his opinion, the speaker shared his belief that it did not take much time for a motivated person to learn English. These reasons, to his mind, contributed to English becoming an international language. The same attitude is observed in an interview with a Slovak speaker. Comparing the grammar of English with the

grammar of Russian, the speaker concluded that English grammar was '*easier*' than Russian grammar. He then concluded that English was easy to learn:

(4-27) *Ah for example if I compare ah grammatical system of English and for example Russian because I I have studied English and Russian so I think ah that English is ah easier or the grammar is easier.* (L1 Russian)

Whereas some participants expressed the firm belief that English was easy to learn, some speakers not only expressed a positive attitude toward ELF, but also idealized the linguistic features of English. A Polish speaker of English, for example, considered English to be '*the most beautiful language*'.

(4-28) *I think <u>without English you cannot communicate</u> nowadays and for me personally English is, when I can say it, <u>English is the most beautiful language in the world</u>, really. Some expressions are so easy and so beautiful, and they have some this I don't know how its <break/> <u>flexibility in speaking</u>, some some things in expression things, <break/> yeah, I think I think, English is very very important, very important.* (L1 Polish)

The points that the speaker made are summarized below:

- One cannot communicate without English.

- English is the most beautiful language in the world.

- English expressions are '*easy*' and '*beautiful*'; it also allows flexibility in speaking.

Apart from saying that '*English is the most beautiful language in the world*', the Polish speaker praised '*the flexibility of the language*' and '*the easiness of expression*', which in her view, English was able to offer in comparison with other languages. A similar comment was made by a Ukrainian native speaker. Here, the speaker subconsciously contrasted English with other languages, implying that English is the language which gives the possibility to be fluent:

(4-29) *It's, I don't think that that English that English mhm is mhm such a language, which which doesn't give us a possibility to be fluent.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Taking an account of the above comments, it becomes clear that non-native speakers of English value the fact that English has become an international language. Apart from having practical advantages that came along with the global spread of English, Slavic speakers feel an attachment to English in the sense that they consider it beautiful, it offers the flexibility of speaking, and ease of expression.

Given that attitudes in general guide humans in their choices, the attitudes which have emerged here may influence the speakers' performance in ELF encounters.

4.5 Advantages and disadvantages of ELF communication

In this section, I will discuss advantages and disadvantages of ELF communication, as seen by Slavic speakers of English. In my discussion, I will present the general consequences of the global use of English, specifying whether ELF communication is seen as benefiting or harming native and non-native speakers. Dealing with ELF communication, it is important to keep these two groups – native and non-native speakers of English – apart, as the motivation, behind their use of English, is essentially different.

The following aspects, presented in Table 4-3, were mentioned by speakers when they were asked to comment on benefits and drawbacks of ELF communication:

Figure 4-3. The consequences of the global use and spread of English from the Slavic perspective

Consequences of the use of English	
1.	Communication across cultures, exchange of ideas
2.	The stimulation and growth of business
3.	The development and change of English
4.	The spread of the British and American culture
5.	Neglect of other languages and cultures
6.	The simplification and reduction of English

The aspects mentioned above were either benefiting or harming for native and non-native speakers. The aspects seen as advantages or disadvantages will be briefly outlined below.

Since the attitude of Slavic speakers toward ELF was positive, it was likely to expect Slavic speakers to see ELF communication and the use of English for lingua franca purposes as advantageous. Some of the benefits often mentioned by the speakers were (i) *the simplification of communication between cultures and nations, and* (ii) *the ability to exchange knowledge and ideas worldwide*. Unlike some of the advantages that we shall see below, these seemed to be to the benefit of both a native and non-native speaker. In the interviews, Slavic speakers often said that '*English makes communication easier*', and the availability of English allowed them to participate in international degree programs, conferences, workshops, and trade fairs. A graduate student reading for a Master's Degree in Applied Geosciences, for example, remarked the following:

(4-30) *Yeah, it's important. It's very easy because in my class, for example, we have people from over all over the world, and proportionally we have ah more <break/>, like if we take the ratio or the number of people of one particular nationality or even not nationality <break/> speaking, people who speak same language to their total number of people, so it would be Spanish people, Spanish speaking people, and yeah, most of the time they speak Spanish, and I don't think it's very nice, because, I mean, it's not very polite also, but they feel comfortable. Ah, but most of the time we speak English and we can interact, we can exchange our experience or whatever, I mean, this is a language of communication here, when people cannot speak German, for example.*
(L1 Russian)

This excerpt specifies the domains where English facilitates communication. By claiming that English allows speakers to interact and exchange experience and communicate in the general sense, it enunciates the significant role of English in multicultural settings. In particular, the use of such verbs as '*to speak*', '*to interact*', '*to exchange*' demonstrates the speaker's appreciation for the fact that English allows the pursuit of these actions. Additionally, the speaker's use of the pronoun '*we*' in 'w*e speak English, we can interact, we can exchange our experience*' includes the speaker, as well as, the listener into the dialogue. This unconscious use, I assume, shows the speaker's awareness of the speaker's and hearer's role in communication, and thus, the dialogic nature of communication.

A similar remark, highlighting the significance of English and the importance of English in cross-cultural communication, is made by another Ukrainian native speaker:

(4-31) *One language such as English language, because <u>English language is international language, and anywhere you are you can free communicate with different people, representatives of different folks and nationalities, and understand each other.</u>* (L1 Ukrainian)

Contrary to the previous two comments, which highlighted the importance of English for the speakers, their self-expression and their understanding, the next comment emphasized the significance of English for other interlocutors and for their understanding. The excerpt in (4-32) illustrates the position of another Ukrainian speaker on this matter:

(4-32) *I guess, there are more advantages in this meaning because, you you <break/> <u>everyone can understand you.</u>* (L1 Ukrainian)

The speakers' comments above primarily concerned contact situations that involved speakers of different first languages. Apart from having this function, ELF fulfilled another function, also mentioned by study participants. In particular, English was said to be used in those ELF situations that involved speakers of the same first language who used English for various reasons. Some reasons are either the presence of speakers of other first languages or conventionality. In both cases, interestingly enough, speakers use English for a lingua franca purpose. The reason of conventionality, for example, is addressed by a Russian native speaker in the following excerpt:

(4-33) <u>*We have also one guy from Russia in our class, and sometimes we speak English*</u> *as well with him, just because it became to be habit or <unclear></unclear>.* (L1 Russian)

Another advantage of the English use, so often mentioned by the speakers, was (ii) *the stimulation and growth of business*. This development was beneficial for the countries where English was spoken as a first or second language, as well as, for those where English functioned as a foreign language. The following remark was made by a Slovak speaker of English, for example:

(4-34) *For the language it's quite positive, and <u>it's very positive for Great Britain</u>, and all the English speaking <break/> <u>It's a good business for the native speakers</u> and for the country, and positive in a sense, that there must be some kind of lingua franca. Esperanto did not prove to be so popular, because no one speaks that language*

</cut> (English) it's absolutely useful. I appreciate that there is a kind of language which is a kind of main language and widely used. (L1 Slovak)

Here the speaker mentioned the stimulation of business in the English speaking countries as one of the main advantages of communication in English. Apart from this practical benefit, the speaker expressed his own appreciation of the fact that there is a language common to many speakers.

In addition to practical benefits, Slavic speakers also saw aesthetic benefits in the use of English. Some speakers reported to enjoy the process of learning and derive pleasure in the everyday use of English. The comment below made by a Ukrainian speaker illustrates this:

(4-35) *As for me, the learning, the studying of English language is very interesting for me, because I think that maybe first of all, <u>everyone must know at least one (foreign) language well.</u>* (L1 Ukrainian)

In the cases described above, it was a native and a non-native speaker who benefited from this development. There are also those aspects of the global use of English, which, in the first place, are advantageous for the native speakers of English and for English-speaking countries. One of these aspects, often brought up by the speakers, was (iii) th*e development of English and* (iv) *the spread of the British/American culture.* When one of the speakers was asked whether she saw any positive aspects in the spread of English, she replied that it would be more promising to ask a native speaker. She then emphasized that native speakers of English should be proud of the fact that their language is used worldwide. Please consider the comment below:

(4-36) *Well you'd better ask a native speaker, because, <unclear> me </unclear> English, I think it's good for English, because more and more people speak the language and if more and more people spoke Ukrainian, I think I would be proud of the language.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Among others social advantages, the popular culture and social events of English speaking countries were reported to benefit immensely from the spread of English in the expanding circle. A Ukrainian native speaker, for instance, commented the following:

(4-37) *I think it's good for the language, because first of all, I think that English culture, English <break/> special moments, special things are represented all over the world,*

and many people want to visit English spoken countries such as En Great Britain, such as USA and others. I think it's good. (L1 Ukrainian)

The spread of British culture was thus facilitated by means of English and by the growing ability of non-native speakers to communicate and understand English.

Above, I have tried to show the advantages ELF communication for native and non-native speakers of English. Advantages seen by the study participants were the facilitation of communication, the exchange of information, the stimulation and growth of business, as well as, the popularization of the British culture.

Having a positive attitude toward ELF and ELF communication in general did not prevent the Slavic study participants from seeing disadvantages caused by this type of communication for native, non-native speakers, and for the language itself. The two main types of negative effects were identified; first, the global spread of English and the monopoly of English resulted in (v) *paying less attention to other foreign languages or even in neglect of other languages*; second, (vi) *in the simplification and reduction of English to meet the needs of its non-native speakers*. These two types of negative effects will be briefly discussed below.

The main perceived disadvantage of ELF-only use was the neglect of other languages and the fear of losing them. Some speakers went as far as to make predictions concerning the role of English in the changing global and local societies. A Ukrainian speaker, for example, was concerned about the necessity of learning other foreign languages, except English:

(4-38) *Well, positive or negative? I don't I am staying at the position, actually, that language change changes, so English, yeah, it's international language, and on another hand <quote> the more languages you know </quote> <break/>, you know this saying. It's necessary right now, and in my case it's also necessary to learn other international languages, I wouldn't mind <break/>. Again, it depends on me, <u>and I wouldn't mind to learn German.</u>* (L1 Ukrainian)

The second type of negative effects that the use of English caused was the simplification and the reduction of the language. Since English was seen by speakers as the main means of communication among its non-native speakers, and it, in fact, was; English was susceptible to changes in the word meaning and structure to meet the needs of non-native speakers, in terms of comprehensibility and the ease of expression. In excerpt (4-39), presented above, the

Ukrainian was not entirely sure whether such frequent use of English was positive or negative. Consider the statement below:

(4-39) *Well, positive or negative? I don't I am staying at the position, actually, that language change changes </cut>.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Another Ukrainian speaker, in addition to simply confirming the statement, suggested reasons for the simplification of English. They are given in excerpt (4-40) below:

(4-40) *The language goes through all cultures and nations, so English… is getting simplified; it's getting more simple.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Thus, one of the explanations for the simplification and reduction of English, as seen by study participants, was the contact of English with other languages and cultures. That the language contact issue was raised by study participants, had not only illustrated the speakers' willingness to account for contact-induced changes, but also illustrated their awareness of existing contact situations and consequences of those to the language itself. Clearly, prior to entering ELF situations, some English users seemed to be aware of language development and language change under the influence of external factors.

As expected, all study participants showed the most positive attitudes to English as a lingua franca. The arguments for advocating the exclusive role of English in the global context were related to advantages that the use of English offered to the world at large. Such comments as, 'English makes communication easier, 'it is very useful nowadays or 'it is an easy language to learn' were often traced in the responses of study participants.

Regardless of the fact that all attitudes towards English as a lingua franca were positive, they were quite different in kind. Some speakers commented only on the practical benefits of ELF communication, such as the simplification of communication, the development of business etc., whereas others saw the social benefits, such as the exchange of social and cultural values and the fostering of the intercultural awareness. In general terms, the use of English for lingua franca purposes was seen as a positive development for English and non-English speaking countries, even though it had its own downsides as the ones discussed above.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the attitude of Slavic speakers toward English as a lingua franca. Particular focus was directed to (i) standards of English speakers aimed at, (ii) role models they have, (iii) whether it makes a difference for the speakers to communicate with native or non-native speakers, and, finally, (iv) the positive and negative aspects of ELF communication. The following results have been observed. First, out of fifteen study participants, seven participants seemed to prefer American English as a role model, and six participants preferred British English[10]. The speakers' choice seemed to be influenced by objective, such as, for example, familiarity with the variety or frequency of contacts with speakers of a particular variety, as well as subjective factors, as for example '*American English sounds better to me*'. Although, Slavic speakers expressed a mostly positive attitude toward the use of English as a lingua franca[11], none of them wanted to have a non-native English variety as a role model. Thus, they often preferred native speakers of English in interactions. The disadvantages seen in this development of English were the neglect of other languages and the simplification of English.

The research questions raised in this chapter allowed the attitudes of Slavic speakers toward the global use of English to be seen and revealed new aspects of the speakers' personal profiles.

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[10] An orientation toward native varieties of English as role models was discussed in the studies of Friedrich (2000) and Case (2010).

[11] The studies of Shim (2002), Timmis (2002) and Matsuda (2003) have shown a positive attitude of non-native English speakers toward ELF.

Chapter 5.   Overview   of   speakers   and   the   speakers'   requirements of ELF performance

5.1 Study objectives

When entering into cross-cultural encounters, individuals possess certain values developed by the society wherein they were raised. Through the process of formal education, personal development, and influential external factors, briefly described below, speakers refine their existing values and add new values to their profiles. The speaker personal profile, each with its own particular features, may then affect how each individual speaker perceives social and cross-cultural encounters and contributes to their development.

This chapter gives an overview of speakers who participated in the study. As I focus on the four language groups, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Slovak, fifteen study participants are presented in accordance with the L1 in which they belong. Fifteen brief overviews describe five main aspects of the speakers' personal profiles. Initially, I give (i) an overview of the socio-cultural and linguistic background of individual speakers, including such variables as L1, L2, and L3 (if any), age and gender. I then comment on (ii) some aspects of speakers' English learning history and on the respective spheres of their regular use of English. Subsequently, I present (iii) the speakers' attitudes towards interactions with native and non-native speakers of English and specify their preferences. Next, I touch on (iv) the speakers' evaluation of their own English, addressing the issues of speaker self-satisfaction, and learner vs. non-learner status. Finally, I discuss (v) the speakers' requirements of ELF performance, such as grammatical correctness and fluency, and clarify which of the mentioned performance requirements are preferred by Slavic speakers. A summary of the main features of the speaker profile is given to complete each overview.

5.2 Ukrainian speakers

1. Tanya, L1 Ukrainian

Tanya is a native speaker of Ukrainian, with L2 Russian and English, and L3 French (beginner); female, twenty four years old, involved in the furniture business; a graduate of International Trade and Economics University, Kiev.

Tanya had been learning English since she was seven. In addition to classroom instruction, she had taken English classes in a private language school and learned English on her own. As part of her managerial duties, Tanya worked with foreign clients and colleagues, which required use of English on a weekly basis. She translated, interpreted, and negotiated in English.

Where the use of English was concerned, Tanya claimed to be speaking English predominantly with non-native speakers. This is the reason she treats English as a world language, and not as a language belonging exclusively to the USA or England. She says the following:

(5-1) *I can't say that English is language for me… If to if I speak Italian I speak only with Italians, yes, only with native speakers. If I speak German… and if to say about English I spoke English very often with people who are not native speakers, that is why I have more feeling that it's just the language for the world, but not it's not, for me it's not something like language of USA or England.*

It is interesting to note here that Tanya seemed to be aware of the fact that understanding can be achieved even if grammatical correctness is not fully maintained. A comment that she made with regard to this is given below:

(5-2) *I was knowing that my grammar is terrible, but they understood me, and it was* very *pleasant for me.*

Adopting this position has both advantages and disadvantages. One of the noticeable advantages is that it is not only the task of the speaker to make his/her contribution relevant, but it is also the task of the listener to put forth the effort to interpret it. A noticeable disadvantage is the overestimation of the listener's role; consequently, less effort on the part of a speaker in making his/her utterance as relevant and accessible to the listener as required.

Regarding communication preferences, Tanya feels more comfortable with non-native speakers since they give her '*more freedom*':

(5-3) *Non-native speakers do not hear my accent and the mistakes I make, because we are the same level.*

Communication with native speakers, on the other hand, is more challenging. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-4) *They (native speakers) are speaking very quickly and very often they something like eat the ending of the words, and that is why it is more difficult, I think and also a little bit psychologically, you know, I think how is my pronunciation and little… </break>*

Native-speakers are, therefore, viewed as interlocutors who are more demanding, or at least are perceived as such by the speaker. It becomes obvious from these two statements that the reason for Tanya's preference has to do with less complexity and less pressure for the speaker herself. Self-esteem and self-perception could be seen as contributing factors to the speaker's preference for non-native speakers as well.

Where the evaluation of her own English was concerned, Tanya considered it to be more advanced than the English of her interlocutors. When comparing the learning of English to the learning of French, the participant remarked that English classes were often associated with '*enjoyment and pleasure*', whereas French classes were '*hard work*'. Taking account of this position, I can suggest that the speaker did not consider herself a learner of English. This assumption was further supported by the fact that Tanya paid little, if any, attention to grammar and heavily relied on a partner in interactions:

(5-5) *I am not ashamed of grammar mistakes, because English is not my major, and if the person would want to understand me he would understand.*

Since the speaker seemed to be satisfied with her English, Tanya believed herself to be speaking fluently. She, however, realized that she had a foreign accent.

Pronunciation and fluency were said to be the main criteria for judging someone's English:

(5-6) *Judgment? What it's based on? Pronunciation, it's <break/> I understand that I have some pronunciation, which mean foreigner pronunciation, that I am not a native*

speaker, but <break/> pronunciation and the fluency of speaking. If, for example, I see that the person begin to think too much, its mean that she not very fluent, especially in Italy, to me it is <break/> they are not speaking fluently. They can say but <unclear> </unclear> how to say simple words and they begin to think something, to analyze, that is why I see that they are <break/>

Even though pronunciation and fluency as performance requirements were mentioned in connection with how she evaluated someone's English, it is possible to infer that these were the performance requirements she imposed on her own performance. Additionally supporting the point that fluency was her primary requirement of performance, Tanya expressed a negative attitude toward those speakers who *'begin to think too much'*. *'Too much thinking',* is seen as a negative sign in a natural conversation, and grammatical correctness is seen as a *'communication barrier'*. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-7) *Actually, I have not this barrier (grammatical correctness), because <break/> maybe because of Italian. I came to Italy, and I was not <break/> I never learned this language, and surely, then by two months living there, I began to speak some <unclear> </unclear> just words. And I have not this some complex, you know, if you know language, and go somewhere, you always think how to say and even, my teacher, Miss Maize, said <quote> never think how to say correct, just try to speak </quote>, and I am not <break/>, I did not finish any university of language, and I can't be perfect, and I think even in business world, I am never shame of that I did some mistakes.*

Efforts in maintaining grammatical accuracy are, obviously, viewed by Tanya as a significant impediment to spoken interaction. Thus, she tries to avoid and eliminate those factors which are likely cause communication breakdowns. Later in the interview, however, she tried to justify her lowered attention to grammatical correctness by saying that she had never thoroughly studied English and grammatical correctness is not a criterion used by native speakers when judging someone's proficiency in their native language:

(5-8) *You always think how to say and even, my teacher, Miss Maize, said never think how to say correct, just try to speak, and I am not, I did not finish any university of language, and I can't be perfect, and I think even in business world, I am never shame of that I did some mistakes.*

On the whole, this statement reduces the role of grammatical correctness in spoken interaction and highlights Tanya's attitude towards grammar mistakes. Tanya, as the excerpt illustrates, does not only accept her English as it is, but also takes pride in it, disregarding the fact that it may be incorrect according to the native speaker norm.

The summary of Tanya's profile is given below:

Figure 5-1. Tanya: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Fluency orientation
Satisfied with her own English
Non-learner
Prefers NNS as interlocutors

2. *Olga, L1 Ukrainian*

Olga is a native speaker of Ukrainian, with L2 Russian and English, twenty seven year old female; an accountant in Electrical Household Appliances, Ukraine; a university degree in Economics.

The speaker has been learning English for more than ten years, first in school, later in university and, finally in a private language school. Olga, unlike other study participants, put an effort in learning English on her own. The statement below describes this:

(5-9) *When I was the age of nine-eleven in summer I tried to improve my knowledge and read different texts in English language and tried to and tried to learn new unknown words.*

Olga appears to be a motivated learner. Later in the interview, she reported that she derived aesthetic pleasure in learning English and she understood the necessity of being able to communicate in English, as well. These two factors were the main objectives in Olga's English learning process.

As Olga was learning in a non-native speaker environment, conversational encounters with native speakers were highly appreciated and desired. She justified this by saying that communication with native speakers allows non-native speakers to realize the importance and value of being able to communicate in a foreign language:

(5-10) *Communication with native speakers gives the opportunity to appreciate, evaluate your ability to speak and not only to speak, but be understandable for them.*

The ability to communicate with non-native speakers, however, is equally important to her as '*English is an international language*', she says, and '*people should be able to understand each other, have a good communication and conversation.*' This attitude additionally demonstrates that the speaker does not consider NNS to be less privileged than NS. On the contrary, Olga believes that it is as essential to understand native and non-native speakers as it is important to be understood by both communication partners. Whereas being understood refers more to native speaker encounters, understanding refers to the non-native speakers. In the second type of encounters, as Olga reported, a non-native speaker has to deal with a greater diversity of factors, such as various accents, speakers' social and cultural backgrounds, and individual differences.

As a benchmark for learning, Olga chose American English, justifying this by the following reasons: (i) British English is difficult to understand, and (ii) American English is used by a greater number of speakers:

(5-11) *Britain English is not so understandable for me, words are not so distinctive and American English is more used nowadays by different nationalities.*

Olga does consider herself a language learner; she is, nevertheless, satisfied with her English.

The use of appropriate vocabulary and fluency were reported to be the main criteria for judging someone's English. Olga emphasized that the assessment of someone's language skills should not be based on grammatical accuracy:

 (5-12) *It depends on how difficult and different words, notion, this person would use in her communication or his communication, I think. It depends on only, it depends on also how fluently he or she speaks and I don't think that it depends on right using grammatical grammatical rules and others. I think, first of all, it depends on the size of vocabulary stock and fluence of talk.*

As we see above, the main requirements of performance are fluency and use of appropriate vocabulary. Grammatical accuracy, according to Olga's position, plays no role in defining someone's language proficiency. Certainly, this attitude holds true not only in relation to other speakers, but also to Olga's own production. Besides, when Olga speculates about her

own requirement profile, she adds some sub-requirements, such as *the ability to understand the interlocutor*, and *the ability to express what one wants or needs to say*. Grammatical correctness thus is neither a criterion for judging someone's English nor a focus in her own production. This is further supported in the interview by the following argument:

(5-13) *I don't think that it is very important (grammatical correctness) because as I know many foreigners, they even can't write correctly, and they also don't use correct tense forms. The most important, I think, fluence possessing of language and the ability to understand each other, knowledge different words, ability to express what do you need to say, what do you want to say, I think so.*

Similarly to Tanya, Olga justifies her lowered attention to grammatical correctness by appealing to the native speaker expertise as in '*I know many foreigners they even can't write correctly, and they also don't use correct tense forms.*' The noun '*foreigners*' is used to refer to English native speakers, obviously. Moreover, this passage reveals not only a reason for the speaker's reduced attention to grammatical correctness, but also the authority of a native speaker, who determines what is acceptable and what is not in the use of English. In general, Olga is able to clearly define what she expects from communication; she then moulds her requirement profile accordingly. The summary of Olga's profile is given below:

Figure 5-2. Olga: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Fluency orientation
Satisfied with her own English
Learner
Prefers NS & NNS as interlocutors

3. Natalya L., L1 Ukrainian

Natalya is a native speaker of Ukrainian with L2 Russian and English and L3 Slovak; twenty seven years old, female, research assistant, and a PhD candidate at the department of Political Science and International Relations, Chernivtsi National University.

Natalya learned English in a comprehensive school and at university. She, however, was not satisfied with how it was taught due to the circumstances that emerged:

(5-14) *Actually, English in my case it was a subject at school, but frankly speaking, that was not really a happy story with the studying, with the learning English at school, because we have </cut> we do not we did not have actually teacher, good teacher, teacher of English, so that happens that we had teacher of physics who taught us English, so you know, how it..*

At university, English was part of the curriculum for the three years. English teaching was not efficient at that time, so Natalya learned, and later improved her English, mostly by reading. She mentioned that it was after entering the Academy of Science and Foreign Languages in the Slovak Republic when she felt she needed English the most.

In her daily life in Ukraine, Natalya was mainly using English to communicate with non-native speakers; with German friends, in particular. Apart from this, Natalya was often involved in international conferences, workshops, and exchange programs.

Natalya differentiates between communication with native and non-native speakers. Communication with NNS does not pose any problems to her. Even though NNS encounters are more frequent and are easier to handle, Natalya prefers native speakers as communication partners since they help her to improve her English. Communication with native speakers, however, is often demanding. Specifically, understanding native speakers from the US and Australia is problematic for Natalya. British English, however, is understandable. In this respect, the speaker mentions that understanding depends on the speaker's willingness and motivation to convey a message:

(5-15) *A lot of depends on the person who are speaking to you in English. You know, if they really want that you will translate, that you will...understand then you will understand, then they will make you somehow they will speak slower, keeping in mind that, you know, this knowing, you know, that they are speaking with the foreigner.*

Thus, Natalya enters lingua franca encounters aware that understanding depends on the willingness and motivation of the speaker to convey a message and on the listener's effort to cooperate. This position demonstrates the speaker's awareness of the communication process mechanism, i.e. who the agents are, as well as, their roles and tasks; in particular, that communication is a mutual process and understanding is co-constructed. In other words, understanding is not a task of a listener, but also of the speaker who should intend to make his contribution as accessible to the listener as possible.

According to the self-evaluation, grammar and academic writing were areas which needed improvement. Speaking and listening skills in turn were satisfying. Generally, Natalya was satisfied with her English, but because of the two areas that needed improvement she considered herself a language learner. When Natalya was asked if she could evaluate someone's English, she said that she normally does not do that. She mentioned, however, that if she had to make a judgement she would base it on the speaker' pronunciation, fluency, and the pace of speech:

(5-16) *Well, I will I will just base on, again pronunciation, if the words are really clear to understand, <unclear> really understand </unclear>, the speed of speaking, if it's correct to say so.*

In addition, she mentioned that there should be a differentiation between those speakers who were just beginning to learn English, and those speakers who use English on a daily basis. She believed that those speakers who are learning English should focus more on understanding their conversation and their own production rather than on grammatical correctness. The statement below illustrates this:

(5-17) *I am not interesting in my case in our case, like for those who are just started to learn English maybe five years ago, I think it's really just beginning in our in my case, the priority is to understand. If I understand the context, for me, frankly speaking, it does not matter if person made mistake in past, she or he put sentence in past or future, I will make it correct. The priority is to understand each other.*

This speaker's attitude toward grammatical correctness, however, differs somewhat from what we have seen with other speakers. Obviously, reflecting on grammatical correctness, a speaker had a second party in mind; it was not '*when I made a mistake*, but '*when the person made a mistake, put sentence in past or future*'. She continued by saying that she would make the utterance correct if she shared the context with the interlocutor. In that case, what she implies by correcting is not changing the form of the utterances toward the norm, but modifying the utterance so that it becomes accessible to the listener in terms of comprehensibility. When she was directly asked whether fluency or correctness was more important to her, she replied the following:

(5-18) *Well, I am trying to do both. But frankly speaking, I am a bit lazy, so I just, I am just trying to be understandable.*

This statement, along with the other comments she made in connection with the judgment of someone's English, suggests that Natalya was orientated towards fluency in her performance. Aware of the existing grammar norms, she decides to give priority to being fluent and understood at this particular stage. In general, Natalya's English learning profile can be characterized by the following features:

Figure 5-3. Natalya L: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Fluency orientation
Satisfied with her English
Learner
Prefers NS as interlocutors

4. Sergey, L1 Ukrainian

Sergey is a native speaker of Ukrainian, with L2 Russian and L3 French (beginner), male, thirty three years old, associate professor in the department of Political Science and International Relations, Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine.

Sergey had been learning English since he was twelve, and in his own terms he '*had a very strong motivation (to learn) because he was interested in politics and history*' and the competence in English would open the new perspectives to him. As English teaching in school was not always efficient, Sergey had to learn it on his own:

(5-19) *Although my studies at school were not very successful because in Soviet Union the general level English study was pretty low so I tried to do it myself I bought a lot of books self-study books and I tried to improve my language by myself because I was not lucky with my English teacher at school*'.

Where the experience in English speaking countries was concerned, Sergey, at first, spent three and a half years studying and then began lecturing in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. In his home university, Sergey was involved in international events, conferences, and meetings, and therefore, frequently used English on a daily basis.

Sergey reported to feel more comfortable with American English, even though British English was taught in school. American English, in contrast to British, appeared to be more up to date to his mind. In reference to communication preferences, Sergey considered non-

native speakers easier to get along with justifying this by the fact that both interlocutors have a similar proficiency level. The disadvantage he found was dealing with the fact that non-native speakers often have difficulty expressing themselves. Educated native speakers, therefore, were his preferred communication partners.

In an attempt to evaluate his own English competence, he reported that his speaking skills and vocabulary needed to be improved. The reason he gave for having difficulties with these particular areas was the following:

(5-20) W*hen you live long in your native country, so the language is forgotten….*

He reported that he felt this especially upon arrival in an English-speaking country. Taking these two reasons into account, he claimed to be a learner of English. He was, nevertheless, satisfied with his English. Interestingly, the evaluation of someone's language competence and performance was reported to be based on grammatical correctness, fluency, and use of vocabulary:

(5-21) *It's based on speaking, you know, on grammar, on vocabulary, pronunciation.*

As these aspects were important to the speaker when evaluating someone else's performance, it is possible to assume that they were similarly important when judging his own linguistic competence.

Sergiy's attitude toward grammatical correctness is somewhat different from other speakers. From the start, it is noticed that there is a tangible conflict between what the speaker believed was the right way to perform and how he actually performed. The internal conflict between the speaker's performance requirements is observed in the following passage:

(5-22) *I try to be correct. Sometimes, you know, I know that some people are trying to speak slower in order to speak more correctly, but you know, my manner is <break/>. Usually my language is fast, it's my fault. I have to be more slower.*

Based on this passage and the other comments Sergey made in the interview, I could suggest that that grammatical correctness was the speaker's orientation in performance. Sergey, however, did not always succeed in this, as the excerpt has illustrated.

When the speaker was asked to comment on other crucial aspects in a conversation, he mentioned the ability to understand an interlocutor in order not: '*to lose the essence of*

speaking'. Grammatical correctness thus is seen in the light of understanding or as means of enabling the speaker to achieve this aim:

(5-23) *For me, the most important thing is to be understood, to be understood correctly, and you know, when I start speaking English, you know, when I start speaking English after a break, I have, you know a feeling of incomfortable. I am a bit incomfortable, but later I am good.*

Speculating in the interview on his performance, the speaker disclosed another reason for occasionally loosening of the requirement of correctness. In particular, Sergey reported that his ambition in the conversation was often to adjust to the level of an interlocutor. This, in a way, causes a modification of his requirement profile; and hence, less attention paid to grammatical correctness. Passages in (5-24) and (5-25) once again illustrate Sergiy's position with regard to this point:

(5-24) *It depends on the situation, depends on the situation. When I am speaking with my colleagues, I am trying to be, you know, at their level. It's my mistake, because... </cut> and </cut>*

Sergey does not only acknowledge the fact that he tries to keep to the level of an interlocutor, but also acknowledges the fact that he is likely to make mistakes in these situations. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-25) *...in this situation, sometimes I am doing a lot of mistakes.*

Sergey thus is quite uncomfortable when he notices his mistakes. Likewise, he feels uneasy when asked to repeat the utterance he produced. Figure 5-4 summarizes the features of Sergiy's English learning profile:

Figure 5-4. Sergey: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Correctness orientation
Satisfied with his English
Learner
Prefers NS as interlocutors

5. Pavlo, L1 Ukrainian

Pavlo is a native speaker of Ukrainian, with L2 Russian and English, male, twenty nine years old, associate professor and vice-dean in the department of Political Science and International Relations, Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine.

Pavlo had been exposed to English for approximately fourteen years in grammar school and later in university, having also language practice abroad. In particular, Pavlo participated in summer schools and carried out research in political science in Canada and the US. In his home university, Pavlo was in charge of organizing international conferences and workshops, which required the use of English. Pavlo investigated the problems of Canadian Federalism and most of the research literature was in English at the time, so competence in English was a must.

Among native varieties of English, Pavlo finds British English more demanding, in terms of comprehensibility, than Canadian or American English. Likewise, Polish and French English were the most problematic non-native English varieties for him, due to the heavy accent of the speakers. For that reason, Pavlo was more comfortable and confident communicating with native speakers of English. As he was neither in favour of American nor British English, Pavlo chose English as an International Language as a role model.

Where English proficiency was concerned, Pavlo admitted that he did not have a sufficient competence in English due to the obvious gaps in vocabulary. As a consequence, in the self-assessment report, he evaluated himself as a language learner.

In regard to Pavlo's evaluation of someone's English competence, it should be said that he believed it was possible to judge someone's competence in English based on the pronunciation of that speaker. In reference to this, he made a comment in the interview which reflected his opinion on this performance requirement:

(5-26) *I can divide all persons who speak English in two like in two parts. First part it is people, who know English, who know English very well, but their pronunciation and their <break/> the way they speak is like <break/>, it's very traditional and you can definitely see that this person is from like USSR, this is Russian or Ukrainian school in language skills. So, it's easy to hear this kind of language. Another part is people who had some oral, some practice English speech, some practice, they they have been*

somewhere abroad, so their English language might be better, if they had that practice.

Obviously, Pavlo put a strong emphasis on pronunciation. He also claimed that people may have a good command of English, and indeed speak English well, but their pronunciation will indicate whether they stayed or did not stay abroad. Thus, a distinct and a native-like pronunciation was seen by Pavlo as an important performance requirement.

Similarly, grammatical correctness was reported to be important to the speaker. Unlike other speakers, however, Pavlo proposed that someone's grammatical correctness depended on the amount of exposure to the language. Below is what he said in this respect:

(5-27) *I try to be correct, but sometimes, you know <break/> it all depends on your practice, as far as I understand. If you have a lot of practice, like you can speak every day, and it's not a problem for you to speak correct, and for sure if you have possibility to go abroad like US, Canada or English speaking countries, but if you have no such a possibility, then you just <break/> it's not really easy to speak correct.*

Thus, Pavlo seems to treat grammatical correctness as a process, which becomes automatic when the speaker is intensively exposed to the language. From the excerpts in (5-26) and (5-27), it is also possible to see that Pavlo associated the stay in English-speaking countries and the logical communication with native speakers with more authority; speakers who stayed in English-speaking countries were automatically classified as more proficient. Figure 5-5 below summarizes the features of Pavlo's English learning profile:

Figure 5-5. Pavlo: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Correctness orientation
Dissatisfied with his English
Learner
Prefers NS & NNS as interlocutors

6. Natalya T., L1 Ukrainian

Natalya is a native speaker of Ukrainian with L2 Russian and German and L3 English; thirty years old, female. When the interview was recorded, Natalya was a PhD candidate in German Linguistics at the University of Tübingen.

Unlike other participants who had been exposed to English since either primary or grammar school, Natalya was only beginning to learn English as minor at university. Her exposure to English was three years in her home university in Ukraine. In contrast to many other participants who had English experience abroad, Natalya was neither involved in educational programs nor used English for private reasons.

Even though Natalya had no experience in English-speaking countries, and she did not associate English learning with the native speakers or a particular culture, she appeared to be a motivated language user:

(5-28) *I was happy to to study English at at the university, because I knew at that time, that if you if you study one foreign language, you have to do eh you have to study the second because you have comp you can compare them, and eh eh mhm the two two foreign languages, studying of two foreign languages make it easier.*

Similarly, Natalya had no fears communicating with native or non-native speakers. On the contrary, encounters with either of them were highly appreciated. As far as communication with native speakers was concerned, Natalya admitted to using '*a better English*' to ensure her interlocutors '*are not waiting*' in her terms, '*for every single word*'. Natalya, not being a very experienced English user, nevertheless, tried to adjust to the level of her interlocutor and was able to differentiate between these two types of contact situations, adapting correspondingly. Different from expectations, Natalya did not consider herself a learner of English and did not set herself particular learning goals. Aware of her imperfect English, she was, however, satisfied with it.

With reference to the evaluation of someone's English, pronunciation and grammatical correctness were said to be quite important. An excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-29) *It was important because because as I I as saw that the pronunciation, if you communicate with people with mother language, with English as a mother language, they have to understand, they have to understand me, and I wanted to be understood,*

and I and I understood the pronunciation is important in English, maybe not in German, maybe not in French I I don't <beak/>. It's it's my opinion, <FLG> aber </FLG> in German. It was the the first aspect, the second aspect grammar, but I think it was the influence of German.

It becomes obvious from the passage above that Natalya put a great emphasis on pronunciation and grammatical correctness due to the fact that these two areas of language learning contribute enormously to understanding. Interestingly, the two performance requirements – pronunciation and grammatical correctness – were not viewed in isolation, but in relation to understanding. It is then possible to assume that understanding an interlocutor is an important requirement that Natalya imposes on the communication process at large. When asked in the interview what her judgement of someone's English was based on, Natalya replied that it was difficult to make generalizations related to someone's proficiency level. Natalya then explained this by saying that someone's language proficiency is normally based on the speaker's exposure to the language. For this reason alone, it is hard to define someone's English proficiency. Below is what she expressed in the interview:

(5-30) *I can judge that somebody's English is good, I can I cannot judge some somebody's English is bad because I don't know if I'm commu communicating in English with somebody, it's it's not easy to ask somebody oh how long are you studying English if she or he just started to study English okay. They have learnt, they learn, but I think I think that eh somebody is somebody is speaking English well well as foreign language as foreign as a foreign language eh if if the using of vocabulary is right, the using of vocabulary is right, eh and these these constructions of languages what which are typical typical only for English.*

Natalya, therefore, found it difficult to evaluate someone's language proficiency; if she did, however, she would base her judgment on the speaker's use of vocabulary and idiomatic expressions, rather than on grammatical correctness. Contrary to other participants, however, Natalya could not take these two performance requirements apart:

(5-31) *Mhm, I I cannot I cannot to to take these two points from each other. It's I can't I can't say the fluency is very important, and the grammar okay, in the middle. I want to be correct, I want to be correct but and I don't want that that people that people are waiting for me, because I think what is right, what is the what is the <break/>. It's*

okay, but I don't <break/> It's I don't think that that English that English mhm is mhm such a language, which which doesn't give us a possibility to be fluent.

Natalya obviously did not approach the issue of grammatical correctness in isolation from fluency. In fact, she wanted to be correct and at the same time wanted to ensure the flow of conversation. Besides that, she expressed an opinion that English is a language which allows its speakers to be fluent. This comment was probably meant after comparing English with other languages. Figure 5-6 below gives an overview of Natalya's English learning profile:

Figure 5-6. Natalya: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Correctness and fluency orientation
Satisfied with her English
Non-learner
Prefers NS & NNS as interlocutors

7. *Alena, L1 Ukrainian*

Alena is a native speaker of Ukrainian with L2 English and L3 French; female, twenty seven years old, research assistant and a PhD candidate in the department of English Philology, Faculty of Modern European Languages, Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine.

This participant had learned English for more than twenty years, having the first exposure to it in primary school, and later in grammar school and at university. As a graduate student in Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Alena had never been to English-speaking countries and had never had language practice abroad.

Alena used English on a daily basis, teaching English in a private school and linguistics at university. Alena's attitude toward English as a lingua franca or English as an international language is quite positive. She could differentiate between encounters with native and non-native English speakers. With reference to this, contact situations in English with Russian and Ukrainian native speakers were said to be less challenging, as there was always a possibility to turn to Ukrainian or Russian if the situation demanded doing so. Even though these encounters were less challenging they were not necessarily preferred by the speaker. She appreciated and valued encounters with both native and non-native speakers.

Alena claimed to be satisfied with her English. Apart from some situations which required use of technical vocabulary, Alena felt comfortable with the way she spoke English. Notwithstanding the fact that she was satisfied with her English, she claimed to consider herself a language learner. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-32) *I am I am learning English every day.*

It is interesting to note that when Alena was asked in the interview how she judges someone's English competence, she was not able to give a clear answer. To her mind, the evaluation of someone's language abilities, in the first place, depended on whether the speaker could react spontaneously in the conversation, in other words, whether he/she was able to answer questions, make comments, and contribute to the conversation. Contrary to other study participants who mentioned that judgement of someone's language abilities depended on pronunciation, fluency, and use of vocabulary, Alena took a broader perspective. Thus, she managed to evaluate the speaker's performance based on what this speaker was able to do:

(5-33) *When I ask general questions, questions about hobbies, questions about interests, I can judge whether the person can understand how to answer questions and when I ask something difficult and if the person can answer difficult question, at least formulate the statement, some difficult statement, then that person has some philological thinking, some logical thinking that shows that he or she can become a linguist.*

I suppose, using this approach, Alena had prospective students of linguistics and foreign languages in mind. This approach, however, seems to be well applied when dealing with Business English students. For that reason, it is possible that Alena took a task-oriented approach to language assessment. In other words, the assessment of someone's language proficiency was based on what the speaker was able to do in a foreign language, i.e. how well he/she could manage questions asked.

As expected, grammatical correctness appeared to be important to the speaker. Alena, however, believed that the extent to which the speaker wanted to be grammatically correct or fluent depended on this speaker's English learning purpose or the learning objective of this speaker. This position manifested in the following two excerpts in (5-34) and in (5-35):

(5-34) *Well, for the teacher it's very important, because I feel awfully embarrassed when I make a mistake and in the classroom, and I understand that I've made a mistake. And*

then, well, at first I didn't correct myself, because I thought that would be incorrect, but now, I try to say everything correctly after my incorrect statement.

Here, Alena disclosed the issue of grammatical correctness as seen by a language teacher. Apart from this, the excerpt also illustrates the development of the speaker's attitude toward grammatical correctness, in the sense that initially the speaker felt embarrassed to correct her own mistakes. The correction of her own mistakes, Alena felt, was threatening her face. Later, this attitude developed into the speaker's ability to face her mistakes and correct them where needed. Alena also emphasized the role of grammatical correctness in language teaching professions:

(5-35) *For a language teacher, being correct is very important to the speaker, it is very important for the teacher not to make mistakes.*

Fluency, similarly, to grammatical correctness related directly to the speaker's communicative purpose. The extent to which a speaker needed to be fluent would vary depending on what the reasons were for being fluent. Thus, Alena believed that fluency could be of a greater or a lesser importance in the speaker's requirement profile:

(5-36) *Fluency or correctness, mh, it depends upon your profession, I believe. Again, for the teacher correctness is very important and fluency is important for interpreters, I think. It is important for some businessmen, some people who deal with politics, something like that. That is fluency. And correctness, well, correctness in politics and economics is important in documents, I believe but when you speak, of course, it is important, but not that important, gramma </break> grammatical correctness is not very important in this case.*

Grammatical correctness, therefore, was seen as a matter of degree. As Alena was also a language teacher, she placed a strong emphasis on grammatical correctness. The formation of this performance requirement thus was determined by the speaker's educational background and the dominant correctness-oriented approach to language teaching. Figure 5-7 below summarizes the characteristic features of Alena's profile:

Figure 5-7. Alena: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Correctness orientation
Satisfied with her English
Learner
Prefers NS & NNS as interlocutors

5.3 Russian speakers

1. Lena M., L1 Russian

Lena is a native speaker of Russian with the first L2 English and the second L2 German; female, thirty three years old. Lena has a graduate degree in Economics from St. Petersburg University, Russia. When the interview was being recorded, Lena lived in the South of Germany. Before moving to Germany, she had lived in England where she used English on a daily basis.

Lena had used English for more than ten years. She began learning it as a foreign language in school as part of the school curriculum; later she continued on her own, using the self-study materials. In the interview, Lena claimed to have never been explicitly taught English. According to the comments she made, she learned it through written communication with her pen friends, e-mails, spoken communication at home, and through technical vocabulary learning in college.

As far as fears in communication were concerned, Lena did not have any. Communication with both native and non-native speakers was equally appreciated. Comparing herself to other English users with an L1 Russian background, she admitted that she did not to have '*a fear of accent*', as is the case with many Russian speakers. Interestingly enough, she justified the absence of an accent by the fact that she used to listen to the BBC channel and the Voice of America when she was a child.

Disappointingly, as a Russian native speaker, Lena expressed a negative attitude toward English spoken with the Russian accent, as it is '*harsh*' and '*rude*'. The attitude toward English as a lingua franca, on the contrary, was quite positive. In view of this, she no longer associated English with the language of the UK or of the US. In particular, she

believed that being an easy language to learn, English served the purpose of intercultural communication:

(5-37) *It's, you know it's not a somebody, a nation language, it's a language which commu which <break/> you know, when you have some difficult languages, like Latin language from one side, and German language from the other side, and French language from third side, of course, when all these people want to communicate each other they try to make it easy way, it's like, language which was produced… so, I can tell that English language was made because people of different nations tried to communicate with themselves… they wanted to be to have that easy way, that is why nobody wanted to study deep somebody other's language, that's is why they took it…*

In regard to this, she also mentioned that *'English is just an instrument, and if you are professional in your area of expertise, you do not have to know this instrument perfectly'*. By saying this she downplayed the status of English as a language, and stressed its role as a global lingua franca. The use of English for lingua franca purposes was also emphasized by taking account of the English non-native speakers who mainly used English for professional purposes.

Since Lena was learning German when the interview was being recorded, she did not consider herself a learner of English. Justifying this self-assessment, she admitted to hardly ever checking words in the dictionary or using any English reference materials. She also claimed to be quite satisfied with her speaking skills. Vocabulary and grammar, including the English temporal forms, however, were said to raise some insecurity.

As for performance requirements, grammatical correctness was reported to be valued higher and, consequently, given more priority than fluency. Unlike other study participants who saw grammatical correctness as a requirement of their performance, Lena related this performance requirement to the speaker's culture and level of education, rather than to the speaker's language abilities. She said, for instance:

(5-38) *It's important, but eh, you know, because it's just culture </break> level of culture. You don't want to eh to be eh <break/> I thought about that. I thought about Ger German language in this <break>.*

Grammatical correctness thus was seen as a manifestation of the speaker's culture and education.

Further in the interview, Lena also stated that correctness in performance was necessary, taking into account the listener' perspective. Lena believed that the listeners tended to comprehend better, and as a result, accept constructions which already exist in the language rather than constructions coined by the speaker in the conversation. In this respect, she also expressed her view on understanding. She believed that in most instances, the speaker's intended meaning was understood by the listener. What often happened in foreign language conversations, however, was that the performance and the speaker himself/herself were not positively assessed by the listener; as a result, understanding, in the way it was expected by the speaker, may not have been reached. The excerpt in (5-39) illustrates this:

(5-39) *People like to hear what they have, some construction, which they use use to use. They don't want to hear something like that. That is why if you want to say something, you can say what you can say, but it will be not much pleasure for people who knows there should be another way, it should be another way, but you are trying to say, they will understand you, but eh, when it's not like they eh eh normally hear, it will be not, it will not work.*

Thus, Lena appeared to be one of the few speakers for whom the dimension of the listener became important. Figure 5-8 below summarizes Lena's English learning profile:

Figure 5-8. Lena M.: an overview of speaker characteristic

Speaker characteristics
Correctness orientation
Satisfied with her English
Non-learner
Prefers NS & NNS as interlocutors

2. Lena T., L1 Russian

Lena T. is a native speaker of Russian and Belorussian, with the first L2 English and the second L2 German, female, twenty five years old. When the interview was recorded, Lena was reading for a Master's degree in International Law at University of Tübingen and had been living in Germany for two years. Prior to studying in Tübingen, Lena had studied at Minsk State University, Belarus, from which she held a Master's degree.

Lena began learning the language at the age of five. At the age of eleven, she spent a year in a boarding school in England. Afterwards, she learned English as a foreign language in grammar school and later at university. In Germany, English was primarily used for reading and academic writing, whereas German was used for everyday communication.

As for communication in English, Lena felt more comfortable interacting with non-native speakers of English. Astonishingly enough, she gave preference to interactions with native speakers, as communication with them was more challenging and she could learn more. British English was preferred as an American accent was not particularly in favour.

Unlike many study participants, who claimed that they were not learning English, Lena considered herself a learner of English. She supported this by saying that she was constantly brushing up on her grammar. She was also reading a lot in English. While these two skills were satisfying, her speaking skills needed to be improved. For this reason, she was not satisfied with her English:

(5-40) *I want to I want to learn next level of my English and I want eh yeah, mom, at the moment I think that my English is eh <FLG> sehr </FLG> low, and I am planning to go to learn.*

Grammatical competence and vocabulary, however, were reported to be sufficient for Lena's needs at university. They, in turn, were named as the main criteria for judging someone's English performance:

(5-41)

Lena*: I speak English mostly with people from <FLG> Deutschland </FLG>, and I think that English, their English is good.*

Interviewer*: And what do you base your judgment on?*

Lena*: They make eh <unclear> </unclear> they they doesn't make mistakes </cut> grammar mistakes, vocabulary, they are various.*

Grammar mistakes and use of vocabulary, therefore, were considered when evaluating someone's English competence. Moreover, Lena emphasized that for her, grammatical correctness was more dominant than fluency. Therefore, she paid more attention to it in her performance. Later in the interview, however, she mentioned that it was only then that

grammatical correctness had become important. When speaking English in the past, she had never paid attention to the utterances she produced; maintaining grammatical correctness was an automatic process. See the excerpt below:

(5-42) *To be correct </cut> for me it is important, because two years I spoke correct, I spoke <pause> much, and I haven't so problems that I <FLG> muss </FLG> I must thinking what what for one word <FLG> muss </FLG> I must I here, must I here, use, yes?*

Apart from this performance requirement, Lena reported on the value of the ability to contribute to a wide array of topics and have small talk in the conversation. Figure 5-9 summarizes Lena's English learning profile:

Figure 5-9. Lena T: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Correctness orientation
Dissatisfied with her English
Learner
Prefers NS as interlocutors

3. Dmitry, L1 Russian

Dmitry is a native speaker of Russian and Belorussian with the first L2 English and the second L2 German, male, twenty five years old. When the interview took place, Dmitry was reading for an LLM degree in International Law at the University of Tübingen. Prior to studying in Tübingen, he had graduated from the Faculty of Law at Minsk State University in Belarus.

Dmitry began learning English in primary school when he was seven. Afterwards, he continued to learn English in grammar school and later at university. As part of the university curriculum, he had English for two years. During the interview, Dmitry frequently emphasized the importance of English in his home country, Belarus. He stressed that English was the only medium of communication between speakers who did not share the same mother tongue. Taking account of his occupation, he claimed that that in the International Law, knowledge of English was a must:

(5-43) Y*ou know, in United Nation Organization German language is not official language, since Second World war, because of second world war this German language was was not <FLG> mehr </FLG> was not no more as official League of Nations <unclear> international </unclear> language, that's why every official document every yeah, every official document is is not in German language, but in English. That's why I must read in English, I must translate from English to Russian, from Russian to German.*

Apart from illustrating some of reasons for English to become an international language in Law, this excerpt also reveals the spheres of Dmitry's English use, namely, reading and analysing scripts and documents. Considering an immense role of English in International Law, Dmitry's attitude toward English as a lingua franca was positive. He said the following in this respect:

(5-44) *When somebody do not speak your language, then we are speaking in English. Esperanto is is Esperanto is dead, <FLF> Latein </FLG> is dead, English is only language that that is known by all the <FLG> Menschheit </FLG> all people.*

Moreover, Dmitry was fully aware of the fact that English was not the first language for many English users. This reason alone made Dmitry more comfortable with speaking English. In addition, it raised his awareness for potential communication breakdowns. As he said:

(5-45) *It's non mother language for you or for these persons, so I there's no problem, if we make some errors or have some problems with language, it's <FLG> kein </FLG>, it's no problem.*

Even though Dmitry did not always feel comfortable speaking English, he had no fear interacting with either native or non-native speakers of English. Both groups of conversation partners were appreciated. As for a role model, Dmitry chose American English, justifying this by the fact that American English was '*more popular*', and non-native speakers needed to communicate more with Americans than with the British. Later in the interview, he also brought up an argument of '*the US being a powerful country*'. This reason reinforced his preference in terms of a role model.

Generally, Dmitry was not entirely satisfied with his English competence. He felt confident about his competence in grammar and Law-English, though. According to the self-

assessment report, his speaking and listening comprehension skills, however, needed to be improved. Adding to this, he mentioned that speaking Russian and German interfered with his English performance and made communication in English even more challenging.

Dmitry did not consider himself a language learner. He believed that he had stopped learning English in high school. His target, nevertheless, was to be able to communicate well in every day English and be able to contribute to topics related to Law English.

This speaker judged someone's competence in English based on the speaker's grammatical competence, pronunciation, and intonation. Grammatical correctness was important due to the fact that it allowed better comprehensibility for the listener. Maintaining grammatical correctness in order to produce grammatically correct sentences was therefore not important to Dmitry. Correctness was, therefore, viewed only in connection with comprehensibility. Since fluency did not contribute to comprehensibility, it was considered less important to the speaker. Clearly, grammatical correctness was given priority over fluency. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-46) *When language is correct then you can understand better better. When it's when it's fluently spoken but not very correct, then you can <break/> can you understand not all things, or you can understand nothing. So, correctness is on the first place.*

Therefore, for the speaker, it was more important to be grammatically correct than to speak fluently. Figure 5-10 gives an overview of Dmitry's characteristics:

Figure 5-10. Dmitry: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Correctness orientation
Dissatisfied with his English
Non-learner
Prefers NS & NNS as interlocutors

4. Oksana, L1 Russian

Oksana is a native speaker of Russian with the first L2 English and the second L2 German, female, twenty seven years old. Oksana was originally from Novosibirsk in Russia. When Oksana was interviewed, she was reading for a Master's degree in Environmental and Geo-

sciences at the University of Tübingen. She had lived in Germany for one year when the interview was recorded.

In Russia, Oksana learned English in grammar school and later at university, as part of the university curriculum. Involved in research in her home institution, she often had to translate safety sheets and articles from English to Russian and from Russian to English. Thus, English was mainly used for a special purpose of translation. She hardly ever used English for communicative purposes. She was exposed to English in Russia for more than twelve years.

The Master's programme in the German host university was in English, so Oksana had to use English, together with German, on a daily basis. Given that the speaker was not proficient in German at the beginning of her study programme and stay, most communication was done in English. Thus, English was the dominant language when the interview was recorded.

Oksana's attitude toward English as a lingua franca was quite positive, as it enabled interaction between people who had to use English as a recourse.

Communication with both native and non-native speakers was equally valued by the speaker. Oksana believed that the speakers' first language could either facilitate or complicate the comprehension process. In this consideration, Oksana expressed an opinion that non-native speakers tended to have '*a neutral accent*' compared with native English speakers. Due to this, she understood non-native speakers, with an exception of Chinese and Indian speakers, better than native speakers. Since she was frequently in a language contact situation, Oksana was able to make a language-related observation, in particular, that both native and non-native speakers tend to accommodate their English to the English of their interlocutors under certain influencing factors. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-47) *I have one native speaker in my class. She comes from Canada, and she has very specific pronounce, way of pronouncing words. And in the beginning it was very difficult for me to understand her, like I couldn't understand any word, any. And maybe in three months I could manage this. Now I understand her very well, and everybody, actually, understands her very well. And with time her accent changed also because her parents told her like <quote> which language do you speak now </quote> because yeah <unclear> </unclear>.*

The perception of native and non-native speakers, as the two distinct groups of conversation partners, made Oksana adjust her behaviour accordingly. In interactions with native speakers, Oksana tended to pay more attention to her performance, in other words, she tried '*to speak properly*'. In interactions with non-native speakers, consequently, her performance was more relaxed. Given that American English was used for TOEFL preparation, Oksana took it as a role model.

Apart from the fact that she wanted to enrich her English vocabulary, Oksana was satisfied with her English skills. She considered herself nevertheless a language learner. The main requirement of Oksana's performance was grammatical correctness:

(5-48) *Yeah, I pay more attention on grammar, and when I speak I also require from myself ah to speak ah to use English grammar properly.*

Similar to many other study participants, Oksana gave preference to speaking correctly over speaking fluently. Fluency, pronunciation, and lexical appropriateness did not play a role in assessing someone's English proficiency:

(5-49) *For me, I don't know, it's not a problem, actually, I mean. I don't pay so much attention on it. When the person speaks very slowly, not slowly, ah, in the sense that it's pronouncing every word, but when it's like ah ah ah I mean, this is really annoying, yeah but in general no problem.*

Obviously, the statement illustrates that Oksana was not particularly in favour of someone speaking slowly. However, she would not base her judgment on this performance.

Oksana made an interesting comment in the interview related to both her attitude towards the English language and the requirements of performance. First, she stressed the fact that English was a language that required use of short and simple sentences. Second, she justified the use of short, simple sentences with the convenience they allowed the user. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-50) *English is a language when you have to speak with simple sentences, it's better to speak, or it's more convenient to speak, ah yeah.*

Based on what was discussed above, it is possible to highlight the main speaker characteristics. Figure 5-11 below summarizes Oksana's English learning profile:

Figure 5-11. Oksana: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Correctness orientation
Satisfied with her English
Learner
Prefers NNS & NS as interlocutors

5.4 Polish speakers

1. Agnes, L1 Polish

Agnes is a native speaker of Polish, with the first L2 English and the second L2 German, female, twenty six years old. Agnes was originally from Poland. When the interview was recorded, Agnes was an Erasmus Mundus exchange student in the department of German linguistics at the University of Tübingen. She had spent a few months in Germany when the interview was recorded.

Agnes was exposed to English for more than nine years. She began learning it in grammar school and later continued at university. English was part of the university curriculum. In Poland, Agnes only used English in connection with her study program. She occasionally read and watched movies in English. She had not been involved in educational exchange programs with English-speaking countries. In Germany, Agnes mainly used German. German thus was a dominant language, both in everyday communication and academia. English was only occasionally used when the conversation partners did not speak German.

Similar to many other study participants, Agnes perceived communication with native and non-native speakers as two distinct types of communication. Therefore, she accommodated herself accordingly. In conversations where native speakers were involved, she tried to pay more attention to how she spoke, whether she was using appropriate vocabulary and whether her utterances were grammatically correct. With non-native speakers, however, she did not feel the need to always be grammatically correct, as both interlocutors were in a similar position. Not only did the performance of Agnes vary, corresponding to different conversation partners, the perception varied, as well. Agnes found non-native

speakers easier to understand than native speakers. Communication with non-native speakers was, therefore, more relaxed. Communication with native speakers thus was more demanding, and grammar mistakes and the inability to find appropriate vocabulary often made the speaker feel uncomfortable. Agnes, however, did not have particular preferences with regard to conversation partners. Communication with both groups was appreciated.

Agnes was quite positive about the role of English as an International Language. To her mind, it was not the political power of the USA and the UK alone, but also '*the simplicity*', '*the beauty of the language*', and the '*flexibility in expression*' that made English a global language. Although Agnes learned British English in school, her personal preference was American English.

Agnes claimed to be satisfied with her English. Below is how she commented on her performance in English and how she felt about it:

(5-51) *I had I can have problems with speaking, but I can read fluently, and er I feel better when I can read something in English, literature, and it makes me proud of myself, because doing it, so.*

In addition to being satisfied with her English competence, Agnes considered herself to be a motivated learner. This was well-illustrated in one of the points she made in the interview:

(5-52) *I'm learning all the time, because when I'm reading or when I'm hearing something, and I don't know the word, I am checking in a in a <FLG> Wörterbuch </FLF>?*

Pronunciation and the use of vocabulary were named to be the main criteria for judging someone's English.

(5-53) *Because I have been learning for for many years, and er I can hear very well <break/> I I mean er <break/>I can hear <break/> every day you can here songs in English or something like this on, or you can watch films, and you hear how people speak, so when I hear somebody speaking, I can say if his or her pronunciation is okay or not, what kind of words he use he or she use uses or <break>.*

These requirements, I suppose, did not only hold true for the speaker's evaluation of someone's English, but also for the speaker's own performance. Mentioning the importance of grammatical correctness and fluency in performance, Agnes said that fluency was more important to her than grammatical correctness. However, contrary to other speakers who

seemed to totally ignore the existence of grammatical structures, Agnes treated grammatical accuracy as an integral part of someone's communicative competence, and therefore, of someone's requirement profile. The comment below illustrates this:

(5-54) *It is important as much as in German, but when I am speaking, I know I lot I make a lot of mistakes…in German too, because sometimes I'm think, I'm say, I'm saying something, and then I am thinking. I am not doing it in a right way. I should think first, and then say, but I'm doing it on another way, and I try not to make mistakes, but sometimes, it, well it happens, yeah.*

Agnes was thus aware of grammar norms, but she reduced them in order to maintain fluency. The overview of the main speaker characteristics is given below:

Figure 5-12. Agnes: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Fluency orientation
Satisfied with her English
Learner
Prefers NS & NNS as interlocutors

2. Sebastian, L1 Polish

Sebastian is a native speaker of Polish, with the first L2 German and the second L2 English, male, twenty eight years old. Sebastian was originally from Lodz in Poland. He graduated from the department of Foreign Languages in his home university, and at the time of the interview he was actively involved in teaching and compiling materials for teaching German. Sebastian was actively involved in EU projects. He was interviewed at the University of Tübingen in the frame of the EU project, *Communication in International Projects.*

Sebastian only learned English as part of his university curriculum. Sebastian rarely used English in his home country. English was used only in the project meetings outside of Poland.

The speaker's attitude toward English was positive; the wide spread of English was exemplified by the fact that '*everyone can communicate more or less better in English'*.

Where communication preferences were concerned, Sebastian preferred to communicate with non-native speakers because he found them easier to understand as '*they do not make mistakes and they are not so good in English*'. Native speakers, to his mind, '*speak very fast and use many words he does not know*'. Based on these remarks and further observations, it is possible to assume that Sebastian did not want to challenge himself and therefore preferred a '*less-demanding*' group of interlocutors. This seemed to align with Sebastian's requirement profile, including his attitude toward English, as well as, the lack of motivation in learning and using it.

Although Sebastian used English for project activities, his competence in English was not satisfying to him. He was, therefore, not confident enough when it came to speaking. According to the self-assessment report, his uneasiness and uncertainty were especially noticeable during the project meetings and presentations, since language problems did not allow him to express himself. The fear of making mistakes seemed to account for his uncertainty and uneasiness in performance. The excerpts in (5-55) and (5-56) illustrate this:

(5-55) *So I am a German teacher, and I know I know what's important, so when I have to speak English, I am a little bit shamed, ashamed, because of my mistakes, because of my <FLG> Maengel <FLG>, wie sagt man <FLG> Maengel </FLG> auf Englisch?*

Here Sebastian stressed the fact that he was a German teacher and he knew what was important in teaching a language. In addition, he made clear that he did not feel entirely comfortable when he realized that he had made mistakes in performance. For this reason, he preferred to speak German:

(5-56) *I am always afraid just to speak in this language, because I know, Ok, I am not so good in English as in German, so I know, I do many mistakes, and it's just comfortable for me to speak German…I can say my English is always is always bad.*

The latter statement obviously uncovers Sebastian's attitude toward his performance. Contrary to other study participants who were able to identify at least some areas where they excelled, Sebastian seemed to be completely unsatisfied with his communicative competence in English. The underestimation of his language abilities was also observed in the excerpts (5-57) below:

(5-57) *I can say my English is always is always bad, maybe not very bad </break>.*

In this statement, Sebastian made a general assessment of his English competence. In what follows, however, he compared his competence in English with the English competence of his colleagues – the English and the Italian teacher, and concluded, based on comparison, that his English was not sufficiently good.

(5-58) *Okay I work with German teachers and English teachers, and the English of my colleagues who teach English is excellent, and our English, so the English of us, German teacher, Italian teacher is not so bad, not so good.*

Furthermore, when Sebastian was asked to give reasons for his insufficient competence in English, he mentioned motivation, claiming that if someone was using English for professional purposes, he/she had the motivation to improve. This was not the case with him, as he did not use English often for professional purposes.

(5-59) *Okay so when you use English for profe professional use, you are trying to to to, you are trying to be better, so, and I do not have this need.*

This statement also illustrates that Sebastian was no longer learning English. Similarly, he did not consider himself a learner of English.

During the interview, Sebastian mentioned that grammatical correctness and fluency were equally important to him. On the one hand, he felt embarrassed when he made mistakes. On the other hand, he felt that being able to convey the message was more important than the British or American accent or grammatical correctness, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

(5-60) *It is communication that is important, and not the accent.*

The overview of speaker characteristics is given below:

Figure 5-13. Sebastian: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Fluency and grammatical correctness orientation
Dissatisfied with his English
Non-learner
Prefers NNS as interlocutors

5.5 Slovak speakers

1. Tomas, L1 Slovak

Tomas is a native speaker of Slovak, with L2 English and Russian, male, twenty six years old. The speaker was originally from the Slovak Republic. When the interview was recorded, Tomas was a project manager and trainer in an educational sector of a non-profit organization in the Slovak Republic. He was interviewed at the University of Tübingen, in the frame of the EU project *Communication in International Projects*.

Tomas began learning English in grammar school. Having graduated from university with a degree in music education, he spent two years in England working and taking English classes to pass the Cambridge Proficiency Exam. English was a working language in international projects, as well as in the non-profit organization, where he worked. Thus, Tomas used English on a daily basis.

Similar to other study participants, Tomas was quite positive about the role of English as a lingua franca. He acknowledged the role of English as a lingua franca saying that it is '*the kind of language which is a kind of main language and widely used* '. The speaker also believed that the global spread of English had positive consequences for its native speakers, as it functioned as a stimulating power for the economic growth and cultural expansion.

With regard to communication partners, Tomas valued the interaction with English native speakers. He explained this preference by the fact that he was no longer learning English, and conversing with native speakers helped him to keep up his proficiency level and even improve to some extent. The statement in (5-61) illustrates this:

(5-61) *I quite appreciate it and enjoy them, so I want to learn and want to pick up as much as I can.*

Not only did Tomas prefer native speakers over non-native speakers, he also perceived communication with both groups of interlocutors as two distinct types of communication and adjusted his performance accordingly. Furthermore, he explained the need to accommodate to the interlocutor in the ELF context – be it a native or a non-native speaker – by the fact that users who interact in the ELF context have different L1s, as well as, different proficiency levels. Given that proficiency levels vary, and the goal to achieve a common understanding does not, Tomas felt the need to adjust to the level of his interlocutor. He approached this by

changing pace, using short sentences, simple constructions, and clear articulation. As he said, in interaction with native speakers, for instance, he tended to '*to speed up a little bit*'.

Associating himself more with the British than with American culture and people, Tomas took British English as a role model for learning English.

As a confident language user, Tomas was satisfied with his communicative competence. He did not consider himself a language learner, however. Similarly to many other participants, Tomas evaluated the English of his interlocutors by taking fluency into consideration:

(5-62) *It is the first thing that strikes you when you speak to someone.*

Where his own performance was concerned, Tomas paid particular attention to understanding his interlocutors and being correctly understood by others. Tomas thus made an impression of a language user who was aware of differences in the proficiency in ELF communication and who was able to adjust accordingly. He did not pay attention to grammatical correctness. Explaining his *laid-back attitude* toward grammatical correctness, Tomas compared what he had been doing before with his present occupation:

(5-63) *I used to work in language teaching, it was then when it was important not to make mistakes. But at the moment, I don't really care so much.*

By saying this, Tomas showed that for him, grammatical correctness was quite important when he taught a language. It also illustrated that the degree of grammatical correctness may vary depending on the speaker's learning objectives and needs. Figure 5-14 below gives an overview of Tomas' English learning profile:

Figure 5-14. Tomas: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Fluency orientation
Satisfied with his English
Non-learner
Prefers NS as interlocutors

2. Vladimir, L1 Slovak

Vladimir is a native speaker of Slovak, with the first L2 English and the second L2 Russian and German, male, thirty five years old. Vladimir was originally from the Slovak Republic. His educational background was translation studies. In his home university in the Slovak Republic, Vladimir was involved in teaching translation in the department of Translation Studies. Apart from this, he participated in the EU project *Communication in International Projects*. Vladimir was interviewed in Tübingen in the frame of a regular project meeting.

As far as English learning was concerned, Vladimir learned English in a private language school and then at university, together with Russian. He was exposed to English for over ten years. Involved in various EU projects and teaching translation studies at university, Vladimir used English on a daily basis.

Vladimir's attitude toward English as a lingua franca was quite positive. Apart from being positive about English being used an international language, Vladimir also made an attempt to foresee its future. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(5-64) *So I think that in the future so so I think that in the future so it will be very very important a language.*

While involved in international projects, Vladimir had to communicate with both native and non-native speakers. Interestingly, in his use of English with the two speaker groups, he did not see a substantial difference. He admitted, however, that understanding non-native speakers was more complex, and it required more effort on the part of the listener:

(5-65) *Ah, so I think there is not a huge difference but but I think that the big difference is to understand different accents for example ah Italians or French or Hungarians or Spanishes. So it's really difficult to to understand their their accent and to get what they're talking about.*

In terms of his own performance, Vladimir did not make a distinction between how he communicated with native and non-native speakers. He felt equally comfortable communicating with both speaker groups. Where understanding was concerned, he, however, drew a distinction. He was, therefore, aware of different accents and prepared to interact with their speakers.

Overall, Vladimir was satisfied with his English competence. Vocabulary was said to be the only area in which he needed improvement. Vladimir considered himself a language learner due to this and another reason mentioned later:

(5-66) *So I think that I learn it every day because ah I think that language is not close system so it is open system and it is not my native language so I I think that I have to learn a lot.*

The two reasons that made Vladimir consider himself a language learner were: (i) the language is an open and not a closed system; and (ii) English was not his native language.

Vladimir's judgement of someone's English proficiency was, in the first instance, based on the speaker's grammatical correctness and accuracy. In particular, he clarified this by saying that he paid more attention to how speakers used the present simple and the present progressive, the past simple and the present perfect, rather than to their use of vocabulary and pronunciation. Grammatical correctness was obviously more important to Vladimir than fluency. He explained this by the following argument:

(5-67) *So I that that for me is it's very important since ah I studied English so I should I should speak correctly.*

In his opinion, fluency should also be maintained, but not at the expense of grammatical correctness. The overview of Vladimir's characteristics is given below:

Figure 5-15. Vladimir: an overview of speaker characteristics

Speaker characteristics
Grammatical correctness orientation
Satisfied with his English
Learner
Prefers NS & NNS as interlocutors

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I gave an overview of the speakers who participated in the study. Fifteen study participants in four groups with L1 Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Slovak were discussed. The overview included such general aspects as the speakers' educational, social, and linguistic background, English learning history, the spheres and conditions of the use of

English. The specific aspects that were looked at were the individual requirements imposed by the speakers on their ELF performance, such as grammatical correctness and fluency, self-assessment and self-satisfaction, and the speakers' preferred interlocutors. As already mentioned, particular attention was paid to the speakers' ELF performance requirements. In the course of analysis, it became clear that whereas some ELF participants gave preference to being fluent, others gave preference to being grammatically correct. Additionally, there were two speakers of English who reported to have difficulties separating grammatical correctness and fluency. They claimed to focus on both fluency and grammatical correctness in their performance because of this.

Regarding other features of speaker requirement profiles, it was observed that some speakers gave preference to native speaker interlocutors, whereas others felt comfortable interacting with non-native speakers. The factors which seemed to have affected the formation of the speakers' attitude were English learning history, self-perception and self-satisfaction in ELF encounters, previous experience and familiarity with the linguistic variety one believed to be using. In the following chapter, I will take a close look at the characteristic features of the speakers' personal profiles and identify, if possible, common constellations of features.

Chapter 6. Constellations of features in the speakers' requirement profiles

Upon a detailed review of the speakers' interviews, specifically particular comments that were made, it became clear that the profiles vary in terms of requirements imposed by the speakers on their ELF performance. In the following, I discuss the characteristic features of the speakers' requirement profiles, as examined above, and identify – if possible – constellations of features, which emerge in particular groups of speakers.

In the preceding chapter, study participants were divided into groups, taking the participants' first languages – *Ukrainian*, *Russian*, *Polish* and *Slovak* – into account. In the following section, speakers are allocated into groups based on the common features identified within their requirement profiles.

Along the similar lines of the argument, the examination of *possible constellations* of *speaker characteristics* and *performance requirements* includes the following features:

2. The speakers' orientation to grammatical correctness and/or fluency in ELF communication (Research questions 2 & 3: Interview questions: Do you want to be fluent or correct in your performance? What is more important?);

3. The speakers' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their English competence (Research questions 2 & 3: Interview questions: Are you satisfied with your English? Is there anything that you would like to improve?);

4. The speakers' perception of themselves as learners or non-learners of English (Research questions 2 & 3: Interview question: Do you consider yourself a learner or a non-learner of English?);

5. The speakers' preferences, in terms of communication partners (Research questions 2 & 3: Interview question: Does it make a difference to you to communicate with native and non-native speakers of English? Why?);

6. Worst fears in communication, if any (Interview question: What is your worst fear when you communicate with native and non-native speakers of English?)

The Figure 6-1 below summarizes the features of the study participants' requirement profiles:

Figure 6-1. The overview of speaker characteristics and the speakers' requirement profiles

#	Speaker	Correctness orientation	Fluency orientation	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Learner	Non-Learner	NS	NSS	Worst fears
1.	Tanya		+	+			+		+	-
2.	Olga		+	+		+		+	+	-
3.	Nat. L		+	+		+		+		-
4.	Tomas		+	+			+	+		-
5.	Agnes		+	+		+		+	+	-
6.	Pavlo	+			+	+		+	+	-
7.	Alena	+		+		+		+	+	-
8.	Vladimir	+		+		+		+	+	-
9.	Lena T.	+			+	+		+		-
10.	Dmitry	+			+		+	+	+	-
11.	Oksana	+		+		+		+	+	-
12.	Sergey	+		+		+		+		
13.	Lena M.	+		+			+	+	+	-
14.	Sebastian	+	+		+		+		+	make mistakes
15.	Natalya T.	+	+	+			+	+	+	-

Through the overview of speaker characteristics, it became obvious that speakers differed in how they wanted to perform in ELF interactions. Some speakers, as the table demonstrates, had an orientation towards grammatical correctness in their performance while others had an orientation towards fluency. Two speakers in the study found it difficult to take two performance requirements apart, and they, therefore, wanted to be fluent and grammatically correct in their performance.

Study participants were distributed into three groups, depending on the performance requirements they wanted to meet, i.e. (i) *fluency*; (ii) *grammatical correctness* and, (iii) *fluency and grammatical correctness*. Speakers who explicitly said in the interview that they

wanted to be fluent, rather than correct, were placed in a *fluency-focused group* (Group A). Speakers who oriented themselves towards maintaining correctness rather than fluency were placed in a *correctness-focused group* (Group B). Finally, speakers who wanted to pay attention to both grammatical correctness and fluency in their performance and who had difficulties taking these requirements apart, were placed in a *fluency- and correctness-focused group* (Group C). It should be considered that *wanting to be correct or fluent* and *being correct or fluent* should not be confused. The distribution of speakers was thus based on how these speakers wanted to perform in the interview and not on how they actually performed.

Now, let us take a look at the distribution of fluency-focused, correctness-focused, and fluency and grammatical correctness speakers. Figure 6-1 shows that 8 (53, 3%) speakers placed a great emphasis on *grammatical correctness*, 5 (33, 3%) speakers placed an emphasis on *fluency*, and 2 (13, 3%) placed an emphasis on both *grammatical correctness* and *fluency*. The three groups are presented below:

Figure 6-2. Group A: Fluency-focused speakers

#	Name	L1
1.	Tanya	Ukrainian
2.	Olga	Ukrainian
3.	Natalya L.	Ukrainian
4.	Tomas	Slovak
5.	Agnes	Polish

Figure 6-3. Group B: Correctness-focused speakers

#	Name	L1
6.	Pavlo	Ukrainian
7.	Alena	Ukrainian
8.	Vladimir	Slovak
9.	Lena T	Russian
10.	Dmitry	Russian
11.	Oksana	Russian
12.	Sergey	Ukrainian
13.	Lena M	Russian

Figure 6-4. Group C: Fluency- and correctness-focused speakers

#	Name	L1
14.	Sebastian	Polish
15.	Natalya	Ukrainian

It is important to note that contrary to all expectations, the majority of speakers gave preference to speaking correctly than to speaking fluently. It seems probable that one of the reasons for the speakers' preference for grammatical correctness was the exposure to English and English teaching methods. The eight speakers who were allocated *to the correctness-focused group* were exposed to English in a classroom setting. As it was previously mentioned in *Chapter 3*, the English instruction at the time did not progress beyond the grammar-translation method. Study participants thus were taught reading skills, writing skills and translation; and when it came to speaking, the emphasis was on form rather than on fluency. Especially during the first years of exposure, English was used mainly for written communication and translation, rather than for communicative purposes.

Another reason that may have had influence on the speakers' orientation towards grammatical correctness was the use of English, or rather the spheres of English use. As it was seen in the overview of the study participants, many of them, such as Lena T. and Oksana, had seldom used English outside of their home countries; and when they used it, it was often in connection with teaching, translation, or study programs, where the orientation towards the norm was compulsory. This was also the case with other speakers. Pavlo, Sergey and Lena, for instance, had often used English for various academic purposes, such as conference papers, presentations, and workshops. There was an apparent orientation toward the norm. Thus, among all the participants in this group, there was an orientation towards grammatical correctness, which seemed to arise either from the method of English instruction or the spheres of use.

The fluency-focused group, on the contrary, consisted of five speakers, four out of which used English for professional purposes. It is interesting to note, however, that their spheres of English use differed from the use of English by speakers in the correctness-focused group. Apart from Natalya L., who actively used English for research purposes, all study

participants in the fluency-focused group used English in a non-academia environment. In addition, two speakers – Tanya and Olga – were taking English classes in a private language school, where the communicative language teaching approach was applied. The other three speakers – Tomas, Agnes and Natalya L. – extensively used English outside of their professional life.

The third group – *fluency- and grammatical correctness-focused group* consisted of only two speakers - Natalya and Sebastian. As the group name suggests, the speakers' orientation was toward both *grammatical correctness* and *fluency*. Natalya and Sebastian mainly used English outside of their professional life. In addition, they both used German as a working language: Sebastian was involved in teaching German in Poland and compiled materials for teaching German, as well. Natalya completed her PhD research in German linguistics and taught German as a foreign language in Germany. Therefore, both speakers did not use English in connection with their occupation. With regards to their English learning history, Natalya and Sebastian had German as their first foreign language and English as their second language. With this in mind, I suppose that both speakers were able to identify what was important to them with regard to foreign language communication. In other words, these speakers were likely to reapply the requirements they had imposed on their performance in German to their performance in English. Hence, if both Natalya and Sebastian considered fluency and grammatical correctness to be important in their German performance, one could expect them to have the same intentions in their performance in English.

Considering the speakers' performance requirements and their groups with the dominant performance requirements, I will examine whether there are features, or *constellations of features*, which are common for the speakers in the three groups: in the fluency-focused, correctness-focused, and fluency and grammatical correctness-focused groups.

6.1 Fluency-focused speakers

The fluency-focused group is considered below. Figure 6-5 presents the overview of speaker characteristics and speakers' requirement profiles.

Figure 6-5. Fluency-focused speakers and the overview of their requirement profiles

#	Speaker	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Learner	Non-Learner	NS	NSS	Worst fears
1.	Tanya	+			+		+	-
2.	Olga	+		+		+	+	-
3.	Natalya L	+		+		+		-
4.	Tomas	+			+	+		-
5.	Agnes	+		+		+	+	-

Now, let us consider all speaker characteristics in detail. *The speakers' satisfaction* and/or *dissatisfaction with their English* is considered first. As Figure 6-5 illustrates, all fluency-focused speakers were generally satisfied with their English and considered their English to be sufficient for their needs. Some areas, such as academic writing, for example, needed to be improved, as reported by Natalya L.

Concerning the second feature, namely where *learner* vs. *non-learner status* was concerned, three speakers – Tanya and Tomas (40%) did not consider themselves learners of English, and three speakers – Olga, Natalya and Agnes (60%) did.

Where the third feature – *communication preferences* – was concerned, two speakers - Natalya L. and Tomas (40%) explicitly said in the interview, that they preferred native speakers as communication partners; two speakers - Olga and Agnes (40%) said they preferred both native and non-native speakers. Tanya was the only fluency-focused speaker who preferred non-native interlocutors (20%). As the table also demonstrates, none of the fluency-focused speakers had fears communicating in English.

In the following, I will examine whether certain constellations of features are observed in the data. First, I examine whether being satisfied or dissatisfied with one's own English competence is connected with considering oneself a learner or non-learner of English. Second, I examine whether learners and non-learners differ in their communication preferences.

The table has illustrated that all five speakers were satisfied with their English. Three speakers out of five, who were satisfied with their English, claimed they were not learning

English; two speakers out of five claimed they were learning English. It is observed that being satisfied with one's own language abilities does not presuppose not learning English. The satisfaction with one's own linguistic competence may go along with the speakers' needs and willingness to further develop their language skills, as well. Thus, such feature constellations as (+) satisfied with English, and (+) learner become evident in the data. Let us consider the case of three speakers – Olga, Natalya L., and Agnes – who were satisfied with their English and who assessed themselves as language learners. The excerpts below illustrate their attitude toward their English and how they perceive themselves in relation to learner vs. non-learner status. In (6-1), Olga gave a short account of how she learned English. She then concluded that after a long exposure to English, she was able to speak it fluently.

(6-1) *After that I had English lessons at school from five to eleven forms and after that I continued learning English of English language at the University, when I got Master Degree, the special examine was English discipline. So, I think that after so many years of studying, it is necessary to know this language and to use it freely.*

By saying that she '*knows English*' and '*is able to speak it freely*', she, however, did not imply she was not learning English, or was not interested in pursuing this aim. On the contrary, she stated that communication and speaking skills had to be improved.

(6-2) *I think that maybe it will be very good if we can communicate in English not with each other, but with native speakers, first of all. And maybe if we have the opportunities, we have such opportunities in schools, in universities, to exchange maybe between students of different countries, English spoken countries, and I think only free communication and making friends from different English spoken countries and communication with them may improve our knowledge and make this not as a norm, not as an obligation. It must be free and connected with getting enjoyment, I think.*

Natalya, likewise, gave an account of her encounters with English. She gave a more detailed report of how these encounters helped her improve her language skills. The excerpt in (6-3) illustrates this.

(6-3) *When I entered to university, I studied here, but I have to say that it was mostly passive knowing, and after I graduate university, I entered to studies of Academy of Science and unclear> </unclear> Languages, it's educational institution in Slovak Republic and actually, that was actually time when I had to catch my English, I have to improve,*

actually. I can't say that right now that I really improve it, but </cut> that was actually <break/> thanks, but actually two years in Slovakia were <break/> my studies in Slovakia where actually <break/>, English was the language of instruction there.

An obvious satisfaction with one's own language abilities was supported by saying she was able to use English in the institutions where it was the medium of instruction. Similarly to Olga, Natalya's satisfaction with her English did not imply that she was unwilling to learn and further develop her language skills. The excerpt in (6-4) illustrates this:

(6-4) *I think, for me actually, it's no problem listening comprehension and I could somehow, I could communicate, but I would like actually to improve grammar, because that gap, it still remains from my school.*

It is interesting to note here that although Natalya focused on fluency in production, she named grammar as one of the areas she wanted to improve.

Similarly to two other speakers, Agnes considered herself a language learner. The excerpt in (6-5) illustrates this:

(6-5) *I think, I'm learning all the time, because when I'm reading or when I'm hearing something, and I don't know the word, I am checking in a in a <FLG> Wörterbuch </FLG>? </cut> dictionary, yeah. I am checking in a dictionary, because I want to know some expressions, some new expressions, or some new words, so I think, I'm learning all the time.*

Thus, she claimed to be learning English all the time – reading, listening and checking up words.

The other two speakers in the fluency-focused group did not perceive themselves as language learners. Thus, such feature constellation as (+) satisfied; (-) learner emerges from the data, and it is possible to assume that such feature constellations as (+) satisfied; (-) learner can be more characteristic of fluency-focused speakers. Fluency-focused speakers, obviously, give priority to maintaining fluency in their performance. Grammatical correctness, therefore, is not in the focus of their attention. Once speakers are satisfied with how they perform, i.e. with the fluency they manage to achieve in performance, they appear to see neither reason nor need for improvement. Their goals are achieved and performance requirements are met.

The three fluency-focused speakers who were satisfied with their performance and did not assess themselves as language learners were Tanya, Tomas, and Agnes. Let us consider the comments made by speakers regarding their English learning progress. The excerpt (6-6) illustrates what Tanya said in connection with her own progress:

(6-6) *One year ago, I came here and begin to learn French, and it was so strange for me and some strange feeling, I did like this feeling. Why? Because I was used to better language, not </break>, for example, in English I have one level, in Italian another, in German another, and I was used that I understand text, I can speak but I just improve it, and it was really different when I begin to learn language from zero. It was really difficult, and I have not any how to say pleasure, because it was difficult, I can't speak, I can't understand, and in English, I just have <break/>. Even <u>I can't say that I took a lot of from these lessons</u>, but it's really interesting to read something, to speak, to communicate. <u>I think something like I am in club of interest</u> or something <break/> <u>we are discussing something, but not really learning</u>.*

This statement illustrated that Tanya did not consider herself a language learner. She justified this by comparing English with other languages, such as Italian and German. Considering this statement, I may assume that she associated learning with learning anew, i.e. having no previous knowledge about the subject area. Given that she had previous knowledge of English, and was able '*to understand*' and '*to speak*' it, there was no reason for her to learn it, as she expressed it in the interview.

In the same manner, Tomas explicitly stated that he considered himself a language user and not a language learner. The excerpt in (6-7) illustrates this:

(6-7) *I am not learning, I am just using, what I've learnt before and it's basically, going a little bit down, because I don't have time to, when I have time, I do read English books, and I only read books in English, that just to keep me a little bit on the level.*

The profiles of these two fluency-focused speakers thus display a different constellation of features. Some generalizations that can be made are: satisfaction with one's own language abilities does not imply that one is not learning a language. On the contrary, as the data illustrates, speakers who are satisfied with their language skills nevertheless assess themselves as language learners. The second feature constellation to be examined was the interrelation between the learner vs. non-learner status and communication preferences. It was expected

that language learners give preferences to communication with native speakers, as this can improve their language abilities, according to the general acceptance. This assumption appeared to be supported by the data.

Let us now consider the three speakers – Natalya L., Olga and Agnes – who assessed themselves as language learners. As the table above has illustrated, Olga and Agnes communicated equally well with both native and non-native English speakers; Natalya L. gave preference to native speaker interlocutors. None of the speakers who assessed himself/herself as a language learner gave preference to the non-native speaker interlocutors. A native speaker, therefore, either in combination with a non-native speaker or alone, was named as a preferred, and was sought as a communication partner.

Let us take a look at the speakers' responses concerning their preferred communication partners. Natalya L., for instance, said the following:

(6-8) *If you will ask me, if you wanna to improve your English, with whom would you prefer? </cut> Of course, I would prefer with native speakers, because it will, somehow, you know, also push me to race's level, it would be really great.*

Natalya's statement does not only reveal her preference, but also provides reasons for the speaker's choice. The reason mentioned by Natalya reflects the common position adapted in language learning, namely that communication with native speakers improves the learner's language abilities. Natalya's readiness and willingness to communicate exclusively with native speakers, therefore, may be explained by her belief in the role and a positive effect of native speakers in language learning.

In Olga's requirement profile, such features as native speaker orientation and communication with native speakers *only* appear to be manifested in a somewhat weaker form. Thus, considering oneself a language learner does not presuppose the intention to communicate exclusively with native speakers, as the data further illustrates:

(6-9) *I think that it's important to communicate with both of them, but first of all if it will be necessary for my daily life and for my improvement in professional spheres, I think.*

Olga's comments revealed yet another type of attitude towards native vs. non-native speaker communication. In comparison to the previous comments, where speakers gave reasons for their preferences, Olga's comment pointed toward the fact that interaction with native and

non-native speakers should be seen as two distinct types of communication. Clearly, the two types of contact situations required a choice to be made of which type of behaviour and accommodation was more appropriate. Let us consider the data excerpt below:

(6-10) *It depends. It depends, because with non-natives I can be more more I don't know how more relaxed, and with natives I have to watch out what I'm saying, and how I'm saying it, and with not natives I don't feel that I should be always correct, yeah.*

All things considered, it becomes evident that speakers who assess themselves as learners of English tend to give preference either to native speakers or native and non-native English speakers. A native speaker interlocutor, therefore, is always present when mentioning their preferences.

As far as the two non-learners were concerned, they seemed to differ in their preferences. Tanya, in contrast to Tomas, preferred non-native speakers as interlocutors. Tomas, in turn, sought for native speakers as communication partners. The two speakers had obvious reasons for their preferences. Tanya, for instance, explained her preference by the following:

(6-11) *Because I feel more free, because I know that they don't really hear my acc-, pronunciation, bad, if it's bad. They can't really hear my mistakes, because, you know, they like me. And sometimes I can be better in level, and if I am speaking with native speaker, they are very often <break/> they are speaking very quickly and very often they something like eat the ending of the words, and that is why it is more difficult, I think. And also, a little bit psychologically, you know, I think how is my pronunciation and little <break/>*

Tanya felt more comfortable in interactions with non-native speakers of English because of the following reasons: (i) her performance in English was not judged by native speakers, therefore, was not restricted by them; (ii) there was no need to accommodate to the native speakers; (iii) there was no psychological barrier, which is often present in non-native vs. native speaker interactions. The presence of these features, within the requirement profile of one speaker, alludes to the comment Tanya made earlier in the interview, namely, that she did not consider herself a language learner. These features, therefore, may be regarded as non-learner proper.

A somewhat different feature constellation was observed in Tomas' profile. Although he did not consider himself a language learner, his preference and the reasoning behind it seemed to go in line with the characteristic features of language learners. The excerpt in (6-12) demonstrates this:

(6-12) *I think native speakers, of course, since my examination, it's been three or four years and my English has been falling of course, because I am not working on my English, doing nothing, just using it.*

Tomas, in contrast to Tanya, was willing to maintain his language skills, and communication with native speakers was going to help him. Similar reasoning was also observed in the interview with Natalya L., who assessed herself as a language learner. Thus, in this case, we are faced with the observation of the same feature in the profile of a learner and a non-learner.

Notwithstanding many concerns about communication, none of the fluency-focused speakers had any fears in communication.

In summary, speakers who focused on fluency in their production seemed to be generally satisfied with their English proficiency. Although all speakers were satisfied with their proficiency, three speakers out of five assessed themselves as language learners. When referring to preferred communication partners, those speakers who assessed themselves as a learner, mentioned a native speaker, either in combination or on its own, as a main preference. As for non-learners, one of them was more eager to communicate with native speakers, whereas the other preferred speaking non-native speakers, which made their profiles either similar to a language learner or a non-learner profile. The constellations of features that were observed were the following:

Figure 6-6. *Constellations of features of the requirement profile in the fluency-focused group*
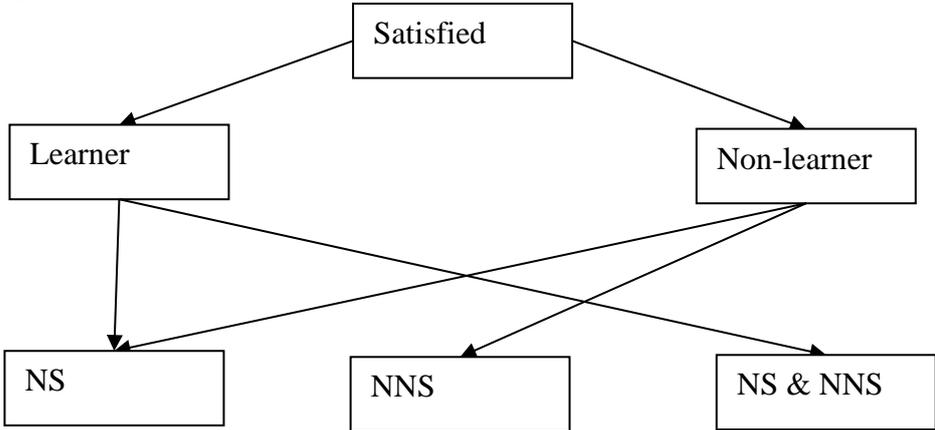
6.2 Correctness-focused speakers

The following section discusses characteristic features of correctness-focused speakers in greater detail. Figure 6-7 presents data obtained from the speakers' answers to the questions highlighted in section 2.5.

Figure 6-7. Correctness-focused speakers and the overview of their requirement profiles

#	Speaker	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Learner	Non-Learner	NS	NNS	Worst fear
1.	Pavlo		+	+		+	+	-
2.	Alena	+		+		+	+	-
3.	Vladimir	+		+		+	+	-
4.	Lena T		+	+		+		-
5.	Dmitry		+		+	+	+	-
6.	Oksana	+		+		+	+	-
7.	Sergiy	+		+		+		to lose the essence of speaking
8.	Lena M.	+			+	+	+	-

Before examining the constellations of features in the profiles of fluency-focused speakers, let me review the three features – *satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with one's own English*, *learner vs. non-learner status,* and *communication preferences*, which manifest in the profile of correctness-focused speakers to varying degrees.

Where the first feature – *satisfaction with one's own English* – was concerned, five speakers (63%) reported to be satisfied with their English; three speakers (37%) – Lena T., Dmitry and Pavlo – reported not to be satisfied.

Where the second characteristic feature – *learner vs. non-learner status* – was concerned, six speakers (75%) said they considered themselves learners of English, whereas two speakers (25%) – Dmitry and Lena M. did not.

With respect to the third characteristic feature – *communication preferences* – six speakers (75%) felt equally comfortable with native and non-native English interlocutors, and two speakers (25%) - Lena T. and Sergiy – preferred interactions with native speakers.

Only one speaker in the study – Sergiy – reported to have fears in communication in English, as he was afraid '*to lose the essence of speaking'*.

Let me now examine constellations of features which were observed in the data. First, satisfaction with one's own language capacities will be examined against learner vs. non-learner profile. Second, learner vs. non learner profile will be looked at with reference to communication preferences.

Four out of six speakers who were satisfied with their English competence considered themselves learners of English. Other two speakers – Dmitry and Lena M. – did not consider themselves learners of English. Thus, even though correctness-focused speakers were satisfied with their English, they assessed themselves as language learners. The same feature, i.e. (+) satisfied; (+) learner was also observed in the fluency-focused group. To illustrate the manifestation of this feature (+) satisfied; (+) learner, let me consider the following three cases: Alena (L1 Ukrainian), Oksana (L1 Russian) and Vladimir (L1 Slovak), who were oriented toward grammatical correctness, were satisfied with their English and yet considered themselves learners of English. Alena accounted for her satisfaction with her English competence by her ability to prepare well for classes and communicate with different interlocutors. The excerpt in (6-13) illustrates this:

(6-13) *Mhm, well, usually I can prepare it to my classes, and I think when I can prepare it that is sufficient and if I need to communicate with someone in the street, or just with friends, it's more than sufficient, but for the classroom, it depends upon the topic, actually.* (L1 Ukrainian)

A Ukrainian native speaker, who had a degree in English Philology, and was involved in teaching undergraduate and graduate students, nevertheless considered herself a language learner, saying the following:

(6-14) *I am learning everything every day, something. I am learning something every day (L1 Ukrainian).*

When Oksana was asked how she felt about her English, she said that she was generally
satisfied with it, as illustrated in the excerpt below:

(6-15) *Mhm, in general it's okay.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Unable to be explicit about the ways in which her English was improving, Oksana admitted
having problems with such issues as vocabulary and self-expression. Thus, Oksana assessed
herself as a language learner. The excerpts in (6-16) and (6-17) illustrate this:

(6-16) *Yeah, I learn English. Mhm, I cannot remember any example, but during yea my study
here yeah, during classes or </break>.* (L1 Russian)

(6-17) *Ah, during classes yeah, but sometimes, I mean English is a language when you have
to speak with simple sentences, it's better to speak, or it's more convenient to speak, ah
yeah. But I think in Russian still, not always but most of the time. And usually in
Russian I speak in very complicated sentences, so when I start to translate sometimes,
yeah but, yeah, maybe like this I have some problems but <break/>.* (L1 Russian).

It is interesting to note that Oksana was aware of the interference of Russian into her English,
as the phrase '*I think in Russian still, not always, but most of the time*' illustrates. She was
also aware of the fact that she was translating Russian constructions into English, and that
doing this was not always appropriate.

When Vladimir was asked to comment on his satisfaction with his English, he
expressed a positive attitude towards it, verifying this by saying that he had no problems
understanding native speakers of English. The excerpt below illustrates this:

(6-18) *And therefore I think it's easier and I think it's <unclear/> but it's it's true but I have
no problems to speak to Americans or to British or to <break/> you know to
comprehend those two Englishes, if I can say.* (L1 Slovak)

Even though Vladimir was satisfied with his English, he assessed himself as a language
learner. This is illustrated by the following excerpt:

(6-19) *Yes. So I think that I learn it every day because ah I think that language is not close
system so it is open system and it is not my native language so I I think that I have to
learn a lot.*

Unlike other participants, Vladimir was clear about the ways in which he improved his English. See the excerpt in (6-20) for illustration:

(6-20) *So I think that it is vocabulary as maybe by watching TV or listening to the radio or by by reading newspapers or magazines. Or also when translating some ah technical texts so I learn new words.*

Vladimir's position did not only show that he considered himself a language learner, it also showed the speaker's attitude towards English in particular, and languages in general. He communicated that a language is an open system and one should consider this when learning a foreign language.

So far, I have looked at speakers who were satisfied with their English, but nevertheless considered themselves learners of English. Let me now turn to the speaker who was satisfied with her English and did not assess herself as a language learner. Before I examine the constellations of features in the profile of Lena M. in detail, let me briefly mention that Lena M. was in Germany during the time the interview was recorded. She was exposed to German and took German classes on a regular basis. In addition, she was in a contact situation with three languages – Russian, German, and English. English and Russian were languages which were spoken at home and German was spoken outside the home.

As it was illustrated throughout the interview, Lena M. was satisfied with her English. One of the reasons for her satisfaction with her English was that she felt comfortable when she spoke it and when her interlocutors understood her. It was also interesting to observe that Lena treated English as a tool that could assist its users in pursuing other tasks. The excerpt in (6-21), when Lena spoke about the job interview she had been through, illustrates this:

(6-21) *When I tried to find the work <unclear> </unclear> the person who had interviewed me said, I am sorry people will not understand you, I wasn't sure, because I know people understand me very well, why yeah, why they won't understand me, just a case for which purpose do we use your language. If just eh in ordinarily life it's okay, but when it's you you need to use it on professional level, you have to have this level.*

Unlike other speakers who were satisfied with their English and yet were in the process of learning it, Lena did not assess herself as a language learner. One of the possible reasons for this was that Lena was in a contact situation with German, and German was more dominant and important for the speaker than English at this stage. The excerpt in (6-22) illustrates this:

151

(6-22) *Now I have to study <FLG> Deutsch </FLG>, that is why, I am confused I am learner of another language.*

Thus, being a learner of German allowed Lena to exclude herself from those who were learning English.

Let me now consider those three speakers – Lena T., Pavlo, and Dmitry who reported not to be entirely satisfied with their English. It is interesting to note that the English competence of the three speakers – Lena T., Pavlo, and Dmitry – was quite different. Pavlo, as we saw in the overview, carried out research in English and was involved in organizing conferences in his home university, which required a high command of English. Lena T. and Dmitry, on the contrary, did not use English in their daily routines. Their English skills, taking account of their interview performance, were average. The three speakers thus had different proficiency levels, different requirements to how they want to perform, and yet a similar satisfaction rate. Unlike Pavlo and Lena, Dmitry did not assess himself as a language learner. How he commented on this is illustrated in the excerpt (6-23):

(6-23)

Dmitry*: No, I still I stay still with my English since I have ended my school. In University I have <FLG> also </FLG> there there was in progress in my English, and now it's on the regress.*

Elena: *Okay. So, do you do anything to improve it or <break/> to keep the level?*

Dmitry*: Now, no. I want one one time for <break/> one time once I will to go to any English course. I want to make first Cambridge Certificate or TOEFL examination, but it's only my intentions, but.*

Dmitry was not only dissatisfied with his English, he also felt uncomfortable using it. One of the reasons for this was the lack of practice and the dominance of the other two languages – German and Russian – in his daily communication. The excerpt in (6-24) illustrates this:

(6-24) *Normally, I speak Russian or En, or German <FLG> schon </FLG> since <FLG> zweitausend <FLG> two thousand three I haven't speak English for two years. That's why it's now not very good, not comf, I feel myself not very comfortable, I need more practice, more conversations, to <unclear> feel </unclear> myself better.*

Even though Dmitry did not consider himself a language learner, he intended to put forth an effort and improve his English skills in the future.

Lena and Pavlo, on the contrary, were aware of (i) the problematic areas of their English, and (ii) the ways in which they could improve it. Lena, for example, reported that she constantly read in English and perused grammar:

(6-25) *Okay. I am reading, and I have a grammar books, and eh it is not <FLG> so </FLG> so that every day, but one day <FLG> pro pro </FLG> per week <FLG> oder </FLG> or or <unclear> </unclear> or <FLG> mehr </FLG> I can a little bit re reading.*

Commenting on the areas in which he had difficulties, Pavlo said the following:

(6-26) *Ah, well, I think that the the most the main problem of my English is my vocabulary, I think it's very poor, because when I am trying to translate something from Ukrainian to English, or Russian to English, it's <break/> sometimes it's really hard to find the word, just trying to remember.*

Thus, Pavlo assessed himself as a language learner due to insufficient vocabulary.

In summary, two out of eight speakers did not consider themselves learners of English. One of the speakers, who assessed herself as a language learner, was satisfied with her English, whereas the other was not. Both speakers were in a German contact situation; the mastery of German, not English, was in focus. The six other speakers assessed themselves as language learners. This, however, was not surprising given that the participants in this group focused on form. The reinforcement of form and a high focus on grammatical correctness, so evident in the speakers' requirement profile, led to the underestimation of the speakers' English abilities, and hence strengthened the speakers' willingness to improve.

I will now examine whether the speakers who assessed themselves as language learners differed in terms of their communication preferences from those speakers who did not. As Figure 6-7 illustrates, for four out of six speakers who considered themselves learners of English, it did not make a difference whether communication was with native or non-native English speakers. Both contact groups were valued. The other two correctness-focused speakers – Sergiy and Lena T., who assessed themselves as language learners – preferred to communicate with native speakers of English. Although Sergiy was satisfied with his English,

and Lena T. was not, both speakers assessed themselves as language learners. A native speaker interlocutor, I assume, was supposed to have a positive effect on the learning process of both speakers. Thus, a native speaker identity served as a role model for these two speakers. The evaluation of Lena in excerpt (6-27) and (6-28), and the evaluation of Sergiy in excerpt (6-29) highlights the speakers' attitude towards preferred communication partners.

(6-27) *With native speakers is it is more interesting for me for me to speak <cut> because I see that level <FLG> ist </FLG> is <FLG> auch </FLG> a little bit be <FLG> besser </FLG>.*

Previously in the interview, Lena T. reported that interaction with non-native English speakers was not as demanding as the interaction with native speakers of English:

(6-28) *With native speakers, I must, I need two or three days eh to understand, really understand, I mean all, without problems. With not-native speaker speakers it is easier eh to understand <FLG > und </FLG> and I don't see much differences between us.*

Sergiy justified his preference for native speakers over the non-native speaker by saying that even though non-native speakers appeared to be easier to understand, they were not, since one had to deal with the variation in proficiency, accent, and the like:

(6-29) *Sometimes, it's easier to communicate with non-native speakers, because they are at my level, and when you speak with native speaker, but it depends, it depends, it depends, but usually sometimes it's easy to speak with native speaker, especially educated native speaker, because when you are speaking with non-native speaker, and on the one hand it's easy, because his level is low, but on the other hand, it's even could be more difficult, because that person does not know language, and you have to guess what he is speaking about.*

The preferences of the two speakers – Dmitry and Lena M. – who did not consider themselves learners of English, did not differ much from what was observed with some of the speakers who assessed themselves as language learners. Communication with native and non-native speakers was equally valued, even though contact situations with native speakers were not as frequent as contact situations with non-native speakers. Dmitry, for example, said the following:

(6-30) *For me, it's has no difference. I speak <FLG> mit </FLG> every man or woman. So I so I speak so I can speak so I <FLG> ja </FLG>. For me, it's no difference, but I haven't speak with no native speaker.*

For Lena M., in turn, it did not make a difference whether communicating with native or non-native speakers. When she was asked whether she had any fears in communicating with English native speakers, she made a reference to particular Russian native speakers who had a fear of a Russian accent. The excerpt in (6-31) illustrates this:

(6-31) *I know some Russian people have fear of accent, Russian accent /aksent/, yeah yeah, but I didn't have it from the beginning because I heard, I heard radio from I was eh BBC, and Voice of America from I was something like ten years old. So, I didn't unterstand what was that about, but I I loved the music of the language, and I just listened to that like classical music, and of course, it's was in my head, that is why since I started to speak I didn't feel that my tone of speech are absolutely different from yeah, native speech, yeah.*

Interestingly, Lena herself did not admit to having an accent. In her mind, her accent was similar to the speech of a native speaker.

Above, we have taken a look at characteristic features which have emerged in the profile of correctness-focused speakers. The following tendencies were observed among the speakers who focused on grammatical correctness in their production. In general, speakers who focused on grammatical correctness seemed to be satisfied with their English proficiency, which was similar to what was observed with the fluency-focused speakers. Similar to the case with fluency-focused speakers, the majority of correctness-focused speakers assessed themselves as language learners, allowing for the assumption that considering oneself a language learner does not presuppose dissatisfaction with one's own English. On the contrary, speakers who were satisfied with their English tended to perceive and assess themselves as language learners. When commenting on preferred communication partners, those speakers who considered themselves learners of English named a native speaker, either in combination with a non-native speaker, or on its own. Non-learners had no particular preferences in terms of communication partners. Whereas native speakers were present in all preferences mentioned by speakers, non-native speakers alone were not. None of the speakers, therefore, preferred to communicate exclusively with non-native speakers of English, contrary to what was observed in the profiles of fluency-focused speakers. The

exclusion of non-native speakers, I suppose, had to do with the fact that correctness-focused speakers intended to focus on form; non-native speakers with their *insufficient English* were not able to help them. The appearance of this feature in the profiles of correctness-focused non-learners made them similar to those speakers who considered themselves learners of English (focusing on form, appropriates, paying particular attention to vocabulary, etc.). The following constellations of features were observed in the correctness-focused group:

1.   Satisfied – learner – NS – NNS

2.   Satisfied – learner – NS

3.   Satisfied – non-learner – NS – NNS

4.   Dissatisfied – learner – NS – NNS

5.   Dissatisfied – learner – NS

6.   Dissatisfied – non-learner – NS – NNS

Figure 6-7. Constellations of features of the requirement profile in the correctness-focused group
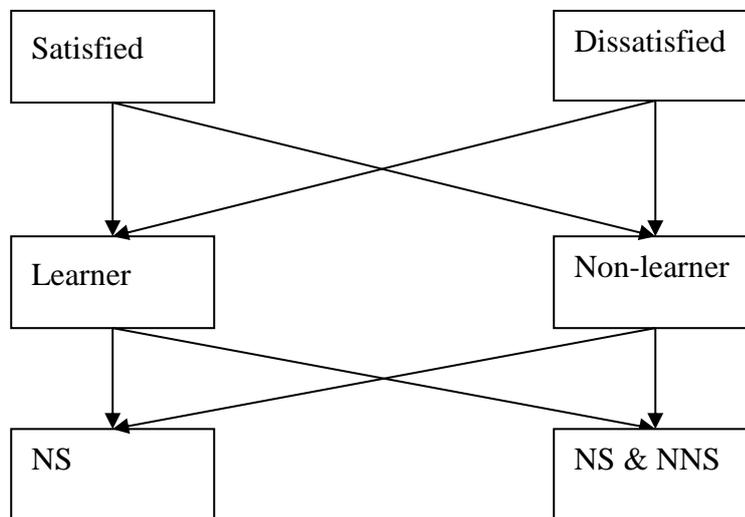
6.3   Fluency and correctness-focused speakers

Let us now take a look at the features which emerged in the profiles of the speakers who considered grammatical correctness and fluency important to their performance. As there

were only two speakers in this group – Natalya T. and Sebastian – it was not possible to trace tendencies that were characteristic for the speakers in this group. Therefore, I will take a close look at the features emerging in the profiles of the two speakers and try to explain why these particular features are displayed in the speakers' profiles. The figure below displays features which have emerged in the profiles of the two speakers in this group.

Figure 6-8. Fluency- and correctness-focused speakers and the overview of their requirement profiles

#	Speaker	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Learner	Non-Learner	NS	NNS	Worst fear
1.	Sebastian		+		+		+	To make mistakes
2.	Natalya	+			+	+	+	-

As far as *satisfaction* with one's own English was concerned, Sebastian was not satisfied with his, and Natalya was. Commenting on his dissatisfaction with his English skills, Sebastian did not only state that he was dissatisfied with it, but also compared his English to the English of his colleagues. This is illustrated in the following excerpt:

(6-32) *I can say my English is always is always bad. Maybe not very bad </break> okay, I work with German teachers and English teachers, and the English of my colleagues who teach English is excellent, and our English, so the English of us, German teacher, Italian teacher is not so bad, not so good.*

Detailing exactly when he was not entirely satisfied with his performance, he mentioned introducing himself and presenting in meetings. In Sebastian's opinion, these two problematic areas seemed be affected by his language problems:

(6-33) *No, I can can't say it, because, when I have to introduce me. Okay, it's okay, but when I have to make a presentation, I know, I don't do it right, because of the language.*

Natalya, contrary to Sebastian, was satisfied with her English skills and had a positive attitude towards it. Furthermore, she believed knowledge of English facilitated her work, as illustrated in the following comment:

(6-34) Yes, yes. I, yes, I I feel it. Eh, I feel it. Eh, I have in my in my researching of a German
tense I have to read very much articles and books in English.

Admittedly, the attitudes of Natalya and Sebastian toward their own English were not alike. Natalya seemed to be proud of her English, whereas Sebastian felt that even the English of his colleagues was better than his.

Let me now turn to the question of learner vs. non-learner status, since it emerged in the profiles of both speakers. As the interview comments have illustrated, both speakers did not consider themselves language learners. For example, Sebastian was not only confident about the fact that he had stopped learning English, he was confident about the absence of motivation, which is necessary for substantial improvements to take place. The excerpts in (6-35) and (6-36) illustrate this:

(6-35) Okay, I've been learning, I've learnt English for five years, when I was a student, and
then I stopped learning, and for since six years, I do not learn any more. So, I stopped
on this level when I stopped, when I stopped my English classes.

(6-36) Aha, and I don't have any motivation. Maybe these meetings are a kind of motivation,
but we don't have many meetings, so many meetings. I can say I am a little bit lazy.

Similarly, Natalya did not assess herself as a language learner. She mentioned that she learned basic grammar and vocabulary at the university as part of the curriculum. At this stage in the interview, she was not learning English as in the previous sense. She, however, used opportunities that allowed her to practice her English, in contrast to what was observed in the attitude of Sebastian. Consider the excerpt in (6-37):

(6-37) English is my fi my second foreign language is my second foreign language, and mhm,
I think so that I was studying English at the university this six semester, six semester,
but I knew that that this studying at the university was as a ba, as a basic, and eh
every time, if I if I get the opportunity to speak English or to read English or to hear
some English, I, but it is it is only the it is only the facts which which I do as going on.
But the basic was at the university, and this basic was grammar, was, these points the
points of basic was pronunciation, grammar, and of course vocabulary.

The opportunities Natalya mentioned especially concerned contact situations with both native and non-native speakers. Even though she felt comfortable with both native and non-native

speakers, Natalya made particular adjustments to them. Sebastian preferred non-native speakers for communication partners since he had a fear of making mistakes. This attitude reinforces the assumption that Sebastian was quite conscious about grammatical norms, and tried to adhere to them.

In conclusion, the two speakers who had the same dominant performance requirements – fluency and grammatical correctness - shared one common characteristic and differed from each other in certain respects. None of the speakers assessed himself/herself as a language learner. Being non-learners of English, they differed in whether they were satisfied with their English. Whereas Natalya was satisfied with her English, Sebastian was not. It is interesting to note that being dissatisfied with one's own English does not imply being a learner of English; dissatisfaction with one's own English is likely to co-exist with the speaker's preference for a non-native speaker interlocutor, especially in the profiles of those speakers who do not assess themselves as language learners. In the same manner, satisfaction with one's own performance is in agreement with no distinct communication preferences; both native and non-native speakers are well accepted. Based on what was discussed above, it is possible to highlight the following two constellations of speaker characteristics:

Figure 6-9. Constellations of features of the requirement profile in the fluency- and correctness-focused group
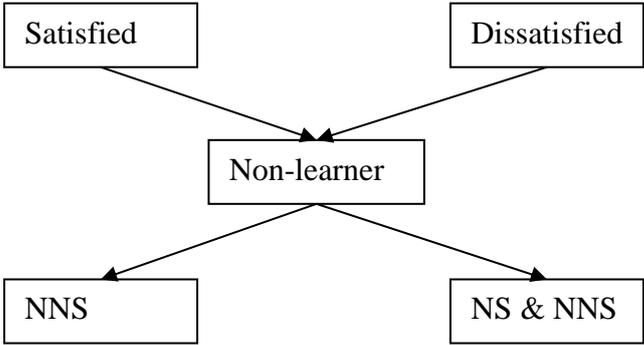
6.4 Summary

The results showed that all fluency-focused speakers considered their English knowledge sufficient for their need. Correctness-focused speakers considered their English knowledge sufficient in 75% of the cases. This could be explained by the fact that correctness-focused

speakers tended to strictly approach their English proficiency and were more cautious with their evaluations. Where language learner status was concerned, 40% of fluency-focused speakers felt they were still learning English. In the correctness-focused group, this was reported by 77, 8%. These results seem to support the following assumption: speakers who focus on grammar norms in interaction – be those spoken or written – are more likely to perceive themselves as language learners than those whose primary goal is to convey a message. Paying less attention to grammatical correctness, fluency-focused speakers, accordingly, tended not to perceive themselves as language learners.

In the fluency-focused group, native speakers were preferred as communication partners by 40% of the speakers, whereas in the correctness-focused group, 25% preferred native speakers as communication partners. I believe this could be explained by the fact that fluency-focused speakers, having a somewhat '*laid-back attitude*' toward their English, felt equally comfortable with native and non-native speakers. On the contrary, correctness-focused speakers, paying particular attention to the norm, were less confident when it came to interactions with native speakers. Moreover, none of the correctness-focused speakers wanted to communicate with non-native speakers alone as this would not improve one's language skills. Generally speaking, mixed groups, consisting of native, as well as, non-native and native speakers alone, were preferred by fluency-focused (40%) and correctness-focused groups (75%).

There were only two speakers in the fluency- and correctness-focused group, so it was difficult to compare and make generalizations as to emerging constellations of features. Both speakers did not consider themselves language learners; one speaker, however, was satisfied with his/her English proficiency, whereas the other was not. The one who was not satisfied preferred English non-native interlocutors. The one who was satisfied, on the contrary, felt equally comfortable with native and non-native speakers, and did not have any fears in communication. The two cases presented above, however, do not allow for generalizations regarding emerging features to be made in the fluency- and correctness-focused group. Additional case studies, examining interactions between learner self-perception, including such variables as *satisfaction with one's own English*, *fears in communication*, as well as, *native and non-native speaker interaction,* are necessary to allow further generalizations.

In conclusion, let me enumerate the constellations of features that emerged in the groups:

1. Satisfied – learner – NS; emerging in the fluency-focused and correctness-focused group

2. Satisfied – learner – NS and NNS; emerging in the fluency- and correctness-focused group

3. Satisfied – non-learner – NS; emerging in the fluency-focused and correctness-focused group

4. Satisfied – non-learner – NNS; emerging in the fluency-focused and fluency and correctness-focused group

5. Dissatisfied – non-learner – NS and NNS; emerging in the correctness-focused and fluency- and correctness-focused group

Taking the above constellations of features into account, it is possible to make generalizations as to the types of the speakers' conduct that emerge. First, it is observed that among both fluency- and correctness-focused speakers there are speakers who are satisfied with their English, and who believe they are still learning English. These learners of English prefer to communicate with native speakers alone, or with both native and non-native speakers of English. Non-native speakers alone are not mentioned by either group. Secondly, among fluency-focused and correctness-focused speakers, there are those who are satisfied with their English and because of this, are not learners of English. These non-learners, in turn, prefer to communicate with either native speakers or non-native speakers. Those who give preference to native speakers only, believe they are able to express themselves and convey their message; their linguistic capacities are able to meet their needs. Now, those who give preference to non-native speakers seem to avoid contact situations, where their competence may appear insufficient. Non-native speakers, therefore, serve a function of satisfaction maintenance. Finally, among the correctness-focused and fluency- and correctness-focuses speakers, there are those who are not satisfied with their English and who, nevertheless, are comfortable communicating with both native and non-native speakers.

Chapter 7.   The Global Test of English

7.1 Study objectives

This chapter examines the performance of my study participants in *the Global Test of English*. Outlined in Chapter 3 *The methodological approach*, the *Global Test of English* was administered in order to check the speakers' grammatical competence and certainty in the structure of English and use of temporal-aspectual markers.

To achieve this aim, the participants were required to complete *the Global Test of English* by filling in the gaps and providing the grammatical structures which they felt were the most appropriate. Apart from that, the participants marked their *certainty level* in relation to the answers they gave. *An exclamation mark* was used to indicate the speakers' certainty in their response; *a question mark*, accordingly, was used to indicate the speakers' uncertainty. The tests were checked and corrected in relation to the native speaker norm; answers, given accordingly, were counted. *The correctness rate* of each individual speaker was calculated. The same procedure was used to calculate each speaker's certainty rate. Answers marked with exclamation marks were counted and the speakers' certainty rate was then calculated. This procedure was executed both for the speakers' overall test performance and their performance on the temporal-aspectual markers. Thus, four scores measured the test performance of each speaker: (i) *the speaker's certainty rate in the overall test*; (ii) *the speaker's grammatical correctness in the overall test*; (iii) *the speaker's certainty rate in the use of temporal-aspectual devices*, and (iv*) the speaker's grammatical correctness in the use of temporal-aspectual devices*. As outlined in *Chapter 3*, the main objectives of conducting this test were to test the speakers' *proficiency* and *certainty* in certain structures, and integrate test results into the overall analysis of the speakers' ELF performance.

Focusing on the speakers' test performance, this chapter aims to answer the following questions: (i) how competent the speakers are in the use of temporal-aspectual devices in particular, and the structure of English, in general (grammatical correctness); (ii) how certain the speakers are in the use of temporal-aspectual devices in particular, and the structure of English in general (certainty); (iii) whether there is a difference in the speakers' scores on grammatical correctness and certainty; (iv) whether certain patterns are observed in the speakers' performance, and finally (v) is it likely that the requirements of performance and

features of the speakers' requirement profiles have an effect on the speakers' test performance.

This chapter is structured in the following way: first, I present test results, focusing on the speakers' scores on grammatical correctness and certainty in the overall test and temporal-aspectual part, and then discuss the possibility of any influence from the performance requirements on the speakers' test performance. Upon giving an overview of the speakers' test performance, I discuss the allocation of speakers into three groups, which are based on the relationship between the speakers' correctness rate and certainty. Integrating data on the speakers' requirement profiles, I discuss tests results in three groups, where (i) *the certainty rate is higher than grammatical correctness*, (ii) *the certainty rate is lower than grammatical correctness*, and (iii) *the certainty rate is the same as or close to grammatical correctness*. Finally, I discuss the possible influence of the performance requirements on the speakers' test performance.

Before I proceed with presenting the test results, it should be mentioned that not all study participants handed in their tests. Two speakers (40%) out of five, who were fluency-focused, handed in their tests. Five out of eight speakers (62, 5%), who were correctness-focused, handed in their tests. Two fluency- and correctness-focused speakers handed in their tests. In what follows, I present and discuss the test results of these study participants.

Figure (7-1) and Figure (7-2) below give an overview of the results obtained from tests, focusing on the speakers' certainty rate, the correctness rate in *the Global Test of English*, and in the use of temporal-aspectual constructions. It also includes such features of the speakers' requirement profiles as orientation towards fluency and/or grammatical correctness, and self-perception as a learner or non-learner.

Figure 7-1. The speakers' certainty rate and correctness rate (%) in the Global Test of English

#	Name	Fluency	Correct-ness	Learner	Non-learner	Certainty rate	Correct-ness rate	Difference value
1.	Dmitry		+		+	88,6	71,6	17
2.	Lena M.		+		+	69,3	51,2	18,1
3.	Lena T.		+	+		55,7	54,5	1,2
4.	Natalya L.	+		+		82,9	56,8	26,1
5.	Natalya T.	+	+		+	60,2	50	10,2
6.	Oksana		+	+		93,1	77,3	15,8
7.	Pavlo		+	+		67	66	1
8.	Sebastian	+	+		+	52,3	67	-14,7
9.	Tomas	+			+	66	75	-9

Figure 7-2. The speakers' certainty rate and correctness rate (%) in the use of temporal-aspectual devices in the Global Test of English

#	Name	Fluency	Correct-ness	Learner	Non-learner	Certainty rate	Correct-ness rate	Difference value
1.	Dmitry		+		+	94	76,4	17,6
2.	Lena M.		+		+	56	41,2	14,8
3.	Lena T.		+	+		50	44,11	5, 89
4.	Natalya L.	+		+		82,3	52,5	29,8
5.	Natalya T.	+	+		+	60,2	50	10,2
6.	Oksana		+	+		94,11	79,4	14,71
7.	Pavlo		+	+		50	53	-3
8.	Sebastian	+	+		+	52,3	67	-14,7
9.	Tomas	+			+	61,7	76,7	-15

Now, let me briefly discuss the results of the speakers' test performance. As illustrated in the table above, the overall scores on grammatical correctness ranged from 50% in the performance of Natalya T. to 77, 3% in the test performance of Oksana. A similar pattern was observed in the speakers' performance from the test segment which tested the use of temporal-aspectual devices. The speakers' correctness rate ranged from 41, 2% in the

performance of Lena M. to 79, 4% in the performance of Oksana. Concerning the certainty rate in the overall test, it ranged from 52, 3% in the performance of Sebastian to 93, 1% in the performance of Oksana.

In the temporal-aspectual segment, the certainty rate ranged from 50% in the test performance of Lena T. and Pavlo to 94, 11% in the test performance of Dmitry.

By integrating the requirement profile data into the analysis of the test data, it is possible to observe the following: Oksana, who had the highest score in the overall test performance, for example, was correctness-oriented and considered herself a language learner. Similarly, Dmitry, who had the highest score in the temporal-aspectual part, was also correctness- oriented; he, however, did not consider himself a learner of English. It is interesting to note that the highest score on grammatical correctness was observed in the performance of Oksana (correctness-focused), i.e. 77, 3% in *the Global Test of English*, and 79, 5% on the use of temporal-aspectual markers. Taking this into account, it is possible to assume that the requirements that were imposed by speakers on their performance were found to have manifested in the requirement profiles of these speakers.

Generally, the speakers' rating on the overall test and, specifically, the temporal-aspectual part was not high. In the overall test, there were only three speakers − Dmitry, Oksana, and Tomas − whose score was over 70%; the performance of other speakers varied from 50% to 67% at the most. In the temporal-aspectual segment, the correctness rate of the same speakers was over 70%; and the performance of other speakers varied from 41% to 67%. Thus, the correctness rate of study participants was low on both the test and temporal-aspectual section.

In general, test performances of study participants can be characterized by the following three scores: (i) grammatical correctness, (ii) certainty rate and, (iii) the difference value between certainty rate and correctness rate. Examining the test results of study participants and the difference value between certainty rate and correctness rate, in particular, it is possible to observe the emergence of the following three patterns: (i) the speaker's certainty rate is higher than the speaker's correctness rate; (ii) the speaker's certainty rate is lower than the speaker's correctness rate, and (iii) the speaker's certainty rate is the same as or close to the correctness rate. In the following, these three patterns of the speakers' test performance will be examined in order to see whether the speakers who fall within a particular category possess common features of their requirement profiles. Speakers', whose

certainty rate was higher than the correctness rate, were placed in Group A; speakers, whose certainty rate of correctness was lower than correctness rate, were placed in Group B; and, finally, speakers' whose scores on certainty and correctness rate did not differ significantly (ranging from 1% to 3% in the difference value) were placed in Group C.

7.2   Certainty rate and grammatical correctness in Group A

In the following section, I examine the test performance of those study participants, whose certainty rate , i.e. what they think was correct, was higher than their correctness rate, i.e. what in fact was correct with regard to the native speaker norm. Before I attempt to explain their test performance, it is necessary to look at their test results, both in the overall test, and in the temporal-aspectual part. Figure (7-3) provides this overview.

Figure 7-3. Certainty rate and correctness rate in the Global Test of English in Group A (%)
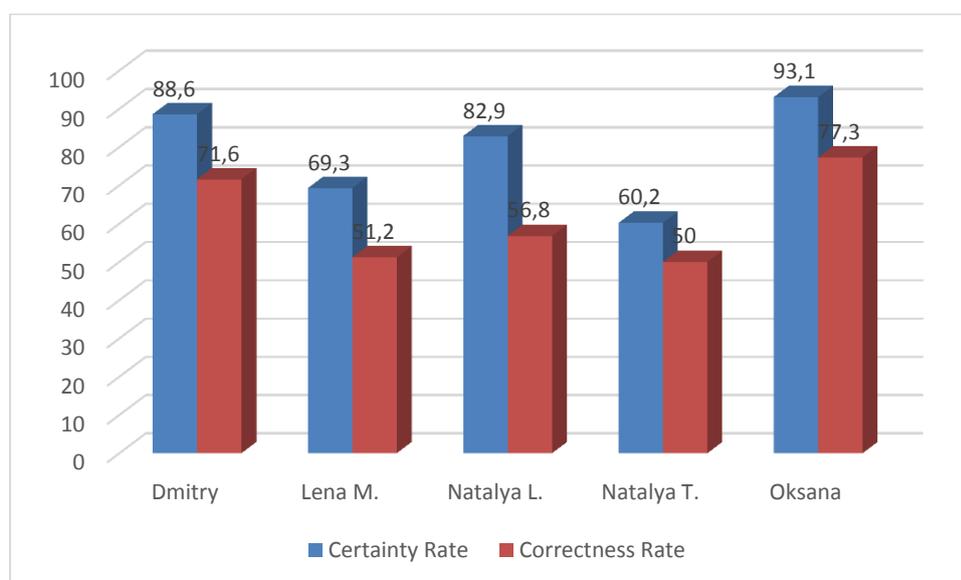
Let us consider these test results in greater detail. Clearly, in their test performance, the five study participants – Dmitry, Lena M., Natalya L., Natalya T., and Oksana – marked more answers as correct as there were correct answers. The speakers' scores on certainty ranged from 60, 2% in the performance of Natalya T. to 93, 1% in the performance of Oksana. In contrast, the speakers' scores on correctness were significantly lower; they ranged from 50% in the performance of Natalya T. to 77, 3% in the performance of Oksana.

Dmitry's certainty rate was 88, 6% and his correctness rate was 71, 6%. In the case of Lena M., the certainty rate was lower, i.e. 69, 3% and so was the correctness rate, i.e. 51, 2%. Similarly, Natalya L. had a high score on certainty, i.e.82, 9% and a low score on correctness

rate, 56, 8%. Whereas Natalya T., the only fluency- and correctness-oriented speaker in this group, had the lowest score on both certainty rate, i.e. 60, 2% and correctness rate, i.e. 50%, Oksana had the highest score of all, i.e. 93, 1% on certainty rate, and 77, 3% on actual correctness rate. In all five cases, therefore, the speakers' certainty rate, i.e. what speakers perceived as correct, was higher than their correctness rate, i.e. taking the native speaker norm into account.

It is interesting to note that three speakers – Dmitry, Lena M., and Oksana – out of five were correctness-oriented; Natalya L. was fluency-oriented, and Natalya T. was both fluency- and correctness-oriented. Three speakers out of five- Dmitry, Lena M., and Natalya T. did not consider themselves language learners, and two speakers – Oksana and Natalya L. did. It seems to be interesting that the highest score on grammatical correctness in the overall test is found in the test performance of Oksana, (certainty rate: 93, 1%, and correctness rate: 77, 3%) a speaker, who was oriented towards correctness, and who considered herself a language learner. Similarly, Dmitry, whose certainty rates were quite high (certainty rate: 88, 6% and correctness rate: 71, 6%) prioritized grammatical correctness in performance.

It appears that these five speakers, most of who were oriented towards *grammatical correctness* and did not assess themselves as language learners, overestimated their competence in the structure of English. This, in turn, may have resulted in higher scores in certainty, and lower scores in grammatical correctness.

Let me now examine whether the same pattern is observed in the speakers' use of temporal-aspectual devices. Figure (7-4) summarizes the test results:

Figure 7-4. Certainty rate and correctness rate in the use of temporal-aspectual markers in Group A (%)
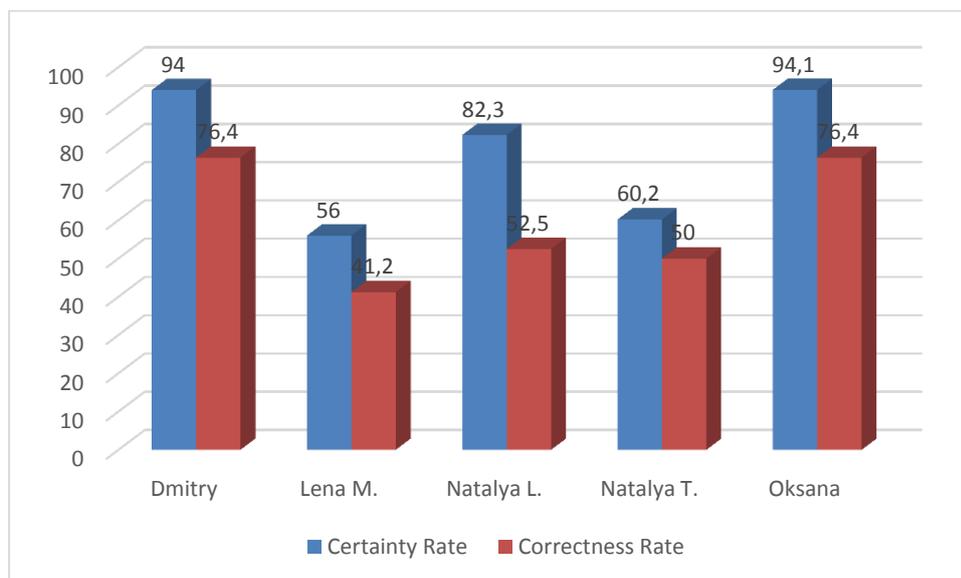
Taking these results into account, it is possible to make the following observations: first, in the performance of five speakers, the certainty rate was higher than the correctness rate. The speakers' certainty rates ranged from 56% in the performance of Lena M. to 94, 1% in the performance of Oksana. The scores on grammatical correctness were significantly lower, with 41, 2% in the performance of Lena M., and 76, 4% in the performance of Dmitry and Oksana. Now, let us consider the test scores in detail. Dmitry's certainty rate was 94%, and his correctness rate was 76, 4%. Lena M, who had the lowest score of grammatical correctness, i.e. 41, 2%, had a score of 56% on certainty. Natalya's (Natalya L.) certainty rate was 82, 3%, and her correctness rate was 52, 5%. The score of grammatical correctness of Natalya T. was similar to what was observed with Natalya L., i.e. 50%; her certainty rate, similar to what was observed among other learners, was higher, i.e. 60, 2%. The scores of Oksana – certainty rate, i.e. 94, 1% and correctness rate, 76, 4% were similar to those observed in the performance of Dmitry. Thus, Oksana and Dmitry had the highest degree of certainty regarding their answers and the highest correctness rate (76, 4%). In contrast, the lowest certainty rate was observed in the test performance of Lena M., 41, 2%, as well as, in the correctness rate, i.e. 56%. It is interesting that the two speakers – Dmitry and Oksana – with the highest certainty rate and correctness rate, paid more attention to grammatical correctness than fluency in their performance (correctness-oriented). Unlike Oksana, Dmitry did not consider himself a learner

of English, as mentioned earlier. As far as Lena M. was concerned, she was correctness-oriented; she, however, did not consider herself a language learner.

In addition to illustrating the speakers' certainty about correctness of particular English structures, the test results have illustrated that speakers (i) overestimate their competence in the structure of English, and (ii) seem to have difficulties with the temporal and aspectual markers, even though it is not obvious to them.

7.3 Certainty rate and grammatical correctness in Group B

This section presents the test performance of two study participants, whose certainty rate, i.e. what they think was correct, was lower than their correctness rate, i.e. what, in fact, was correct with regard to the native speaker norm. Similar to the preceding section, this section looks at both the performance of the two speakers on the overall test and the part that tests their use of temporal-aspectual markers. In Figure (7-5), let us consider the test results of Sebastian and Tomas.

Figure 7-5. Certainty rate and correctness rate in the Global Test of English in Group B (%)
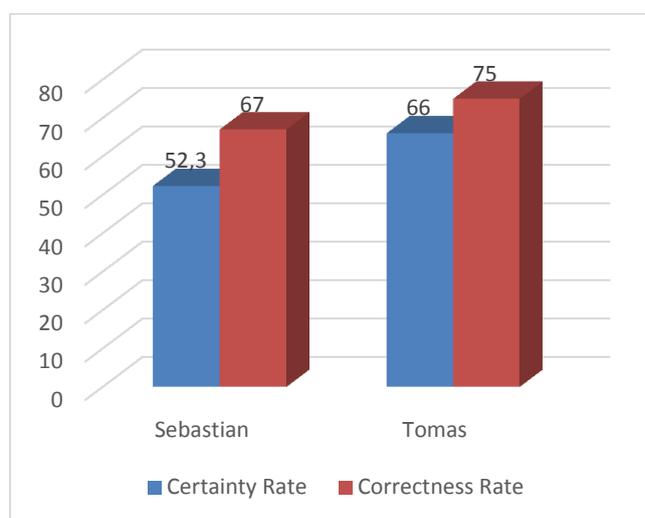
As this diagram illustrates, there were two participants, whose certainty rate was lower than their correctness rate. In the test performance of Sebastian, the certainty rate was 52, 3%, and in the test performance of Tomas, it was 66%. Similarly, the correctness rate in Tomas' performance was 75%, and in the test performance of Sebastian, it was 75%. Taking these results into account, it is possible to suppose that both speakers – Sebastian and Tomas – were rather cautious about marking their answers as correct. Taking an account of the speakers'

correctness rate, it is possible to suggest that both speakers were not confident about the answers they gave. They tended to underestimate their English competence.

To return to the issue of the requirement profiles, it should be said that Sebastian claimed to focus on grammatical correctness and fluency in his performance, whereas the concern of Tomas was on maintaining fluency. Additionally, both speakers were non-learners according to self-evaluative comments made in the interviews. Taking an account of this characteristic, it is possible to assume that it had a negative effect on their judgements regarding the certainty of their answers; hence, the low scores on certainty.

The performance of both speakers on the temporal-aspectual segment is illustrated in the diagram below.

Figure 7-6. Certainty rate and correctness rate in the use of temporal-aspectual markers in Group B (%)
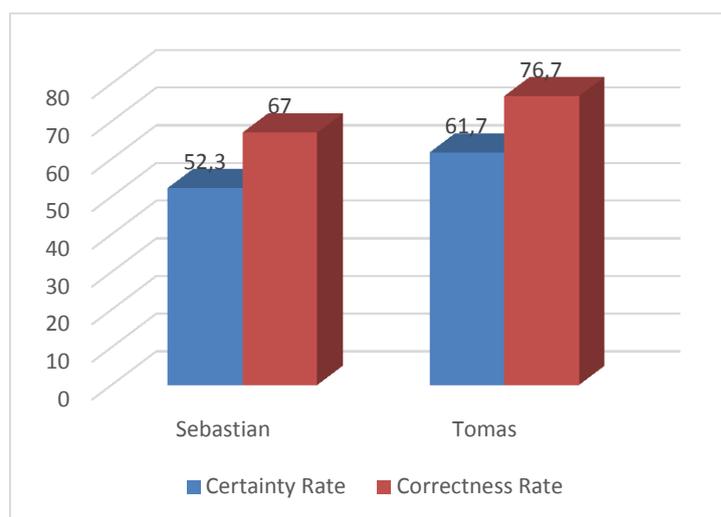
The diagram above illustrates a pattern, which was similar to the one observed in the speakers' overall performance. As it was the case with the general test of English, in this part, both speakers' certainty rate was lower than their correctness rate, with the difference values of -14, 7 for Sebastian and -15 for Tomas. Neither Sebastian nor Tomas showed reasonable certainty in regards to knowledge of temporal-aspectual markers. Both speakers' correctness rate regarding these structures was higher than that of the previous group. One of the possible reasons for these speakers' test performance was that because they did not consider themselves learners of English, they tended to underestimate their competence in temporal structures and in the tested structures in general. Their performance, however, was higher than they both thought it would be.

7.4   Certainty rate and grammatical correctness in Group C

Finally, in the third group there were speakers whose scores on certainty and correctness, in the overall test performance, did not differ significantly. As it was the case with Group B, Group C consisted of only two speakers – Lena T. and Pavlo. The overall test results of two speakers are presented in Figure (7-7) below.

Figure 7-7. Certainty rate and correctness rate in the Global Test of English in Group C (%)
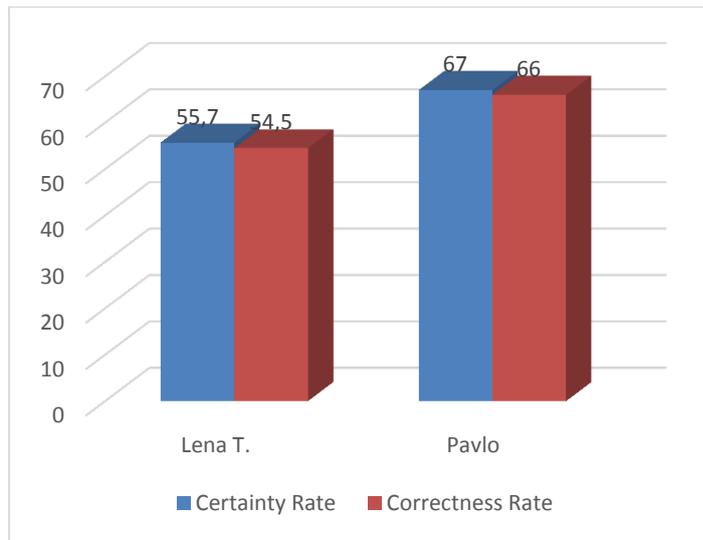
Lena's score on grammatical correctness was 54, 5%; and her certainty rate was 55, 7%, so the difference value between certainty rate and correctness rate was 1, 2 %. With regards to Pavlo's test performance, his score on grammatical correctness was higher than that of Lena, i.e. 66%. In the same way, his certainty rate was 67%, with the difference value between certainty rate and correctness rate of 1%.

It is interesting that these two speakers appeared to have common features in their personal requirement profiles. Both Lena T. and Pavlo placed an emphasis on grammatical correctness, and not on fluency in their requirement profile. In the self-evaluative comments, they assessed themselves as language learners. Out of three speakers, who were correctness-oriented, and who, at the same time, considered themselves language learners, two speakers – Lena T. and Pavlo – did not differ significantly in their scores on certainty and correctness. I may assume that a high focus on grammatical correctness and the perception of oneself as a learner may have a positive effect on the speakers' test performance and objective evaluation of one's own test performance, because of this.

In the following part, the speakers' performance on the temporal-aspectual part is considered. Contrary to what was observed in Groups A and B, where the speakers' scores on certainty and grammatical correctness in the overall test and temporal-aspectual part were consistent, in this group, no consistency in the two scores from the overall test and the temporal-aspectual part was observed. Figure (7-8) summarizes the results of the speakers' performance in the temporal-aspectual part and is presented below.

Figure 7-8. Certainty rate and correctness rate in the use of temporal-aspectual devices in Group C (%)
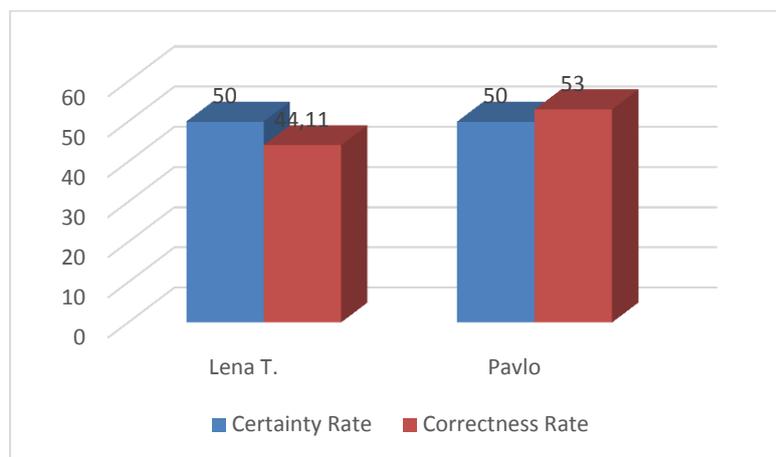
In comparison to what was observed in the performance of Lena T. and Pavlo on *the Global Test of English* – where the grammatical correctness and certainty rates did not differ, in the use of temporal-aspectual devices, no such consistency was observed.

Lena was certain about the correctness of her answers in 50% of all instances; the correctness rate in the temporal-aspectual part was 44, 11%, which was quite low in comparison to the performance of other speakers in Groups A and B. The performance of Pavlo was not significantly higher either: his certainty rate was also 50%; his correctness rate was 53%, i.e. higher than that of Lena.

Two general observations about the performance of Lena T. and Pavlo are possible to make: (i) the correctness rate of both speakers was low, i.e. 44% and 53% accordingly; (ii) the speakers' certainty rate was also low. Thus, Lena appeared to be more certain in the answers she gave; Pavlo's certainty rate was, in turn, somewhat lower than his correctness rate. In summary, this observation supports a general assumption that English speakers with L1 Slavic backgrounds have difficulties with the English temporal system, in the sense that they

find it difficult to find the best ways for themselves to express temporal-aspectual relations and decide which linguistic means of expression are best suitable to meet their needs.

7.5 Summary

Above, we have taken a closer look at the speakers' performance in *the Global Test of English*. In particular, the certainty rate (what speakers consider correct) and the correctness rate (what is correct according to the native speaker norm) were closely examined. The internal (the speaker's) an external (the native speaker norm) perspective on correctness were thus considered. The performance of individual speakers remained consistent throughout the entire test and temporal-aspectual segment.

On the whole, the speakers' certainty, with regard to the basic structures in English, was not high. Apart from three tests, where the speakers' certainty rate was over 80%, it varied from 50% to 67%. Similarly, in the temporal-aspectual part, it varied from 50 to 62%, apart from three instances, where the speakers' certainty rate was over 80%. These results reveal that (i) speakers were not confident about many English structures, and (ii) their knowledge of the English structure deviated from the Standard English norm, i.e. certain structures posed difficulties in the production. The highest scores on grammatical correctness and certainty in the overall test were observed in the performance of correctness-focused speakers (Oksana and Dmitry), one of whom assessed herself as a learner of English (Oksana), and the lowest score on grammatical correctness was observed in the performance of a fluency- and correctness-focused speaker (Natalya).

Three general patterns in the test performance of study participants were observed: (i) the speakers' certainty rate was higher than the correctness rate; (ii) the speakers' certainty was lower than the correctness rate, and (iii) the speakers' certainty was not significantly different from the correctness rate. The first pattern tended to occur primarily in the test performance of correctness-focused speakers, most of whom did not consider themselves learners of English. A high focus on grammatical correctness may have given these study participants more certainty while marking their answers; being a non-learner, however, may have resulted in low scores on grammatical correctness (correctness rate). The second pattern, in which the speakers' correctness rate was higher than the speakers' certainty, was observed in the test performance of the fluency- and fluency-and correctness-focused speakers. The fact that speakers, in addition to focusing on grammatical correctness, also wanted to focus on

fluency in their production may have given them less certainty in relation to their performance and caused the underestimation of their competence. The fact that both speakers did not consider themselves language learners could have caused their certainty rate to be lower than correctness rate. The third pattern, in which there was no significant difference between correctness rate and certainty rate, emerged in the test performance of two correctness-oriented speakers, who considered themselves language learners. It is possible to suppose that the combination of these two features and their manifestation in the speakers' requirement profile may have resulted in the speakers' objective evaluation of their knowledge.

Chapter 8.   Emerging patterns of ELF performance

8.1   Study objectives

This chapter examines how Slavic speakers realize such self-imposed requirements as *grammatical correctness* and *fluency*, in the interview performance. I will examine the performance of speakers, taking an account of Kurt Kohn's *model of performance* (Kohn 1990) and integrating facets of the speakers' profiles such as, (i) how the speaker *wants* to perform (*the requirement profile*[12]); (ii) whether the speaker's *knowledge of the English structure* allows the speaker to realize his/her performance requirements (*the correctness rate*[13] in *the Global Test of English*); (iii) how *confident* the speaker is with his/her knowledge of the structure of English (*the certainty rate*[14] in *the Global Test of English*), and, finally, (iv) how *the speaker* actually *performs*[15] with the available linguistic knowledge and self-imposed performance requirements.

Given that the main focus of the performance is based on two requirements – grammatical correctness and fluency – the performance of speakers will be examined against the meeting of these two requirements of performance. Grammatical correctness will be examined with regard to the features most likely possessed in the speakers' English. The list of features adopted from Kortmann (2010), enumerates properties that some native, and most of the non-native varieties of English, possessed[16]. I relied on the following features to check the grammatical correctness of performance: (i) *the noun phrase*, including the use of countable and uncountable nouns, (ii) *the verb phrase*, including such grammatical categories as *tense* and *aspect*, (iii) *the use of adverbs*, (iv) *the use of prepositions*, (v) *agreement*, (vi)

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[12] *The requirement profile* is a summary of the requirements that speakers want to meet in their performance. Fluency and grammatical correctness are examples of the requirements of performance.

[13] *The correctness rate* is a score calculated on the basis of the speakers' answers that were correct according to Standard English in *the Global Test of English*.

[14] *The certainty rate* is a score calculated on the basis of the speakers' answers that were marked with the exclamation mark, i.e. the speakers were confident in the correctness of these answers.

[15] The interview performance of speakers.

[16] Kortmann's list of features enumerates deviations from Standard English. *The Global Test of English* (Kohn 1990) in combination with data on self-correction may allow seeing whether the deviations from Standard English are at the level of performance or competence.

relativization, and (vii) *complementation*. It often occurred that not all of the features listed were observed in the spoken data. In cases where not all features were observed, the discussion was restricted to the features that occurred in the production, and characterized the use of English by Slavic speakers. The adapted list of features is presented in Figure 8-1 below:

Figure 8-1. Assessment of grammatical correctness in the speakers' performance (adapted from Kortmann 2010: 400)

(i) Noun phrase	- The absence of plural marking after measure nouns (e.g. *three cat, five day*)
	- The irregular use of articles (e.g. *I have <u>nice house</u>*)
(ii) Verb phrase	- Tense and aspect
	(i) wide range of uses of progressive (e.g. <u>*I am liking*</u> *this.*);
	(ii) levelling of difference between the present perfect and simple past (e.g. <u>*I have been*</u> *to London years ago.*);
	(iii) irregular switches of tenses (e.g. *This cat <u>ran</u> over the street and <u>is climbing</u> up the tree.*);
	(iv) levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms (e.g. *The boy <u>catched</u> the bird and put it in the cage.*);
	(v) levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: unmarked forms (e.g. He <u>give</u> it to me, when I was a child);
	(vi) levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: past form replacing the participle (e.g. *He <u>had spoke</u> to me.*);
	(vii) zero past forms of regular verbs (e.g. *He <u>play</u>* for *he <u>played</u>*).
(iii) Adverbs	Adverbs have the same form as adjectives (e.g. *I spoke <u>loud</u>.*)
(iv) Prepositions	Inconsistent and inappropriate use of prepositions (e.g. *key <u>for</u> the door*).
(v) Agreement	(i) Invariant present tense form due to zero marking for *the third-person singular* (e.g. *He <u>work</u> late.*);
	(ii) omission of be (e.g. *She beautiful.*)
	(iii) omission of auxiliary *have* and *be* (e.g. I <u>*woken*</u> *up early today.*);
	(iv) *was/were* generalization (e.g. <u>*You was*</u> *late today, but they were not*; *you were not late today, but he <u>were</u>*).
(vi) Relativization	*Which* and *that* in restrictive clauses (e.g. <u>*The man, which*</u> *I was talking to, was my father*).
(vii) Complementation	Inverted word order in indirect questions (e.g. *I am not sure <u>what are you going to do.</u>*)

Fluency is often described as a characteristic feature of L2 speech. Lennon defined fluency as '*an impression on the listener's part that the psycholinguistic processes of speech planning and speech production are functioning easily and efficiently*' (Lennon 1990: 391). De Jong et al. in their paper '*Linguistic skills and speaking fluency in a second language*', following Lennon (1990) proposed that '*fluency could be defined in at least two ways*' (De Jong et al. 2012:1). Fluency, in the broad definition, is seen as an overall speaking proficiency, whereas fluency in the narrow definition pertains to smoothness and ease of oral linguistic delivery. Segalowitz (2010) proposed a distinction to be made between three notions of fluency: (a) *cognitive fluency*, (b) *utterance fluency*, and (c) *perceived fluency*. *Cognitive fluency*, following Segalowitz, can be defined as *the speaker's ability to plan and execute the speech. Utterance fluency* is *the fluency that can be measured in a sample of speech by measuring aspects of fluency*, *such as breakdown fluency, speed fluency, repair fluency* (Skehan 2003; Tavakoli & Skehan 2005). The third notion of fluency is *perceived fluency. Perceived fluency* is '*the impression that listeners have of fluency of a certain speech sample, or of a certain speaker, based on the sample*' (De Jong et al. 2012: 2). The studies examining fluency differed in whether the fluency was rated by trained or untrained evaluators. In the study of Lennon (1990), the teachers of English were asked to rate the fluency of German speakers of English, and in the study of Cucchiarini, Strik & Boves (2002), the teachers of Dutch were asked to rate the fluency of learners of Dutch. In the studies by Derwing et al. (2004) and Rossiter (2009), the fluency of speech samples was rated by the untrained and trained evaluators; in the study of Derwing et al. (2004), untrained judges ranked the fluency of the Mandarin speakers of English, and in the study of Rossiter (2009), trained and untrained participants evaluated fluency. In Rossiter's study, the focus was on the comparison of the fluency judgements of (i) trained teachers of English and students of linguistics, (ii) non-experts, and (iii) advanced non-native speakers of English. The results have shown no significant differences in the judgements; the number of pauses and hesitations turned out to be good indicators of predicting perceived fluency (Rossiter 2009).

In the study, the notion of *perceived fluency* is examined. In other words, it is the researcher's impression of the fluency of a certain sample of speech produced by a Slavic speaker of English. Some of the criteria used for making fluency judgements are the following: (i) intelligible pronunciation; (ii) hesitation phenomena, including false starts, repetitions, pauses; (iii) the use of appropriate vocabulary; (iv) understanding the

177

interviewer's questions; (v) coherence, i.e. connection between elements of the message with or without overt linguistic manifestations; and (vi) the use of performance strategies.

In the following part, I will discuss the speakers' performance in the interviews, identifying which speakers (i) fully complied with the self-imposed performance requirements, (ii) partially complied with the self-imposed performance requirements, and (iii) did not comply with the self-imposed performance requirements. In the discussion, I will draw on the introspective data with a focus on the speakers' self-imposed performance requirements, such as grammatical correctness and fluency, and the scores in *the Global Test of English* with a focus on certainty and correctness rate, if available.

8.2   Full compliance with performance requirements

1.   Tanya

As discussed in the previous chapter, Tanya wanted to focus on fluency in her spoken performance. Let me now take a look at the excerpt of Tanya's performance and examine to what extent her initially imposed performance requirements are reflected in her performance. An excerpt from the interview is presented below:

(8-1) *One year ago, I came here and begin to learn French, and it was so strange for me and some strange feeling, I did not like this feeling. Why? Because I was used to better language, not <break/>, for example, in English I have one level, in Italian another, in German another, and I was used that I understand text, I can speak but I just improve it, and it was really different when I begin to learn language from zero. It was really difficult, and I have not any how to say pleasure, because it was difficult, I can't speak, I can't understand, and in English, I just have <break/>. Even I can't say that I took a lot of from these lessons, but it's really interesting to read something, to speak, to communicate.*

Clearly, Tanya had difficulties expressing temporal and aspectual relations, as demonstrated in the passage. At the beginning of the passage, the use of the temporal adverb '*one year ago*' is followed by the verb '*to come*' in the simple past, and then by the verb '*to begin*', in the present simple. Another occurrence of the tense switch, caused by levelling the present and the preterite verb forms, is illustrated in the verb phrase '*when I begin to learn language from zero*'. Further in this passage, yet another tense shift becomes evident: '*It was very difficult,*

and I have not, how to say, pleasure'. Another illustration of the shift of tense is observed in the following excerpt:

(8-2) *I was travelling to Pakistan and <NLU> Arabsky Emiraty </NLU>, Dubai and even I have to speak <break/>, when I was speaking very good English language, or with good pronunciation, they can't understand me, that is why I have to speak in bad pronunciation and not very, how to say, very simple words, because they understand better.*

The past-anchored event '*I was travelling to Pakistan*' is followed by the past-anchored '*I was speaking very good English*', and then by the presently-anchored event '*they can't understand me*', and '*that's why I have to speak in bad pronunciation*'. Unmotivated shifts of tenses from the simple past to the present simple occur regularly, and often generate structural ambiguity. Introducing the present and the past plane into the discourse, Tanya did not make it clear whether the act of accommodating to the interlocutor by means of speaking '*with bad pronunciation*' referred to the present or to the past.

Another feature, observed in connection with the verb phrase, was a wide range of uses of the progressive. The event '*I was travelling to Pakistan*' is bound and complete, and the simple past was the most appropriate tense to render it. Transferring the feature of the imperfective aspect from L1 Ukrainian, Tanya marked it as progressive.

The peculiarities, relevant for the noun phrase, were *the irregular use of articles* and *plural marking for non-count nouns*. In excerpt (8-1), in the phrase '*to begin to learn language from zero*', the articles are omitted twice, first in '*to begin to learn language*' (an indefinite article *a*), and, second in '*from zero*' (a definite article *the*). The plural marking of immeasurable noun '*knowledge*' is illustrated in the example (8-3) below:

(8-3) *That's why I want to recollect my knowledges.*

Adverbs often had the same form as *adjectives*, which is not in accordance with Standard English. The exam in (8-4) illustrates this:

(8-4) *Miss Maize, said <quote> never think how to say correct, just try to speak.*

The adjective '*correct*' was thus used in place of an adverb '*correctly*', performing the function of an adverb.

Prepositions, similarly, are not consistently used. The excerpt in (8-5), for example, illustrates the use of a verb phrase '*to work on contracts*' with the preposition '*on*':

(8-5) *I think they have to be perfect because <u>they work on contracts</u>, and they discuss different things, and it's not very nice when you can't explain something to your partner.*

What the speaker means by '*working on a contract*', however, is not the drafting of contract conditions, but rather being a contract employee. This, the use of the preposition '*on*', is likely to cause problems in understanding this idiomatic expression. Yet another misuse of a preposition is illustrated in the following utterance:

(8-6) *I can't say that I am economist, is <break/> I just say this <u>for persons</u>, because it's easy.*

In this case, Tanya used a preposition '*for*' in place of '*to*', which was to show the direction. She intended to say '*I say this to people*' instead.

With regards to the *category of agreement*, such features as zero marking for *the third-person singular* and omission of '*be*' were also observed:

(8-7) *I understand that I have some pronunciation, <u>which mean</u> foreigner pronunciation that I am not a native speaker.*

(8-8) *If, for example, I see that <u>the person begin</u> to think too much<u>, its mean</u> that she not very fluent, especially in Italy, to me it is <break/> they are not speaking fluently.*

In (8-7) and (8-8), the verb '*to mean*' is not inflected for *the third-person singular*. Additionally, in (8-8), *the third-person singular* inflection *-s* in '*begin*' is also missing.

Other syntactic features, found in the performance of Tanya, is the use of '*which*' and '*that*' in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses, where '*which*' is often used with human antecedents, as the example below illustrates:

(8-9) *But in business world, there are really a lot of <u>persons which</u> are perfect.*

In the use of *comparative constructions*, Tanya formed comparative degrees periphrastically, even when adjectives were monosyllabic, as the example below illustrates:

(8-10) *I'd like to say maybe more more <u>poor</u>, not poor language, but how to say it, <u>more clear</u>.*

Thus, in (8-10), the comparative degrees of the adjectives '*poor*' and '*clear*' were formed periphrastically, i.e. by means of an adverb '*more*'.

In the overall interview performance, deviations from Standard English occurred, both on the lexical and on the morpho-syntactic levels, resulting in the emergence of the following features: a wide range of use of the progressive aspect, zero marking for *the third-person singular*, omission of '*be*', no subject-verb agreement, use of wrong verbal morphology. The speaker's level of English, according to the researcher's evaluation, approximated B2.

It is now appropriate to compare Tanya's performance to some of the fluency supporting criteria. To evaluate the extent of Tanya's fluency, let us consider the excerpt presented in (8-1), in which Tanya described her French and English learning experience. Let me begin with the hesitation phenomena, such as false starts, repairs – repeats, restarts and self-correction. In this passage, one instance of repair, i.e. the speaker changes his/her initial plan, as in '*I was used to better language, not <break/>, for example*' and one break as in '*I just have*' were observed. Grammatical correctness was not entirely maintained due to the frequent shifts of tenses, as in '*I came here, and begin to learn French*' and the omission of articles as in '*I understand text*', and '*to learn language from zero*'. None of these deviations, however, pose a threat to comprehensibility; they, therefore, are not likely to affect fluency. Tanya used simple everyday vocabulary, for example, '*strange*', '*difficult*', and '*different*'. In some idiomatic expressions, it is possible to trace transfer from L1, as in '*to begin to learn the language from zero*'. Although, there is no evidence to support the claim that the speaker did this intentionally, it allowed the conversation to flow, and, therefore, it functioned as a strategy, helping to maintain fluency. Difficulties with the count and non-count nouns, and with names for countries and nationalities were observed throughout the interview as well.

When Tanya realized that an appropriate word was missing from her lexical repertoire, she used – possibly unconsciously – particular strategies to achieve the communicative goal. This is well-illustrated at the point of the abstract, where Tanya tried to explain that she found it difficult to learn a foreign language from the beginning. Unsure whether she was able to convey what she intended, she gave examples that showed that she had a varying competence in various foreign languages: '*in English I have one level, in Italian another, in German another*'. Thus, she used exemplification to assure herself that she conveyed the intended meaning. Another illustration of Tanya's strategic behaviour is the use of '*how to say*', which is possible to interpret in two ways: (i) Tanya was not sure which word or lexical expression

should be used to convey her message, and (ii) Tanya warned the hearer that she was not sure in the correctness and appropriateness of the noun '*pleasure*' that she used afterwards. It is also interesting to note that Tanya's use of strategies was often intentional. Please, see the comment she made further in the interview, as an illustration to this:

(8-11) *Some time I know that there is not such words in English, but I try to explain by five words, and I think it's normal, it's… and then, if it is a good speaker, and he something like, in good relations, he can try to help you and I think it's normal, it's not problem.*

Although there were some grammatical deviations from Standard English and the words and lexical expressions used were simple, coherence in this piece of narration was maintained. In order to narrate the events and her emotions concerning these events, she placed them in the past. The subordinating conjunction '*and*' was the most frequent device that could serve for coherence. Apart from this, she often used a question word '*why*' without the intention to ask. The use of this gap filler provided sufficient ground for the conversation to flow. From what Tanya said, it is possible to learn the following:

- Tanya was speaking about a language school that offered a variety of courses.

- Tanya took a French course there a year ago.

- Tanya was not very happy about the French course, as it was too difficult at the beginning.

- Tanya enjoyed learning English more than French.

In this interpretation, therefore, the elements of the message seem to be connected with and without overt linguistic connections. The listener is able to recover that learning English was not as strenuous as learning French; it was, nevertheless, no less interesting and exciting.

Based on Tanya's overall interview performance and selected interview passages it is possible to say that she managed to maintain fluency, as she had initially intended. Grammatical correctness, on the contrary, was not a particular strength of the speaker.

2. *Olga*

Olga, another speaker with a strong focus on fluency, managed to meet this requirement of performance. Let us now take a look at the excerpt from Olga's interview in (8-12):

(8-12) *First of all, <u>I began</u> learning of this language from my school years, and <u>when I was</u>*
the age of nine-eleven in summer <u>I tried</u> to improve my knowledge and <u>read</u> different
texts in English language and <u>tried to</u> <unclear> </unclear> and <u>tried to learn</u> new
unknown words. <u>After that I had</u> English lessons at school from five to eleven forms and
after that <u>I continued</u> learning English of English language at the University, <u>when I got</u>
Master Degree, the special exam/ai/ne was English disc/ai/pline. So, <u>I think</u> that after
so many years of studying, <u>it is.</u>

Reporting on the past events, Olga successfully placed them in the past temporal plane. The narration was presented in chronological order, the listener was able to trace the order in which the events took place: (i) Olga began to learn English at the age of nine, (ii) during the summer breaks, she improved her English; and, finally, (iii) English was part of her university curriculum. What seems to be unclear is the following clause '*when I got Master's degree the special <u>examine</u> was English discipline.*' From the manner in which she reported this, it is not entirely clear whether the English exam was part of the Master's exam or not. Tense shifts were not numerous, and were often motivated by the context. The external temporal consistency was rendered by the simple past exclusively; so no emphasis was given to rendering the internal state of events. The past verb forms – regular and irregular – were used in accordance with Standard English.

In the overall interview performance, however, tense and aspect were not always used appropriately. One of the illustrations of the misuse of the present simple and the present progressive is presented in (8-13) below:

(8-13) *I don't need using of English language, but I want to improve myself and <u>after I will</u>*
<u>get</u> and after <u>I get necessary experience</u>, I am planning to change maybe my <break/>
<NLR> seichas <NLR>, I am planning to change my work.

In (8-13), Olga used the future simple and the simple present in place of the present perfect to show the completion of an action in the future, following the adverb '*after*', which in the context allows the projection to be made into the future.

The use of definite and indefinite articles with nouns is not consistent. Having a wide range of uses, the indefinite article was often used with plurals and non-count nouns. The definite article was often omitted. The excerpt in (8-14) demonstrates this:

(8-14) *I think and maybe I will connect it more closely with economics, and I think that* *English language maybe will be very necessary for me. Besides, I maybe have only my* *dreams, but I would like I want to have a work in future, connected with tourism and I* *think that the most required condition will be the knowledge of English language, and I* *think I could use it.*

Clearly, in the noun phrase '*the English language*', the definite article '*the*' is omitted; the collective noun '*work*' is used with an indefinite article '*a*', and the collective noun '*future*' is used with *the zero article*. Thus, there is no consistency in Olga's performance, with regards to the use of articles. Olga's use of the indefinite article '*a*' with nouns in plural '*a salaries*', and '*a jokes*' is illustrated in the following two utterances, extracted from the interview:

(8-15) *If we have a good salaries and very job conditions, of course, it will be very convenient* *to work in this sphere, but also I would want to take, to get some pleasure, and I think* *that for people it's very important not only work for getting profits, for getting* *salaries, but only not only for this, but also for communication with people and getting* *pleasure, delight from that work what you are performing.*

(8-16) *I can make a jokes with other colleague.*

Another deviation from Standard English was observed in the use of *non-count nouns*. The noun '*money*', was used as plural, with the plural pronouns.

(8-17) *After that the control under our sales and also I control the money, control money* *which we accept from our customers, and then pay them to our Kiev control office.*

Prepositions were inconsistently used or omitted when they were required. Three excerpts below illustrate some of the uses:

(8-18) *I graduated the Chernivtsi National University, Economical department.*

In (8-18), because of transfer from L1 Ukrainian[17], Olga omitted the preposition '*from*'. In (8-19), she used the preposition '*of*' in place of '*from*'.

(8-19) *After graduation of the university.*

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[17] Ukrainian is a synthetic language, and the accusative case is conveyed by inflecting the nouns and not by prepositions, as in English.

Yet, in the next example, '*among nature*' the preposition is not used appropriately either:

(8-20) *I try to spend much time among nature*.

No deviations in agreement, relative, and comparative constructions were observed.

The speaker's proficiency seemed to be between B1 and B2, as she was able to lead a discussion on technical matters related to work. Although, Olga's priority in English communication was not grammatical correctness, she maintained it, as there were not many morphosyntactic deviations. Fluency, as we shall see below, was maintained too.

In passage (8-12) presented above, hesitation phenomena were not evident. However, in other parts of the interview, *false starts*, *repeats*, *restarts*, and *self-correction* were observed. Please consider the following excerpt as an illustration of this:

(8-21) *Now in my <break/>, nowadays in my present work I don't need using of English language, but I want to improve myself and after I will get and after I get necessary experience, I am planning to change maybe my <break/> <NLR> seichas <NLR>, I am planning to change my work, I think and maybe I will connect it more closely with economics, and I think that English language maybe will be very necessary for me. Besides, I maybe have only my dreams, but I would like, I want to have a work in future, connected with tourism and I think that the most required condition will be the knowledge of English language, and I think I could use it.*

At the beginning of this excerpt, a restart is seen. Olga began with '*now in my…*', and then changed her initial plan, starting again by saying '*nowadays in my present work*'. Further in the passage, there was an instance *of self-correction* where Olga replaced the simple future by the present simple, realizing that the future tense was not used following the preposition '*after*'.

Although some grammatical constructions deviate from the Standard English norm, none of them causes comprehensibility problems. Grammatical correctness, as far as comprehensibility was concerned, was maintained.

Vocabulary, including idiomatic expressions, is diverse, often due to the speaker's lexical creativity and the ability to construct new expressions. A tendency to complicate simple lexical expressions is traced. At the beginning of an interview, Olga used the word '*origination*' in '*as for my origination, I come from Ukraine*'. Even though this word exists in

English (the process of creating a home loan or mortgage), Olga was not influenced by its meaning, while using it. She added the noun forming suffix *–tion* to another noun '*origin*', which resulted in an ad hoc formation of a new word. As for other peculiarities in her English, the transfer of words from one word class to another was also observed. Moreover, the newly formed words acquired the features of the word class they had been transferred to. One of the examples of this feature is presented in (8-22):

(8-22) *But exams, they have some <u>stricts</u>, some borders, there definite numbers of assignments*.

In addition, Olga used some words approximately and coined new collocations on the basis of the available vocabulary. The following two examples, in (8-23) and (8-24), illustrate this:

(8-23) *It must be free and connected with getting enjoyment*.

(8-24) *I think that for people it's very important not only work for getting profits, for getting salaries, but only not only for this, but also for communication with people and <u>getting pleasure</u>, <u>delight from</u> that <u>work</u> what you <u>are performing</u>*.

In the examples (8-23) and (8-24), the verb '*to get*' is productive. It is used both with '*enjoyment*', '*pleasure*', and '*delight*', causing the emergence of such verb phrases as '*to get pleasure*', '*to get enjoyment*', '*to get delight*'. In the phrase '*work you are performing*', '*work*' collocates with '*perform*', and that does not seem to be acceptable in this context.

Another feature of Olga's performance is code-switching, which can be viewed as a feature of her vocabulary or a strategic process. In Olga's performance, code-switching to Russian and Ukrainian has the following three functions:

- assisting the speaker to compensate for the gaps in vocabulary, as shown below:

(8-25) *Because the words are not so <NLR> <u>proiznosyatsya</u> (En: pronounced) </NLR>;*

- drawing the listener's attention to a putative problem, as illustrated below:

(8-26) *I am planning to change maybe my <break/> <NL> <u>seichas</u> </NL>, I am planning to change my work*.

The use of the Russian adverb '*seichas*', (En: '*now*', or colloquial '*wait, hold on*') prepares the interviewer that there might be a problem with the expression of meaning and allows the speaker time to find an appropriate word.

- grounding the cooperation with the interviewer, as shown below:

(8-27) *I don't know, to judge. I think that is it now. I can't judge the person. Judge judge <NL> это же осудить, правильно/ eto zhe osudit', pravilno </NL>?*

To avoid possible communication breakdowns caused by the inability to understand particular vocabulary items, Olga switched to Russian or Ukrainian and asked the interviewer for clarification. In the example above, Olga was not sure about the meaning of the verb '*to judge*'. She, therefore, appealed for the interviewer's assistance.

Throughout the interview, coherence was maintained. The passage I examined in (8-12), meant the following:

- Olga had been learning English since school years.

- She improved English on her own reading and learning new words.

- She carried on learning it at the university when she read for her Master's degrees.

Apart from having the internal connections between utterances, coherence of this linguistic message was maintained by using the coordinating conjunctions '*and*' and temporal adverbs '*after that*'. The listener, therefore, was able to trace the development of events in this narration.

Olga was capable of leading a discussion on technical matters related to work. She interacted with a degree of fluency and spontaneity with the interviewer, and was able to convey the message without obvious difficulties. In the introspective part of the interview, Olga assessed herself as a language learner (hence, many instances of self-correction), and claimed to be satisfied with her English. In summary, many of the processes highlighted above added to improving fluency. The speaker, therefore, managed to realize the requirement of fluency in the performance.

3. Natalya L.

Natalya L., another fluency-focused speaker, managed to maintain this requirement in performance. Let us take a look at the abstract and processes involved which contributed to improving fluency:

(8-28) *Well, even here in our city, <u>I have</u> many friends, who are foreigners, Germans for instance, and <u>English is</u> the language of communications between us. Well, professionally, I have to say that <u>I am frequently, from time to time on</u> <break/> <u>participating</u> in conferences in international ones, and actually <u>almost every year, I am travelling abroad</u> to Slovakia, to Poland, and <u>this year I am been</u> to Canada, to Toronto. So, actually, I have to say that <u>I am really frequently using</u> English.*

Considering this passage, it is possible to claim that Natalya had difficulties expressing temporal and aspectual relations. Unlike the previous two speakers, who often switched from the present to the past temporal plane for no reason, Natalya did not seem to do so. Narrating the present events, Natalya placed them on the present temporal plane. Thus, the unmotivated tense shifts did not occur. Also, something characteristic of Natalya's speech, in relation to the temporal-aspectual markers, is a wide use of the progressive aspect. It is interesting that the progressive aspect was used in the non-obligatory progressive context, even with the temporal adverbials marking the habitual actions. The verb phrase '*I am participating*' is used with the adverb '*frequently*', '*from time to time*'; and '*I am travelling*' was used with '*almost every year*', which emphasized the repetition of the action.

The use of the progressive in the non-obligatory context is also observed in other passages involving the predicate type of accomplishments[18].

(8-29) *Well, in fact, I have few friends <u>who are coming from Ireland, we were studying</u> together actually and <u>we don't actually</u>, actually, <u>I didn't have problems</u> of conversation with them, because <u>they knew we are foreigners</u>, so we just <break/> so, <u>they were helping us</u>, I would say. <u>If I did not</u> or <u>if I do not understand</u>, I could ask once more, so <break/> for me <break/>*

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[18] Vendler (1957) differentiated between four predicate types: activities, states, accomplishments, and achievements.

Apart from the overuse of progressive, we also see how the speaker shifted between the present and past. Natalya began by informing the hearer about the current state of affairs as in '*I have few friends, who are coming from Ireland*'. She then switched to the past, supposedly, telling the hearer that she had no problems communicating with Irishmen in the past, since they knew she was not a native speaker of English. She continued, showing the internal consistency of an action by using the past progressive as in '*they were helping us*'. Finally, yet another switch of tense is observed in the last utterance, '*If I did not understand or if I do not understand, I could ask once more*'. Here, however, it is unclear whether Natalya referred to the past or present event, or whether she reported on the current state of affairs.

Taking an account of Natalya's performance on *the Global Test of English*, it becomes evident that there is consistency in the test and interview data with regard to the use of temporal-aspectual devices. Natalya's correctness rate in the use of temporal-aspectual devices was 52, 5%; her certainty rate in the use of temporal-aspectual devices was 82, 3%. The difference between the speaker's certainty and correctness rate indicates that the speaker was confident about her knowledge in this particular area. The performance, however, was rather poor.

The absence of agreement between the subject and predicate was also observed. In the following two utterances, there is no agreement between the subject and predicate:

(8-30) *Well, I could distinguish <break/>, I already found out that I could not <u>understand people who speaks</u> English from Australia, for instance, it's really hard, for me it's easy to understand <u>persons who are coming</u> from Great Britain, <u>who speaks</u>, if it's if it would be correct to say classics.*

Above, there is no consistency in the use of *agreement*. It appears that Natalya may observe it and she may not, as illustrated above. First, the subject was used in the plural and the predicate was marked for *the third-person singular*; second, the subject was in the plural and so is the predicate; finally, the subject was in the plural and the predicate was marked for *the third-person singular*. In the next example; there is no agreement in the clause '*persons who are speaking to you*':

(8-31) *I had few problems with understanding, well. I know why, of American English. They use a lot idioms, well, but it's all actually, a lot of depends on the <u>person who are speaking</u> to you in English.*

Similar to other study participants, Natalya inconsistently used *articles* throughout the interview. *Zero articles*, for example, were used when a definite or indefinite article was required, as the following two excerpts illustrate:

(8-32) *If I understand <u>the context</u>, for me, frankly speaking, it does not matter if <u>person</u> made <u>mistake in past</u>, she or he put <u>sentence</u> in <u>past or future</u>, I will make it correct.*

(8-33) *We do not we did not have actually teacher, good teacher, teacher of English, so that happens that we had teacher of physics who taught us English </break>*

The absence of articles in the obligatory context can be explained by the transfer of an L1 feature, namely that there are no articles in Ukrainian.

The prepositions were used inconsistently too, often due to the transfer from L1:

(8-33) *And when <u>I entered to</u> university, I studied here, but I have to say that it was mostly passive knowing, and after <u>I graduate university</u>, I <u>entered</u> to studies of Academy of Science and <unclear> </unclear> Languages, it's educational institution in Slovak Republic and actually, that was actually time when I had to catch my English.*

The verb phrases '*to enter university*' and '*to enter to studies*' were used with the preposition '*to*' that is not required in English. Second, the verb phrase '*to graduate university*' was used without the preposition '*from*'.

In summary, in the performance of Natalya, there were morphosyntactic deviations from Standard English, such as the use of tense and aspect (switches of tenses, a wide range of uses of the progressive), the use of articles, and the use of prepositions. Many of these deviations, however, were related to the speaker's transfer of particular L1 features that will be discussed in the following chapters.

Natalya's proficiency seemed to meet the requirements of the B2 level. In the interview, Natalya was able to understand concrete and abstract ideas, interact with the interviewer with a degree of fluency and spontaneity, discuss technical matters of profession, build an argument, and compare and contrast views on certain aspects. In Natalya's test performance, the correctness rate was 56, 8%. The certainty rate was 82, 9%. Thus, both in the temporal-aspectual part and the overall test, Natalya's certainty rate was higher than the correctness rate. Natalya, therefore, was confident about her English.

In the passage that I examined in (8-28), *hesitation phenomena* such as breaks, repairs, and restarts were not numerous. The only hesitation phenomenon observed was a break at '*from time to time on*' followed by '*participating*', where the speaker gave details of her conference trips. In other parts of the interview, however, *breaks* and *repairs*, were evident:

(8-34) *Well, not really. It's Slavic language, but I've been there for two years, I actually <break/> that was a really great opportunity for me to learn it, and that was actually easy done, I think for me. The conversation, but grammar and writing, I still don't <break/>.*

In (8-34), Natalya broke off the initially planned utterance at '*I actually*', and restarted it again by giving background information about learning English in Slovakia. The same hesitation phenomenon was observed in the following utterance:

(8-35) *That was actually <u><break/></u> thanks, but actually two years in Slovakia were <u><break/></u> my studies in Slovakia where actually <u><break/></u>, English was the main language of instruction.*

Throughout this entire utterance, Natalya was breaking off and restarting her initial plan. Finally, she said that English was the main language of instruction throughout her studies. The breaks occurring in this segment of the interview illustrate that Natalya was searching for an adjective that could best describe the study program she was pursuing. Unable to find an appropriate word, she broke off and looked for an alternative plan.

Disregarding the speaker's laid back attitude toward grammatical correctness, many instances of *self-correction* were observed in the interview. This occurrence, I suppose, may be explained by the fact that Natalya assessed herself as a language learner in the introspective part of the interview. Language learning often includes correction, hence, the many instances of self-correction in the interview. An instance of self-correction is illustrated below:

(8-36) *I don't I am staying at the position, actually that language <u>change changes</u>, so English, yeah, it's international language…</break>*

Natalya corrected the zero marked form for *the third-person singular* into the marked form for *the third-person singular*. Natalya, therefore, was monitoring her production, the use of tenses in particular. Realizing that the tense form she used may not be correct, she corrected

it. Independent monitoring thus concerned morphosyntactic structures in the first place; whereas dependent monitoring – asking the interviewer for assistance – concerned lexical expressions.

Natalya always managed to convey what she intended. The arising problems with the retrieval of the appropriate vocabulary were solved by the use of strategies. The excerpt, in (8-37), illustrates how Natalya enriched her vocabulary:

(8-37) *Well, I have just to study more, I think. I have to learn and I have to do tests more, because right now, actually, I am short in time, and I have to work here, and on another hand, I am also writing my thesis here, so I just let my English somehow behind it.*

Clearly, Natalya approximately used the expressions. The expression '*I have to do tests more*' only vaguely refers to what the speaker wanted to say. In the expression, '*I am short in time*', a preposition is not used appropriately; which, however, does not hinder comprehensibility. Finally, commenting on the current state of her English, Natalya said that '*she lets it behind*', implying that she probably had *to catch up* and *work* on her English.

Now, let us examine the interview passage, presented in (8-28), in relation to coherence. Listening to this, the hearer is able to infer the following:

In her city, Natalya has many friends from abroad, many of whom are Germans.

- English is the language of communication between Natalya and her friends.

- English is also used in her professional life.

 - Natalya travels a lot and presents at the conferences in English.

The coordinating conjunctions '*and*', '*well*' and '*so*' function as overt cohesive devices.

In summary, Natalya was able to lead a discussion on general and technical issues related to her English learning history and professional life. Even though some breaks occurred in Natalya's performance, she was fluent.

In the introspective section, Natalya assessed herself as a learner of English, who was, however, satisfied with her English. The test data – the scores on grammatical correctness (56, 8%) and certainty (82, 9%) – generate the following two assumptions: (i) Natalya was

satisfied with her English (the certainty rate, and the introspective comment); and (ii) Natalya was not entirely competent in the structure of English (the score on grammatical correctness and the interview data). Taking previous observations into account, it is possible to say that the speaker managed to realize the requirement of fluency as she had initially intended.

4. Tomas

Another fluency-focused study participant, who managed to maintain his performance requirement in the interview, was Tomas. I will now examine a passage from his performance to see what allowed this speaker to maintain fluency, and the factors contributing to this:

(8-38) *Because <u>they never did project English</u>, <u>it was</u> always business-wise. So <u>we said</u>, we should really come up with something, <u>which is useful</u> not just in Slovakia, and <u>since we had</u> international activities, <u>we have</u> business partners, <u>it was not very difficult</u> to actually find out that <u>there is nothing</u> like this on the market in the EU. So <u>we approached</u> the national agencies, and <u>talked</u> to national agencies, <u>we managed</u> to persuade them that <u>project managers are</u> occasional target group in Europe <u>already</u>. <u>It took us</u> about a year of discussions with national agencies, and <u>we contacted</u> partners through our different partners or through national agencies, and then, <u>we prepared</u> a pre-proposal.*

The listener had no difficulties placing these events in chronological order. The events Tomas discussed occurred in the past, i.e. prior to the utterance time. Because of this, the most widely used tense was the simple past, as in '*they never did project English*', '*we said*', '*we had international activities*', '*we contacted*', and '*we prepared*'. Shifts of tense from the simple past to the present simple did occur. In the passage, these unmotivated irregular switches occurred in the context of the sequence of tenses. The manner in which Tomas conveyed the temporal relations when a number of events had to be expressed resembled *a natural view on the sequence of tenses*[19], and not the attracted one. Thus, when the sequence of tenses was required, verbs appeared in the tense of the clause, and not in the tense of the sentence, as the grammar of English often prescribes. See the example below for the illustration:

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[19] The natural sequence of tenses prescribes that a tense of a verb in a subordinate clause should not be determined by the tense of the verb in the main clause, but rather by the tense of the clause, taken apart from the tense of the sentence (*He says he needs berries.* vs. *He said he needs berries.*).

(8-39) *So we said, we should really come up with something, <u>which is useful</u> not just in Slovakia, and since we had international activities, we have business partners, it was not very difficult to actually find out that <u>there is nothing like this</u> on the market in the EU.*

In this sentence, two verb phrases – '*to be useful*' and '*there is nothing like this*' – appear in the tense of the clause, hence, in the present tense.

Reviewing the speaker's performance in the temporal-aspectual part of the test, his certainty rate was 61, 7%, and the correctness rate was 76, 7%. It is interesting that in the profiles of speakers who were examined previously, the scores on certainty prevailed over the scores of correctness rate. The fact that Tomas underestimated his competence in English could be partially explained by the fact that Tomas did not consider himself a language learner, and therefore, was reluctant to judge structures for their correctness. Similarly to the overall test results, the speaker appeared to be careful while making a decision as to whether the answer he gave was correct or incorrect.

In the performance of Tomas, there were no deviations in terms of the subject predicate *agreemen*t. The use of *articles* was consistent, although there were some deviations from Standard English. The excerpt below illustrates the use of articles in one passage:

(8-40) *Well, quite successful, but considering <u>the budget</u> and <u>the cuts in the budget</u>. It was, it is <u>a success</u> we have <u>the project</u> actually, it is quite <u>a hard work</u>, and you could see in meetings, it very often appears at arguments of the partners, that is very little money and how much work people are able to dedicate to it.*

Here, the old information is presented with the definite article as '*the budget*', and '*in the budget*'. The only inconsistency is the use of the indefinite article '*a*' with the adverb '*very*' and a non-count noun '*work*'.

In the use of prepositions, Tomas was consistent. *Adverbs* and *adjectives* were systematically used, too.

According to the researcher's evaluation and the features of the speaker's performance that were displayed and not displayed, the performance of Tomas was a merge between B2 and C1. Transfer of lexical items or expressions from L1 or other additional languages was not observed; the use of performance strategies was infrequent. Tomas' knowledge appeared

to be sufficient for his needs and for the given purpose, which could account for the absence of performance strategies.

Maintaining fluency and grammatical correctness appeared to be automatic processes that had become part of the speaker's English, due to a great exposure to the language. Tomas, therefore, managed to meet the requirement of fluency, as well as, grammatical correctness, although grammatical correctness was not important to the speaker.

5. *Agnes*

Agnes was a Polish speaker of English, who wanted to meet the requirement of fluency in performance. Considering the abstract below, I will examine to what extent fluency and grammatical correctness were met by the speaker:

(8-41) *You know, maybe you've got the same but, <u>as I was in Poland</u>, <u>I thought the world looks like</u> like it <u>looks like</u> in Poland. But <u>I came here</u>, and <u>I met a people</u> from all over the world, and from other cultures, and <u>now I know that people all over the world are not are like</u> the people in Poland, and <u>they are not like the people in Europe</u>. Mhm, and <u>I have to I had to</u> work here, <u>I didn't work in Poland</u>. <u>My father always paid</u> for my studies, <FLG> also nicht </FLG> not for my studies, but for </cut>.*

This excerpt clearly contains some deviations from Standard English. First of all, Agnes did not adhere to the sequence of tenses. In the passage, Agnes narrated the events occurring in the past. She placed the clause '*I thought the world looks like in Poland*' into the present, disregarding the rules of the sequence of tenses. Other passages in the interview were characterized by the emergence of the habitual events in the progressive aspect and the omission of *the third-person singular*. Among other peculiarities, the use of '*to be*' with the bare infinitive, inappropriate and inconsistent use of *prepositions*, and *adverbs of time* was evident. One of the deviations, in connection with the use of the temporal adverb, is illustrated by the use of an adverb '*as*' in the subordinate clause '*as I was in Poland*'. The use of '*as*' in this case seems to be a transfer of '*als*' from German. Code-switching to German is illustrated by the use of '*also nicht*'[20].

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[20] Code-switching and transfer from German in the performance of this and other speakers are discussed in *Chapter 9*.

The inconsistent use of articles became evident when Agnes interchangeably used an *indefinite article*, and *a zero article* with the noun '*people*' - '*a people*', '*people*', '*the people*'.

Fluency in this passage and in the overall interview seemed to be maintained. The given passage is coherent, allowing the hearer to understand the following:

- Agnes lived in Poland.

- Agnes's father supported her studies financially, so she did not have to work.

- Agnes thought that the world is like it is in Poland.

- When Agnes came to Germany, she met people from other countries.

- The exposure to other cultures and nationalities made her more culturally-aware.

There are few *hesitations*, *breaks*, and *repetitions* in the performance. The use of *vocabulary* can be characterized by the immense German interference and the use of approximate and general lexical items and expressions. How Agnes made use of strategies of performance and how they helped her to improve fluency is discussed in *Chapter 9*.

In summary, Agnes met the requirement of fluency. Grammatical correctness, although not imposed by the speaker on her own performance, was given attention, but not wholly maintained.

Summary

Above, I discussed how the speakers who focused on fluency managed to realize this requirement of performance. Considering individual passages and particular features of the overall performance, I concluded that all fluency-focused speakers managed to realize their goals. Grammatical correctness, although not prioritized by speakers, was also considered as one of the factors which helps to ensure fluency. The question that may arise now is why all fluency-focused speakers managed to fulfil the requirement of fluency, and what allowed them to do so? Do these speakers share common features, apart from prioritizing fluency in performance?

'*Satisfaction with one's own English*' was a feature shared by all speakers. In the interviews, all five participants replied that they were satisfied with their English. Can

satisfaction with one's own English account for the realization of fluency? It is possible that when speakers are satisfied with their English competence, they are more confident in their performance and are able to fully use their resources to ensure the flow of conversation with no, or few pauses, hesitations, and stops. Particular techniques that speakers use to meet their goals are developed by the speakers themselves. How individual speakers make use of their strategic competence, and what particular strategies allow them to maintain a fluent discourse, is discussed in *Chapter 9*.

Correctness-focused speakers

6. *Pavlo*

Pavlo reported that grammatical correctness was more important than fluency. Before general observations can be made, consider an excerpt from the performance of this speaker:

(8-42) *First of all, I've I wrote my thesis on question questions of Canadian federalism and Quebec problem, that is why I need I needed to translate a lot of English sources, English papers and then I every day in on my work community in the university, is very important to use English language, because we have a lot of guests here, then we have a lot of different conferences, meetings and so on. That is why is very important to know English and to speak English.*

In this passage, some deviations from Standard English, related to the use of tense and prepositions, were observed. In the rest of the interview, deviations occurred, but they were not frequent. Compared to the use of tenses by other speakers, the use of tenses by Pavlo was consistent. Consider the following examples:

(8-43) *And they gave our students some lectures in English, and I tried to translate…*

(8-44) *It was special school for children who want to learn English language from the first year. So, there was, probably, the basic possibility to study English <unclear> </unclear>. Then I studied it in the university for a couple of years, and that's it.*

Instances of *self-correction*, observed in the passage above, mostly concerned the choice of tense. This demonstrated that Pavlo was somewhat cautious when it came to the expression of temporality. In the temporal-aspectual segment of *the Global Test of English*, Pavlo's certainty rate was 53%, and correctness rate was 56%. Seeing as both figures did not differ

much from each other, it is possible that Pavlo was able to adequately and objectively evaluate his competence in certain areas.

The speaker's proficiency level is approximated to B2. His certainty rate in the overall test was 67%, which implies that the speaker perceived himself as a competent user of English. His correctness rate of 66% was very close to his certainty rate, similar to the results in the temporal-aspectual part. These figures reinforced the assumption that the speaker was objective in making judgements about his English competence.

Given that Pavlo used English for academic purposes, he could understand long and demanding texts and derive implicit meanings. In the interview, he could express the intended meaning fluently without the search for the appropriate vocabulary. Discourse was logically structured; cohesive devices and connectors were used.

At the level of vocabulary, the deviations from Standard English occurred when the speaker translated from L1 or used general and approximate vocabulary that was not always appropriate for the situation.

A few instances of grammatically incorrect utterances indicate that this study participant managed to realize his requirement of grammatical correctness. Fluency, although not included by the speaker into his requirement profile, was also maintained. Its realization did not lead the speaker astray and impede the production of the correct utterances.

7. *Alena G.*

Alena was another speaker who focused on grammatical correctness. Involved in language teaching, Alena gave a lot of attention toward grammatical accuracy. Below, consider an abstract which (i) discloses Alena's attitude toward grammatical correctness, and (ii) illustrates how accurately Alena used temporal-aspectual markers:

(8-45) *Well, for the teacher <u>it's very important</u>, because <u>I feel awfully embarrassed</u> when I make a mistake and in the classroom, and I understand that <u>I've made</u> a mistake. And then, well, at first <u>I didn't</u> correct myself, because <u>I thought</u> <u>that would be</u> incorrect, but now, <u>I try to say</u> everything correctly after my incorrect statement, and what do I?*

Morphosyntactic deviations were not observed in this passage. The tenses are used appropriately, and the forms were correctly integrated. The simple past was used when there

was a reference to the past, as in '*I didn't correct myself*', '*I thought*', and the present simple was used to refer to the events in the present or where the time of the event was not specified, as in '*I feel awfully embarrassed*'. The present perfect, used once in the passage, points at the completion of an event in the past, and yet, the relevance of the outcome for the present, as in '*I've made a mistake*'. In the interview, deviations from Standard English were not frequent. When they occurred, they were mostly made in connection with vocabulary than with structure

The speaker's knowledge of English corresponds to C1. The speaker had a native-like proficiency in English, was fluent and could easily communicate on abstract and every day topics. Unlike other speakers in the study, Alena was not creative. Most of the constructions she used were fixed phrases that she had acquired. Strategies of performance were used occasionally and that indicates that Alena's knowledge was sufficient for her needs and for the interview. In summary, Alena met the requirement of grammatical correctness in the interview performance.

8. *Vladimir*

For Vladimir, a university lecturer in translation, grammatical correctness of performance was more important than fluency. It is interesting that grammatical correctness was not only important in connection with the studies on translation, but in connection with everyday communication, as well. To see how he managed to realize this requirement in performance, I suggest considering a passage in which Vladimir expressed his attitude toward understanding different varieties of English:

(8-46) *Ah, so I think <u>there is not</u> a huge difference but but I think that the big difference is to understand different accents for example ah Italians or French or Hungarians or Spanishes. So <u>it's really</u> difficult to to understand their their accent and to get what <u>they're talking about</u>.*

In this excerpt, deviations that concern the use of temporal and aspectual markers are not observed. The passage in which Vladimir presented his attitude, was placed in the present tenses, such as the simple present, as in '*I think*', '*the big difference is to understand*', '*it's really difficult*', and the present progressive, as in '*they are talking about*'. The only observation is that the present simple could also be used in '*they talk about.*' The tendency to overuse the progressive seems to be an instance of transfer from L1 Slovak. In other passages

in the interview, grammatical correctness appears to be observed, as well. The following two passages illustrate the correct use of *the present perfect*, and *the past simple* morphology:

(8-47) *So <unclear/> <u>it has been my my first project</u> I'm involved in.*

(8-48) *<u>I met ah Tomas</u> and his boss Danica and I <break/> <u>I did a couple</u> of courses, English courses for people who work in non-profitable organisations.*

Thus, where the use of tense and aspect were concerned, the deviations from Standard English were not significant. The present simple was used to show facts or events in the present, whereas the past simple was used to refer to events in the past. The progressive aspect was only used occasionally with the word '*to talk*'.

Some slight deviations from Standard English concerned the inconsistent use of *articles* – the omission of determiners in the obligatory context and their insertion where they were not required. Consider the following set of examples below:

(8-49) *So I think that I learn it every day because ah I think that <u>language</u> is not close system so it is <u>open system</u> and it is not my native language so I I think that I have to learn a lot*

(8-50) *If I compare ah <u>grammatical system</u> of English and for example Russian because I I have studied English and Russian so I think ah that English is ah easier or the grammar is easier…*

In (8-49), the noun '*a language*' is used with *a zero article* in both cases; first, when a single noun was used, and second, when it was used with a modifying adjective '*open*'. In (8-50), '*grammatical system*' is also used with a zero article.

With regards to countable and uncountable nouns, they do not appear to pose difficulties for Vladimir. In the next example, the uncountable noun '*information*' is used with the determiner, '*some*'; unlike other non-native speakers of English. Vladimir does not use the noun '*information*' in plural:

(8-51) *And I have to <break/> have to move or shift <u>some information</u> from one linguistic code into another*

Neither difficulties with *agreement* nor with the use of *relative construction* and complementation were observed. Similarly, the performance of Vladimir did not demonstrate any difficulties with the use of prepositions:

(8-52) *Ok, so main <break/> mainly so I think that I focus on on grammar <unclear/> you know, usage of grammar, for example, very simple ah answer is the third person s....Yeah, people make so this is and then maybe present simple and present continuous, past simple and present perfect.*

In the passage describing the criteria used to judge the English of interlocutors, a verb '*to focus*' was used with a correct preposition '*on*'. Interestingly, this introspective comment illustrates that Vladimir narrows down and restricts the evaluation of someone's English to the evaluation of grammatical correctness. Such issues as pronunciation, fluency, and knowledge of specific vocabulary, often mentioned by other participants, play a minor role for him.

The speaker's English proficiency can be approximated to C1. Vocabulary in the interview was characterized by the use of general and approximate lexical items and lexical redundancy. The extensive inappropriate use of coordinating conjunctions '*but*' and '*so*' is also evident in the data. Vladimir said that he was satisfied with his English, and because he felt comfortable and confident speaking it, there was not much room for creativity. Since the speaker' communicative competence was sufficient for communicative needs, the use of performance strategies was scarce.

Although the speaker's performance contained some deviations from Standard English, such as *the overuse of the progressive aspect*, the speaker managed to meet the requirement of grammatical correctness (the use of tenses and aspect markers, as well as, the correct use of prepositions and agreement illustrate this). In summary, Vladimir made an impression of a confident interlocutor, who felt comfortable using English, and whose requirement of grammatical correctness manifested in his performance.

9. Oksana

Oksana, who also focused on grammatical correctness, managed to meet this performance requirement. As before, we shall consider a passage from Oksana's performance to see

whether any deviations from Standard English are observed. The following passage describes Oksana's experience in the lab:

(8-53) *I will make experiments, batch experiments, which are carried out in particular vials, one in glass vials, so I put my sorbent in the solution, then I model my sorption, so I measure concentration and what <unclear> are </unclear> isotope ratio, and also in high performance liquid chromatography machine, also I do my experiments like in the <unclear> column </unclear>, I mean it's different methods, yeah, so.*

In this passage, grammatical correctness seems to be maintained. Only slight deviations, as in '*it's different methods*', were observed. Speaking about the daily work in the lab, Oksana uses the present simple to convey habitual events. The passage contained a motivated shift of tense, where Oksana referred to the future event, and moved to describing her daily tasks by using verbs in the present simple '*I put*', '*I model*, and '*I measure*'.

In the following excerpt, we see a *subject-verb agreement:*

(8-54) *But it also depends on the region in their country they come from. Ah, sometimes it's easier to understand not-native speakers.*

The verb '*to depend'* emerges in *the third-person singular*, and is inflected by the suffix '*-s'*. The copula '*be'* is also present.

In the overall interview performance, the past simple was the main tense, used to convey the events in the past. See the passage below, in which the speaker narrated events that happened in the past:

(8-55) *My parents live there, I finished three years of high school there, and then I moved to Novosibirsk because I had to study at the university at Pedagogical <break/> Novosibirsk Pedagogical university.*

Verbs '*to finish'*, '*move*', and '*have to'* were used in the simple past to convey past-based actions. One of the reasons for the extensive use of the past simple was the transfer of aspectual structures from L1 Russian. Oksana often used the simple past in the obligatory context of the present and past perfect because of this. Similarly, because of transfer, the progressive aspect was often used in the obligatory context of the present simple.

Another characteristic feature of the speaker's performance was *double negation*. One of the possible reasons for this was the transfer of this feature from the speaker's first language Russian[21].

In the area of prepositions, the deviations from Standard English were evident. Here are some examples:

(8-56) *I mean <u>after</u> several months we start our projects, Master projects.*

(8-57) *I would like to go somewhere in, maybe <u>in</u> bigger place to make the comparison.*

In (8-56), Oksana used a preposition '*after*' in place of '*in*', and in (8-57), she used a preposition '*in*' in place of a preposition '*to*', which shows the direction.

Apart from these few deviations from Standard English, the performance of Oksana was grammatically consistent. In *the Global Test of English*, Oksana's certainty rate was 93, 1% and correctness rate was 77, 3%. The scores on the temporal-aspectual part were as high as in the overall test. In 94, 11% of all answers, the speaker was confident about their correctness (the certainty rate); 79, 4% of all questions on the use of temporal devices were correct according to the native speaker norm. The speaker's correctness scores illustrate that Oksana's competence in the structure of English was solid; she, however, tended to overestimate her competence.

The L2 lexical knowledge was mainly characterized by transfer from L1 and the use of simple and approximate vocabulary. The speaker's proficiency level was toward C1. The speaker was able express herself fluently and spontaneously without an evident search for structures and lexical expressions. Possibly because of this, the use of performance strategies was not extensive. Although, Oksana's English was simple – the use of simple grammatical structures and simple and general vocabulary – she made an impression of a confident interlocutor who felt comfortable speaking English.

Given that grammar mistakes were not frequent, and the speaker's performance demonstrated competence in the basic structure of English, Oksana appeared to meet the requirement of grammatical correctness. Although, the requirement of fluency was not imposed on her performance, it was also maintained.

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[21] Double negation is possible and grammatically correct in Russian.

10. Sergiy

Sergiy was another speaker who managed to realize the requirement of correctness. The following passages illustrate how Sergiy expressed temporal and aspectual relations and located events in time:

(8-58) *I tried to do it myself, I bought a lot of books, self-study books, and I tried to improve my language by myself, because I was not lucky with my English teachers at school.*

This paragraph points to the following two features of the speaker's performance. First, Sergiy was able to use temporal forms that allowed him to express the intended meaning, namely, to locate events in the time prior to the utterance time. Second, in using the past temporal forms, Sergiy correctly used verbal morphology. The forms in the past '*tried'*, and '*bought'*, illustrate this. The next passage illustrates how Sergiy expressed temporal relations and located events in the present:

(8-59) *I try to, but <break/> I try to learn English all the time, because when you're back to the United states or English speaking country after significant break, you have <break/> you feel that you have to refresh your vocabulary at least.*

Verbs in the present simple are used to narrate the events that take place in the present: '*I try'*, '*you're back'*, and '*you feel'* (the verb '*to feel',* which tends to be used in the progressive aspect by Slavic speakers, is used in the present simple, and is in accordance with English prescriptive grammar). The copula in '*you're back'* is not omitted.

Although, there were not many deviations in the category of agreement, they did occur. The excerpts below illustrate how (i) subject-verb agreement was observed, and (ii) subject-verb agreement was not observed:

(8-60) *It seems to me that English is a very good thing, means for international communication, because, English is simple language.*

(8-61) *It seems to me that English is well designed for international communication, but of course, it is changing, when it goes through all cultures and nations*

(8-62) *But I feel more comfortable with American English, I don't know why, probably United states and Canada was the first English speaking country to which I came first and that's why <break/> American English seems to me more up-to-date.*

In (8-60) and (8-61), the verb '*to seem'* is marked for *the third-person singular*. In (8-62), however, the subjects '*the United States*', and '*Canada*' do not agree in number with the verb '*to be'*; '*to be'* is used in singular, and not in plural as the subject requires. Occasionally, there is also an omission of *the third-person singular –s* as in the noun phrase '*Soviet Union belong'*, illustrated in the excerpt below:

(8-63) *So, and also culturally former <u>Soviet Union</u>, despite of some many ideological differences <u>belong </u>to European civilization.*

As was the case with other Slavic speakers, Sergiy either occasionally omitted or used articles inconsistently.

With regards to vocabulary, it was simple and approximate; Sergiy often reverted to paraphrasing and exemplifying when he could not retrieve the necessary lexical items. According to the researcher's evaluation, the speaker's knowledge of English was a merge of B2 and C1. Sergiy was able to understand complex questions and make inferences, speak fluently and spontaneously with no obvious search for appropriate vocabulary.

During the interview, Sergiy monitored his production. As performance strategies were sparingly used, it's possible to suggest that Sergiy's competence was sufficient for his needs and the purpose of the interview, especially knowing that he shared a common language with the interviewer. The specificity of a contact situation and the speaker's communicative needs in the situation determined how the strategies of performance were used, and whether they had to be used at all.

In the interview, the speaker appeared to be in conflict between grammatical correctness and fluency. Sergiy firmly believed that grammatical correctness was more important to him than fluency in conversation. In the course of the interview, however, it became clear that the speaker wanted to be fluent and correct. Despite the presence of an internal conflict, Sergiy managed to realize the requirement of correctness (slight deviations in terms of agreement). Fluency was also maintained. In summary, Sergiy made an impression of a confident user of English.

8.3   *Partial compliance with performance requirements*

Sebastian and Natalya, whose realizations of performance requirement are given below, claimed that fluency and grammatical correctness were equally important to them in

performance. The examination of their performance has shown, however, that neither of the speakers managed to meet both requirements. It was either grammatical correctness or fluency that was maintained. So, Sebastian and Natalya only partially complied with the self-imposed requirements of performance. I will now discuss the realization of fluency and grammatical correctness by looking at the excerpts from the interviews with these two speakers.

11. Sebastian

In the interview abstract below, Sebastian discusses how he started his teaching career:

(8-64) *It happened, it happened maybe, not by chance, but when I was, when I finished my studies, I had two opportunities, I could, I could work as a as a interpreter, and then, as a teacher, but when you work as an interpreter, you never know if you will get the job or not, and for job as a teacher was sure, more sure. So I chosed, chose and I do many things after hours as a teacher.*

This short passage demonstrates that Sebastian tried to be grammatically correct. The instance of restructuring '*when I was, when I finished*' and self-correction, restructuring '*I chosed*', '*I chose*', support Sebastian's position expressed in the interview, namely that grammatical correctness was important to him. In this passage, Sebastian narrated events that occurred in the past by the simple past. Among other tenses used in the passage, there was the present simple, and the future simple. Whereas the present simple was used for conveying the habitual action '*when you work as interpreter*', the future simple was used in the conditional clause, which requires the present, and not the future simple.

In terms of fluency, this passage seems to possess some characteristic features for fluent discourse, such as *grammatical correctness*, and *the absence of stops and breaks*. Hesitations were expressed by restructuring and repeating himself.

The next two passages, in (8-65) and (8-66), illustrate that the speaker used the simple present in the obligatory context of the simple present:

(8-65) *I am always afraid just to speak in this language, because I know, okay, I am not so good in English as in German.*

(8-66) *So, okay, Johanna, a my chef, she knew me, but she did not knew, no, so, she did not know, what I actually do, and after ok she made an interview...*

The use of the comparative construction in (8-65), deviated from Standard English, as Sebastian used the coordinating conjunction '*so*' in place of '*as*'.

Yet in another interview abstract, Sebastian consistently used the present perfect and the present perfect progressive:

(8-67) *Okay, I've been learning, I've learnt English for five years, when I was a student, and then I stopped learning, and for, since six years, I do not learn any more.*

This example demonstrates that Sebastian is competent in the structure of English to the extent that he knew that particular prepositions trigger particular tenses. Having started with the present perfect progressive, the speaker had realized that the preposition '*for*' triggered the use of the present perfect. He, therefore, corrected himself by using another tense.

Given that Sebastian had more contacts with German and used English for business purposes only, Sebastian tried to achieve the best level of correctness possible. In general, the morphosyntactic deviations from Standard English were not overwhelming. They often concerned vocabulary and not the syntactic and morphological properties. The tenses – the simple present and the simple past – were systematically used to denote actions in the present and in the past respectively. In the overall test performance, the speaker's certainty rate was 52, 3%, which was higher than expected given the speaker's uncertainty and concern about his English competence. The correctness rate was high, i.e. 67%. In the temporal-aspectual pat of the test, Sebastian's certainty rate was only 35%; in other words, Sebastian was certain in only 35% of answers. His correctness rate of 65% was higher than his certainty rate. These results reveal that Sebastian tended to underestimate his competence in English and his performance on the test. Similar to other participants, Sebastian's lexical knowledge was characterized by the use of general and approximate vocabulary, transfer from L1 and L2, and a lack of idiomaticity.

It is interesting that unlike other participants, Sebastian had obvious problems understanding questions in the interview. One of the possible reasons for this may be the deficiency in vocabulary. The interviewer often switched to German to explain or rephrase the question. Because of this, there were often breaks and stops in the interview. An excerpt below illustrates how Sebastian managed a question, in which the interviewer intended to ask which areas of education, relevant for teaching, Sebastian wanted to improve:

(8-68)

Interviewer: *And what would you change about the approach[22]?*

Sebastian: *of the students?*

Interview: *and what, where would you like to learn about your professional work?*

Sebastian: *Where?*

Interviewer: *What do you think you need to learn more for your work? What area, what domain?*

Sebastian: *Okay, could you ask me again, but?*

Interviewer: *Where do you need something knowledge-wise? Which area of your work do you need more knowledge?*

Sebastian: *Aha*

Interviewer: *Is there any area?*

Sebastian: *German language?*

Interviewer: *Whatever.*

Sebastian: *Business business language. Okay, I have never had courses of business language. So I am not so good in this area, and okay, it is hard to say.*

Interviewer: *Okay.*

In this excerpt, the interviewer mainly asked two questions: (i) what Sebastian wanted to change about the lack of motivation, and (ii) which professional areas Sebastian wanted/had to improve? As we see, Sebastian, at first, could not understand the question (repeating after the interviewer '*Where?*', and asking the interviewer to repeat '*Okay. Could you ask me again?*'), and, when the interviewer thought the question was finally understood, Sebastian asked another question, '*German language?*', which indicated again that Sebastian did not understand the question. In the end, Sebastian answered a question, but not the one that was intended by the interviewer.

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[22]The interviewer refers to the point Sebastian mentioned previously in the interview, namely that the students lacked motivation in their studies.

The speaker's proficiency was between B1 and B2, and the overall performance seemed to be affected by uncertainty and insecurity with the vocabulary and constructions used. Uncertain about the syntactic structure, Sebastian restructured the utterance until the structure he used satisfied his knowledge of correctness. Although the speaker claimed in the interview to have stopped learning English, this did not prove to be the case in the actual performance.

Taking these points into consideration – underestimation of one's own competence due to highly imposed requirements (low rates on certainty and high rates on grammatical correctness, and self-correction, stops, and hesitations throughout the interview) it is possible that Sebastian valued grammatical correctness higher than fluency. The requirement of grammatical correctness was thus maintained, whereas the requirement of fluency was not. The self-imposed requirements thus were only partially reflected in the performance.

12. Natalya T.

Natalya was another speaker, for whom fluency was as important as grammatical correctness. The interview performance of Natalya, however, showed other results. Let us consider a passage below:

(8-69) *Mhm, <u>I started</u> to learn English at the university. <u>It was</u> the second the second subject, if <break/>, the second subject of my profession and <u>it was</u> in the mhm in the fifth semester, and <u>I am happy</u>, and <unclear> </unclear> <u>I am happy</u> that <u>I can a little bit English</u>, but <u>I was happy to to study</u> English at at the university, because <u>I knew at that time</u>, that if you if you study one foreign language, you have to do eh you have to study the second because you have comp you can compare them, and eh eh mhm the two two foreign languages, <u>studying</u> of two foreign languages <u>make it</u> easier.*

In this excerpt, Natalya talked about her experience with learning English. The past simple used for this purpose helped the speaker to convey the intended meaning. The past simple was thus consistently used, apart from some instances that required the use of the present simple – making a reference to the present events or reporting one's own feelings and emotions as in '*I am happy to study*'. The past simple forms of the verbs '*started*', '*was*' and '*knew*' were used correctly. In the last clause from this passage, the agreement between the verbalized noun *'studying'* and the verb '*make*' is not observed; *the third-person singular –s* is thus omitted.

Natalya's performance is characterized by the transfer from German – both in terms of morphosyntactic structures and vocabulary. In this passage, '*I can a little bit English*' is the transfer of a German modal verb '*können'*, which means '*can'* in English. In the overall interview performance, the expression of temporal and aspectual relations was the main cause of deviation from Standard English. Similar to the use of tenses by other speakers, Natalya overused the present progressive:

(8-70) *If I'm communicating with Americans or Engl or English people, then I I want to be better in my <break/> speech.*

(8-71) *It's it's it's always my, it's always my point, but is this is not my point if I am communicating with people <unclear> </unclear> if when I am communicating English with people, which which don't have English as mother language.*

In these two examples, the verb '*to communicate'* was used in the progressive aspect, although the use of the progressive aspect was not required. In (8-71), we also see that Natalya used a relative pronoun '*which'* with animate objects, which in English is not allowed.

The present perfect was used to render events that began and were completed in the past. This use of the present perfect was due to transfer from L2 German. The excerpts below illustrate this:

(8-72) *In the last or in the last sem semester I have to do eh diploma, and my supervisor of this diploma in Ukraine has offered me eh this subject, and I was interested because I like because I liked to research something what is not abstract, but something what is concrete.*

Clearly, the passage above described the events that happened in the past, and the narration was grounded in the past. Natalya seemed to ground the narration in the past. The past simple, however, was not the only tense used in the passage. The present perfect and present simple were used, as well. Apart from using the present perfect in place of the simple past, Natalya shifted tenses from the past to the present, and from the present to the past. The tense shifts were not motivated by an event they described. By saying '*I have to do diploma'*, Natalya obviously referred to the past event, as the use of a temporal expression '*in the last semester'* illustrates. This is followed by the verb '*to offer'* in the present perfect: '*my supervisor of this*

diploma in Ukraine has offered me', which was intended to describe an event commenced and completed in the past. The use of the present perfect is, therefore, not appropriate. Further in the passage, we see an appropriate use of the simple past in '*I was interested*', followed by the present simple '*I like*' and self-corrected '*I liked*'. The sentence is completed by a general statement '*which is not abstract, but something which is concrete*', made in the simple present. The use of the present simple in this case is not in accordance with the constraints of the sequence of tenses in English.

In *the Global Test of English*, Natalya's certainty rate was 60, 2%, and in the temporal-aspectual part, it was 55, 8%. These two scores demonstrate, in my view, that the speaker's certainty rate, with regard to the structure of English, was quite high. In more than 50% of answers, the speaker was certain about the correctness. The speaker's correctness rate was 50% in the overall test and 53% in the temporal-aspectual part. These results differ from the results of Sebastian's test performance (Sebastian's score of grammatical correctness of the temporal-aspectual structures was 65%, and certainty rate was 35%). This difference, I suppose, shows the difference in the attitude toward the performance requirements. Natalya appeared to be a confident interlocutor who felt at ease with her English competence, making the best use of her knowledge. Sebastian, on the contrary, disregarding a high correctness rate, was not confident in the interview. Although both speakers claimed that grammatical correctness was as important to them as fluency, looking at their performance, it becomes obvious that Sebastian was more focused on producing grammatically correct utterances, whereas Natalya's main focus was on conveying the message.

Natalya's use of vocabulary was characterized by the transfer from German when lexical items were missing or could not be retrieved. The speaker's level of proficiency was B2. Most of the passages were coherent. There were not many stops, hesitations, and communication breakdowns. The participant seemed to be able to express – by the linguistic means she had available – what she intended to say, relying, however, not on linguistic means of expression only, but on strategic competence, as well. Based on the interview performance, it is possible to claim that although Natalya's initial focus was on correctness and fluency, fluency found a better realization in her performance than grammatical correctness. Grammatical correctness was moved to the background, whereas self-expression and message transmission were shifted ahead. Grammatical correctness thus drew less attention than fluency. In summary, fluency, and not grammatical correctness, was realized in performance.

8.4 No compliance with performance requirements

There were three other speakers in the study – Dmitry, Lena M., and Lena T., – whose performance did not comply with the requirements of performance. By examining some passages from the performance of these speakers, I explain why these speakers did not realize their requirement of grammatical correctness.

13. Dmitry

Dmitry was a study participant who had a strong focus on correctness. Similar to most of the study participants who focused on correctness, Dmitry was highly motivated to speak correctly and expected others to do the same. Unlike other speakers, he viewed linguistic competence as *a whole*, which consisted of *the grammatical competence*, *distinct pronunciation*, and *fluency*:

(8-73) *When I hear somebody, when his language, his pronunciation, his grammar, his into pronuncitaion, grammar and <FLG> wie </FLG> <FLG> nicht wir <FLG> how fast is his language, I can <FLG> ja </FLG>, judge a little bit <unclear> if </unclear> his language good or bad is.*

Pronunciation, grammar, intonation, and fluency or '*how fast is someone's language*' constituted the core of the speaker's requirement profile; the evaluation of someone's English was, therefore, based on these criteria. Possibly, Dmitry did not want to be grammatically correct in order to be grammatically correct only. Correctness was often viewed in connection with understanding. The passage below illustrates Dmitry's attitude toward correctness:

(8-74)

Dmitry: *It's very important, <FLG> aber <FLG> but to <unclear> </unclear> especi for <FLG> Verständnis </FLG>*

Interviewer*: understanding. Okay. And how important is fluency? What is more important, fluency or correctness for you?*

Dmitry: *I would say correctness. When language is correct then you can understand better better <FLG> besser </FLG> better. When it's when it's fluently spoken but not very*

correct, then you can <break/> can you understand not all things, or you can understand nothing. So, correctness is on the first place.

Does Dmitry manage to meet this performance requirement in the interview? Similar to the performance of other speakers, the performance of Dmitry contained morphosyntactic and lexical deviations from Standard English. Most of the temporal and aspectual forms were inappropriately used. When the tense was correctly selected, as in some of the instances below, either the subject-verb agreement was not observed, or the wrong verbal morphology was used. The interview excerpts below illustrate the absence of the subject-verb agreement, which (i) results in the use of the auxiliary verb '*to do*' in the negative forms with *the third-person singular* pronoun, and (ii) the use of *the third-person singular –s* with the pronoun in *the third-person plural*:

(8-75) *When somebody don't know Russian, we speak English or German. Also literature is in English, special literature I mean.*

(8-76) *Every <break/> when somebody do not speak your language <unclear> </unclear>, then we are speaking in English.*

(8-77) *There is no <break/> you cannot plan, they works also on the weekends.*

In (8-75) and (8-76), the pronoun '*somebody*' was used with the auxiliary '*do*' in the present tense, whereas in (8-77), *the third-person singular –s* in '*works*' was added to *the third-person pronoun* '*they*'.

Another characteristic feature of Dmitry's performance was the use of the future simple in conditional clauses of time, as shown below:

(8-78) *If I will study English, I will remember my <FLG> Kennt </FLG> my knowledges that I know from school.*

(8-79) *If it's will, if it's will go be better, it's will be good, but, minimal standard is professional English and good normal living communication.*

In (8-78), we see that the future simple was used in the main and subordinate clause '*If I will study English, I will remember*', which is not in accordance with the prescriptive grammar of English. In (8-79), we are faced with a self-correction chain: (i) '*if it's will*', (ii) '*if it's will go be better*', and (iii) '*it's will be good*'. The future simple is used following '*if*' in all options

given by Dmitry. The emergence of this feature can be attributed to the transfer from the speaker's first language, Russian, which allows the use of the future tense in the conditional clauses.

Another feature, arising due to the transfer from the speaker's L1, is *double negation*:

(8-80) *For me, it's no difference, but <u>I haven't speak</u> with <u>no native speaker</u>.*

Dmitry negated the whole sentence '*I have not speak with no native speaker*' and the direct object '*native speaker*'. In addition to the double negation, Dmitry used the infinitive '*to speak*' in place of the form in the past participle - '*spoken* '.

It is interesting that Dmitry intended to perform in such a way, so that his performance satisfied his knowledge of correctness. This intention is illustrated in the excerpt below:

(8-81) *Mhm, <u>I have a private teacher</u>. <u>I have learnt</u>, mostly <u>I have learnt</u> my English in school, and <u>I have some</u> <u>I have had some</u> pri <u>I had some private</u> <FLG> Unterrichten </FLG>.*

The self-correction chain, including such forms, as '*I have some*', '*I have had some*', and '*I had*', illustrate that (i) Dmitry was not sure about which temporal form should be used, and (ii) neither of the two first forms satisfied Dmitry's knowledge of correctness; he, therefore, was in search of the temporal form to satisfy best his knowledge of correctness. The speaker's search for a better or '*a more correct*' form did not make his performance smooth; on the contrary, self-correction in this case, inhibited fluency and made understanding more difficult.

With regards to single nouns, deviations from Standard English were also observed. English singular nouns have often become *plural*, and, hence *countable* because of the lexical transfer from L1 Russian. The two nouns '*knowledge*' and '*literature*', illustrated in the next set, are examples of this:

'Knowledge'

(8-82) *Advanced English <u>knowledges</u> in two years*.

(8-83) *If I will study English, I will remember my <FLG> Kennt </FLG> <u>my knowledges</u> that I know from school*.

(8-84) *The <u>professional knowledges</u> in professional <break/> then it's more important for me to become some <u>new knowledges</u>, some interesting information about the topic.*

(8-85) *And its main aim is to make a German Law system for us closer, to give us some <u>knowledges</u>, some basic <u>knowledges</u> of German law system.*

In all instances above, the English uncountable noun '*knowledge*' was used as plural '*knowledges*'. The noun '*knowledges*' appears to collocate with the adjectives '*advanced*', '*professional*, '*new*', '*basic*', and with the possessive pronoun '*my*' and the indefinite single pronoun '*some*'. In the case with '*some*', there appears to be a mismatch in agreement, given that '*some*' is used with singular nouns, and '*knowledges*' is in the plural.

'Literature'

(8-86) *There is not not so not so <u>many literature</u> on this topic, on this concrete topic I write.*

In (8-86), uncountable noun, '*literature*' collocates with a plural countable determiner '*many*'.

Like many other speakers, Dmitry had obvious difficulties with prepositions. Some examples of this inconsistent use are presented below:

(8-87) *It's more international language. I cannot <u>judge about</u> it.*

(8-88) *Every non-native speaker is is ever <u>influenced by with his native language</u>, his mother language.*

(8-89) *What I make in my leisure time in weekend, <u>in weekends</u> I sleep a lot.*

(8-90) *<u>At the weekends</u> make some things that I do not, that I didn't done during the <u>during the week</u>, I meet some people, I go to cinema.*

In (8-87), we see that the verb '*to judge*' is used with the preposition '*about*', and, (8-88), the verb phrase '*to be influenced*' is first used with the preposition '*with*', and then changed into '*by*'. The noun '*weekend*' is used with three different prepositions '*in*', '*at*', and '*during*'.

In *the Global Test of English*, Dmitry's certainty rate was 88, 6% that was the second highest score in the correctness-focused group (the highest certainty rate was in the test of Oksana). The correctness rate of 71, 6% was the second highest in the correctness-group, as well. In the temporal-aspectual part of the test, Dmitry was certain in the correctness of 94%

of questions (the certainty rate). His correctness rate was 76, 4%. These figures seem to show that the speaker was confident about the structures and was correct in their application when he dealt with the written production. In speaking, he appeared to be less certain, and less correct, as his interview performance illustrates.

During the interview, it became clear that Dmitry could have said more, were it not for the gaps in lexical knowledge and enormous L3 German interference. To compensate for lexical gaps or structural complexity and to meet the requirement of grammatical correctness, Dmitry relied on strategic competence. The emergence of correctness-oriented strategies in his performance, including self-correction, reinforced the assumption that grammatical correctness dominated fluency in this performance. It was often clear that Dmitry was willing to say more, but lacking the lexical knowledge, he abandoned the messages by saying '*yeah*'.

Dmitry's level of proficiency was close to B2. The speaker's performance was neither grammatically correct nor fluent. Possibly, this was due to the following reasons: (i) a domineering role of grammatical correctness and attention to it in the performance, (ii) insufficient exposure to English, and (iii) immense L1 Russian and L3 German transfer. Considering Dmitry's performance, it is possible to say that the speaker did not manage to meet the requirement of grammatical correctness. Fluency was not maintained either.

14. Lena M.

Lena M. also focused on grammatical correctness. However, she did not manage to meet this requirement of performance. Let us consider an excerpt in which Lena describes her first experience in accounting:

(8-91) *I <break/> in Ukraine, straight after school I worked one year at a libr at the library, and one year at the <break/> say accountancy department or at department who calculated some fees, like wages and salaries for other different factories. It was ah a department of big eh a big factory, but they did work for different other factories as well. Their computers were not like PC, their computers were very strange and big and I worked for them, I just printed some stuff…*

First of all, the speaker's ambition to be correct was almost immediately overridden by the speaker's ambition to express herself, and convey the intended meaning. Intending to report on the past events, she grounded the events in the past. The simple past was the main tense

used in the passage. There were tense shifts as well; the simple past was consistently used in the entire passage. The simple past was even used in the obligatory context of the present perfect, as in '*I have worked there for one year*'. Not only did Lena use the past simple, she also omitted the present perfect trigger '*for*', showing duration of an action. Other deviations concerned the use of '*who*' in relation to inanimate object '*department*', where '*that*' or '*which*' would be required by English.

Another obvious deviation concerned the inconsistent use of *verbal morphology*. See the excerpt in (8-92) for illustration:

(8-92) *What <u>we are doing now</u> with Vanya, with my older son. <u>We have</u> three Bibles in three languages, Russian, English and Deutsch. His mother language is Russian, <u>he read</u> /i/ that, second <break/> <u>he understands</u> perfect English, <u>he read</u> that, and third it's German.*

In this passage, Lena was sharing her experience about learning English. Since the event was based in the present, she grounded it in the present. Beginning with '*what we are doing now*', placing it in the present and marking it as progressive, Lena continued by making a general statement '*we have three Bibles*' in the present simple. Later in the passage, she used two verbs '*to read*', and '*to understand*'. The verb '*to understand*' was marked for *the third-person singular*, whereas the verb '*to read*', used twice, was not marked for *the third-person singular*.

The other two obvious features related to the verb are (i) omission of the auxiliaries, and (ii) the absence of the sequence of tenses. See the excerpts in (8-93), (8-94), and (8-95) for illustration:

(8-93) *And I know when I didn't know the language, <u>I wasn't afraid that I speak not right</u>.*

(8-94) *<u>He said I lost</u>, because many <u>people say I am sick from Liverpool accent</u>, <u>I don't know what is that. I didn't catch that yet</u>. <u>I didn't catch, I don't know what is that</u>.*

(8-95) *I just know I one Indian person, who lived from very young age in England, <u>she said I can't understand</u> this German grammar.*

In (8-93), the auxiliary '*do*' is missing in the main clause, '*I wasn't afraid that I speak not right*'. In (8-94), Lena was reporting someone's comment about the Liverpool accent,

introducing the reported speech by '*He said I lost*'. This, however, was followed by the shift to the present simple '*people say I am sick*', and not the simple past '*people said I was sick*', as required by the constraints on the sequence of tenses in English. This is followed by Lena's comment in the present simple, in which she expressed her ignorance regarding the Liverpool accent. Further, neglecting the present perfect trigger '*yet*', Lena used the verb in the past simple '*I didn't catch that yet*', which was repeated in the following clause '*I didn't catch*'. In (8-95), the rules of the sequences of tenses are not observed either. Reporting the comment made by an Indian woman, Lena used the present simple '*she said I can't understand this German grammar*' instead of the simple past '*she could not understand this German grammar*'. The demonstrative pronoun '*this*' was not changed into '*that*' either.

The use of *inverted word order*, including auxiliaries in indirect questions, is another feature of Lena's English. Three excerpts below illustrate this:

(8-96) *The person who had interviewed me said, <u>I am sorry people will not understand you</u>, I wasn't sure, because <u>I know people</u> understand me very well, why yeah why <u>they won't understand</u> me, just a case <u>for which purpose</u> <u>do we use your language</u>.*

(8-97) *If you think America have no culture because mhm, it's one nation, you need to go to Black Black districts, to see what <break/> <u>how wrong wrong are you</u>.*

(8-98) *So, I didn't understand what was that about.*

In (8-96), Lena used the auxiliary '*do*' in the indirect question instead of '*for which purpose we use your language*'. In (8-97) and (8-98), Lena used the word order, present in questions only: '*how wrong are you*', and '*what was that about*', instead of '*how wrong you are*', and '*what that was about*'.

The use of *adverbs* and *prepositions* seemed to deviate from Standard English also:

(8-99) *Why I have to know instrument <u>perfect</u> to do something else.*

(8-100) *So I studied, I had to study <u>good</u> during this year which I lost.*

In both examples, the adjectives '*perfect*', and '*good*' perform the functions of adverbs, but have the same function as an adjective. The adverbs '*perfectly*' and '*well*' were to be used instead.

218

A deviation in the use of a preposition '*after*' is illustrated below:

(8-101) *And <u>after year</u>, I decided I should go to study that <u>at the college</u>, <u>at an college</u>, <u>in English college</u>.*

The preposition '*after*' was used in place of '*in*' that was to locate the event of '*studying*' in time.

Lena's inability to meet the requirement of correctness is not only attributed to the use of tenses, the omission of auxiliaries, inversion and the absence of concord, but also to the structuring and ordering of information, as well, as some of the passages have illustrated.

In *the Global Test of English*, Lena M. was certain in 69, 3% of questions (the certainty rate). Lena's certainty rate was 51, 2%, i.e. lower than the correctness rate. In the section that tested temporal-aspectual markers, the certainty rate was 56 %. The speaker's correctness rate was only 41, 2%. Possibly, these figures illustrate that Lena did not feel comfortable using temporal-aspectual markers.

Lena's lexical knowledge was characterized by the lexical transfer from L1 Russian. She also expanded her vocabulary by using performance strategies. Lena's knowledge of English was between B1 and B2; she was able to convey the main points and speak about familiar and unfamiliar matters encountered in everyday life.

Considering that Lena had such a multifaceted attitude toward correctness (grammatical correctness was seen as an indicator of culture and education, as well as, the acceptance by native-speakers), one would expect her to be grammatically correct. The first look at the interview, however, cancels this assumption. The ordering information, inaccuracy in the use of tenses, the omission of auxiliaries, and the inconsistency with the word order allow the conclusion that Lena did not succeed in meeting the requirement of correctness to be drawn. Fluency, however, seemed to be maintained, considering that Lena always succeeded in conveying the message and getting her point across.

15. Lena T.

Lena T. was another speaker who focused on correctness and did not manage to realize this goal in the interview performance. We shall examine the passages from Lena's interview performance and identify features that do not allow her performance to be assessed as correct.

The passage intended to describe Lena's experience in the language school in the UK is presented below:

(8-102) *It was summer English school. It was eh rather gu <FLG> sehr sehr gut </FLG>, we can <break/> eh, it was </FLG> sehr </FLG> many many people from different countries, and we have experience to speak with <FLG> einen, oh Mann </FLG> which with <break/> with us and so.*

Considering the context, it is clear that the events took place in the past. However, Lena, only occasionally used the simple past to convey actions in the past, as in '*it was summer English'*, '*it was rather good'*, and '*it was <FLG> sehr </FLG>*'. In reference to the past actions, the present simple was used: '*we can communicate'*, and '*we have experience'*. Clearly, the tense shifts were not motivated by the context; they, therefore, indicate that the speaker was sure which tense forms had to be used. The tense shift from the past to the present is observed in the next passage also:

(8-103) *For me it is important, because two years I spoke correct, I spoke much, and I haven't so problems that I <FLG> muss </FLG> I must thinking what what for one word <FLG> muss </FLG> I must I hear, must I hear, use, yes?*

Lena began by using the simple present tense, saying that it was important to her to speak correctly. Then she went into the details of her English learning history, using the simple past and the simple present. For some points, it was difficult to recover the intended meaning. For instance, the phrase '*two years I spoke correct, I spoke much, I haven't so problems that I muss think what for one word muss I must I hear*' is unclear. First of all, it is unclear with reference to which time, these 'two years' were applied. Is it the time over which she spoke correct English while in Germany, or is it two years ago? This remains unclear even if one shares the context. Another feature of this passage is the reversed word order '*I must thinking what for one word I must hear*', which is a syntactic transfer from German.

The use of the present perfect seems to deviate from the Standard English use, as well:

(8-104) *Eh at five at five years old I have started to learn English, and year eh eh I was in London one year at <FLG> elf </FLG>, and <break/.*

Although the trigger for the simple past '*at five years*' ('*when I was five years old'*) was given, Lena used the present perfect, possibly due to the transfer from German.

The word order characteristic for the German language was also traced in the performance of this speaker. See the three excerpts below for illustration:

(8-105) *It is possible positive, <FLG> weil </FLG> because many people know only English, and and OK, nowadays eh eh all people can can English. It is only one language eh eh which all people can.*

(8-106) *Weil </FLG> every month we bekom we bekom a new rules, new, which ar we must know, and I need every day <FLG> schauen </FLG> every day looking for it, and every day.*

(8-107) *When we when I <unclear> </unclear> <FLG> zum </FLG> for example, when I know that at the morning I must eh about study <FLG> oder </FLG> about.*

In all excerpts, the verb appears in the sentence final position. In (8-105), the verb '*can*' is also a lexical transfer from German '*können*', which, however, has a meaning different from the corresponding English verb. In (8-106), the verb '*schauen*', which means '*to see*' in English, also appears in the sentence final position. In (8-107), the verb '*to study*' follows the modal verb '*must*', as in German. Possibly, the emergence of this feature can be attributed to the transfer from German.

The prepositions posed difficulties, as well:

(8-108) *Master programme <FLG> ist </FLG> ist the is ve very very popular between eh Law students and when we <FLG> bekom bekom <FLG/> become OK when we eh eh have got <FLG> diploms </FLG> diploms of Law that we are lawyer.*

(8-109) *When we when I <unclear> </unclear> <FLG> zum </FLG> for example, when I know that at the morning I must eh about study <FLG> oder </FLG> about.*

In (8-108), the verb phrase '*to be popular*' was used with the preposition '*between*', whereas in (8-109), the verb '*to study*' was used with a preposition '*about*'.

The vocabulary used was similar to the vocabulary of other speakers who were in Germany during the interview recording phrase. It was characterized by the use of general and approximate vocabulary and by transfer of single words and entire language chunks from German. The example below illustrates this:

(8-110) *I want to I want to learn next level of my English and I want eh yeah <FLG> Mom*
</FLG>, at the moment I think that my English is eh <FLG> <u>sehr</u> </FLG> low, and I
am planning to go to learn.

The German adverb '*sehr*' is used in place of an adverb '*very*'.

Throughout the interview, Lena had difficulties understanding some of the questions.
How the interlocutors coped with the possible communication breakdowns is illustrated
below:

(8-111)

Interviewer: *Can you judge someone's English, evaluate someone's knowledge of English?*

Lena: *Judge?*

Interviewer: *Judge? Evaluate.*

Lena: *Mhm… can <break/> I don't <unclear> understand </unclear> <whisper>*

Interviewer: *Ah, can you describe whether this English is bad, is good or bad, when you hear*
the person speaking?

Lena*: My English?*

Interviewer: *No no no, somebody's. You hear someone speaking and then can you say*
whether his or her English is good or bad?

Lena: *Ah yes. I speak English mostly with people from <FLG> <u>Deutschland</u> </FLG>, and I*
think that English their English is good.

Interviewer: *And what do you base your judgment on?*

Lena: *They make eh <unclear> </unclear> they <u>they doesn't make mistakes.</u>*

Interviewer: *You mean what kind?*

Lena: Gra grammar mistakes and vocabulary eh eh they are various.

It is obvious that in the initial part of the conversation, Lena did not understand the question, even though it was paraphrased and repeated. Only in the final part of this excerpt, she understood the question and replied that her judgement of someone's language skills was based on '*a number of mistakes*' the speakers made. Apart from the inability to understand the interviewer, some syntactic deviations were observed. In the phrase, '*they does not make mistakes*', we see the absence of the subject-verb agreement; *the third-person plural* pronoun was used with *the third-person singular* auxiliary verb '*does*' in the negative form.

Thus, syntactic and lexical deviations from Standard English were observed in the entire interview. The transfer from Russian and German was observed both at the level of syntax and vocabulary. It is interesting that in the initial stage of the interview, the interference of German was greater than in the subsequent stages. German vocabulary was often noticed and replaced by the English counterparts. The English surrounding thus had effect on, and decreased occurrences of, code-switching to German.

The same results were observed in *the Global Test of English*: Lena's certainty rate was 55, 7%, and the correctness rate was 54, 5%, which suggest that Lena was neither confident about the structure of English, nor was she able to correctly apply it. In the temporal-aspectual part of the test, Lena's certainty rate was 50%, and the correctness rate was 44, 11%. The results of the written performance correspond to the spoken interview performance, i.e. uncertainty in the use of temporal-aspectual markers, and a low correspondence with Standard English. The speaker's proficiency level was between A2 and B1. Lena was able to understand utterances of most immediate relevance, communicate on simple and everyday topics requiring the exchange of information without going into the detail. The performance strategies were not numerous.

All in all, it was difficult to follow what Lena wanted to say. Lena, therefore, was not able to carry out the self-imposed performance requirement of constructing a coherent, appropriate, and grammatically correct discourse. In general, the transfer from German, grammatical inaccuracy, a lack of cohesion and fluency contributed to the performance in the excerpts that we saw above. Lena was neither extremely fluent nor grammatically correct. Given that grammatical correctness was not maintained in the interview, Lena did not meet the requirement of grammatical correctness.

8.5 Summary

The three major types of compliance with the requirements of performance were observed in the study. The analysis of the interview performance of study participants allowed the following observations to be made:

 a) <u>Full compliance with the requirements of performance</u>: There were speakers who managed to realize their performance requirements. The speakers, who focused on correctness, managed to maintain the appropriate level of correctness. This was reflected in the appropriate use of temporal and aspectual markers, the presence of agreement, the appropriate use of countable and uncountable nouns and prepositions. The speakers, who focused on fluency, managed to meet this performance requirement. This was reflected in producing coherent, comprehensible and grammatically correct discourse, which contained few stops and breaks, and in which there were no evident communication breakdowns. Considering this, it is possible to speak of the first type of compliance with the requirements of performance – *full compliance with the requirements of performance*;

 b) <u>Partial compliance with the requirements of performance</u>: There were two speakers in the study who wanted to meet two requirements in the performance: grammatical correctness and fluency. Upon the examination of their performance, it became clear that they only partially managed to meet them. One speaker managed to maintain a good level of grammatical correctness with the sacrifice of fluency, whereas the other met the requirement of fluency, and did not manage to meet the requirement of correctness. Considering this, it is possible to speak of *a partial compliance with the requirements of performance*.

 c) <u>No compliance with the requirements of performance</u>: Among speakers who strongly focused on grammatical correctness, there were speakers who did not meet this requirement of performance. In other words, it was not possible to classify the performance of these speakers as *grammatically correct*. The grammatical inaccuracy was often reflected in the incorrect and inappropriate use of temporal and aspectual markers, countable and uncountable nouns, prepositions and adverbs. The deviations on the temporal-aspectual plane included *the use of a wrong verbal morphology*, *the sequence of tenses*, and *the omission of the third-person singular-s*. Among the

syntactic deviations, there was *the wrong word order*, including *inversion in the indirect questions*, and *the absence of agreement*.

The analyses of the speakers' performance have shown that speakers do not always perform in ELF encounters as they intend and desire. Often, speakers failed to meet the requirements of performance because (i) their linguistic means of expression were limited, or (ii) they found themselves in a conflict of intentions, where the desire to be correct was overridden by the desire to be fluent, or the desire to be fluent was overridden by the desire to be grammatically correct.

Chapter 9. Performance strategies and the requirements of performance

9.1 Study objectives

Chapter 9 examines the strategic behaviour of study participants. The general questions addressed in this chapter are:

1.   What strategies are used by Slavic speakers in the interviews?

2.   What factors can account for the speakers' strategic behaviour?

3.   Why do some speakers use more strategies than the others?

4.   Why do speakers give preferences to certain types of strategies? What determines the selection and the exploitation of strategies in performance?

When defining strategies of performance in light of the requirements that speakers want to realize in their performance, it is important to examine whether the strategic competence plays a role and has effect on the realization of performance requirements. Given that all study participants had different requirements of performance – grammatical correctness, fluency, and both grammatical correctness and fluency – it is interesting to identify patterns of strategic behaviour that emerge in the performance of these speakers. In particular, I examine (i) which performance strategies were used by speakers who wanted to be fluent in their performance, pointing out how the use of strategies helped speakers to meet the requirement of fluency; and (ii) which performance strategies were used by speakers who wanted to be grammatically correct in their performance. As not all study participants managed to maintain grammatical correctness, special attention is paid to the use of strategies in the performance of speakers, who (a) managed to meet the requirement of grammatical correctness, and who (b) did not manage to meet the requirement of grammatical correctness, with an attempt to account for the conformity in the performance requirements by these speakers' strategic behaviour.

This chapter is structured as follows: initially, I define the term '*strategy*' used in the literature and give an overview of existing taxonomies and their foci. Then, I present the approach used in the study, which defines *strategy* in relation to the performance

requirements, and not in reference to problem-solving. Subsequently, I introduce a taxonomy used in the analysis by defining strategies and providing examples from the interview data. Next, I examine the strategic behaviour of (i) *fluency-focused*, (ii) *grammatical correctness-focused*, and (iii) *fluency- and grammatical correctness-focused speakers*. I conclude by generalizing that the performance requirements, and other features of speakers' requirements profiles, are likely to influence the selection and exploitation of strategies.

9.2 Performance strategies and existing taxonomies

The Cambridge International Dictionary of English (1995) defines strategy as a '*detailed plan for achieving success in situations or the skill of planning for such situations*' (Cambridge International Dictionary). The Miriam Webster's Dictionary defines strategy as '*an adaptation or complex of adaptations that serves or appears to serve an important function in achieving evolutionary success*' (www.merriam-webster.com/).

Before I discuss the nature of strategies and describe the strategies used by speakers for coping with communicative problems and meeting their performance requirements, it is important to keep in mind that there are different approaches to tackling strategies, as we shall find out below. A strategy can be viewed from at least two perspectives: (i) from the perspective of communication, and (ii) from the perspective of language learning. In other words, strategies may be part of the language learning and communication process. The first reference to communication strategies was made by Selinker, when he provided a description of *the speaker's interlanguage* (Selinker 1972). Selinker (1972) observed that when interlanguage speakers interact with each other they have to learn how to use their language to overcome limitations in the knowledge of the syntactic structure and lexical items. For example, a learner lacks a necessary lexical item or cannot retrieve it, so he/she chooses another lexical item or number of lexical items to describe his/her intended meaning. Selinker referred to the strategies used for this purpose as *communication strategies*, and claimed that their application had often caused learner errors.

With Hymes' (1974) inclusion of *communicative competence* into the speaker's *linguistic competence* in the late seventies, the term '*strategy*' began to be used as a wide concept that enhanced various aspects of the speaker's linguistic behaviour. Hymes' (1974) concept of *communicative competence* was further developed by Canale and Swain in the eighties (Canale & Swain, 1980). The model of communicative competence proposed by

Canale and Swain (1980, 1981) incorporated three main skills[23]: (i) *grammatical competence*, (ii) *sociolinguistic competence*, and (iii) *strategic competence*. According to this model, *grammatical competence* was concerned with mastery of the linguistic code, i.e. knowledge of vocabulary, and morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic rules of a particular language. These skills, according to this model, allowed speakers to understand and produce utterances. *Sociolinguistic competence* included knowledge of rules and conventions that allowed speakers to communicate appropriately in various communicative situations and contexts. Finally, *strategic competence* was seen as knowledge of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that speakers revert to, to compensate for breakdowns in communication that arise due to insufficient grammatical or sociolinguistic competence. Strategic competence began to be viewed as one of the four major components of the linguistic competence.

In the late seventies, Corder proposed a differentiation between *communication* and *learning strategies*, defining *communication strategies* as '*a systematic technique employed by the speaker to express his or her meaning when faced with some difficulty',* and *learning strategies* as '*strategies, which helped learners to develop their interlanguage'* (Corder 1878/ 1981: 103). The motivation beyond their use was *not to communicate*, but *to learn*. Memorizing, repetition, initiating conversations with native speakers, making inferences, and spelling were some examples of learning strategies (cf. Tarone 1980). The motivation beyond the use of communication strategies, on the other hand, was that the speaker's communicative resources are limited. Analyzing the nature of communication strategies, Corder pointed out that the speaker's selection of particular strategies depended on this speaker's assessment of hearer's linguistic capacities, and on the speaker's personality. Thus, both speaker and hearer were important in the selection of communication strategies.

The main task of strategy research in second language learning was to describe the ways in which speakers of foreign languages conveyed intended meaning when their linguistic resources were limited. Thus, one of the scholars' main concerns was to provide typologies of '*these ways'*. Typologies of communication strategies that have been developed from the mid-seventies often listed the same or similar phenomena, giving them different names. The first systematic description of communication strategies, done by Varadi (1973), was modified by Tarone, Cohen & Dumas (1976), Galvan & Campbell (1978), and Tarone

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[23] In 1983 Canale added *discourse competence* into the model (Canale 1983).

(1979, 1980). Tarone, Cohen & Dumas (1976), for example, were concerned with the taxonomy of strategies which could best capture the outcomes and involve the underlying processes. Tarone's central claim (1979, 1980) was that it was necessary to modify the definition of the term '*strategy*', and draw a clear line between *the strategies of language use*, i.e. communication strategies, and *the strategies of language learning*, i.e. strategies that foster learning. In her paper, '*Communication strategies, foreigner talk, and repair in interlanguage*' (1980), Tarone pointed out that although communication strategies may foster learning, they do not have to; so, not all communication strategies are learning strategies (Tarone 1980: 419). In her account of communication strategies, Tarone (1980) described a strategic process in the following way: (i) *a speaker desires to communicate meaning X to a listener*; (ii) *a speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure desired to communicate X is unavailable*, (iii) *the speaker choses* (a) *to avoid or not attempt to communicate meaning X*, or (b) *attempt alternate means to communicate meaning X* (Tarone 1980: 419).

The account proposed by Faerch and Kasper (1983), on the contrary, provided a general account of communication strategies, without differentiating between communication and learning strategies used by language learners and non-learners. Instead, they suggested the consideration of communication strategies in terms of the *behaviour* that caused certain strategies to emerge (Faerch & Kasper 1983: 36). In particular, Faerch and Kasper divided all communication strategies into *achievement strategies* (a speaker faces a problem and wants to achieve his/her communicative aim, i.e. to solve it) and *avoidance strategies* (a speaker faces a problem, and wants to reduce his/her communicative task, i.e. avoid it); in other words, they were concerned with *the speakers' reaction* toward arising communication problems. Within *achievement strategies*, Faerch and Kasper differentiated between *code-switching, interlingual transfer, intralingual transfer*, *paraphrase*, *generalization, coinage,* and *restructuring* (Faerch & Kasper 1983: 47). *Code-switching* involved switching to other languages known to the speaker. *Interlingual transfer* involved the application of rules from the previously known languages, possibly modifying transferred lexical items and structures to meet the constraints of L2. The modifications included phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical adjustments (Faerch & Kasper 1983: 47). *Transfer*, i.e. direct translation of L1 items and expressions into English, was an example of lexical adjustment. *Intralingual transfer* involved transfer of L2 features on L2 items. *Paraphrase, generalization, and coinage* were usually used by speakers when their linguistic capacities were limited or

appropriate vocabulary could not be retrieved (Faerch & Kasper 1983: 47). *Paraphrasing*, speakers use lexical units or expressions they know will compensate for a lexical expression or item they do not know. In particular, speakers use two or more lexical items to describe one word or give examples to illustrate the meaning they want to convey. Using *generalization*, speakers often replace a specific lexeme, which content-wise is more general. This included the use of *general* and not appropriate vocabulary. Using the strategy of *coinage*, speakers coin or invent new vocabulary by means of available linguistic structures or units. An example of such a unit may be a word-building process, such as affixation or prefixation from the speaker's L1 or L2. Another achievement strategy, a strategy of *restructuring*, is used when a speaker '*realizes that he cannot complete a local plan, which he has already begun realizing*', because of various reasons (Faerch & Kasper 1983: 50).

Within *strategies of avoidance*, Faerch and Kasper differentiated between strategies of *formal reduction*, and strategies of *functional reduction*. When a speaker wants to avoid producing utterances which he/she thinks are incorrect, either because of syntax or vocabulary, he/she may use structures or expressions that have become automatized. Doing so, he/she minimizes or reduces those structures, which do not comply with the requirement of automaticity (Faerch & Kasper 1983: 38). In performance, strategies of *formal reduction* often manifest at the lexical level, when speakers stop in the middle of their utterances because they lack a particular lexical item or cannot retrieve it. In other words, speakers reduce form using formal reduction strategies. Making use of the *functional reduction strategies*, speakers reduce the communicative function of an utterance. In particular, they may want *to avoid the topic*, *abandon the message* or *replace the message*. Whereas speakers clearly give up a communicative message when they *avoid the topic* or *abandon the message*, they preserve the message or express it in a different way when they *replace the message*.

Other influential taxonomies of language strategies were those of Tarone (1977), Bialystok (1983), Paribakht (1985), Willems (1987), and the Nijmegen Group with Bongaerts, Kellerman & Poulisse (1997). In comparison to other approaches to communication strategies, which were mainly descriptive, the researchers of the Nijmegen Group argued that communicative strategies were mental procedures; therefore, it was necessary to investigate cognitive processes underlying strategic language use. They argued that a focus on the surface structure, and not on the deep structure, may mislead researchers when they provide taxonomies of language strategies.

From what was discussed above, it becomes clear that there is much diversity and little agreement in how the term *strategy* is used, and which types of strategies are identified. Strategies, often discussed in literature, are: (i) *communication strategies*, and (ii) *learning strategies*. Contrary to *communication strategies*, which help speakers to solve situation-specific problems when they have insufficient vocabulary, *learning strategies* help learners to fulfil their requirements of performance and their requirements of learning (Kohn 1990: 116)[24].

The most frequently discussed and, at the same time, the most controversial features of strategies are: (i) *problematicity* (Bialystok 1983) or problem-orientedness, (ii) *intentionality*, and (iii) *consciousness*. As mentioned earlier, it is often believed that strategies are used when speakers recognize a communicative problem and want to solve it. Because it is taken for granted that strategies are used to solve problems, strategies are often seen by researchers as *plans*. Faerch and Kasper, for example, defined strategies as *'potentially conscious plans for solving what to individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal'* (Faerch & Kasper 1983: 36). Disagreeing with this position, Kohn pointed out that strategies are not only used by speakers when speakers have to deal with a problem, or when speakers recognize a problem (Kohn 1990: 112). Quite often, speakers use strategies without having to solve a particular problem. It is, therefore, more plausible, as Kohn pointed out, to define *strategies as processes of performance*, which help speakers to realize their performance requirements and meet their communicative needs, and not as plans, which speakers apply to solve problems. In other words, *performance strategies are intentional processes, by means of which speakers have to find a correspondence between their requirements of performance[25] and the products of performance by means of their knowledge* (Kohn 1990: 117). Performance strategies thus indicate how speakers use their available linguistic knowledge to realize their requirements of performance, such as *grammatical correctness*, *fluency*, or *comprehensibility* in the best way possible. These communicative targets, however, are different from what Faerch & Kasper defined as '*problems*'. The requirements of individual speakers seem to be crucial in defining and

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[24] According to *Kohn's model of performance*, learners can (i) adapt their requirement profile to communicative situations, (ii) adjust their performance according to their requirement profiles through correct implementation of their linguistic knowledge, and (iii) develop and expand their requirement-specific knowledge using, if necessary (Kohn 1990: 117).

[25] The relevant performance requirements are the requirements of (i) *grammatical correctness*, (ii) *fluency*, (iii) *comprehensibility* (Kohn 1990: 117).

selecting strategies which can best satisfy these individual speakers. To illustrate how the speaker's strategic behaviour manifests in his/her requirement profile, let us consider the following example: *the speaker A* wants to be grammatically correct in his/her performance. To meet this aim, the speaker *intentionally* chooses strategies which can best help him/her to achieve this aim; in other words, he/she has to apply the available linguistic means in the best possible way. One of the possibilities, as Kohn rightly remarked, was to use only the grammatical structures which this speaker was certain about, avoiding structures he/she was not certain about. In this connection, Kohn (1990) emphasized that it is important to differentiate between *strategies of preference* and *strategies of avoidance* (Kohn 1990: 118). Using *the strategies of preference*, the speaker only choses constructions he/she is certain about; *using the strategies of avoidance*, on the contrary, the speaker does not use the constructions which he/she is not certain about. If grammatical correctness is the aim the speaker wanted to achieve in communication, it is possible to speak of the strategy that is directly intended to achieve this aim, i.e. the strategy of adhering to the grammatical correctness (Kohn 1990: 121). Kohn also pointed out that it was not relevant for the analysis of the speakers' strategic behaviour whether the structures used were correct regarding the native speaker norm (Kohn 1990: 117). It follows, that *intentionality* – another feature of strategies – comes into play when speakers of foreign language want to realize their requirements of performance. Thus, analysing the strategic behaviour of a particular speaker, it is important that the requirements the speaker wants to realize and the linguistic means he/she has available to achieve this aim are kept in mind. Seemingly problematic, is finding out which of the speaker's output is intentional and which is not, and whether particular linguistic means are used to realize particular intentions (Kohn 1990: 118).

Another feature of strategies, often discussed in literature, is *consciousness*. In their approach, Faerch & Kasper claimed that consciousness, in the application of strategies, is a gradual, not a categorical matter, and *consciousness or unconsciousness,* in the application of strategies, depends on the type of strategy used and the particular linguistic realizations of the strategy (Faerch & Kasper 1983). Because of this, they define strategies '*as potentially conscious*' (Faerch & Kasper 1983: 36).

From what I have shown so far, it is clear that strategic processes manifest at the level of performance when speakers recognize they need to meet the self-imposed requirements of performance, such as, grammatical correctness and fluency. It may seem that particular linguistic means – a lexeme, lexical expression, morphosemantic or morphosyntactic structure

– are used restrictively to achieve the speaker's particular aim. In other words, there is a one to one correspondence between linguistic means of expression, a strategy, and a goal, i.e. a requirement that a speaker wants to meet. This, however, is far from reality. Given that strategic processes occur at the level of performance, and the speaker's performance is heterogeneous where the linguistic means are concerned, it is hardly ever the case that there is a one to one correspondence between the linguistic means of expressions, strategies, and communicative goals. In other words, the speakers' performance develops from a complex interaction of strategies. With regard to this question, it is important to see to what extent speakers are able to influence and adapt their performance requirements, as Kohn observed (Kohn 1990: 122). Discussing the use of strategies in performance, Kohn (1990) gave examples of how speakers manage to realize their requirements of grammatical correctness and fluency. For instance, speakers, who impose on themselves the requirement of fluency, may use strategies that help them to achieve this aim. Code-switching is one example of strategies of this kind. Speakers, who want to be grammatically correct in their performance, may want to use strategies which are helpful in achieving this aim. Avoiding particular topics, forms and structures, and changing the topic may be helpful in achieving this aim. Topic avoidance and message abandonment are some of the examples of this kind (Kohn 1990: 122). Thus, a particular strategy may be used by speakers to fulfil a certain purpose. Another point to keep in mind is that we cannot exclude the possibility that the used strategy may overlap with another strategy, by means of which a speaker unintentionally fulfils another requirement of performance. It is also possible to identify strategic processes used by speakers for fulfilling their performance requirements; it is, however, important not to ignore that one linguistic manifestation may include a number of strategic processes.

Before I move to the typology and description of strategic processes observed in the data, I will summarize the points of criticism directed toward the study of strategies. The main points of criticism made by Dörnyei and Skehan (2003) and Dörnyei (2005) included the following: (i) *strategies are often defined as cognitive, emotional and behavioural concepts*; (ii) *the existing taxonomies do not fully cover all strategies used by the speakers*; (iii) *strategies overlap*; and, finally (iv) *it is impossible to differentiate between strategies which are part of ordinary learning activity and strategic learning activity* (Dörnyei 2005).

To summarize, *strategy*, as a concept in social psychology and language learning, is difficult to define. The definition of *strategy* is based on the researcher's interest and the issue of inquiry. Depending on whether or not researchers consider strategies from the perspective

of *learning*, *problem-solving,* or *fulfilling the speakers' own performance requirements*, strategies can be addressed as (i) *communication strategies*, (ii) *learning strategies* and, (iii) *strategies of performance.* Whereas applied linguists do not agree on such two features of strategies as *planning* and *consciousness*, they often agree on the presence of *intentionality* in the speakers' strategic use.

Considering that strategic processes manifest in the speakers' performance, I will analyse strategies as processes that take place at the level of performance, hence *performance strategies* (Kohn 1990). Given that speakers intentionally use strategies to fulfil their requirements of performance, and not to solve an individual communicative problem, I will examine the use of strategies from the perspective of speakers' requirement profiles. In particular, I will look at (i) whether speakers are able to meet their performance requirements –fluency and/or grammatical correctness – through *the strategic use* of available linguistic expressions, and (ii) which strategies are preferred by speakers who have the same or similar requirements of performance. Thus, the strategic behaviour of speakers will be examined against the background of performance requirements.

9.3   Performance strategies in the interviews

In the following section, I will give an overview and describe strategies that emerged in the interviews. To define the strategies, I will make a reference to the taxonomies in which these strategies were also identified. I will give examples from the data to illustrate the type of strategy discussed.

The following eight strategies were identified and considered in greater detail: (i) *ad hoc coinage*, (ii) *paraphrase*, (iii) *restructuring*, (iv) *transfer*, (v) *code-switching*, (vi) *reduction*, (vii) *self-correction*, and (viii) *appeal for assistance*. I will now define these strategies, indicating whether they were included in other taxonomies, based on Dörnyei and Scott (1997), and provide example from the data to illustrate them.

(i) *Ad hoc coinage* (also appears in the taxonomy of T, F&K, B, W, N[26]: *morphological creativity*).

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[26] The following abbreviations are used to refer the taxonomies of strategies T-Tarone, 1977; F&K-Faerch and Kasper, 1983b; B-Bialystok, 1983; Paribakht, 1985; W-Willems, 1987; N-Nijmegen Group (adapted from Dörney & Scott 1997).

It is possible to speak of a strategy of *ad hoc coinage* when the speaker *makes up a new* word or lexical expression in order to communicate a desired concept (e.g. *airball* for *balloon*). Creating a non-existing English word, a speaker usually applies a supposing English rule to an existing English word. It is also possible that a speaker applies existing rules from previously known languages, including English to (i) *the English words* or (ii) *the words from previously known languages*, such as German, for example. The newly coined word is likely to be used only once in the context which has arisen and caused this particular coinage. The newly coined word, therefore, satisfies the requirement of the speaker in this particular situation. The three examples below are instances of *ad hoc coinage*:

(9-1) *You can learn eh some new words, but for people who are <u>maturitizing</u>, as I think, main thing is to have something interesting, some literature, or some text of the subject.*

(9-2) *But exams, they have some <u>stricts</u>, some borders.*

(9-3) *But if to translate it correctly, how we are using this term its <u>Ethnopolitology</u>, well, it could be somehow refer to the term Ethnopolitics, yeah.*

All of the three examples illustrate instances of *ad hoc coinage*. In (9-1), a speaker coined a verb '*to maturitize*' by a means of suffixation applied to an adjective '*mature*'. In (9-2), an adjective '*strict*' changed a word class and became a noun; a speaker then added a plural noun inflection –s to the newly coined word. In the last example from this set, we have an instance of coinage by means of compounding two stems '*ethno*' and '*politics*', resulting in the coinage of new discipline '*ethnopolitics*'.

(ii) *Paraphrasing* (also used in T, F & K, W, P, B: *description*, N) is another strategy, often observed in the interview performance of Slavic speakers. It is possible to speak of *paraphrase* when a speaker uses a target language vocabulary or structure which is not necessarily correct or appropriate according to the native speaker norm. A lexical item or structure, however, shares enough semantic features in common with the desired item to satisfy the speaker's communicative needs. *Paraphrase*, as it will be illustrated below, may have different forms. Lacking sufficient resources to convey the desired concept, a speaker may revert to (i) *describing or illustrating the characteristics or elements* of the object or action; (ii) *exemplifying the characteristics or elements of the object, or action*, and (iii) *using approximate and general target language vocabulary*, which, in the speaker's mind, shares some semantic features with the desired concept. In the data, it often appears that there is not only one paraphrasing unit, but an entire *paraphrasing chain*, which consists of a number of

elements that helps the speaker to convey the desired concept. Some examples of the *paraphrases* used in the data, are given below:

(9-4) *I have some pronunciation, which <u>mean foreigner pronunciation</u>*.

In this example, a speaker intended to convey a concept of '*a non-native accent*, or '*foreign accent*'. Using the nouns '*foreigner*' and '*pronunciation*', he/she conveyed the desired concept.

(iii) *Restructuring* (also used in F & K, W: self-repair) is a strategy that speakers use when they realize that they cannot execute and complete a verbal plan because of language difficulties. Unwilling to abandon the message totally, speakers look for an alternative plan to communicate the intended message. As in *paraphrasing*, it is common to have an entire *restructuring chain* consisting of elements, which speakers use to convey what they initially intended.

(9-5) *Well, let me recall, what I was teaching. Well, actually, <u>I am working</u> <break/>, <u>I am a part-time worker here</u>, because like, first, firstly, I am occupied with my studying at <NLU> aspirantura </NLU>, which is not PhD.*

In this example, a speaker wanted to convey to the hearer that she worked part-time. Unable to retrieve a word, or not knowing how to continue, she abandoned her initial plan, and by restructuring the utterance in such a way so that she used the structure and vocabulary she knew, the speaker managed to complete the message.

(iv) *Code-switching* (also used in F &K B, W, N: transfer) is a strategy of performance, which is based on the use of single words and/or whole chunks from a language, which is not the main language of communication in a particular setting. A switch to German or Russian in a conversation held in English, is an example of code-switching. The reasons for switching to another language in conversations are diverse, and as McCormick points out, '*they* [the reasons] *are more subtle than in the situational code-switching*[27]*, and therefore, harder to identify with certainty. In some cases, they* [language switches] *are practically impossible to account for*' (McCormick 2001: 449). Speakers may be conscious of switching, or they may not be. Some of the identified reasons for strategic *code-switching* are: (i) signalling a

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[27] In a situational code-switching, a speaker's change of a language depends on a change of interlocutors, topic or situation (McCormick 2001: 49).

speaker's identity, or belonging to a particular speech community (McCormick 2001: 449), (ii) making a remark that is not part of the main narrative (including asking an interlocutor for assistance), if the interlocutors share the same language, (iii) coping with vocabulary gaps that exist in the language used, as for example, culture-specific terms; and finally, (iv) coping with gaps that exist in the speaker's vocabulary, and not in the language. Sometimes, these gaps are temporary, which implies that a speaker is unable to recall a word at the moment of speaking, but is able to recall it at another time. In the interview data, the switches to Russian, Ukrainian, and German were observed. The examples that I present below illustrate some instances of this process:

(9-6) *I was travelling to Pakistan and <NLU> Arabski Emiraty </NLU>, Dubai.*
(9-7) *I don't want to enter our University of <NLU> Inyaz </NLU>.*

In these two examples, a speaker switched to Russian. Whereas in the first example, the speaker used a Russian name for *the United Arab Emirates*, in the second example, she not only gave a Russian name, '*inyaz',* for the *university of foreign languages*, but also compounded it with an English noun, '*University of Inyaz'*. Whether these two instances were consciously exploited or not, is impossible to say.

(v) *Transfer* (also used in T, W, N, F & K: interlingual transfer) is a strategy of performance which involves transfer of lexical items, idioms, compound words or structures from previously acquired languages into English. When English is used for the purpose of communication, speakers are likely *to transfer* structures and lexical expressions, either from their native language and/or from other languages they have previously acquired. In the interview data, the speakers' first languages and German, an additional language, were the sources of transfer. Depending on which feature of a previously acquired language is transferred, the distinction is made between the types of transfer. In this manner, it is possible to differentiate between: (i) *lexical transfer*, and (ii) *morphosyntactic transfer*, (iii) *phonetic and phonological transfer*. Most of the items that will be discussed in the text refer to *the lexical transfer*. In *lexical transfer*, it is possible that there is a semantic correspondence, or match, between the lexical item which is transferred and the target language item. It is also possible, however, that there is only phonetic correspondence between the item which is being transferred and the target language items, in other words, there is a mismatch between the semantic meaning of both items. In the case of mismatch the problem of '*false friends*' becomes evident. Two examples which occurred in the data were: (i) a verb '*to become*', and

(ii) a noun '*magazine*'. A German verb '*bekommen*' has the meaning of '*to get*' in English. As it is phonetically similar to English, speakers use it, unaware that there is a mismatch between the semantic meanings, as the English verb '*to become*' means '*werden*' in German. The same applies to the transfer of a Russian noun '*magazine*', meaning '*a shop*' into English. Unaware that in English, a noun '*magazine*' is used to refer to '*a periodical containing a collection of articles, stories and pictures, which is published weekly or monthly*', Slavic speakers use it in English.

(9-8) *So everything, which is in this <u>magazine</u> I ordered, and so, it's really interesting because it's like <break/> I was <break/> don't know, <u>the birth of this magazine</u> was by my some, it was like </break>*

Transfer of lexical items with a mismatching semantic meaning in the transferred and the target language structure is likely to cause comprehensibility problems to those interlocutors who do not share the same language with the speaker. An example, which illustrates transfer of language chunks from Russian and illustrates this problem, is given below:

(9-9) *But in business world, there are really a lot of persons which are perfect, and I think they have to be perfect because they <u>work on contracts</u>.*

A Russian speaker of English transfers a Russian expression '*rabotat' po kontraktu*' (En: to have a contract with a company or organization) into English. She directly translates the lexical components and connects them by means of an English preposition '*on*'. This type of transfer, similar to the previous type of transfer, can cause comprehensibility difficulties to speakers, who do not share the same language with the speaker.

(vi*) Reduction* (also used in F&K) is a performance strategy, used by speakers when they cannot complete an utterance and leave it unfinished because of a lack of linguistic resources. Linguistic resources or language difficulties may include gaps in vocabulary and uncertainty in the grammatical structure. A speaker can either reduce a structure or message, depending on what is problematic for him/ her in the utterance that he/she initiated. By reducing the structure or message, the speaker, therefore, avoids certain language structures or topics that are problematic for him/her language-wise. In performance, the use of reduction strategies often shows in the breaks in production. An example from the data, given below, illustrates the use of this strategy by one speaker:

(9-10) *I didn't have problems of conversation with them, because they knew we are foreigners, so we just <break/> so, they were helping us, I would say.*

In this example, a Slavic speaker of English reports on having no difficulties communicating with English native speakers. Attempting to give more information about herself and her experience with English native speakers, she, surprisingly, reduces and then abandons the statement completely. She finishes by a making a positive statement about English native speakers, specifying that they helped the non-native speakers.

(vii) *Appeal for assistance* (also used in T, F & K, W) is a performance strategy, used by non-native speakers of English when they address their interlocutors and ask them for *assistance*, *clarification,* or *confirmation*. Appeal for assistance, as the interview data and other taxonomies of communication strategies illustrate, can be (i) *direct*, and (ii) *indirect*. *Direct appeal* for assistance, as the name suggests, presupposes that a speaker of English *directly* turns to the interlocutor and asks a question, which helps him/her to close the gap in knowledge. The examples for this type of *appeal for assistance* are given below:

(9-11) *Pravilno?* (English: *Is it correct?)*

(9-12) *I don't know how to say it in English.*

Here, the speaker switched to Russian to ask if what she said was correct, using the question 'Is it correct?' The speaker indirectly appeals for assistance, when he/she tries to elicit help from the interlocutor by *indirectly* expressing a lack of a needed L2 item. *The indirect appeal* for assistance can be done verbally or non-verbally. The following linguistic manifestations of this strategy were observed in the data:

(9-13) *I don't know how to say it in English.*

(9-14) *If it is correct to say it.*

(9-15) *I don't know how to say it better.*

All of these examples illustrate that speakers were aware and admitted that they did not know how to convey certain concepts and terms in English. By making a statement about their inability to find an appropriate English word, they indirectly asked the interlocutor for assistance. The statements above, intended as an apology, also have the communicative function of requesting assistance from the interlocutor.

In *the indirect appeal for assistance*, there are also phrases that are used to indirectly ask the interviewer for *clarification* and *confirmation* of what was said. The example from the interview data illustrates this:

(9-16) *I think, I don't understand completely what you mean, I mean.*

The data have illustrated that the use of this strategy always reaches its aim; the interlocutor repeats a question, paraphrases it, clarifies it, or even translates if necessary.

(viii) *Self-correction*. As all performance strategies were defined as relating to the requirements of performance, *self-correction* was viewed as a strategy of performance since it helped speakers to meet their requirement of grammatical correctness. The use of the strategy of *self-correction*, as the name suggests, lies in the speaker's correction of an utterance, when he/she recognizes that what was produced does not satisfy his/her knowledge of correctness. *Self-correction*, as in case of paraphrase, may include more than one constituent; in this case, one could speak of *a self-correction chain*. The speaker would normally stop correcting his/her utterance, once his/her expectations of correctness are met. Whether the corrected construction is correct, according to the native speaker norm, is not relevant (Kohn 1990). The use of *self-correction* shows the importance of grammatical correctness for the speaker and that he/she monitors his/her production. *Self-correction* as a process of performance may be applied to both grammatical constructions and vocabulary. The example, shown below, illustrates self-correction applied to the use of English tense – the present simple, and the present progressive.

(9-17) *University, Economical department and now I am working in the company, which* *handle which is handling whole sales of household appliances.*

Realizing that the produced structure '*which handle*' does not satisfy the speaker's own knowledge of correctness, the speaker changes it into the present progressive '*which is handling*'. She stops once her own expectations of correctness are met.

Above, I have presented eight performance strategies that were identified in the production of Slavic speakers of English. Most strategies, which I considered, were part of other taxonomies of communication strategies. Because I defined performance strategies in regards to the speakers' performance requirements, it is possible to suppose that the use of particular strategies fosters the fulfilment of the speakers' performance requirements. The strategies, generally speaking, can be divided into those which foster (i) grammatical

correctness, hence correctness-oriented, and (ii) fluency, hence, fluency-oriented. Considering the processes involved in the use of strategies, it is possible that such strategies, as *ad hoc coinage, paraphrase*, *code-switching*, *transfer* are likely to be used by speakers who want to meet the *requirement of fluency,* whereas such strategies, as *reduction* and *self-correction* are likely to be used by speakers who want to meet the requirement of *grammatical correctness*. The strategies of *appeal for assistance* and *restructuring* are likely to be used by speakers who focus on correctness and fluency.

To summarize, setting a target of fluency in communication may require the speakers to use strategies that can facilitate the realization of this goal. Similarly, setting a target of grammatical correctness may require the speakers to (subconsciously) use strategies that allow them to achieve this goal. Thus, if the speakers' target is fluency, one may expect more fluency-oriented strategies in the performance of these speakers. In this case, a threat to grammatical correctness is also possible. Likewise, if the speakers' target is grammatical correctness, one may expect more correctness-oriented strategies and fewer strategies that might threaten grammatical correctness.

9.4 Strategic behaviour, fluency and grammatical correctness

In the following section, I examine the distribution of strategies in the performance of speakers who focused on fluency and grammatical correctness, with an attempt to identify strategic patterns common for speakers with the same performance requirements. Thus, in the analysis of speakers' strategic competence, in relation to their performance requirements, strategies are examined with regard to the speakers' performance requirements. The figure below gives an overview of strategies used by speakers.

Figure 9-1. The use of strategies in the speakers' interview performance.

#	Speaker	Ad hoc coinage	Paraphrase	Restructuring	Code–switching	Transfer	Reduction	Self-correction	Appeal for assistance	Total	Correctness	Fluency	Learner	Satisfied	Preferred interlocutors	Certainty rate	Correctness rate
1.	Agnes	0	10	2,5	25	10	5	30	17,5	100		+	+	+	NS, NNS	-	-
2.	Alena G.	0	37	18	0	9	9	27	0	100	+		+	+	NS, NNS	-	-
3.	Dmitry	0	5	9	39	12	11	24	0	100	+				NS, NNS	88,6	71,6
4.	Lena M.	5	16	4	13	16	24	22	0	100	+			+	NS, NNS	69,3	51,2
5.	Lena T.	0	0	5	54	12	8	17	6	100	+		+		NS	55,7	54,5
6.	Natalya L.	14,3	12	31	2,9	8,6	11	11	9	100		+	+	+	NS	82,9	56,8
7.	Natalya T.	0	4	0	13	49	13	4	17	100	+	+		+	NS, NNS	60,2	50
8.	Oksana	0	16	15	23,1	23	15	8	0	100	+		+	+	NS, NNS	93,1	77,3
9.	Olga	22,2	28	11	5,5	11	0	11	11,2	100		+	+	+	NS, NNS	-	-
10.	Pavlo	0	21	21	9,1	13,6	8	8	21	100	+		+		NS, NNS	67	66
11.	Sebastian	0	10	15	35	0	5	20	15	100	+	+			NNS	52,3	67
12.	Sergiy	0	6	44	0	0	19	31	0	100	+		+	+	NS	-	-
13.	Tanya	0	30	13,9	9,3	25,5	2,3	0	19	100		+		+	NNS	-	-
14.	Tomas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		+		+	NS	66	75
15.	Vladimir	0	0	50	0	0	0	50	0	100	+		+	+	NS, NNS	-	-

242

9.4.1 Strategic behaviour and fluency

The focus of this subchapter is to examine which performance strategies were used by speakers who wanted to focus on fluency in their performance. I found in the previous chapter that all five speakers who wanted to maintain fluency in their performance were able to do so. In the following part, I will discuss the strategic behaviour of these speakers, identifying how the strategies used helped these speakers to meet their main requirement of performance – fluency.

Initially, I give an overview of how speakers, who focus on fluency, use such performance strategies as (i) *ad hoc coinage*, (ii) *paraphrase*, and (iii) *restructuring*. The discussion is followed by examining how strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer* are used. Next, I examine how speakers in this group use strategies of *reduction*, and whether their performance includes instances of self-correction, given that grammatical correctness was not the focus of their attention. The figure below illustrates the use of *ad hoc coinage*, *paraphrase*, and *restructuring* by fluency-focused speakers.

Figure 9-2. The use of strategies of ad hoc coinage, paraphrase and restructuring by fluency-focused speakers (%)

#	Speaker	Ad hoc coinage	Paraphrase	Restructuring
1.	Agnes	0	10	2,5
2.	Natalya L.	14,3	12	31
3.	Olga	22,2	28	11
4.	Tanya	0	30	13,9
5.	Tomas	0	0	0

This figure illustrates that instances of *ad hoc coinage* were not frequent in the performance of fluency-focused speakers. In particular, it was observed in the production of only two speakers. In the performance of Natalya L., it was used 14, 3% and in the performance of Olga, it was used 22, 2%. As mentioned earlier, in the production of other fluency-focused speakers, *ad hoc coinage* was not observed.

Paraphrase was observed in the production of four out of five speakers. The use of this strategy was the highest in the performance of Tanya, i.e. 30% followed by 28% in the production of Olga. In the performance of Natalya L. and Agnes, there were fewer instances

of *paraphrase*. In the production of Agnes paraphrase was limited to 10% of all strategies used, and in the production of Natalya, it was limited to 12%.

Instances of *restructuring* were found in the production of four out of five speakers. The occurrence ranged from the lowest 2, 5%, in the production of Agnes, to the highest 31%, in the production of Natalya L. Tanya used strategies of *restructuring* 13, 9% of all strategies used, and Olga used 11%.

The figure below summarizes how strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer* were used by speakers who focused on fluency in their performance.

Figure 9-3. The use of strategies of code-switching and transfer by fluency-focused speakers (%)

#	Speaker	Code-switching	Transfer
1.	Agnes	25	10
2.	Natalya L.	2,9	8,6
3.	Olga	5,5	11
4.	Tanya	9,3	25,5
5.	Tomas	0	0

Occurrences of *code-switching* and *transfer* emerged in the interviews of four out of five study participants. As before, neither *code-switching* nor *transfer* was observed in the performance of Tomas. The lowest occurrence of *code-switching* was observed in the performance of Natalya L, i.e. 2, 9%, and the highest occurrence of *code-switching* was observed in the performance of Agnes, i.e. 25%. Olga's use of *code-switching* reached 5, 5%. In the performance of Tanya, instances of *code-switching* were observed 9, 3% of all strategies used.

The highest use of *transfer* was observed in the performance of Tanya, i.e. 25, 5% and the lowest use was observed in the production of Natalya L., i.e. 8, 6%. Olga's use of *transfer* reached 11% and the use by Agnes reached 10%.

Given that both strategies of *reduction* and *self-correction* involve changing the initial plan, and do not help speakers to improve fluency, compared to the functional load of other strategies, such as *paraphrase*, *ad hoc coinage*, *code-switching* and *transfer*, it is interesting

to see whether five fluency-focused speakers use these strategies in their performance. Figure 9-4 summarizes the results.

Figure 9-4. The use of strategies of reduction and self-correction by fluency-focused speakers (%)

#	Speaker	Reduction	Self-correction
1.	Agnes	5	30
2.	Natalya L.	11	11
3.	Olga	0	11
4.	Tanya	2,3	0
5.	Tomas	0	0

Considering the results above, it becomes obvious that strategies of *reduction* and *self-correction* were not the most preferred by the speakers. *Reduction* was observed in the performance of three speakers out of five, and in the performance of these three speakers, it was not frequent. The lowest use of *reduction strategies* was observed in the performance of Tanya, i.e. 2, 3% and the highest score was observed in the performance of Natalya L., i.e. 11%. Agnes' use of strategies of *reduction* reached 5% of the overall use of strategies. In the production of Tomas and Olga, strategies of *reduction* were not observed.

Similarly, *self-correction* was observed in the production of three out of five speakers – Olga, Agnes, and Natalya L. Most instances of self-*correction* were observed in the production of Agnes, i.e. 30%, and the least instances of *self-correction* were observed in the production of Olga, i.e. 11%. In the performance of Tanya and Tomas, strategies of *self-correction* were not observed.

Having looked at the overall distribution of strategies in the performance of five fluency-focused speakers, I suggest examining the strategic behaviour of each speaker in this group. Before I continue, I should note that all speakers who wanted to fulfil the requirement of fluency in their performance, managed to do so. The following discussion will thus focus on the strategies, which, to my mind, enabled these speakers to realize their main performance requirement. The strategic behaviour of Tanya will be examined first.

1. Tanya

Tanya, a Ukrainian native speaker in the study, who focused on fluency, was satisfied with her English and did not consider herself a learner of English. She also preferred non-native speakers as communication partners (see Chapter 5 on the overview of speakers and their requirement profiles). How Tanya used strategies in the interview is summarized in Figure 9-5 below:

Figure 9-5. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Tanya (%)
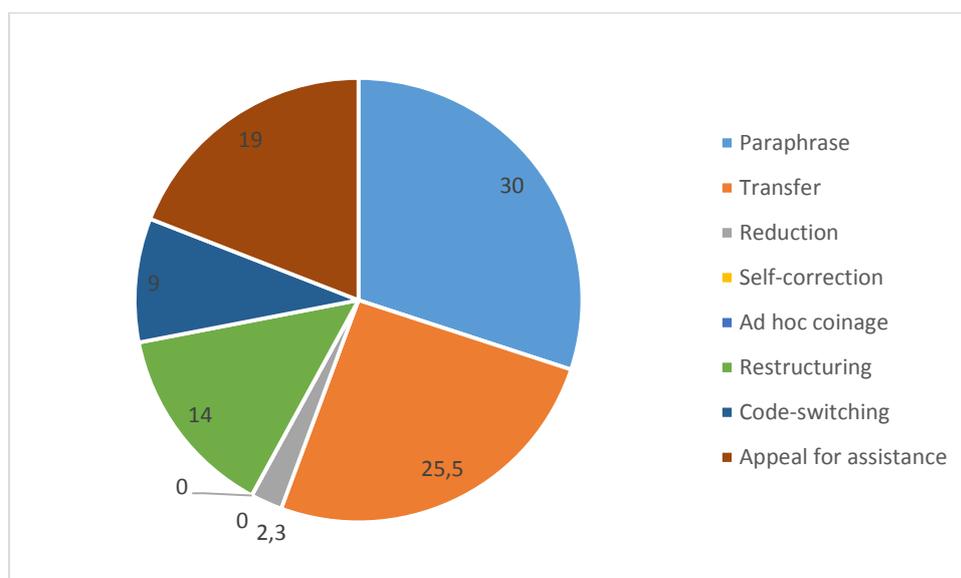
In the interview, the most frequently used performance strategy was *paraphrase* (30%), followed by the strategy of *transfer* (25, 5%).The least frequently used strategy was *strategy of reduction*, which emerged as only 2, 3% of all strategies used. Neither strategies of *self-correction* nor strategies of *ad hoc coinage* were observed in Tanya' performance. Tanya *appealed for assistance* in 19% of all used strategies. The speaker clearly gave preference to such performance strategies as *paraphrase* (30%), *transfer* (25, 5%), *appeal for assistance* (19%), and *restructuring* (13, 9%).

Now, what can account for such distribution of strategies in Tanya's performance? One of the possible explanations is the speaker's requirement profile and the orientation toward fluency. It is possible that because Tanya required herself to maintain fluency in performance, she used strategies (intentionally and maybe unconsciously) that helped her to achieve this. Strategies of paraphrase, transfer, appeal for assistance, and restructuring are an

illustration of this use. In the self-assessment comments, Tanya did not assess herself as a language learner; at the same time, she claimed to be satisfied with herself. No instances of self-correction and only 2, 3% of strategies of reduction are an illustration of this. Strategies of reduction intend to reduce the communicative function and form when the speaker does not know how to complete an initial plan because of the fear of making mistakes. Since Tanya did not have this fear, she successfully completed her message while rarely using reduction strategies.

Now, let me present some of the linguistic manifestations of the strategies used. It should be noted that the linguistic manifestations, which I am describing, occur at the level of performance. *Paraphrase* and *restructuring*, for example, emerge due to triggering L2 capacities when appropriate lexical items or expressions are not available or retrieval difficulties are observed. By referring to *paraphrase*, for example, the speaker does not reduce the meaning, but anticipates the conveyance of the same utterance meaning by different lexical items or a combination of them. Below, are a few examples of *paraphrase* used by Tanya:

(a) using approximate words, which share semantic features with the desired expression or concept

(9-18) *To complement each other – to combine each other*

> *We was good, two of us, but we was very different, you know. We do different work, so we like <u>combine each other</u>.*

In this example, the speaker used a lexical expression to '*combine each other',* implying, supposedly, that her partner and she *'complemented each other'*.

In the following example, the speaker tried to convey the expression, '*to be different from*', by using the expression, '*to be separate from*'.

(9-19) *To be different from – to be separate from*

> *Surely <break/> I <break/> it's connected with USA and England. But also it's some <break/> a <u>little bit separate from their native speakers</u>, really.*

(b) describing concepts

Another manifestation of *paraphrase* is describing concepts, events, and objects when appropriate lexical items cannot be retrieved or are not available in the speakers' lexicon. The

following excerpt shows how Tanya wanted to name a position she had, and duties and tasks at work:

(9-20) *I was not like very how to say it very professional interpreter. I was working for example, like a manager of some firm, and this firm has some international business, and that is why so, I was using my language like interpreter, but actually, I was, for example, manager of inter, how to say <NLU> zovnishne ekonomichne </NLU> trade, it's like, you understand me.*

In this example, a rephrasing chain, consisting of some elements, is seen. It seems that Tanya attempted to name a position in the company, which involved communication with international partners and translation of material, relevant for their business. Unable to precisely describe the position, Tanya used a *paraphrase*, which did not consist of two or three words, but included the following chain: (i) '*I was not like a very professional interpreter*', (ii) '*I was working like a manager of some firm*', (iii) '*I was using my language like interpreter*', (iv) '*I was manager of international 'zovnishnje ekonomichne'* (En: external trade) *trade*'. By describing the desired concept as closely as she could, she managed to convey to the hearer that her position involved communication with foreign business partners.

Another example, which illustrates how *paraphrase* takes the form of description, is given below.

(9-21) *I think something like I am in club of interest or something <break/> we are discussing something, but not really learning.*

Here, Tanya wanted to convey that learning English in the private school she was enrolled in for classes, was neither intensive nor demanding. Similar to the previous example, the communicative goal is achieved here by describing the teaching procedure.

Another manifestation of paraphrase was (c) the description of the desired concept, often saying the contrary to the desired concept, and negating the desired concept:

(9-22) *Pronunciation, it's <break/> I understand that I have some pronunciation, which mean foreigner pronunciation, that I am not a native speaker.*

Here, the following paraphrasing chain is observed: *Pronunciation - some pronunciation - foreigner pronunciation - that I am not a native speaker.*

In (9-22), Tanya intended to describe '*a non-native speaker accent*' or '*a non-native pronunciation*'. Lacking the linguistic means of expression necessary for conveying the desired concept and being familiar with specific terms, Tanya used the expression '*foreigner pronunciation*', followed by the cancellation of the assumption that she was a native speaker. The following rephrasing chain is thus observed. Initially, Tanya introduced the concept '*pronunciation*'. The term pronunciation was then narrowed down by '*some*'. Probably feeling that the term '*some pronunciation*' does not convey the desired concept, i.e. '*a non-native speaker accent*', she added a noun '*foreigner*', which described the concept in a more precise way. The rephrasing chain was completed by an affirmative sentence in the negative '*I am not a native speaker*'. It appears that by adding the affirmative sentence, Tanya reinforced her point, namely that she had '*a foreign pronunciation*'. Similarly in (9-23), Tanya justified that she was making mistakes in English by saying that English, and languages in general, were not her major. The excerpt, which illustrates this, is given below:

(9-23) *I did not finish any <u>University of language</u>, and I can't be perfect, and I think even in business world, I am never shame of that I did some mistakes*.

As in the example we saw above, Tanya cancelled the assumption that she studied languages by an affirmative statement in the negative '*I did not finish any university of language*'. In addition to this, Tanya paraphrased the term '*department or school of foreign languages*' by the phrase '*University of Language*'.

Another strategy, which Tanya frequently used in the interviews, was *transfer of lexical items* and expressions from Ukrainian and/or Russian. The instances described below are examples of the *lexical transfer*. Lexical transfer means that speakers transfer lexical items from previously known languages into English. It often happens that items are transferred by means of direct translation. The four examples presented below, illustrate this:

(9-24) *But in business world, there are really a lot of persons which are perfect, and I think they have to be perfect because <u>they work on contracts</u>* (Tanya, L1 Ukrainian).

In (9-24), the listener is faced with an expression '*they work on contracts*'. The data shows that listeners who do not share a common language with the speaker have problems understanding the utterance meaning. What the speaker intended to convey is that individuals who have a contact with an employer are expected to have a good proficiency in English. The intended meaning, however, is not conveyed in an appropriate manner. Considering the speaker's L1 Ukrainian, it becomes clear that Tanya transferred the expression '*to work on*

contracts' from Ukrainian by directly translating it. The use of a preposition '*on*' with the verb '*to work*' brings about a meaning which is different from what the speaker intended. According to the native speaker judgements carried within the pilot study the expression '*they work on contracts*' meant to be involved in writing contracts. Thus, this utterance meaning was absolutely different from what the speaker intended. The mismatch between the intended and conveyed meaning possibly lies in the use of a preposition *'on'*, which misleads the leader.

The next set of examples illustrates a *lexical transfer* of a noun '*complex*', and a verb '*to complex*' from Ukrainian into English. The two excerpts below illustrate (i) how a noun '*complex*' was used, and (ii) how a verb '*to complex*' was used in the interviews.

(9-25) *And <u>I have not this some complex</u>, you know, if you know language, and go somewhere, you always think how to say and even, my teacher, Miss Maize, said <quote> never think how to say correct, just try to speak </quote>*

(9-26) *And they said <quote> <u>don't don't complex</u>, we don't know even one word in Ukrainian </quote>.*

Sharing the L1 with the speaker, it is possible to deduce the intended meaning of '*complex*', first used as a noun and then as a verb. The noun '*complex*' is used in the sense of '*a barrier*' or '*impediment*' or '*difficulty*'. When '*to complex*' is used as a verb, it has the meaning of '*do not worry*', or '*do not be ashamed of something*', as in the speaker's first language Ukrainian.

In example (9-27), we are faced with another instance of lexical transfer, namely with the transfer of a phrase '*to be a zero in English*' from Ukrainian.

(9-27) *It's not very easy when I hear the person is twenty years or twenty five say <quote> Oh I'll go on courses </quote>, you know, <u>when he is zero in English</u>.*

Although this phrase also exists in English, it is likely that what Tanya did was not use the English phrase, but transfer a construction from Ukrainian. In Tanya's phrase, a determiner '*a*' is missing, unlike in the construction in English.

Above, we have seen examples of *paraphrase* and transfer, which Tanya frequently used. It was shown that in Tanya's performance, *paraphrase* took different shapes; namely, it was either a two-three word paraphrase, or a paraphrase consisting of more than three units.

With regard to transfer, the examples of lexical transfer were evident. There was a possibility for false interpretation in one of the examples, i.e. '*to work on contracts*'.

Another strategy, which Tanya often used in the interview, was *appeal for assistance* (used 19%). Tanya used this strategy not only when she had to signal to the hearer that she did not know a word, but when she wanted to signal that what she was about to say may not fully convey the intended meaning, or when the form she used differed from the norm. The hedges to signal possible comprehension problems were: '*how to say it*', '*I don't know how to explain it*', or '*I don't know how to say it better*'. Whereas the first phrase '*how to say it*' may have been directed both at the speaker herself and the interviewer, the other two phrases '*I don't know how to explain it*', or '*I don't know how to say it better*' were directed at the interviewer, and had the function of an indirect apology and awareness-raising.

Sometimes, Tanya would signal to the interlocutor that she experienced a problem with finding appropriate vocabulary. This was often done by using the expression '*how to say it*' while not addressing the interlocutor directly. The communication function of this phrase was not a question, but rather a statement of an affirmation of a problem, frequently resembling '*thinking aloud*'. Let us consider the following passage:

(9-28) *So but I begin to speak with person, it's very easy to hear what level language, <u>how to say it</u>, because <break/>*

Apparently, Tanya was not sure how to say '*proficiency level*' in English. Having used the noun phrase '*level language*', and realizing a possible ill-formation, Tanya signalled the problem to the hearer. It was unlikely, however, that she expected assistance from the interviewer.

Contrary to the previous example, where Tanya was searching for an appropriate word, in the next example, the speaker signalled to the hearer that what followed might not be clear enough. The awareness-raising expression '*I don't know how to explain this*' was used for this purpose:

(9-29) *It's, you know, <break/> I don't <break/>, I can't <break/>, <u>I don't know how to explain this</u>, but maybe because if I speak Italian I speak only with Italians, yes, only with native speakers.*

In this case, as said before, Tanya was not looking for an appropriate word, but raised the awareness of the hearer that the entire description may not be understandable for the hearer.

It was also observed that this strategy was used to signal a possible comprehension problem at the utterance initial position. In this case, this strategy also had the function of raising the hearer's awareness of the potential problem. This prepared the hearer for managing the problem when it arose. Apart from this communicative function, the expression *'I don't know how to say it better'* had been frequently used as a justification of the speaker's insufficient knowledge of vocabulary.

(9-30) *I don't know how to say it better administrator or a director of a furniture furniture salon, how to say it.*

It is clear that Tanya wanted to name a position of someone working in the furniture business. Uncertain whether the name *'administrator'* matches the position, she signalled her uncertainty to the hearer by saying *'I don't know how to say it better'*, and then changed the noun *administrator* to *director*. This occurrence supports the position that the speaker may use a number of performance strategies at the time, and the presence of one strategy does not exclude the presence of the other.

Above, I examined the distribution of performance strategies in the performance of Tanya. It was observed that Tanya tended to use such strategies, as paraphrase, restructuring, and transfer, which helped her to achieve the communicative goal, i.e. be fluent. Since the use of such strategies as reduction and self-correction does not seem to improve fluency, they were used restrictively. A restricted use of these two strategies reinforced the assumption that maintaining fluency was of greater importance to the speaker than maintaining grammatical correctness. The requirement profile of the speaker thus was reflected in the speaker's strategic behaviour, and was likely to influence it.

2. Olga

Olga, a native speaker of Ukrainian, focused on fluency in her performance and was satisfied with her English. Unlike Tanya, she considered herself a learner of English and found communication with native and non-native English speakers equally valuable (see *Chapter 5* for the overview of speakers and features of their requirements).

The strategies used by Olga in the interview will be examined below. Figure 9-6 illustrates how strategies were distributed in this speaker's performance:

Figure 9-6. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Olga (%)
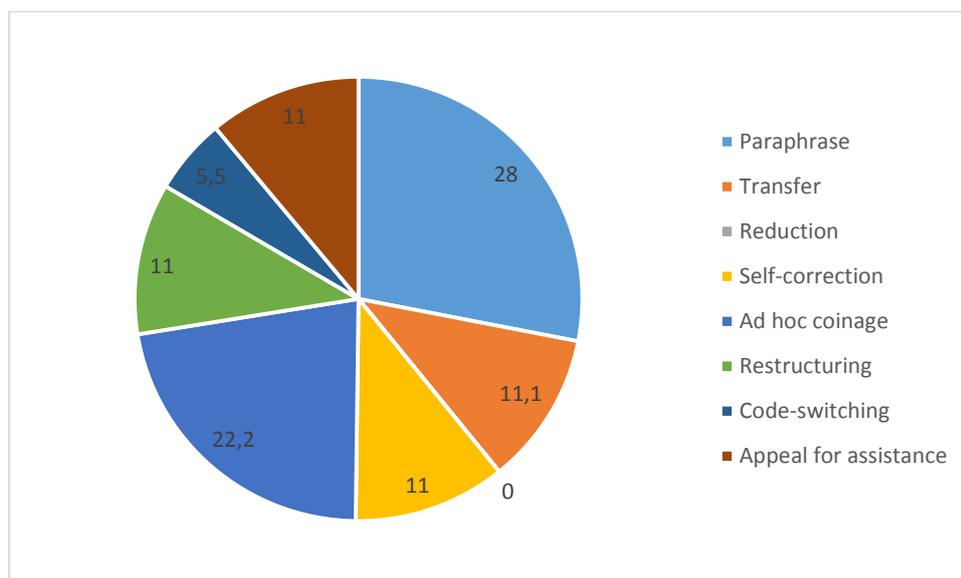
A pattern similar to Tanya's strategic behaviour is observed in this performance. Similar to Tanya's performance, the most frequently used performance strategy was *paraphrase*, whose occurrence reached 28 %. The least frequently used strategy was *the strategy of code-switching*, used 5, 5%. No strategies of *reduction* were observed in Olga's performance, similar to Tanya's case. Instances of *self-correction* and *ad hoc coinage* were more frequent than in Tanya's performance, i.e. 11% and 22, 2%, accordingly. The strategies of *transfer* and *appeal* for assistance were used 11% each. With regard to *restructuring*, it occurred 11% of all strategies used. *Restructuring*, *transfer*, and *self-correction* were thus equally distributed in the speaker's performance.

Given that the speaker wanted to focus on fluency in performance, a frequent use of strategies of *paraphrase* and *ad hoc coinage* is not surprising. Contrary to Tanya, Olga did consider herself a language learner, although she was satisfied with her English. Instances of *self-correction* (11%) are an illustration of this. As in Tanya's case, there were no instances of *reduction*. Olga thus did not feel the need to abandon the message she wanted to convey, either by reducing the meaning or the form. The absence of this strategy in Olga's strategic profile may reinforce the assumption that she focused on fluency and not grammatical

correctness in the first place. Contrary to Tanya, she considered herself a learner and grammatical correctness was more important to her; hence, instances of *self-correction*.

Let me now give examples of some of the strategies used. As *paraphrase* was the strategy most frequently used, it will be discussed first. As in the case with Tanya, *paraphrase* often occurred in the form of using approximate vocabulary which had semantic features common with the desired concept. One of the examples of this paraphrase is given below:

(9-31) *To get to know - to recognize, to know*;

> *And we have the opportunity <u>to recognize to know each other</u> not only as a professionals, as a colleagues, the workers but first of all just as ordinary people with their problems, with their good traits and others.*

In (9-31), the speaker wanted to convey '*to get to know each other'*. Obviously, being unable to retrieve an appropriate lexical expression, such as '*to get to know each other*', nor knowing it, Olga had to use a paraphrase, such as '*to recognize'* and '*to know each other*'. It is interesting that Olga was not satisfied with the verb '*to recognize'* that she used as a paraphrase. Because of this, she added the verb '*to know'*, which was semantically closer to the desired concept.

Paraphrasing by *describing* a desired concept is also observed. The passage below illustrates how the description was used to convey the term Olga did not know, or was not able to timely retrieve it:

(9-32) *A part time employment - three day a week work week*;

> *First of all, I have to say that <u>I have three day a week work week</u>, and my weekend is only Sunday, so I try to use this time for good leisure.*

Clearly, Olga used a paraphrase '*a three day a week work week*' to describe a term '*a part time employment'*. In the following example (9-33), Olga could not retrieve the word '*requirement'*. Willing to maintain fluency and express her point, Olga paraphrased the word '*requirement'* by using a lexical expression '*the most required condition*'. See the excerpt in (9-33):

(9-33) *Requirement – the most required condition;*

I want to have a work in future, connected with tourism and I think that the most required condition will be the knowledge of English language, and I think I could use it.

Containing such lexical items as '*required*' and '*condition*', the lexical expression could substitute the noun '*requirement*'.

The instances of *transfer* were also observed in Olga's performance. A passage illustrating the exploitation of this strategy is illustrated below:

(9-34) *I like that I not only work, I can make a jokes with other colleague, so for example, <u>after our working term</u>, we may go to <u>the sports gym</u>, for example, spend time together and have a rest together, for example, near lake, play different sports games. When we have some holidays, for example, New Year, <u>day of creation of our company</u> so we have cooperation holidays, cooperation parties.*

In this passage, we are faced with such instances of *lexical transfer*, as '*after our working term*', '*the sports gym*', '*day of creation of our company*'. At the first glance, these expressions may seem to be instances of coinage. However, taking the fact that the speaker's L1 was Ukrainian, it becomes obvious that these expressions are transferred from the speaker's first language. Whereas the last two examples, '*the sports gym*' and '*the day of creation of our company*', are complete translations from Ukrainian, in the expression '*after our working term*' the words '*after*', '*our*' and '*working*' are translated from Ukrainian. The word '*term*', used by Olga seems to be used in place of '*a week*', hence it is used as a paraphrase. Thus, we have to deal with an expression which is generated because of the use of strategies of transfer and paraphrase. By directly translating expressions from L1 Ukrainian into English, Olga meets her requirement of performance, namely that the flow of speech is maintained. The use of such lexical expressions, as *'after our working term'* and '*the sports gym',* does not impede conversation; on the contrary, it allows to the speaker to continue. In terms of comprehensibility, these expressions do not seem to create comprehension problems to listeners either.

Another strategy, which allowed Olga to maintain fluency was *restructuring*. *Restructuring* was used when Olga was not certain about the syntactic or lexical feature which followed, and because of this, was not able to complete the initial plan. Once the problem was recognized, Olga restructured her utterance in such a way as to minimize the risk of

abandoning the message. Restructuring the utterance, she met her performance requirement and maintained fluency. The following excerpt illustrates this:

(9-35) *After I get necessary experience, I am planning to change maybe my <break/> <NLU> seichas* (En*: now) <NLU>, I am planning to change my work.*

It is clear that the strategy of restructuring was used in combination with another strategy, i.e. with the strategy of *code-switching*. By using the Russian word '*seichas*', which means '*now*' in English, Olga warned the hearer that she is not certain in what she wants to say next, and she might restructure or change her utterance because of this. Concerning the restructuring chain, it consists of the two elements: '*I am planning to change maybe my* <break>', followed by '*I am planning to change my work*'. As the grammatical structure has not been changed, it is possible to assume that Olga restructured her utterance because she was not sure which vocabulary she was about to use.

The switches to L1 Ukrainian and Russian were observed when Olga was missing an appropriate lexical item and had to convey it in Ukrainian or Russian, or when she was not sure about a lexical item and wanted to appeal for assistance, knowing that the interviewer shared a common language with her. In (9-36), for instance, the speaker could not retrieve the verb '*to pronounce*' and had to switch to Russian in this case, aware that she shared Russian with the interviewer.

(9-36) *Words are not so <NLR> произносятся/proiznosyatsya/pronounced </NLR>.*

In one of the questions, Olga did not understand the verb '*to judge*' and before answering the question, wanted to be sure she understood the question correctly. Thus, she addressed the interviewer in her native language. This switch to Russian is illustrated below:

(9-37) I *can't judge the person. Judge judge <NLR> это же осудить, правильно </NLR>?*

Judge is to accuse, is not it? (English)

It is interesting that although Olga considered herself a fluency-oriented speaker, there were instances of *self-correction* in the interview. See the two interview excerpts below:

(9-38) *Now I am working in the company, <u>which handle which is handling</u> whole sales of household appliances.*

(9-39) *After that the control under our sales and also <u>I control the money, control money</u> which we accept from our customers, and then pay them to our Kiev control office.*

The instance in (9-38) illustrates that Olga corrected the invariant simple present '*which handle*' into the present progressive '*which is handling*'. In the excerpt (9-39), there is an instance of correction *a definite article* to *the zero article*.

Corrected structures did not always represent the target language norm. However, they indicated that Olga monitored her production and paid attention to grammatical correctness, even though this was not made explicit in her requirement profile.

I have now examined the distribution of strategies in the performance of Olga. It was observed that Olga used such strategies, as *paraphrase*, *ad hoc coinage*, *restructuring*, *transfer*, and *appeal for assistance*, which helped her to meet her performance requirement and achieve fluency. *The strategy of reduction* was not used. The absence of this strategy in Olga's strategic profile reinforced the assumption that Olga focused more on fluency than grammatical correctness. Where the instances of *self-correction* were concerned, it is possible to assume that although fluency was said to be more important to the speaker, grammatical correctness was considered, as well. The assessment that she made regarding herself, i.e. being a learner of English, is thus supported by instances of *self-correction*, which are observed in the data. By using self-correction, the learner tries to find constructions that best satisfy his/her knowledge of correctness.

3. *Natalya L.*

Natalya L. was another fluency-focused speaker, who was satisfied with her English proficiency and considered herself a learner of English. Unlike the previous speaker, who found communication with native and non-native speakers equally important, Natalya L. preferred native speaker interlocutors.

Let us now look at the distribution of strategies in Natalya's strategic profile. Figure 9-7 summarizes the results:

Figure 9-7. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Natalya L. (%)
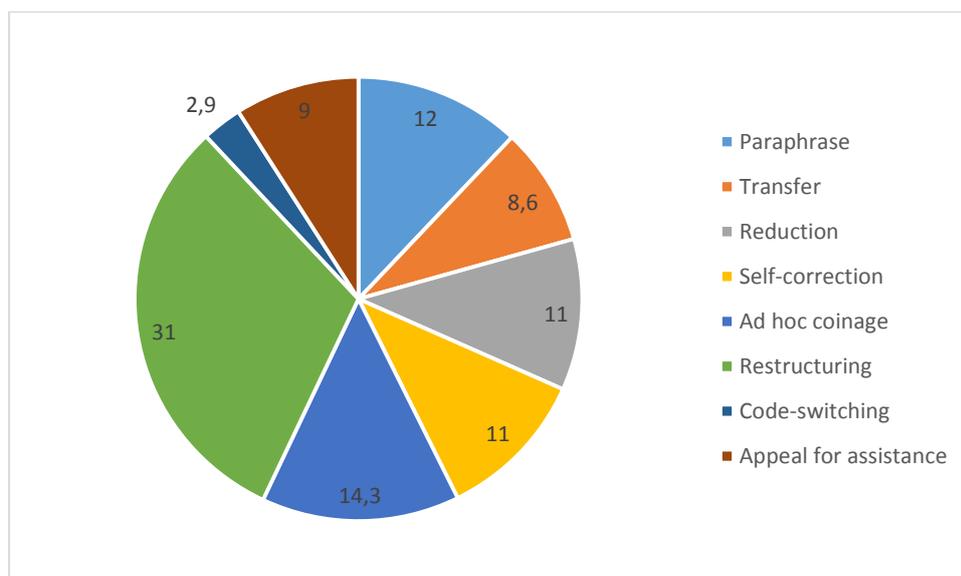
In the performance of Natalya L**.** the most frequently occurring strategy was the strategy of *restructuring*, whose use approached 31%. The second '*most favourite'* strategy of Natalya was the strategy of *ad hoc coinage*, used 14, 3% followed by *paraphrase*, used 12%. Strategies of *reduction* and *self-correction* were equally used, each 11%. Strategies of *transfer* and *appeal for assistance* were distributed in a similar ways – 8, 6% and 9% respectively. *Code-switching* was least preferred by the speaker. The use of these strategies in only 2, 9% of all strategies is an illustration of this.

One of the observations was that Natalya often had problems completing the utterances which she initiated. Realizing that she could not complete them, Natalya L. restructured the utterance in such a way as to maintain the utterance meaning without the loss of meaning. The form, obviously, differed from the initial plan. An excerpt from the interview, which illustrates one instance of *restructuring*, is given below:

(9-40) *Then, last semester actually, again it's sociopsychology, and r̲i̲g̲h̲t̲ ̲n̲o̲w̲ ̲w̲e̲ ̲a̲r̲e̲ <break/> w̲e̲ ̲h̲a̲v̲e̲ ̲t̲o̲ ̲d̲e̲a̲l̲ with internship on psychology actually, s̲o̲ ̲m̲y̲ <break/>. T̲h̲a̲t̲ ̲a̲c̲t̲u̲a̲l̲l̲y̲ ̲w̲h̲a̲t̲ ̲I̲ ̲j̲u̲s̲t̲ ̲c̲o̲u̲l̲d̲ ̲r̲e̲c̲a̲l̲l̲.̲*

First, the '*we are'* plan is not complete; it undergoes restructuring and results in the emerging clause '*we have to deal with*'. Later in the same passage, the speaker breaks off the phrase at the pronoun '*my'*, leaving the impression on the hearer that she could have said more if it were not for the problems with vocabulary. Natalya then decides not to continue and

concludes by saying that she said everything that she wanted. *The strategy of restructuring* thus allows the speaker to complete the initial plan; in this situation, Natalya manages to say that she was involved with an internship on psychology.

The second favourite strategy of Natalya L. was *ad hoc coinage*. In the performance of this speaker, the instances of *ad hoc coinage* often resemble paraphrase and generalization, as the example in (9-41) illustrates:

(9-41) *That was actually time when <u>I had to catch my English</u>, I have to improve, actually. I can't say that right now that I really improve it but with native speakers, because it will, somehow, you know, also <u>push me to race's level.</u>*

The expression '*to catch someone's English*' is used with an intended meaning '*to catch up on something*'. An omission of a preposition leads to the emergence of a new lexical expression '*to catch something*', namely '*to reach something by going faster than someone else*'. It is likely to assume that this utterance is easily understood by the listener.

Yet in the same utterance we find another expression, namely '*to push someone to race's level*'. It is possible that what Natalya wanted to convey was '*creating a competitive environment*'. Paraphrasing this by using the expression '*to push someone to race's level*' caused a new expression to emerge. This, in turn, allowed Natalya to convey the idea of competition in the present day environment.

The two examples that we have seen so far illustrate that Natalya compensated for the lack of appropriate vocabulary by using specific strategies and bringing in her power of expression. In a similar way, and under the same conditions, the *paraphrase* was used. In (9-42), Natalya looked for an expression attempting to convey that she was not proficient in English:

(9-42) *I was afraid that I will say it wrongly, that people would not understand me at all, that I am somehow <u>low quality</u>, I don't know, <u>student.</u>*

Unable to find an appropriate noun or adjective describing her, such as, for example, '*mediocre*', or '*average*', she paraphrased it by '*a low quality student*', a description that often refers to inanimate and not animate objects. Other examples of paraphrase, serving the facilitation of fluency, were '*dictionary*' and '*vocabulary*'. In (9-43), for example, the lexical items '*vocabulary*' and '*dictionary*' were used interchangeably.

(9-43) *So, I would not be surprised it would be dictionary or vocabulary like Canadian English and Great Britain English.*

This type of paraphrase arises due to the fact that in the speaker's L1 Ukrainian, there is only one word denoting *'vocabulary'*. This allows Natalya to substitute *'dictionary'* for *'vocabulary'* and vice versa. Unaware of the difference in the meaning of the two nouns, Natalya does not use them in a consistent manner.

Similar to the strategic behaviour of other speakers, Natalya's strategic behaviour also contained instances of *lexical transfer*. For example, the term *'subject difference'* is used throughout the interview:

(9-44) *That's why I am using this term. During three last years, I was I <u>taught subject difference</u>. Like on departments, where not, how to say it, <u>on the departments, who are not specializing in political sciences</u> but political science according to a state program, it's obligatory subject.*

This term, used in academia in the Newly Independent States, means that a certain discipline is taught neither as a major nor as a minor, but as a subject according to the state curriculum. Transferring this lexical expression from Ukrainian, the speaker is not aware that it may be either misunderstood or not understood by listeners who do not share the common language with her. The use of this transfer strategy is followed by a *paraphrase* when the speaker tried to explain the post-Soviet realia. In particular, the concept Natalya was describing concerned teaching subjects that were obligatory according to the state curriculum, in the departments that did not specialize in these subjects. World history, philosophy, and religion were taught to students majoring in computer science or languages. Natalya was thus involved in teaching political science in these departments.

Another interesting observation about this passage is that before Natalya used the expression *'subject difference'*, she warned the hearer that what she would say may be inappropriate or even wrong. This type of *appeal for assistance or affirmation* was traced throughout the entire interview. Unlike other speakers, however, Natalya did not ask the interviewer to assist her; she, instead, warned the interviewer about the possible difficulties in comprehension, or usage of forms, which may be grammatically wrong. Another example, which illustrates that Natalya (i) was aware of the grammatical norms, and took them

seriously, and (ii) signalled to the listener possible problems in performance, is illustrated below:

(9-45) *I will I will just base on, again pronunciation, if the words are really clear to understand, <unclear> really understand </unclear>, the speed of speaking, <u>if it's correct to say so</u>.*

Natalya made a comment '*if it's correct to say so*' after she tried to explain on which criteria she made her judgments about the English abilities of her interlocutors. Having said that she based her judgment on pronunciation, the clarity of pronunciation, and '*the speed of speaking*', she expressed doubt concerning the expressions she used. Thus, the phrase '*if it's correct to say*', in Natalya's performance concerned the use of lexical expressions.

Another instance example of *lexical transfer* is illustrated below:

(9-46) *Well, in Slovakia in academic <unclear> </unclear> it's for me, it's it's better to speak English, because I <unclear> learnt these <NL> termins </NL> </unclear> but I speak Slovak actually.*

In this passage, Natalya used a Ukrainian noun '*termin*' (En: term) in English. Using the Ukrainian noun in English, she modified it in two ways: (i) phonetically – in order to meet the phonotactic constraints of English, and (ii) morphologically – adding the plural inflection –*s* to the noun.

Given that Natalya considered herself a learner of English, the occurrence of *self-correction*, was not surprising. The two excerpts from the interview illustrate this:

(9-47) *We do not, it happens, and actually <u>we do not</u> <u>we did not have</u> actually teacher, good teacher, teacher of English.*

(9-48) *Well, in fact, I have few friends who are coming from Ireland, we were studying together actually and <u>we don't actually</u>, actually, <u>I didn't have problems</u> of conversation with them.*

Clearly, in both utterances, Natalya changed the verb forms from the present simple '*we do not have*', to the simple past '*we did not have*', and '*I did not have*' realizing that the past tense was more appropriate for rendering the events which occurred in the past. The occurrence of this strategy was not 11, 4%. Strategies of *reduction* were used 11, 4%, as well.

The three excerpts that follow, (9-49), (9-50), and (9-51), illustrate how Natalya abandoned the message she wanted to convey:

(9-49) *But actually <u>two years in Slovakia were <break/></u> <u>my studies in</u> Slovakia were actually <break/>, English was the main language of instruction.*

Here, Natalya first abandoned the description of her years in Slovakia. Later, she picked up the topic of her studies, and similar to what she did before, abandoned it too. She concluded by making a general statement that English was the main language of instruction. In the next excerpt, Natalya also reduced the meaning:

(9-50) *The conversation, but grammar and writing, I still don't <break/>.*

Natalya was most likely to say that her grammar and writing skills had to be improved. Unable to retrieve the necessary and appropriate word, she abandoned the message. In the next example, Natalya also abandons the message, unable to complete it:

(9-51) *We have to deal with internship on psychology actually, so my <break/>. That actually what I just could recall.*

It remains unclear to the listener, whether she was involved with the internship in psychology and what her duties were. Either deciding not to say more, or unable to retrieve necessary lexical expressions and/or syntactic constructions appropriate for conveying the message, she totally abandoned the message that she initially intended to convey.

These two figures – the emergence of *self-correction* and *reduction* – possibly illustrate that Natalya paid attention to grammatical correctness, even though fluency was her main performance requirement. Reducing the forms she was not sure about and the messages she was not able to complete, Natalya could avoid using constructions that she was not certain about, thus minimizing the chances of making mistakes. This additionally supports the assumption that grammatical correctness was important to the speaker. In one of Natalya's comments in the interview, she mentioned that at more stages of language learning, it was important to speak correctly. Her strategic behaviour, as well as some of the features of her requirement profile, illustrate that grammatical correctness was important to the speaker, even though she did not explicitly mention it in the interview.

4. Tomas

Tomas, another speaker in the study, focused on fluency and was satisfied with his English. Tomas did not consider himself a learner of English and preferred to communicate with native speakers of English. In the performance of Tomas, performance strategies were not observed. The absence of performance strategies, I suppose, may be due to the fact that Tomas did not see communication in English as an act which demanded efforts on his part. His self-satisfaction with English additionally justifies that there were no strategies in his performance. Communication in English was – for Tomas – an automatic process, which was attained by a long exposure to the language in the UK.

5. Agnes

In the interview performance of *Agnes*, a different pattern of strategic behaviour was observed. One of the possible reasons for a different distribution of strategies is that Agnes was a Polish native speaker, who was studying in Germany when the interview was taken. German was thus the active language at the time the interview was recorded. Remember, Agnes was also a fluency-focused speaker who was satisfied with her English, and who considered herself a learner of English. She felt equally comfortable and appreciated communication with both native and non-native speakers of English. An overview of strategies, observed in the performance of Agnes, is summarized in Figure 9-8 below.

Figure 9-8. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Agnes (%)
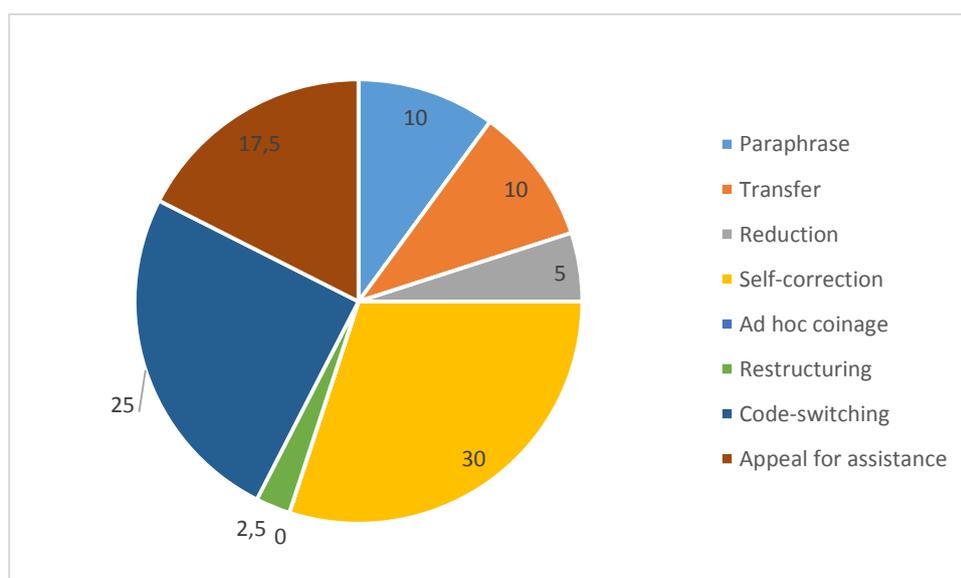
Different from what we saw in the performances of other speakers, in the performance of Agnes, the strategies of *ad hoc coinage*, *paraphrase*, and *reduction* were sparingly used. *Self-correction*, the most frequently used strategy, accounted for 30% of all strategies used, and was followed by the strategy of *code-switching*, used 25%, and by the strategy of *appeal for assistance*, used 17, 5%. The strategies of *ad hoc coinage* were not observed. The use of strategies of *restructuring* reached 2, 5% and strategies of *reduction* emerged only in 5% of their entire production.

What can account for such distribution of strategies in Agnes' performance? As before, one of the possible explanations is the speaker's requirement profile and its particular features. It is possible that because Agnes focused on fluency in her performance, she used strategies (intentionally and maybe unconsciously), which helped her to achieve this primary goal. Hence, the instances of *code-switching* are observed in the interview. A high emergence of *self-correction* supports the assessment made by Agnes, namely that she considered herself a learner of English. The examples, given below, illustrate that she corrected utterances when she realized they were not correct:

(9-52) *But I came here to improve my English, to improve my my German, so I <u>I want</u> to <u>I wanted</u> to talk only in English, only in German.*

(9-53) *Tried to do it here, but the teacher was so chaotic, and <u>it doesn't work</u>, and <u>it didn't work.</u>*

(9-54) *<u>There are</u> <u>there were people</u>, who had already known Spain, and he made the level up to them, no to the people who didn't speak at all.*

These three examples illustrate that Agnes monitored her performance. Realizing that the produced utterances do not meet her expectations of correctness, she immediately corrected them. The examples presented in this set illustrate how Agnes changed verb forms from the present, i.e. '*I want*', '*it does not work*', and '*there are people*' into the simple past, *i.e. 'I wanted', 'it did not work',* and *'there were people'.* This behaviour indicates that Agnes paid particular attention to her performance, and made attempts to improve it when possible.

At the same time, only 5% of *reduction* strategies indicate that getting the message across was more important to the hearer than abandoning the message, and avoiding mistakes while doing this. Grammatical correctness was important to the speaker (see the distribution of self-correction strategies), but not at the expense of fluency (5% of reduction strategies).

Given that Agnes was a native speaker of Polish, and that the interviewer did not share a common language with her, switches to Polish were not observed. German, a language shared by the interviewer and the interviewee became '*the available language*', which provided a good ground for using its function words and lexical items. The examples (9-55), (9-56), and (9-57) illustrate the type of code-switching occurring in the data:

(9-55) *It was Erasmus, Erasmus scholarship, so I had to come here, and before I came I've heard that Tübingen is called German Oxford or German Cambridge something like this, because of this <FLG> <u>Stocherkahnfest</u> </FLG>*

German: Stocherkahnfest

English: a punting festival

(9-56) *I've got used to Tübingen to these people, and I am studying German Philology here, and I choosed only the <FLG> <u>Fächer</u> </FLG>?*

German: Fächer

English: subjects

(9-57) *Subjects which are connected with literature, because I was attended a courses, course about German <break/> <u>I don't know how to say it in English</u>, this was about about, it was <u>Deutsche Reiseliteratur</u>.*

German: Deutsche Reiseliteratur

English: German travellers' literature

German nouns like '*Stocherkahnfest*', '*Fächer*', and '*Deutshe Reiseliteratur*' were used by Agnes in place of the English equivalents such '*a punting festival*', '*subjects*' and '*the German travellers' literature*'.

Concerning the first and the last example in the set, it is possible that the speaker did not know the English words *punting* and *travellers' literature*, and used the German words, because they were available in her lexicon. In addition, it is likely that the speaker became familiar with these two concepts in the German context. Using the German words was, therefore, the only option available. Concerning the usage of a German word '*Fächer*', it is possible to assume that it was not a problem with the absence of a word in the speaker's lexicon, but rather a retrieval difficulty.

All instances of *code-switching* were switches to German, as the interviewee was aware that this language was the language shared with the interviewer. Individual lexical items, as well as, function words and words from closed word classes, such as prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions were often said in German. Another observation which was made was that using the German function words was easier, and, therefore, more accessible to the speaker.

In Agnes' strategic behaviour, *appeal for assistance* or affirmation, was also common, i.e. accounting for 17, 5% of the entire strategic use. Like many other speakers in the study, Agnes used this strategy not only in the context when she wanted to explicitly ask the interviewer for assistance, but also when she wanted to either warn about a possible problem, or acknowledge that what she said may not be correct. The example, seen previously in connection with code-switching, is illustrated below:

(9-58) *Subjects which are connected with literature, because I was attended a courses, course about German <break/> I don't know how to say it in English, this was about about, it was Deutsche Reiseliteratur.*

The comment '*I don't know how to say it in English*', possibly implies the following: (i) Agnes was aware that the expression '*Deutsche Reiseliteratur*' was not an English expression; she, therefore, intentionally and consciously used it in English, knowing that it would not be understood by the interlocutor (ii) before she actually used the German expression in English, she warned the listener that what she said next would deviate from Standard English.

German was not only the powerful source for borrowing lexical items and lending function words into English conversation, it also provided a good ground for *transfer*. The instances of *transfer*, observed in the production of this speaker (10% of all strategies), were mostly instances of lexical transfer. The expression given below was possibly transferred from German:

(9-59) *They* (referring to Slavic department: author's comment) *are one floor deeper?*

German: ein Stock tiefer

English: one floor below

Obviously, Agnes questioned whether the Slavic department was located one floor below another department. Unable to retrieve the preposition '*below'* or '*under'*, Agnes transferred

the German expression '*Ein Stock tiefer'* into English, and by doing this, maintained the flow of speech. German, as the speaker's active language, provided ground for transfer of lexical items and lexical expressions. Another illustration of the speaker's inability to retrieve the necessary adverbs and prepositions '*below'*, or '*under'* may be seen in the speaker's use of a paraphrase to meet the same need. Please, consider the example below:

(9-60) *My department is here on the third floor, and the Ukrainian is on the second floor.*

As before, Agnes tried to convey to the listener that '*the department is one floor below'*. Having difficulties retrieving the spatial adverbial '*below'* or lacking it at the lexical repertoire, the speaker exploited *paraphrase* to convey the initial plan. In this case, *paraphrase* was achieved by describing the current location of the department, and comparing it to the Ukrainian department one floor below. The desired concept, the adverb '*below'*, was conveyed in two ways: (i) by means of lexical transfer from German, and (ii) by paraphrasing in the form of description. Agnes thus unconsciously used two possibilities to convey the same desired concept.

Above, I examined the distribution of performance strategies in the performance of Agnes. Comparing the strategic behaviour of Agnes to the strategic behaviour of other fluency-focused speakers, it becomes clear that this speaker used more correctness-focused strategies, *self-correction* (30%), for example, than other speakers. Grammatical correctness thus, was also important to the speaker, especially because she considered herself a language learner. Concerning fluency-focused strategies, *code-switching to German* and *transfer from German* were used more often than strategies of *paraphrase*. These two strategies, however, facilitated the flow of conversation, allowing the speaker to maintain her main requirement of performance. A low figure on strategies of *reduction* also supports the position that fluency was important to the speaker.

Examining the strategic behaviour of fluency-focused speakers, I observed that speakers used different strategies to meet their main performance requirement, i.e. *fluency* in conversation. When the linguistic means of expression were either limited or not available, they used strategies which could best satisfy their needs. In particular, strategies oriented toward achieving fluency. The low use of strategies of *reduction* was an illustration of this. Instances of *self-correction* tended to be found in the performance of those speakers, who assessed themselves as learners of English. Although the strategic behaviour of speakers differed, it was possible to trace some similarities in the performance of many of the speakers,

such as the high use of strategies fostering fluency, the low use of strategies fostering grammatical correctness, and the high use of self-correction in the performance of *learners* of English. The speakers' strategic behaviour and their use of strategies helped them to fulfil their requirements of performance.

In the following part, I will consider the strategic behaviour of the speakers who focused on grammatical correctness in their performance. In particular, I will examine whether the grammatical correctness-focused group displays features similar to the features observed in the fluency-focused group.

9.4.2 *Strategic behaviour and grammatical correctness*

Given that all the study participants had different communicative aims and wanted to meet different requirements in their performance – fluency and grammatical correctness – it is possible to suppose that their behaviour will differ in terms of strategies used to meet their performance requirements. The objective of this section is thus to examine strategies used by speakers, who wanted to focus on grammatical correctness.

Whereas in the fluency-focused group all speakers managed to maintain fluency, in the correctness-focused group, some speakers managed to maintain correctness while others did not. Specifically, five out of eight correctness-focused speakers managed to maintain grammatical correctness – Alena G., Oksana, Pavlo, Sergiy, and Vladimir – and three speakers – Dmitry, Lena M., and Lena T. did not. As I assume there is a correspondence between the speakers' performance requirements and their strategic behaviour, as well as, the realization of their requirements of performance by the exploitation of various strategies, it is interesting to find out whether the patterns of strategic behaviour of speakers who managed to realize their requirements, differed from the patterns of strategic behaviour of speakers who did not; in other words, whether the use of particular strategies leads to the realization of performance requirements.

How the strategic behaviour varies among those speakers who managed to achieve grammatical correctness and those who did not will be examined below. Initially, I will give an overview of the strategies used by all speakers who focused on correctness in their performance. Then, I will take a close look at the performance strategies used by: (i) speakers who wanted to be correct and who were correct, and (ii) speakers who wanted to be correct,

but were not correct in their performance. Subsequently, I will examine and exemplify the strategic behaviour of individual speakers in the correctness-focused group. Finally, I will draw conclusions concerning the specific patterns of the strategic behaviour of speakers who managed to maintain correctness, and who did not.

In the discussion, I will first give an overview of how correctness-focused speakers make use of such performance strategies as strategies of (i) *ad hoc coinage*, (ii) *paraphrase*, and (iii) *restructuring*. I then continue the discussion by examining how strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer* are used by these speakers. At the end, I examine how correctness-focused speakers use strategies of *reduction*, and whether there are instances of *self-correction*, given that grammatical correctness was their main orientation in performance. Comparisons with the fluency-focused group will be drawn when necessary.

Figures 9-9, 9-10, and 9-11 give an overview of performance strategies used by correctness-focused speakers. Figure 9-9 summarizes the use of *ad hoc coinage*, *paraphrase* and *restructuring*. Figure 9-10 illustrates the use of strategies of *transfer* and *code-switching*, and Figure 9-11 gives an overview of the speakers' use of *self-correction* and strategies of *reduction*. I will now examine the use of performance strategies in greater detail. The figure below presents the use of *ad hoc coinage*, *paraphrase*, and *restructuring* by correctness-focused speakers.

Figure 9-9. The use of strategies of ad hoc coinage, paraphrase and restructuring by correctness-focused speakers (%)

#	Speaker	Ad hoc coinage	Paraphrase	Restructuring
1.	Alena G.	0	37	18
2.	Dmitry	0	5	9
3.	Lena M.	5	16	4
4.	Lena T.	0	0	5
5.	Oksana	0	16	15
6.	Pavlo	0	21	21
7.	Sergiy	0	6	44
8.	Vladimir	0	0	50

The figure above illustrates that instances of *ad hoc coinage* were not frequent in the performance of correctness-focused speakers. It was similar to what was observed in the

performance of fluency-focused speakers. As illustrated, the use of *ad hoc coinage* is observed in the performance of one speaker out of eight, and it is only 5% of all strategies used by the speaker.

Paraphrase emerged in the performance of six out of eight speakers. The use of this strategy was the lowest in the performance of Dmitry, i.e. 5%, and the highest in the performance of Alena G, i.e. 37%. The use of *paraphrase* in the performance of Pavlo, Oksana, and Lena M. reached 21%, 16% and 16% respectively.

Strategies of restructuring were found in the performance of each speaker and its use ranged from 4% and 5% in the production of Lena M. and Lena T., to 44% in the production of Sergiy, and 50% in the production of Vladimir. The use of *restructuring* by other speakers was moderate. Dmitry used strategies of *restructuring* in 9% of all strategies used; Oksana used them in 15% of all strategies used; Alena and Pavlo used them in 18% and 21% of all strategies used. Figure 9-10 gives an overview of strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer* in the performance of correctness-focused speakers.

Figure 9-10. The use of strategies of code-switching and transfer by correctness-focused speakers (%)

#	Speaker	Code-switching	Transfer
1.	Alena G.	0	9
2.	Dmitry	39	12
3.	Lena M.	13	16
4.	Lena T.	54	12
5.	Oksana	23,1	23
6.	Pavlo	9,1	13,6
7.	Sergiy	0	0
8.	Vladimir	0	0

Strategies of *code-switching* were traced in the performance of three out of eight speakers. Among the speakers, Lena T. who was in Germany at the time of the interview, used *code-switching* most frequently, i.e. 54%, and Pavlo used it least frequently, i.e. 9, 1% of all strategies. Dmitry, another correctness-focused speaker, in whose performance these strategies were found, used them in 39% of all strategies. Similar to Lena T., he was in Germany at the time of the interview, and hence under the influence of German during the

interview stage. Comparing these figures to the figures found in the performance of fluency-focused speakers, it becomes clear that strategies of *code-switching* were more frequent in the performance of fluency-focused speakers (in the correctness-focused group, they are observed in the performance of three speakers out of eight). The use of strategy of *transfer* was observed in the performance of six out of eight study participants ranging from 9% in Alena's performance to 23% in Oksana's performance. The use of *transfer* by Lena T., Dmitry, and Pavlo was quite similar, reaching 12% and 12%, and 13, 6%, accordingly. In Lena's performance, *transfer* was observed in 16% of all strategies used. In general, the emergence of this strategy was similar to what was observed in the fluency-focused group.

Now, I will examine how strategies of *reduction* and *self-correction* manifest in the performance of correctness-focused speakers, given that the use of these two strategies aims to minimize mistakes and improve grammatical correctness. For the summary of the results, see Figure 9-11 below.

Figure 9-11. The use of strategies of reduction and self-correction by correctness-focused speakers (%)

#	Speaker	Reduction	Self-correction
1.	Alena G.	9	27
2.	Dmitry	11	24
3.	Lena M.	24	22
4.	Lena T.	8	17
5.	Oksana	15	8
6.	Pavlo	8	8
7.	Sergiy	19	31
8	Vladimir	0	50

Strategies of *reduction*, used to reduce either the meaning or the form of an utterance, and/or to abandon the message, were observed in the production of seven out of eight speakers. The lowest occurrence of this strategy was observed in the production of Lena T., i. e. 8%, and the highest occurrence was observed in the production of Lena M., i.e. 24%. Comparing the emergence of this strategy in the performance of correctness-focused speakers to the emergence of this strategy in the performance of fluency-focused speakers, it becomes apparent that the use of this strategy is more common among the correctness-focused

speakers. This, however, is not surprising, as this strategy aims to minimize grammatical mistakes, a concern of speakers who focus on grammatical correctness in their performance.

Whereas in the fluency-focused group, *self-correction* was observed in performance of three out of five speakers, in the correctness-focused group, *self-correction* was seen in the performance of each speaker. The distribution of *self-correction* ranged from 8% in the performance of Oksana to 50% in the performance of Vladimir, with high scores in between. Taking these figures into account and the frequency of its emergence among speakers, it is possible to assume that *self-correction* was common among correctness-focused speakers, as expected.

Above, we have taken a look at the use of performance strategies by correctness-focused speakers. It became clear that strategic behaviour of correctness-focused speakers differed from the strategic behaviour of fluency-focused speakers, especially where the use of *code-switching*, *reduction*, and *self-correction* was concerned. Considering the overall distribution of strategies, I will examine in detail the strategic behaviour of individual speakers, focusing on (i) speakers who wanted to be correct, and were able to maintain correctness, and (ii) speakers, who wanted to be corrected, but did not manage it. The comparison of the distribution of strategies in these two groups may show whether the use of correctness-oriented strategies improves grammatical correctness.

In the previous chapter, it was shown that not all correctness-focused speakers managed to meet their initial performance requirement of grammatical correctness. The following five speakers managed to maintain grammatical correctness: Alena, Oksana, Pavlo, Sergiy, and Vladimir. They all considered themselves learners of English, and all but Pavlo, were mainly satisfied with their English skills. As not all correctness-focused speakers who maintained correctness handed in their *Global Tests of English*, it is not possible to say whether particular patterns are traced between the speakers' certainty rate, correctness rate, and the meeting of their performance requirement. The other three speakers – Lena T., Lena M., and Dmitry – did not manage to meet their requirement of correctness. Whereas Lena T. considered herself a learner of English, the other two speakers – Lena M., and Lena T. did not consider themselves learners of English. All speakers, who did not maintain grammatical correctness, had higher rates on certainty than on grammatical correctness in *the Global Test of English*. They, therefore, overestimated their skills in English.

Figures 9-12 and 9-13 show the distribution of ad *hoc coinage*, *paraphrase* and *restructuring* in the performance of speakers, who maintained *correctness* (Group A) and who did not maintain correctness (Group B).

Figure 9-12. The use of strategies of ad hoc coinage, paraphrase and restructuring in Group A (%)

#	Speaker	Ad hoc coinage	Paraphrase	Restructuring
1.	Alena G.	0	37	18
2	Oksana	0	16	15
3.	Pavlo	0	21	21
4.	Sergiy	0	6	44
5.	Vladimir	0	0	50

Figure 9-13. The use of strategies of ad hoc coinage, paraphrase and restructuring in Group B (%)

#	Speaker	Ad hoc coinage	Paraphrase	Restructuring
1.	Dmitry	0	5	9
2	Lena M.	5	16	4
3.	Lena T.	0	0	5

The strategy of *ad hoc coinage*, as seen from the figures above, is neither preferred by speakers who met their performance requirement, nor by speakers who did not meet their performance requirement. In Group A, this strategy was not evident, and in Group B, it was observed only in the performance of Lena M., (5%).

The strategy of *paraphrase* emerged in the performance of four out of five speakers in Group A, and in the performance of two out of three speakers in Group B. Speakers, who maintained correctness, made a better use of the paraphrase, and in the performance of these speakers it was more frequent, with the lowest use of 6% by Sergiy and the highest use of 37% by Alena G. In the performance of two out of three speakers who did not manage to maintain grammatical correctness, this strategy was also observed. Dmitry used paraphrase in only 5% of all strategies, and Lena M. used them in only 16% of all strategies. It is possible that those speakers, who make a good use of *paraphrase*, as well as other strategies, succeed in maintaining grammatical correctness.

A similar pattern was observed in the use of strategies of *restructuring*. They emerged in the production of all five speakers, who maintained correctness, and its distributions ranged from 16% in the performance of Oksana to 50% in the performance of Vladimir. The use of these strategies by the speakers, who did not maintain correctness, was lower. Although, the strategies of *restructuring* were observed in the production of all three speakers, they were used less frequently with the lowest use of 4% by Lena M., and the highest of 9% by Dmitry.

It is interesting that strategies of *paraphrase* and *restructuring* were more likely to be used by speakers who maintained correctness. Although, it is not entirely clear whether there is a correlational relationship between the speakers' requirements of performance and their strategic behaviour, the data reveals particular patterns of this development. It is likely, therefore, that the use of *paraphrase* and *restructuring* allows speakers to avoid constructions which are likely to deviate from the native speaker norm. By minimizing the chances for grammatical mistakes to occur, speakers, who focus on grammatical correctness, are, therefore, able to achieve an acceptable level of correctness. At the same time, in the performance of those speakers, who did not maintain grammatical correctness, the strategies of *restructuring* and *paraphrase* were less frequent.

In the following section, I will examine how strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer* were distributed in the performance of speakers, who maintained grammatical correctness, and who did not. Figure 9-14 and 9-15 below show the distribution of these strategies.

Figure 9-14. The use of strategies of code-switching and transfer in Group A (%)

#	Speaker	Code-switching	Transfer
1.	Alena G.	0	9
2	Oksana	23,1	23
3.	Pavlo	9,1	13,6
4.	Sergiy	0	0
5.	Vladimir	0	0

Figure 9-15. The use of strategies of code-switching and transfer in Group B (%)

#	Speaker	Code-switching	Transfer
1.	Dmitry	39	12
2	Lena M.	13	16
3.	Lena T.	54	12

Code-switching and *transfer* are fluency-oriented strategies. In other words, applying these strategies in their performance, English speakers facilitate communication with ease and fluency. Considering the distribution of *code-switching* in the performance of fluency-focused and correctness-focused speakers, it became clear that this fluency-oriented strategy was more frequent in the performance of fluency-focused speakers. Given the functional load of this strategy and the deviation from the norm that it causes, it is likely that *code-switching* will not frequently occur in the performance of speakers who wanted, and maintained, correctness.

The figures above illustrate the following results: (i) *code-switching* to L1 and L3 occurred both in the performance of speakers who maintained correctness, and who did not maintain it. In the performance of speakers who maintained correctness, *code-switching* emerged in the performance of two speakers out of five, ranging from 9, 1% in Pavlo's performance to 23, 1% in Oksana's performance. On the contrary, in the group, which did not maintain grammatical correctness, code-switching was observed in the performance of each speaker. Its use ranged from 13% in Lena's (Lena M.) performance to 54% in Lena T.'s performance. The strategy of *code-switching* was thus more common among the performance of speakers, who did not maintain grammatical correctness.

In the group where grammatical correctness was maintained, strategies of *transfer* were observed in the performance of three out of five speakers, with the lowest occurrence of 9% in Alena G.'s output and the highest occurrence of 23% in Oksana's output. The three speakers who did not maintain correctness, also used this strategy. The distribution of this strategy in the performance of three speakers was quite similar.

Whereas it appeared that *code-switching* was more likely to emerge in the performance of speakers who did not manage to maintain correctness, strategies of *transfer* appeared to be equally used by speakers who maintained correctness, and who did not. One of the possible explanations for this development could be that a strong focus on the requirement of grammatical correctness prevented speakers from using lexical items and constructions that were not English. As transfer did not ostensively threaten the realization of performance requirements, this strategy was extensively used by the speakers who maintained, and who did not maintain, grammatical correctness.

Presenting the overall results of the strategic behaviour of correctness-focused speakers, it was pointed out that the strategies of *self-correction* and *reduction* were more common among the correctness-focused speakers. The question which may now arise is whether the instances of *self-correction* are more frequent in the performance of speakers who maintained grammatical correctness, in other words, whether the use of *self-correction* made their performance correct and, thus, closer to the native speaker norm. Let us take a look at the two figures below, which summarize the results:

Figure 9-16. The use of strategies of reduction and self-correction in Group A (%)

#	Speaker	Reduction	Self-correction
1.	Alena G.	9	27
2	Oksana	15	8
3.	Pavlo	8	8
4.	Sergiy	19	31
5.	Vladimir	0	50

Figure 9-17. The use of strategies of reduction and self-correction in Group B (%)

#	Speaker	Reduction	Self-correction
1.	Dmitry	11	24
2	Lena M.	24	22
3.	Lena T.	8	17

As it is seen from the figures above, *self-correction* was observed in the performance of speakers who maintained correctness and did not maintain it. In both groups, *self-correction* was widely used, so it is not possible to claim that *self-correction* is only the feature of speakers who maintained correctness. Speakers, who did not maintain grammatical correctness according to the native speaker norm, still used the techniques of self-correction, which illustrates that (i) grammatical correctness was important to them, and (ii) speakers were trying to improve their performance and particular structures by using *self-correction*. Whether the structures were improved or not had no relevance for the speakers.

The strategy of *reduction* emerged in the performance of seven out of eight speakers. The function of strategies of *reduction*, as shown in the introductory part, is to prevent the speaker from making mistakes by reducing the number of utterances the speaker was not sure

about. By reducing the utterances which contain lexical or syntactic structures the speaker does not want to use because they may threaten his/her requirement of correctness, he/she reduces the number of possible mistakes that could be made. Thus, strategies of *reduction* and *self-correction* were preferred by speakers who maintained correctness, and who did not maintain it. In such a way, the requirement profile manifested in the strategies speakers used in their performance, and seemed to determine the types of strategies used.

To summarize, it was obvious that strategies of *paraphrase* and *restructuring* were more common among the speakers who maintained grammatical correctness, whereas *code-switching* was more common in the performance of those speakers who did not maintain grammatical correctness. No significant differences were observed in how the correctness-focused speakers used strategies of *ad hoc coinage*, *transfer*, *self-correction*, and *reduction*. Where the instances of *self-correction* were concerned, they emerged in the performance of each speaker. The requirements, which are imposed on performance, thus seem to have effect on the speakers' selection and use of strategies.

Considering the differences in the strategic behaviour of eight correctness-focused speakers, I will discuss and give examples of the use of strategies in the performance of each speaker in this group. As above, I will first look at the strategic behaviour of speakers, who met their performance requirements, in other words, were grammatically correct in most of their performance.

9.4.2.1 *Strategic behaviour of speakers who met the requirement of grammatical correctness*

1. *Alena G.*

Alena G., a Ukrainian native speaker in the study, who focused on grammatical correctness, was satisfied with her English, considered herself a learner of English and felt equally comfortable communicating with native and non-native speakers (see *Chapter 5* on the overview of speakers and their requirement profiles). How Alena used strategies in the interview is summarized in Figure 9-18 below:

Figure 9-18. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Alena G. (%)
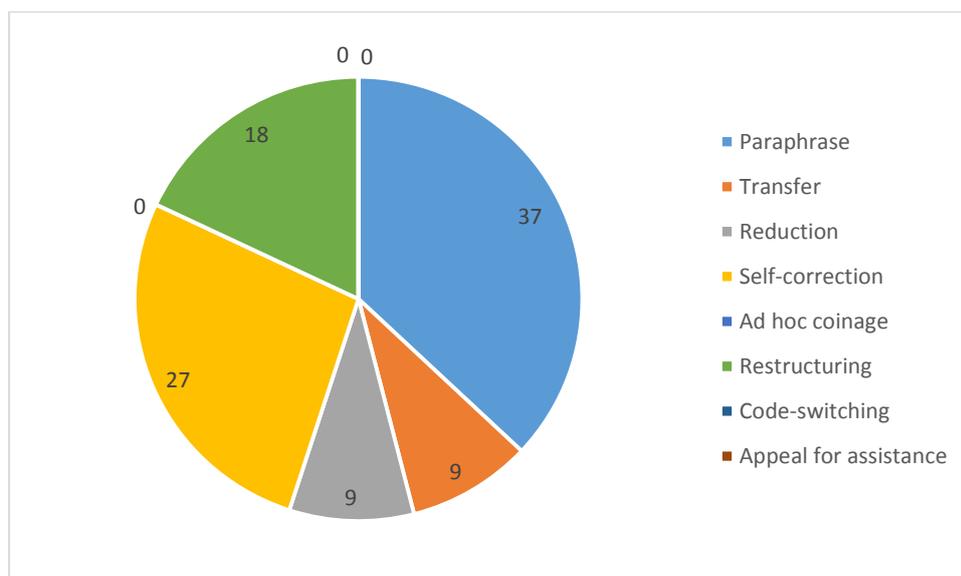
The following strategic behaviour was observed in the performance of this speaker. *Paraphrase* was '*the most preferred strategy*', used in 37% of all strategies used. The use of *self-correction*, as in the performance of many study participants who focused on correctness, was high, used 27%. The use of strategy of *restructuring*, however, is not high (18%), compared to how it was used by fluency-focused speakers. The strategies of *ad hoc coinage* and *transfer* were not identified. Alena, as we saw previously, managed to realize the requirement of correctness in the interview. One of the possible explanations is that the speaker's strategic behaviour helped her to meet this objective. The use of *paraphrase* and *self-correction*, as well as restructuring utterances in which she was less certain, facilitated this communicative task. Although fluency was not the speaker's requirement of performance, it was maintained.

The strategy of paraphrase helped the speaker to meet the requirement of grammatical correctness and maintain grammatical correctness. At the same time, fluency was also improved. The example that follows illustrates an instance of paraphrase:

(9-61) *And rest of teachers <u>who teach by fear</u>, and that's really bad in our institution.*

It is possible that Alena wanted to use a verb '*to threaten*'. Unable to retrieve it, or supposing that it would not fully convey the idea of '*threatening students by developing fears toward teachers*', Alena paraphrased the verb '*to threaten*' by using the expression '*to teach by fear*'. Paraphrasing, she transferred the Ukrainian instrumental case by means of the preposition

'by' into English. This, again, illustrates an overlap of two strategies – *transfer* and *paraphrase*. A newly used expression was well integrated into the conversation.

Instances of *self-correction* differed from what was observed in the performance of other speakers. In particular, there were no instances of *self-correction*, which involved changing the verb form from the present to the past, and from the past from the present. One grammatical reason that made Alena correct herself was the *use of articles*. To illustrate this, see the excerpt below:

(9-62) *Now I don't have specific strategies or techniques. I usually learn something new <u>from Internet</u>, from <u>the Internet</u>, some articles, something new from the articles I look for in the internet for my research paper.*

Clearly, Alena changed the noun '*Internet*' from being used with a zero article to the definite article '*the*', since the initial form, I suppose, was not in line with her certainty rate. All other instances of *self-correction* occurred mainly in connection with lexical items and expressions. The excerpt below illustrates one occurrence:

(9-63) W*e never <u>had real like Britain</u>, <u>person from Britain</u>, who came to teach English*.

In this excerpt, Alena wanted to refer to an Englishman, who could teach English in the department of Foreign Languages. Unsatisfied with the first type of reference '*real like Britain*', she corrected herself, using another referring expression, namely '*person from Britain, who could teach English*'. It is interesting that this strategy illustrates that more than two strategies may be involved in one linguistic manifestation. In this case, for example, the instance of *self-correction* may also be seen as a type of *paraphrase*.

2. *Oksana*

Oksana was a Russian native speaker in the study, who focused on grammatical correctness, was satisfied with her English, and considered herself a learner of English. Oksana felt equally comfortable communicating with native and non-native speakers. No particular preferences were given to either native or non-native English interlocutors (see Chapter 5). The overview of the strategies used by Oksana is given in Figure 9-19 below:

Figure 9-19. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Oksana (%)
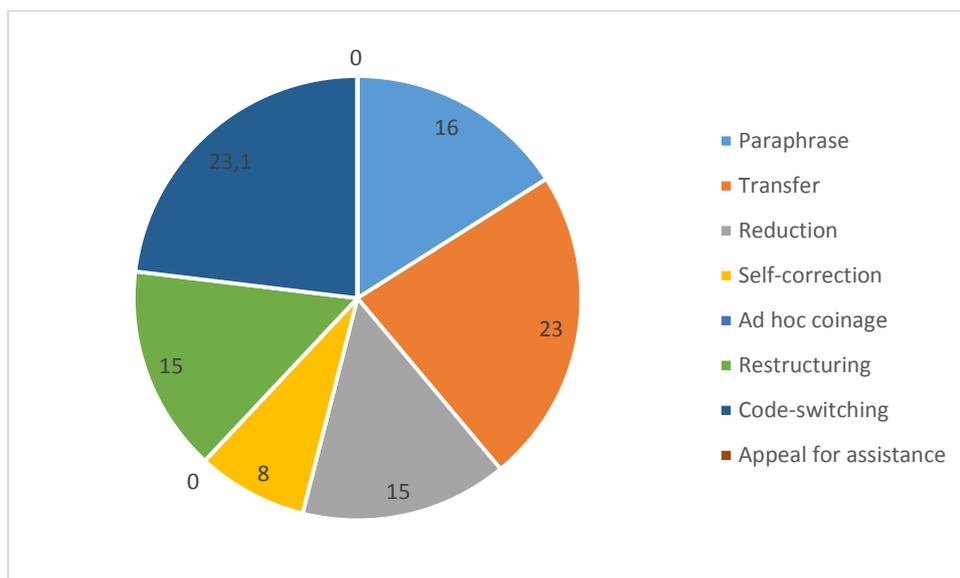
In the performance of Oksana, the strategies based on the activation of L1 resources – *code-switching* and *transfer* – appeared to be domineering. The high use of *code-switching* and *transfer*, in comparison to the use of other strategies, can have two possible explanations: (i) Oksana had just arrived from her home country before the recording of the interview; therefore, Russian was a major source of interference when she spoke English; (ii) as mentioned in the interview, Oksana used English mainly for writing. Under the influence of Russian, she reverted to *transferring* Russian syntactic constructions, lexical expressions, and *code-switching*.

The strategies of *paraphrase*, *restructuring* and *reduction* were equally distributed in performance; *paraphrase* was used in 16%, *restructuring* was used in 15%, and *reduction* was used in 15% of all strategies used. *Self-correction* was observed in only 8 % of strategies used. Considering Oksana's performance on *the Global Test of English*, it is possible to see that her certainty rate was lower than the actual correctness rate. Taking these results into account, as well as a few instances of *self-correction* observed in the interview, it is possible to suppose that although grammatical correctness was important to the speaker, she overestimated her skills in English. The examples, which follow below, illustrate how Oksana made use of particular strategies and their linguistic manifestations to fulfil her performance requirements.

Instances of *transfer*, observed in the data, were mainly *transfer* of *idiomatic and lexical expressions from Russian*. The two excerpts below illustrate this:

(9-64) *And now it's really <u>the further the worse the situation</u>, and yeah <break/>*.

In this example, Oksana transferred a Russian idiomatic expression '*chem dal'she tem huzhe*' which means '*the further you go* (in a non-literal sense)*, the worse it gets*' by translating it into English in the following way '*the further, the worse*'. If a common language of Russian is not shared, it could be difficult to understand the expression she used. The following example also illustrates an instance of lexical transfer from Russian:

(9-65) <u>*They make this parallel between PhD and Candidate thesis in Russia*</u>, *for example*.

Here, Oksana conveyed the Russian academic term '*stepen' kandidata*', which is close, but not identical, to the PhD degree in the English-speaking world.

When *code-switching* occurred, it was mostly switching to German. Apart from using German interjections and conjunctions, Oksana switched to German when referring to the degree programs or specific names. The example below illustrates this:

(9-66) *The center is called <GFL> <u>Angewandte Geowissenschaften</u> </GFL> so Applied Geosciences, and mostly it's Geology, but applied sciences in the concept of geology and environment as well.*

The example that follows illustrates how the adjective '*poor*' or '*inadequate*' is paraphrased by giving a description of what the degree program was like.

(9-67) *But the program is not very, <u>like not high quality</u>, how to say it<u>, not high quality of teaching</u>, not <u>even good quality of teaching sometimes</u>, only maybe several professors are really good and <u>mostly it's like</u> </break>, sorry to say.*

Similar to some of the cases seen above, *the paraphrase chain* consists of more than one element; in particular, '*not high quality*', '*not high quality of teaching*', and '*not even good quality of teaching*' are used to describe the inadequate Master's program in Geoscience.

Strategies of *reduction* were mostly used in connection with the reduction of the message, and not the form. See the example below:

(9-68) *So when I start to translate sometimes, yeah but, yeah, <u>maybe like this I have some problems, but</u> <break/>*

Oksana was obviously referring to the language problems she had in connection with translation. Deciding not to say more, or unsure about the structure that had to follow, she did not complete the message she started.

Self-correction, while not frequently used, often emerged in connection with a change of a tense form, as the example below illustrates:

(9-69) *Ah, when <u>I come here</u>, <u>when I came here</u> <u>I am, had</u> problems a little bit maybe because I was not used to it, and then with time, it started to be easier.*

Realizing that she was reporting the events which occurred in the past and that the simple past, not the simple present, was appropriate for this purpose, Oksana changed the verb forms '*I come here*', and '*I am*' into the past forms '*I came here*', and '*I had*'. This pattern of her strategic behaviour goes in line with assessing herself as a learner of English.

Oksana's use of strategies may reveal the following: (i) Oksana's performance is not likely to be idiomatic due to reliance on her first language, Russian; either switching to it, or transferring constructions from it; (ii) second, given that the speaker met the requirement of grammatical correctness, it is possible to assume that the strategies used contributed to achieving this goal; (iii) as Oksana only restrictively used self-correction, she was confident enough in the structures she used (also see the scores on certainty and grammatical correctness).

3. *Pavlo*

Pavlo was a native speaker of Ukrainian and considered himself a learner of English who was not satisfied with his English. In terms of communication preferences, Pavlo felt equally comfortable communicating with native and non-native speakers of English. An overview of Pavlo's strategic behaviour follows below. Figure 9-20 summarizes the results:

Figure 9-20. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Pavlo (%)
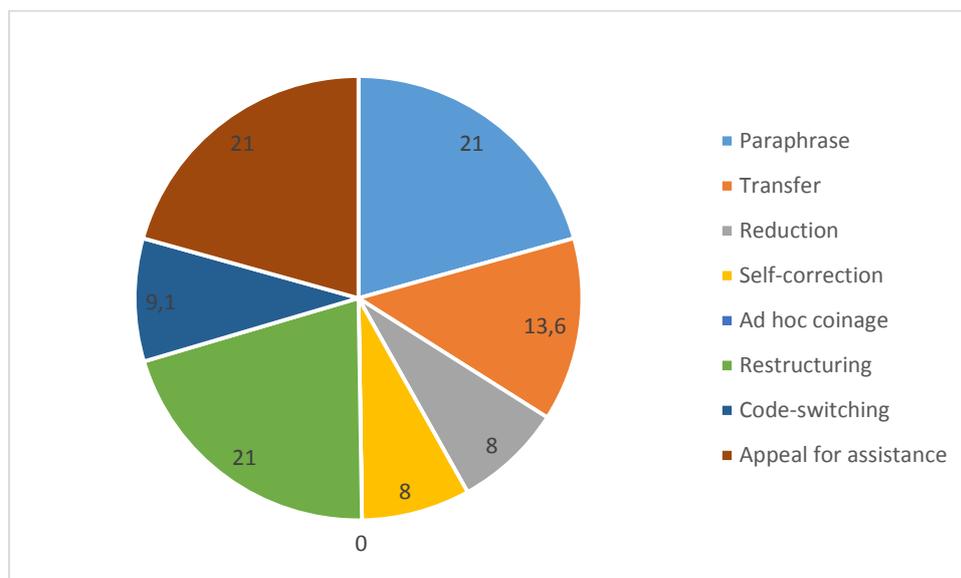
In the interview, three performance strategies – *paraphrase*, *restructuring*, and *appeal* for *assistance* were equally distributed, all used 21% of all strategies. They were followed by strategies of *transfer*, used 13, 6%, and *code-switching*, used 9, 1%. The strategies of *self-correction* and *reduction* were used 8% each. The use of *ad hoc coinage* in the interview was not observed.

Paraphrase, in the performance of Pavlo, emerged in the form of: (i) description and giving specific examples, and (ii) using the general and not the specific vocabulary. The first three examples below, (9-70), (9-71) and (9-72), illustrate how Pavlo described concepts, and specific vocabulary when he was not sure about the English word. Please, consider below:

(9-70) *who know English, who know English very well, but their pronunciation and their <break/> the way they speak is like <break/>, it's very traditional and you can definitely see that this person is from like USSR, this is Russian or Ukrainian school in language skills.*

This passage shows that Pavlo was trying to refer to the advanced speakers of English, who studied and learned English in the countries of the former Soviet Union, and who had a specific Russian or Ukrainian accent because of this. Unable to provide a precise reference, such as, for example, a Russian or Ukrainian speaker of English, he described the overall situation, including a traditional method of teaching English, and the country of exposure to

283

English. In the next example, Pavlo attempted to refer to *the students who were in their last year* of studies. He said the following:

(9-71) *Then, I have the Actual Problems of Federalism in the World, that's for the <u>students of the last last year</u>, <u>last year students</u> and the totela, how do you pronounce <NLU> totalitarism*

Students in their last year of studies are referred to as '*students of the last year students*', and '*last year students*', as illustrated. Yet, another excerpt below illustrates how Pavlo explained the concept of '*a wicked school boy*':

(9-72) *I've, I was very <break/> how do you say <u>active active boy</u>, I mean, <u>I often had some problems with teachers</u>.*

Pavlo first referred to himself as '*an active boy*'. Realizing that this referring expression may not fully convey his idea, he added information and particular details that he often had problems with teachers.

The example below illustrates that Pavlo did not only describe the concepts, but also used approximate and general lexical items when he was not able to retrieve the appropriate vocabulary. Consider the example below:

(9-73) *French people, Poles, and they have such a <u>hard pronunciation</u> that sometimes you just cannot get what they are trying to say.*

The expression '*hard pronunciation*' is used in place of '*a heavy accent*', because adjectives '*hard*' and '*heavy*' share common semantic features.

The following example illustrates an instance of *restructuring*:

(9-74) *Once again, pronunciation, <u>the way of</u> <break/> <u>they speak</u>, because non-natives they mostly use their knowledges from school, university.*

Restructuring occurred at the stage when the speaker uttered '*the way of*', and, supposedly, being unable to complete it, or not knowing the form that followed, Pavlo decided to restructure the utterance and completed it by saying '*they say*', thus using the verb '*to say*' in the present simple form, and not in gerund.

Instances of *reduction*, emerging in the interview, concerned mostly the reduction of message, and not the form. The examples in (9-75) and (9-76) illustrate this:

(9-75) *And for sure if you have possibility to go abroad like US, Canada or English speaking countries, but if you have no such a possibility, <u>then you just</u> <break/> it's not really easy to speak correct.*

In this example, Pavlo reduced the message by not completing it, and by not describing what happens to speakers who do not have the possibility to travel abroad. In conclusion, he made a statement that was intended to generalize and make an assumption about the overall situation of not being exposed to English.

In the following example, Pavlo also abandoned the message in the sense that he began by reporting on comprehension difficulties when communicating with Englishmen. Consider the passage in (9-76):

(9-76) *But it's more difficult for someone like me or anyone else to understand for example, Englishmen, <u>because, some of them</u> <break/>, I have spoked to some of them from Scotland.*

Attempting to describe them and their way of speaking, he did not complete his initial plan. Instead, he concluded, by a general statement, that he had communicated with some speakers from Scotland. Whether this communication was the same or similar to what he described in the previous clause, was unclear.

The overall pattern of Pavlo's strategic behaviour possibly reveals the following: (i) although Pavlo was oriented toward grammatical correctness in performance, he gave preference to fluency-oriented strategies, such as *paraphrase* and *restructuring*; these two strategies were thus the most preferred strategies by the speaker; (ii) a low use of strategies of *reduction* and a small number of utterances, which were *self-corrected*, possibly illustrate that Pavlo was certain in the constructions he used. Without using the correctness-focused strategies, he managed to maintain grammatical correctness. It is possible that the speaker's English competence was rather solid. Another piece of evidence, which supports this, is that he was one of the participants whose certainty rate was almost the same (66%) as correctness rate (67%) on *the Global Test of English*. In the interview, Pavlo managed to maintain fluency and grammatical correctness by using fluency-oriented strategies.

4. Sergiy

Sergiy was also a native speaker of Ukrainian, who was oriented toward grammatical correctness. Sergiy was satisfied with his competence in English and considered himself a learner of English. His preferred communication partners were native speakers. The performance strategies which emerged in Sergiy's performance are summarized in Figure 9-21 below:

Figure 9-21. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Sergiy (%)
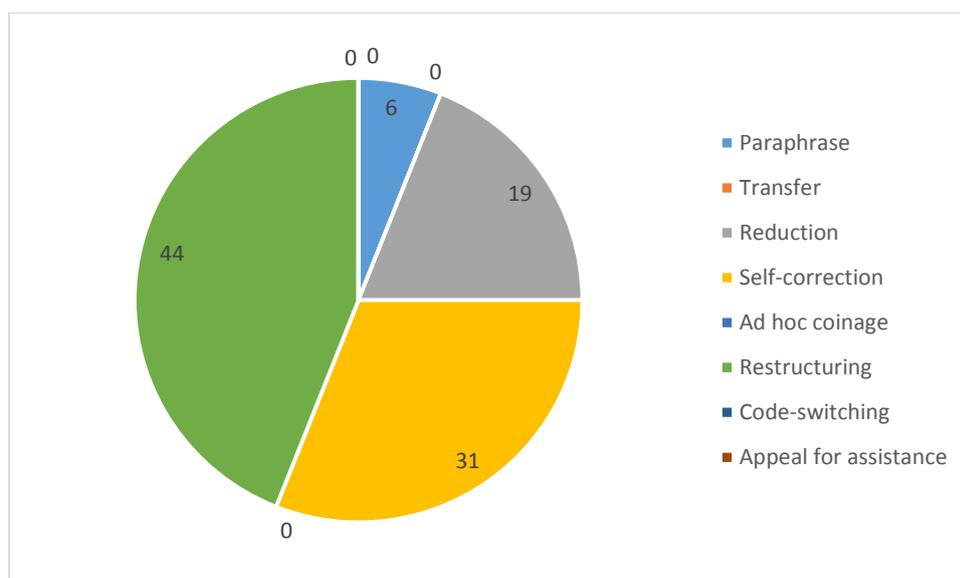
This speaker seems to prefer strategies of *restructuring*. As shown above, the strategies of *restructuring* were used by the speaker 44%. The second '*most favorite*' strategy was *self-correction*, used 31%. It was followed by strategies of *reduction*, used 19% of all strategies used. *Paraphrase* was only used 6%. Instances of *code-switching*, transfer and *ad hoc coinage* were not observed, similar to what was observed in the production of Pavlo and Alena G. The relatively high use of *reduction strategies* (19%), I suppose, can be accounted for by Sergiy's willingness to use the structures in which he was certain. That the correctness-oriented strategy of *reduction* was used less than the strategy of *restructuring* may possibly be accounted for by Sergiy's desire to (i) *keep the communicative message*, and (ii) *produce grammatically correct utterances*. The use of this strategy allows the speaker to avoid morpho-syntactic constructions in which he is not certain, and maintain grammatical correctness, keeping the communicative message at the same time. The motivation behind the use of *restructuring strategies* differs from the motivation behind the use of reduction strategies, since when using *the strategy of reduction,* the form and the message are often

abandoned. The communicative message is, therefore, lost. Using *restructuring*, on the contrary, the speaker '*saves*' the message, performing, at the same time, necessary modifications to the utterance to meet his requirements of performance. One of the uses of *restructuring* by Sergiy is illustrated below:

(9-77) *The hypothesis of my thesis is that in twenty first century Post Soviet territory, the territory of so-called Soviet Union will be included into the into the so-called Euro-Atlantic space, because for the west it will be vital important, because in some regions* <u>*there are <break/>,*</u> <u>*some regions are rich of mineral resources,*</u> *for example oil and gas, and the territory of former Soviet Union is rather secure in comparison with some other regions of for example, in Persian Gulf or <unclear> </unclear>.*

In the passage above, we are concerned with the following *restructuring chain*: '*because in some regions there are <break>, some regions are rich of mineral resources*'. Apparently, Sergiy intended to have a noun phrase following the '*there*' construction '*because in some regions there are*'. Possibly having difficulties retrieving the necessary noun, Sergiy decided to restructure the '*there*' construction, which asserts the existence or the appearance of an entity or an event by a declarative sentence '*some regions are rich of mineral resources*'. Provided Sergiy could not retrieve the necessary noun in the first part of the chain, restructuring the utterance allowed him to retrieve the noun desired.

Sergiy's performance requirements, especially his focus on grammatical correctness and the features of his requirement profile, may account for Sergiy's strategic behaviour, such as, the low or no use of strategies of *paraphrase*, *code-switching*, *transfer*, and *ad hoc coinage*. The use of the correctness-oriented strategies, such as, *self-correction* and *reduction* goes along with the speaker's performance requirement, namely, to focus on grammatical correctness.

Similar to the other speakers in this subgroup, Sergiy wanted to be correct in his performance and he was. His main performance requirement – grammatical correctness – manifested in the use of strategies of *self-correction* and *reduction*. Each individual strategy alone, and the combination of strategies, such as the ones mentioned above, contributed to fulfilling the speaker's communicative goal.

5. **Vladimir**

Vladimir was a Slovak speaker of English, who also considered grammatical correctness to be important in performance. Similar to other speakers who focused on grammatical correctness, he was satisfied with his English, and considered himself a learner of English. Vladimir felt equally comfortable communicating with native and non-native speakers of English. Not much can be said concerning Vladimir's strategic behaviour. The strategies were not observed, apart from two strategies of *restructuring* and two strategies of *self-correction*. Thus, *self-correction* and *restructuring* were domineering in this speaker's performance. Taking an account of Vladimir's low use of strategies, it is possible to assume that Vladimir's knowledge was sufficient for meeting his requirement of performance – grammatical correctness.

Above, we have taken a look at the strategic behaviour of speakers who managed to maintain grammatical correctness. The distribution of performance strategies in the performance of five speakers was considered. It was observed that four out of five speakers preferred such performance strategies as *paraphrase*, *restructuring,* and *self-correction.* It is possible that the speakers managed to maintain grammatical correctness because they used the strategies which allowed them to meet this need. Clearly, the speakers revert to *paraphrasing* and *restructuring* when they have uncertainty with regard to the lexical item or the morpho-syntactic construction which follows. These strategies reduce possible mistakes in the speakers' performance, in such a way, allowing the performance requirements to be met. It is also interesting that although all speakers focused on grammatical correctness, the strategy of *reduction*, aimed at reducing either the form or the communicative function of the utterance, was not preferred by either of them. The strategic behaviour of Oksana differed considerably from the strategic behaviour of four other speakers in respect to the use of strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer*. The high use of these two strategies was similar to what was found in the performance of the speakers who focused on fluency. In the following section, we will take a look at the strategic behaviour of the speakers who prioritized the requirement of correctness, but could not, however, meet it.

9.4.2.2 *Strategic behaviour of speakers who did not meet their own requirement of grammatical correctness*

In this section, I explore the strategic profile of speakers who wanted to be correct in the performance; their performance, however, did not illustrate that they met this performance

requirement. The strategic behaviour of these speakers will be examined below. There were three speakers in this subgroup: *Dmitry*, *Lena M*., and *Lena T*.

1. *Dmitry*

I will begin by looking at Dmitry's strategic behaviour. Dmitry was a native speaker of Russian, who oriented toward grammatical correctness. Unlike many other speakers in the study, Dmitry was neither satisfied with his English, nor considered himself a learner of English. Dmitry felt equally comfortable communicating with native and non-native English speakers. The overview of Dmitry's strategic behaviour is given in Figure 9-22 below:

Figure 9-22. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Dmitry (%)
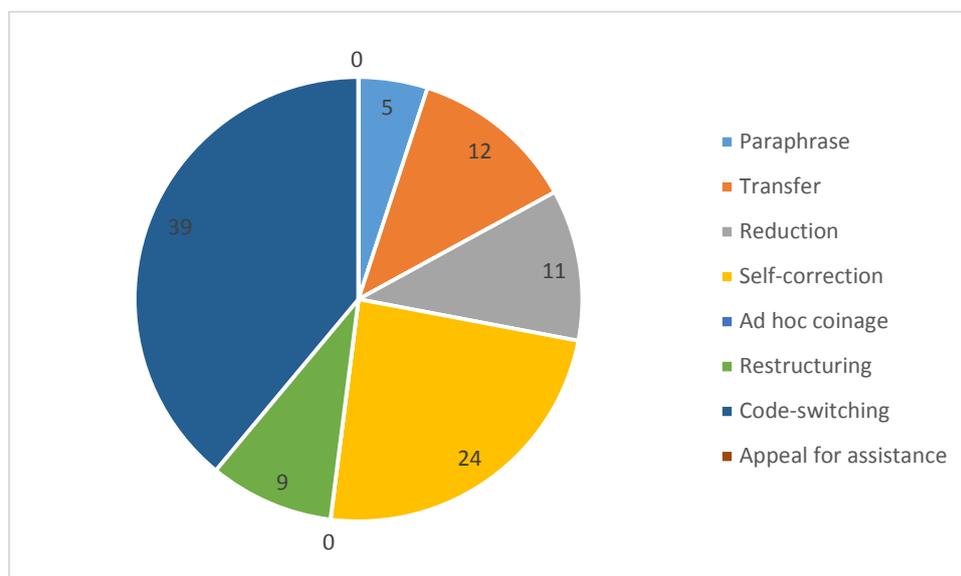
As can be seen from the chart above, the most frequently used strategy in Dmitry's production was *code-switching*, emerging 39% of all strategies used. The second most frequently used strategy was *self-correction*, emerging 24% in the performance. It is interesting that although Dmitry overestimated his skills on *the Global Test of English* (the certainty rate was higher than correctness rate), he still used *self-correction* in the interview. Grammatical correctness was thus important for him. The emergence of *self-correction* tied in with Dmitry's orientedness toward grammatical correctness. In assessing the value and importance of grammatical correctness, he said the following:

(9-78) *When language is correct then you can understand better better. When it's when it's fluently spoken but not very correct, then you can <break/> can you understand not all things, or you can understand nothing. So, correctness is on the first place.*

Grammatical correctness was thus important for Dmitry, because it was connected to and, affected understanding. The strategies of *transfer* and *reduction* were sparingly used, emerging 12% and 11% respectively. Similar, *paraphrase* and *restructuring* were not frequently used: paraphrase emerged 5% and *restructuring* emerged 9% in the performance. Neither strategies of *ad hoc coinage*, nor *strategies of cooperation* with the interviewer were observed in the data.

When Dmitry switched to another language, it was mostly a switch to German. When a German word was used, it was often followed by an English word. German was used for rendering words from both open and closed word classes. The two examples below illustrate the switch to German:

(9-79) *Mhm, I have a private teacher. I have learnt, mostly I have learned my English in school, and I have some I have had some pri I had some private <FLG> Unterrichten </FLG>*

Here, Dmitry used the German word '*der Unterricht'* in place of an English word 'class' or '*classes*'. In the following example, the German noun '*die Menschheit'* is followed by a noun phrase in English '*all people*'. This indicates that Dmitry monitors his performance, and modifies it, if he recognizes a problem:

(9-80) *English is only language that that is known by all the <FLG> Menschheit </FLG> all people.*

Many instances of *self-correction* were applied to the vocabulary and not the grammatical structures. The passages in (9-81) and (9-82) illustrate this:

(9-81) *I want one one time for <break/> one time once I will to go to any English course.*

In this excerpt, Dmitry corrected the adverb '*one time'* to '*once'*, which, again, is an illustration of controlling his performance in English.

(9-82) *It was <FLG> ja </FLG> quite okay, but since that time I haven't study English, I haven't learned English <unclear> </unclear> regressive way.*

In this example, it was not the verb form that was changed, but the verb itself. Having used the verb '*to study'*, Dmitry realized that the verb '*to learn'* may be more appropriate when speaking about language learning. Thus, he replaced the verb '*to study*' by '*to learn*'.

In the performance of this speaker, among instances of *lexical transfer*, there were a few instances of structural transfer, which I illustrate below. The excerpt in (9-83) shows *transfer* from German, whereas the passages in (9-84) and (9-85) illustrate transfer from L1 Russian:

(9-83) *Judge a little bit <unclear> if </unclear> <u>his language good or bad is</u>.*

As it is in German, Dmitry moves the verb '*to be*' to the final position in the subordinate clause. The next example is an instance of double negation, possible in Russian, but not in English.

(9-84) *For me, it's no difference, but <u>I haven't speak</u> <u>with no native speaker</u>.*

Here, Dmitry negates the clause and the direct object. The next example also illustrates negation, and is, I suppose, transfer from Russian:

(9-85) *There is no, <FLG> so ein </FLG> <u>lawyer worked works not from nine o'clock</u> <FLG> bis </FLG> from <FLG> neun </FLG> a.m. till <FLG> sechs </FLG> p.m. but the whole the whole day.*

Here, Dmitry does not negate a sentence, but negates a prepositional phrase '*from nine o'clock*', as it is possible in Russian. Another strategy, which is observed in this utterance, was the correction of the verb '*worked*', emerging in the simple past tense, to the present simple.

In conclusion, although Dmitry did not consider himself a learner of English, his performance illustrated the opposite. Instances of self-correction, either found in combination with other strategies or in isolation, indicated that grammatical correctness was important to him. A low use of *paraphrase* and *restructuring*, I suppose, caused the inability for grammatical correctness to be maintained.

2. Lena M.

Lena M. was another speaker, who did not succeed in meeting the requirement of grammatical correctness. She was satisfied with her English, and assessed herself as a language learner. Lena's satisfaction with her English was also supported by her performance on *the Global Test of English*, where her certainty rate (69, 3%) was higher than correctness rate (51, 2%).

She preferred both native and non-native speakers as communication partners. The overview of Lena M.'s strategic behaviour is presented below:

Figure 9-23. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Lena M. (%)
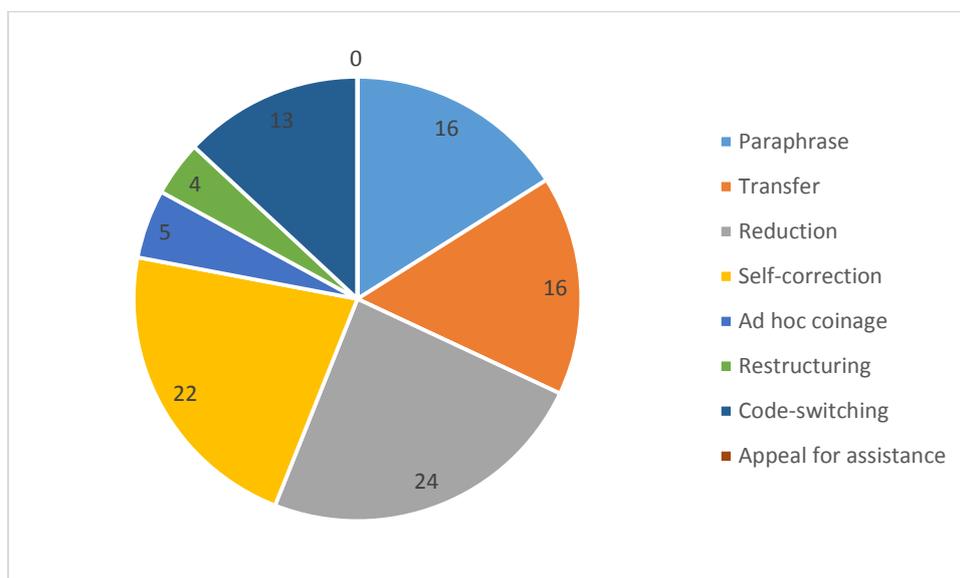
The most frequently used strategy in the performance of Lena M. was the strategy of *reduction* used 24%. This strategy was followed by the strategy of *self-correction,* used 22%. *Paraphrase* and *transfer* were used 16% each, and *code-switching* was used 13% of all strategies used. The strategy of *ad hoc coinage* emerged in 5%, and the strategy of *restructuring* emerged in 4% of all strategies used. The strategies of *appeal for assistance* were not observed.

Lena's desire to be correct manifested in the use of such strategies as *reduction* and *self-correction*. The fact that Lena's performance contained many instances of *self-correction* supported the self-assessment comment, namely, that she assessed herself as a language learner. By reducing the form and function of the utterance Lena wanted to express, she avoided structures in which she was not sure. In doing so, she minimized the number of possible mistakes. It is interesting, however, that although the strategy of *reduction* is considered to be a correctness-oriented strategy its use does not necessarily lead to grammatical correctness. On the contrary, *paraphrase* and *restructuring*, which are considered to be fluency-oriented strategies, seem to facilitate the fulfilment of performance requirements, including grammatical correctness.

I now turn to exemplifying the linguistic manifestations of particular strategies. The strategy of *reduction*, so frequently occurring in the data, was mostly related to reducing the meaning, and not the form. The passage below illustrates this:

(9-86) *She sent me some books in English about France, so I had to read that, because <u>it was</u>*
<u>sent with <break/></u> /, a person who wanted me to read these books, so I read /i/

It is possible that Lena attempted to describe the manner in which her French pen pal would send letters to her, implying, possibly, the motivation behind sending them. Lacking an appropriate word – a noun or an adjective – which could describe the manner, Lena abandoned the message she intended to convey. She then continued by modifying her *pen pal* to '*a person who wanted her to read these books*'.

Self-correction, as a strategy, was not only used by Lena in connection with the use of tenses (she mentioned in the interview that this was most demanding for her), but also in connection with articles used. See the examples in (9-87) and (9-88) below:

(9-87) *And after year, I decided I should go to study that <u>at the college, at an college, in</u>*
<u>English college</u> so, I had to go to go to study <u>at the college.</u>

Clearly, Lena was not sure which article to use. The following *self-correction* chain is observed: (i) '*at the college*', (ii) '*at an college*', (iii) '*in English college*', and finally, '*at the college*'. Lena changed the definite article into the indefinite, then into the zero article, and, finally, returned to the article she had initially. The same development is observed in (9-88):

(9-88) *In Ukraine, straight after school I worked one year <u>at a libr</u> <u>at the library.</u>*

Uncertainty in the use of articles, and especially the use of *self-correction*, discloses the following: (i) Lena and many Slavic speakers are aware that articles in English pose problem, and (ii) there is no consistency in how articles are used, as Slavic speakers are not guided by rules determining how articles should be used.

Together with other strategies, *paraphrase* contributed to improving fluency in the conversation. As in the performance of other speakers, it often occurred in the form of *description, explanation,* and *exemplification*. Consider the following two examples:

(9-89) *And one year at the <break/> say accountancy department or <u>at department who</u>*
<u>calculated some fees, like wages and salaries for other different factories</u>. <u>It was ah a</u>

department of big eh a big factory, but they did work for different other factories as well.

Here, Lena made a reference to the job she had many years before. Uncertain whether the '*accountancy department*' was the right term to describe the business branch she worked for, Lena went into the details, explaining specific tasks, such as '*the calculation of wages, salaries.*' In addition, she pointed out that being part of a bigger factory, the department took orders from other companies. Lena thus did her best to convey the meaning, supposing that the term '*accountancy department*' may lead to misunderstandings.

In the next passage, Lena attempts to explain the concept of '*competition*' with regard to enrolment in universities, using the *paraphrase*:

(9-90) *I went to the evening department, where we had lowest lowest com comp competition I can say, lowest, the people who didn't have enough marks to go to the morning department were welcome to go to the evening department, when mark is higher than some.*

Having mentioned the term '*the lowest competition*', Lena continued with an explanation, saying that those applicants, whose grades were not high enough, could not apply for the full-time study program ('*morning department*'). Instead, they could, and were welcome, to apply for the part-time study ('*evening department*'). This strategy shows that Lena was aware that the expression '*the lowest competition*' may also cause difficulties in comprehension. Because of this, she subconsciously reverted to *paraphrase* to ensure the hearer understood the message correctly.

It is interesting that other strategies were also involved in explaining the concepts discussed above. Although not numerous, *transfer* from Russian was evident in the interview. A passage, illustrating *structural* and *lexical transfer*, is given below:

(9-91) *I didn't pass it on, I had not enough high mark to go to day department, morning department, so I went to evening department, but anyway, I was in there.*

In this example, we are faced with two types of transfer: *structural* and *lexical*. *Structural transfer* is traced in the speaker's use of '*I had not enough high mark*', whereas *lexical transfer* is traced in the use of noun phrases '*day department*', '*morning department*', and '*evening department*,* which were introduced above. In the use of '*I had not enough high mark*', the speaker directly transfers from Russian the phrase '*U menya ne bylo dostatochno*

vysokoyi ozenki' - '*I did not have enough high mark*', where the Russian adverb '*dostatochno*' – '*enough*' appears in the pre-adjectival position. Using this construction in English, Lena places the adverb '*enough*' in exactly the same position, i.e. before the adjective '*high*' that it modifies. The emerging structure, however, does not exist in English. *Lexical transfer*, as said above, is traced in the use of three noun phrases, all of which contain the noun '*department*'. In using these terms, Lena transferred a Russian noun '*otdelenije*', which means '*department*' in English, as well as, a modifying adjective '*dnevnoy*', which means '*day*', or '*of a day*'. The Russian expression '*dnevnoe otdelenije*' means a full-time study in English. The English expressions, which Lena used to convey the idea of '*full time studies*' were (i) '*the day department*', and (ii) '*the morning department*'. These two English expressions had the same referent, i.e. '*full time studies*'. Another phrase containing the noun '*department*', used in the passage, was '*the evening department*'. This expression was also a transfer from Russian, where the first item was an adjective '*vecherniy*' meaning *happening in the evening*, and '*otdelenije*', meaning '*department*'. What is meant by the Russian '*evening department*' is the study program, in which most of the teaching is done in the afternoon or evening. Students, who are enrolled in this program need more time to finish their studies than those taking classes in the morning. Thus, this teaching and studying mode is similar to '*the part time studies*' in the English-speaking community. It is possible that these expressions would not pose any comprehensibility problems if the interlocutors share a common language. Should the participants not share a common language, the following issues may not be clear: (i) what do these three terms – '*the morning department*', '*the day department*', and '*the evening department*' – mean, and (ii) whether these three nouns refer to the same concept. Thus, without sharing a common ground with the speaker, the utterance interpretation may pose difficulties to the listener. Sharing a common ground, on the other hand, will facilitate the utterance comprehension procedure.

A few instances of *restructuring* observed in the data indicate that Lena M. did not want to abandon the message by *reducing* it. Instead, she attempted *to restructure* it in such a way that she does not lose the essence of her message. One of the examples illustrating this, is given below:

(9-92) *<unclear> because <u>we had to translate hundreds of,</u> <u>tons of texts,</u> <u>but in this</u>*
<unclear> </unclear> <u>we had just to</u> <break/> <u>So, I had to study that,</u> and I did that.

As previously, this example illustrates a restructuring chain, consisting of five elements: (i) '*because we had to translate hundreds of*', (ii) '*tons of*', (iii) '*but in this*', (iv) '*we had just to*', (v) '*so, I had to study that*'. I suppose, Lena was trying to convey that the language learning program that she was involved in was intensive; she, however, put an effort into this and completed it.

The '*most favourite*' strategy of Lena M. was *the strategy of reduction*, whereas Dmitry gave preference to *code-switching*. The performance of both speakers contained instances of *self-correction*. The use of *self-correction*, however, did not help the speakers to meet their requirement of correctness. Neither strategies of *paraphrase*, nor strategies of *restructuring* were common in the performance of each speaker.

3. Lena T.

Let us now look at the strategic behaviour of Lena T., a Russian native speaker, who focused on grammatical correctness, but was not able to meet this requirement profile in performance. It is interesting that in this case, we are dealing with the speaker who wanted to be correct more than she wanted to be fluent, and who was dissatisfied with her competence in English. In addition to this, Lena assessed herself as a learner of English. She preferred to communicate with native English speakers. It appears thus that we are dealing with a typical case, where a learner of English is not satisfied with her English, and prefers to communicate with native speakers because of this. In *the Global Test of English*, Lena's certainty rate (55, 7%) was almost the same as the correctness rate (54, 5%), which may indicate that the speaker objectively assessed her competence. Another indication of the speaker's objectivity with regard to the self-assessment of her English competence is the fact that Lena, focusing on grammatical correctness, was neither satisfied with her English, nor did she meet her requirement of correctness.

The distribution of strategies in the performance of Lena T. is considered below. Figure 9-24 presents an overview of Lena's strategic behaviour:

Figure 9-24. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Lena T. (%)
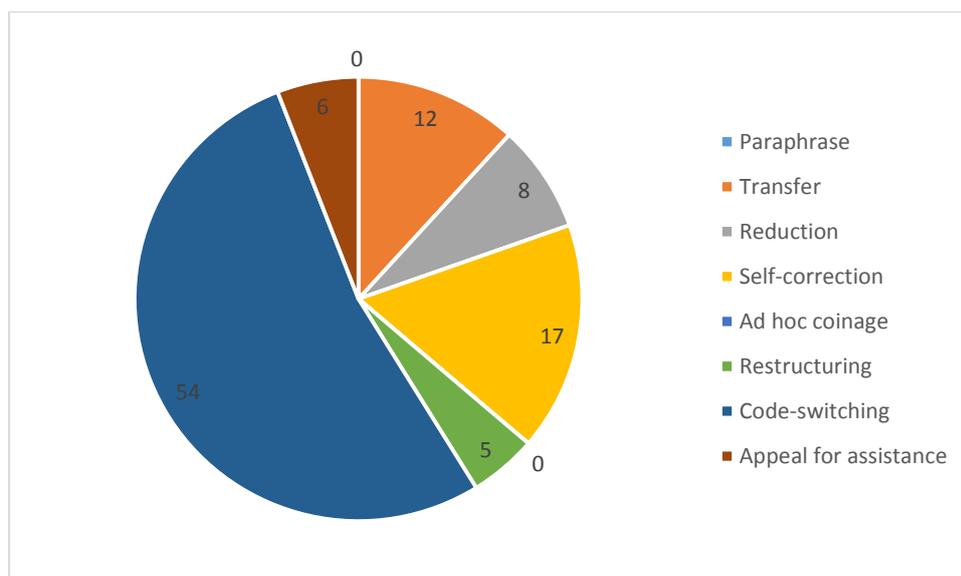
In Lena's performance, the most widely used strategy was the strategy of *code-switching*, used 54%. This was followed by the strategy of *self-correction*, used 17% and the strategy of *transfer*, used 12%. The strategies of *reduction* were used 8%, and the strategies of *appeal for assistance* were used 6%. Lena T. used *restructuring* 5% of the entire use of strategies.

In the performance of Lena, switching to Russian and German was observed. Preference, in particular, was given to German. As we shall see in the following two examples, Lena used German words from both open and closed word classes:

(9-93) *I want to I want to learn next level of my English and I want eh yeah, mom, at the moment I think that my English is eh <FLG> <u>sehr</u> </FLG> low, and I am planning to go to learn.*

In this passage, the only non-English word is the German adverb '*sehr*'. Unlike Dmitry, who often corrected himself when he used a German content or function word, Lena did not notice this in the passage, and went on. The passage in (9-94) is another example of code-switching:

(9-94) <u>*Weil*</u> </FLG> *every month we bekom we bekom a new rules, new, which are we must know, and I need every day <FLG> <u>schauen</u> </FLG> every day looking for it, and every day </break>.*

This passage includes: (i) use of a German subordinating conjunction '*weil*', which means in English '*because*', and (ii) use of a German content verb '*schauen*', which means '*to see*'. Whereas in the previous passage, Lena did not realize that she used a German word, in this

passage, she noticed, and corrected it with the English verb '*to look for it*'. The English verb, however, was not used appropriately, as she wanted to convey the meaning of '*schauen*', i.e. '*to see*', and not '*to look for*'.

Instances of *self-correction*, emerging in the data, concerned, among others, the use of prepositions, and, syntactic constructions transferred from German. See the example below for illustration:

(9-95) *Yes, <u>in</u> <u>at</u> <u>school</u>, then in England, then at university.*

Here, Lena did not know which preposition – in or at – precedes a noun '*school*'. Realizing that the preposition '*in*' does not satisfy her knowledge of correctness, she changed it into '*at*'. The next example illustrates the correction of the entire clause:

(9-96) *I want to stay here in Germany or in Europe one more year, and make eh eh Doctor degree, and then I want eh eh I want to work at home, but I don't know <u>of it is</u>, <u>if it is</u> possible.*

A *transfer* of the German construction '*ob es ist*' is traced in the English construction 'of it is'. Realizing this, Lena corrects herself by contributing the following English construction '*if it is possible*'. *Self-correction*, occurring in the interview in a variety of contexts, illustrates that Lena indeed focused on grammatical correctness. It also ties in with assessing herself as a learner of English.

Although *transfer* of lexical items and syntactic constructions was not the most frequently used strategy, it emerged in the data. One of the features of transfer in the performance of this speaker was the transfer of morphosyntactic constructions from the speaker's first language, Russian. A passage illustrating this type of transfer is given below:

(9-97) *No, okay eh <u>at five at five years old I have started to learn English</u>, and year eh eh I was in London one year at <FLG> elf </FLG> and <break/>*

I suppose Lena intended to convey the following: '*when I was five years old, I began/I started to learn English*'. What she did, however, was directly transfer the Russian construction '*v pyat let ya nachala uchit' angliskiy*', which is directly translated into English as '*at five years I started to learn English*'. The use of the preposition '*at*' with the time span is not grammatically correct in Standard English. Also, it is interesting that Lena neither used the construction '*when I was five*', nor used the correct tense for anchoring the event in the past,

the simple past, in this case. The speaker's stay in Germany and the use of German in every day communication affected how the speaker conveyed the temporal and aspectual relations. It is possible to assume that Lena's use of the present perfect for rendering actions which began and were over in the past is due to the German interference. The emergent construction is grammatically correct and possible in Russian, but not correct in English.

Lena's *appeal for assistance* only reached 5, 9%. One of the uses of *appeal for assistance*, together with *code-switching to German*, is given below:

(9-98) *Yes, I want to eh eh eh to make a <FLG> niveau oder? </FLG>*.

Here, Lena did not only address the interviewer and indirectly ask her for affirmation of what she said, but she also switched to German. One of the reasons for switching to German and using the German noun '*niveau*' was possibly because Lena could not retrieve the English noun '*level*', and had to switch to German in order to complete the message. Another reason for switching to German in the same excerpt was that Lena wanted to ask the interviewer to confirm and approve what she said. Thus, although the same code was used, the motivation behind it was different. It is interesting that although the interviewer and the interviewee shared Russian, Lena used German when she wanted to ask the interviewer for assistance. Lena was clearly aware of the difficulties that could be caused by the vocabulary used. The source of the possible difficulties was not only on the part of production, but also on the part of comprehension. To cope with possible problems, Lena directly asked the interviewer for assistance if she did not know the word used or did not understand the question asked. An example illustrating this is given below:

(9-99) *Can <break/> I don't <unclear> understand </unclear>*.

Whispering, Lena addressed the interviewer and asked for assistance. Clearly, she felt uncomfortable asking for assistance; she, nevertheless, admitted that she did not understand, and asked for clarification.

The use of *restructuring*, in comparison to the strategic behaviour of other participants, was low, i.e. 5%. *Paraphrase*, as mentioned above, was not used.

Lena, as observed in the previous chapter, did not manage to realize the requirement of grammatical correctness. Fluency, although not mentioned as performance requirement by this speaker, was not maintained either. The switch to German, either for translation or for

clarification, allowed Lena T. to maintain at least minimal coherence and faster conversation flow. Considering the fact that strategies of *restructuring* and *paraphrase* tended to emerge in the performance of speakers who maintained grammatical correctness, it is possible to suppose that the absence or limited use of these strategies in Lena's strategic profile was one of the reasons that the speaker did not maintain grammatical correctness.

Summary

Above, I have considered the strategic behaviour of three correctness-focused speakers – Dmitry, Lena M., and Lena T. – who did not manage to maintain the requirement of grammatical correctness in performance. Although the performance of speakers differed from each other, some common patterns of strategic behaviour were traced. First, in the performance of these speakers, the use of strategies of *paraphrase* and *restructuring* was lower than in the performance of other speakers. On the contrary, switching to L1 and L3 was high in the performance of these speakers. Interestingly, there were many instances of *self-correction* in the performance of these speakers, similar to what was observed in the performance of the speakers who managed to realize the requirement of correctness. Considering this observation, it is possible to assume that the use of *self-correction* does not ensure that grammatical correctness is maintained; the emergence of *self-correction* in the performance of speakers, therefore, cannot predict the grammatical correctness speakers are able to attain. If high (low) figures on speaker's grammatical correctness are not likely to predict grammatical correctness, what do these figures reveal about the speaker? It is possible that speakers, whose performance does manifest instances of *self-correction*, indeed focus on grammatical correctness in performance, and attempt to correct what seems to them to be incorrect. The mismatch between high use of *self-correction* and attained grammatical correctness is another indication that speakers correct their production without regard to the external norms of correction (native speaker norms) but to the internal norms, i.e. in accordance with their own knowledge of correctness.

9.4.3 *Strategic behaviour, fluency and grammatical correctness*

In the previous section, I examined the strategic profiles of correctness-focused speakers. In particular, I looked closely at the strategies used by speakers who managed to maintain the requirement of grammatical correctness, and who did not manage to maintain grammatical correctness. It was observed that the strategic behaviour of speakers who realized the

requirement of grammatical correctness exhibited patterns different from those who did not realize the requirement of correctness.

In the following section, I will examine the strategic behaviour of the two speakers who wanted to be correct and fluent in performance, and who found it difficult to separate these two performance requirements. In particular, I will question whether the emerging patterns of these speakers' strategic behaviour resemble patterns observed in the fluency-focused or correctness-focused group, or in a combination of these two groups. Initially, I will provide an overview of the strategic behaviour of the two speakers – Natalya and Sebastian. Second, I will examine whether the performance requirements of these two speakers manifest in the strategies they use. Finally, I will exemplify the strategic behaviour of two speakers, speculating on whether these speakers' strategic behaviour is more likely to resemble patterns of strategic behaviour identified in the fluency-focused and correctness-focused groups.

Figures 9-25, 9-26 and 9-27 give an overview of strategies used by Natalya and Sebastian. Figure 9-25 summarizes the use of *ad hoc coinage*, *paraphrase* and *restructuring*. Figure 9-26 shows how strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer* were used. Figure 9-27 displays the use of strategies of *self-correction* and *reduction*.

Figure 9-25. The use of strategies of ad hoc coinage, paraphrase and restructuring by fluency- and grammatical correctness-focused speakers

#	Speaker	Ad hoc coinage	Paraphrase	Restructuring
1.	Natalya T.	0	4	0
2.	Sebastian	0	10	15

The figure above illustrates that there were no instances of *ad hoc coinage* in the production of the two speakers – Natalya and Sebastian – similar to what was observed in the fluency-focused group.

Paraphrase was observed in the performance of both speakers. In Natalya's performance, it reached 4%, whereas in the performance of Sebastian it reaches 10%.

Strategies of *restructuring* were observed in the performance of Sebastian, who used them 15%.

The figure below summarizes how strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer* were used by these two speakers.

Figure 9-26. The use of strategies of code-switching and transfer by fluency- and grammatical correctness-focused speakers (%)

#	Speaker	Code-switching	Transfer
1.	Natalya T.	13	49
2.	Sebastian	35	0

Code-switching was traced in the performance of both speakers. Whereas in the performance of Sebastian, it emerged 35% of the entire strategic use, in the performance of Natalya it reached 13%. *Transfer* was only observed in performance of Natalya. She used this strategy in 49% of all strategies used, which is higher in comparison to how other study participants used this strategy.

Strategies of *reduction* and *self-correction* were also traced in the performance of Natalya and Sebastian. The figure below summarizes the results:

Figure 9-27. The use of strategies of reduction and self-correction by fluency- and correctness-focused speakers (%)

#	Speaker	Reduction	Self-correction
1.	Natalya T.	13	4
2.	Sebastian	5	20

Whereas Natalya' use of *reduction* strategies reached 13%, Sebastian' use of these strategies reached only 5% of the entire strategic use. The use of *self-correction* also differed among the speakers: Sebastian used these strategies 20% of the entire use, whereas Natalya used them only 4%.

In what follows below, I will examine whether the requirements imposed by speakers on their performance manifested in the strategic behaviour of these two speakers. Natalya's strategic behaviour, in relation to the requirement profile, will be examined first.

1. Natalya T.

Natalya T., was a Ukrainian speaker of English who believed that it was important to focus on both grammatical correctness and fluency in her performance. Satisfied with her competence in English, Natalya did not consider herself a learner of English. In reference to foreign language communication partners, she did not differentiate between native and non-native speakers of English as preferred or dispreferred communication partners. Similar to other study participants, Natalya's certainty rate (60, 2%) was higher than correctness rate (50%). These results, I suppose, tie in with such features of Natalya's requirement profile, as satisfaction with her English. Natalya thus tended to overestimate her competence in English. Natalya's use of strategies is summarized in Figure 9-28 below:

Figure 9-28. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Natalya T. (%)
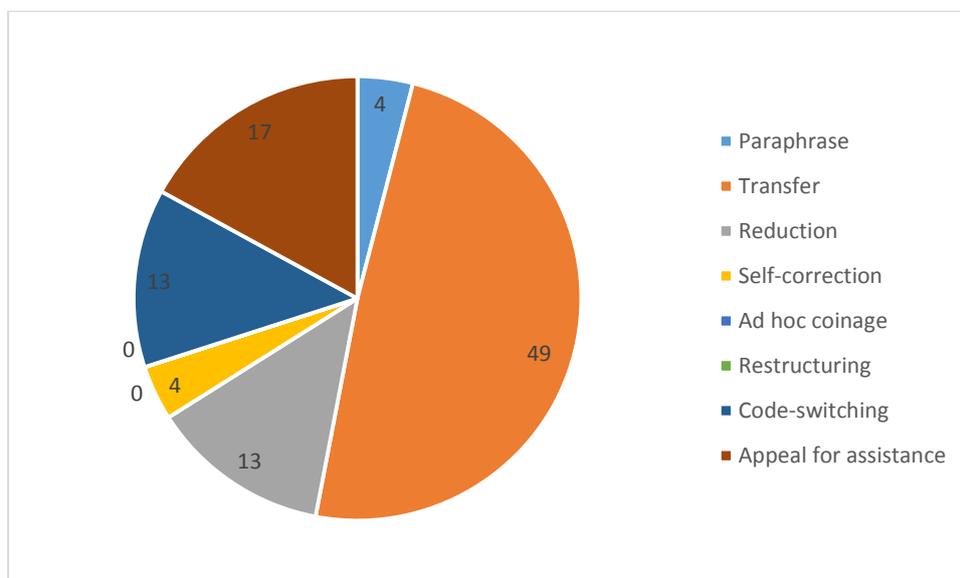
Considering the figure, it becomes clear that Natalya favoured the strategy of *transfer,* used 49%; it was followed by the strategy of *appeal for assistance*, used 17%, and strategies of *code-switching* and *reduction*, used 13% each. *Paraphrase* and *self-correction* emerged 4% in the speaker's strategic behaviour. The strategies of *ad hoc coinage* and *restructuring* were not observed.

In the performance of Natalya, the following types of transfer were evident. (i) lexical transfer from Ukrainian and German, and (ii) structural transfer from Ukrainian and German. The following two examples show how Natalya transferred two nouns '*der Doktorand'*, and '*die Diplomarbeit*' from German into English, and modified them to meet English phonotactic constraints:

(9-100) *My name is N.T. I am from Ukraine. I am a <FLG> <u>Doktorand</u> </FLG> in the University of Tübingen.*

Natalya not only used the noun '*der Doktorand*' in English, but also stressed the first syllable, as required by the English phonotactic constraints. In the next example, the German word '*das Diplom*' is compounded with the English noun '*work*', causing the emergence of an English compound noun '*diplom work*':

(9-101) *Eh, I am researching eh eh tenses in German, and this is eh mhm going on with my eh eh with my point of my <u>diplom</u> eh <u>work</u> at the university.*

Natalya often *appealed to the interviewer for assistance*, either (i) directly asking for clarification, or (ii) repeating the statement or question of the interviewer and asking for affirmation. The examples below illustrate each case:

(9-102) *Fear is difficulties?*

Here, Natalya did not know the meaning of the noun '*fear*'; to clarify this, she directly asked the interviewer. In the next example, Natalya reformulated the statement made by the interviewer, and clarified what the interviewer wanted to find out. Being a statement, the utterance has the communicative function of a question. See the example below:

(9-103) <u>*You saying pronunciation of native speakers*</u> *or pronunciation of foreigners?*

To summarize, the combinations of strategies used allowed Natalya to improve fluency, and maintain a conversation with the interviewer. *Transfer* and *appeal for assistance* thus functioned as a means of achieving and improving the flow of conversation.

2. Sebastian

Sebastian, a Polish speaker of English, also focused on grammatical correctness and fluency. Unlike Natalya T., Sebastian was not satisfied with his competence in English. Dissatisfied with his English, he did not assess himself as a learner of English. Feeling at ease communicating with non-native speakers of English, he named them as preferred interlocutors. Sebastian was of the few speakers in the study, whose score of grammatical correctness (67%) in *the Global Test of English* was higher than the certainty rate (52, 3%). These results seem to reinforce one of the features in the speaker's requirement profile, namely Sebastian's dissatisfaction with his English, and increased attention to marking

answers as correct. Let me now examine if the strategic behaviour of Sebastian displayed patterns similar to those observed in the performance of Natalya. Figure 9-29 summarizes the results:

Figure 9-29. The distribution of strategies in the performance of Sebastian (%)
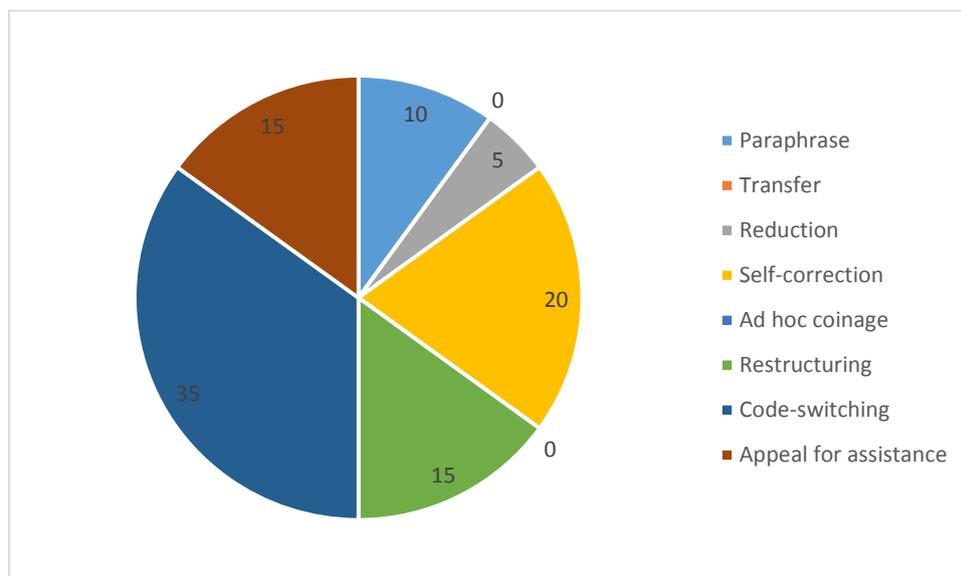
It appears that the favored strategy of Sebastian was the strategy of *code-switching*, used 35% of the entire use of strategies. It is followed by the strategy of *self-correction*, used 20% and by strategies of *restructuring* and *appeal for assistance*, emerging 15% each. The strategy of *paraphrase* emerged 10% in the production. The strategy of *reduction* was not frequent; it emerged only in 5% of the entire use of strategies. The strategies of *ad hoc coinage* and *appeal for assistance* were not observed.

Regardless of the fact that initial performance requirements of Natalya and Sebastian were the same, the emerging patterns of strategic behavior and their realization of performance requirements are different. Considering the distribution of strategies in the performance of these two speakers, it becomes obvious that the discrepancies exist, in the first place, in '*the most*', and '*the least preferred*' strategies. *Transfer* appeared to be Natalya's most favoured strategy, and *code-switching to German* was the most preferred strategy of Sebastian. Let me give one example from the performance of Sebastian, which illustrates how he compensated for the difficiency in vocabulary by *code-switching* to German:

(9-104) *I work for a language school, and there I make language courses. And there <FLG>*
zusammen arbeiten <FLG> I co </break>

Here, searching for the verb '*to collaborate*' and being unable to retrieve it, Sebastian switched to German and used the verb '*zusammen arbeiten*', which in English means '*to collaborate*'.

Although Sebastian did not assess himself as a learner of English, *self-correction* was the second most preferred strategy in his performance. *Self-correction* was mostly applied to grammatical constructions, and not to vocabulary used. Two excerpts from interview illustrate this:

(9-105) *Ok, I've been learning, I've learnt English for five years, when I was a student, and then I stopped learning, and for, since six years, I do not learn any more.*

In this example, Sebastian corrects himself by changing the verb phrase '*to have learn*' from the present perfect progressive to the present perfect. The decision to change the tense form is possibly triggered by use of a preposition '*for*', which often triggers the present perfect. In the next example, Sebastian corrects the verb form, and not the tense:

(9-106) So, *okay Johanna, my chef, she knew me, but she did not knew, no, so, she did not know, what I actually do.*

The verb '*to know*' is used in the simple past, both in the first and corrected form. Realizing that he used a simple past form instead of an infinitive, Sebastian corrects himself, producing a correct verbal form. This indicates that he monitors his production, and changes those constructions which do not satisfy his knowledge of correctness.

Taking an account of the speakers' realization of performance requirements and their strategic behaviour, the following becomes apparent. Both speakers initially intended to focus on grammatical correctness and fluency. In the actual performance, however, Sebastian performed better than Natalya. His performance on *the Global Test of English*, with the correctness rate of 67%, additionally supported the assumption that he was competent in the structure of English. A closer look at his realization of performance requirements revealed that Sebastian focused more on grammatical correctness than fluency. The occurrence of *self-correction* in his performance (20%) additionally supports this point. However, looking at his strategic behaviour, it becomes clear that the strategic patterns in his profile resemble more the strategic patterns of fluency-focused speakers, or those speakers, who did not manage to maintain grammatical correctness, i.e. high figures on *code-switching*, *paraphrase*, *restructuring*. Taking an account of this, it is possible to suppose that in addition to

maintaining grammatical correctness, Sebastian attempted (non-intentionally) to improve fluency.

In the case of Natalya, the use of L1 Ukrainian and L3 German lexical items and syntactic constructions is an indicator of the presence of *transfer*. Based on the speaker's interview performance and fluency, which was maintained, it is possible to suppose that *transfer*, together with switching to L1 Ukrainian and L3 German, contributed to meeting *the requirement of fluency*. A low figure on *self-correction* additionally supports the assumption that fluency, and not grammatical correctness, was Natalya's primary intention. We have seen previously that the requirement of fluency was met, whereas the requirement of correctness was not. The use of strategies of *transfer*, *code-switching*, as well as, *appeal to the interviewer for assistance*, facilitated the realization of this communicative goal.

Above, I have examined the strategic competence of Natalya and Sebastian. It was observed that, although speakers had common performance requirements – fluency, and grammatical correctness – their strategic behaviour did vary. One of the main discrepancies in their strategic behaviour, especially in connection with the requirement of grammatical correctness, is a number of instances of *self-correction* observed in the interview. Taking an account of this, it is possible to assume that Sebastian was more concerned with grammatical correctness, than with fluency (more instances of self-correction in his than in Natalya's performance). It is also interesting that in the performance of Sebastian, there were not many instances of *reduction*. Instead of reducing the form and abandoning the function, Sebastian *restructured utterances*. Natalya, on the contrary, gave preference to *reducing* the form and functions of utterances, and not to *restructuring* them. Also, considering the comments on their performance requirements, it becomes evident that their attitudes toward grammatical correctness differed in the sense that Natalya saw grammatical correctness in light of comprehensibility, whereas Sebastian, as a teacher of German, saw grammatical correctness as a requirement in its own right, and not as a constituent of other performance requirements. Speakers' attitudes manifested in the speakers' strategic behaviour, as, for example, the higher use of *self-correction* in Sebastian's performance (20%), and the lower use in the performance of Natalya (4%).

In conclusion, although the requirement profiles of the two speakers displayed common features, discrepancies arose in terms of realization of performance requirements and in the speakers' strategic behaviour toward this realization.

9.5 Summary

In this chapter, I examined the strategic behaviour of study participants. In particular, I examined which strategies were preferred by speakers, who (i) wanted to be fluent, (ii) wanted to be grammatically correct, and were correct, (iii) wanted to be correct, but did not manage to realize this requirement, and finally, (iv) who wanted to be fluent and correct.

The following observations were made. As shown in the previous chapter, all *fluency-focused* speakers managed to realize their initial plan, i.e. fluency in performance. All fluency-focused speakers, apart from one, used performance strategies where the linguistic means were unavailable. *Ad hoc* coinage was not frequent in the performance of fluency-focused speakers. *Restructuring*, on the other hand, was used by all fluency-focused speakers in varying degrees. The strategies of *paraphrase* were less frequent than strategies of *restructuring*. The strategies of *code-switching* and *transfer* also emerged in the production of fluency-focused speakers. The use of *self-correction*, while not frequent, has outnumbered the strategies of *reduction*. A low use of *reduction strategies* may indicate that fluency-focused speakers preferred strategies that helped them to convey the message rather than reduce the form or the function of the message. The strategic behaviour of fluency-focused speakers is thus characterised by the use of such performance strategies, which helped these speakers to meet the requirement of fluency, and not of grammatical correctness. It was obvious that fluency-oriented strategies outnumbered correctness-oriented strategies. *Paraphrase*, *restructuring*, *transfer*, *code-switching* from '*available languages*' – Russian and German – helped speakers to improve fluency, and by doing this, meet their requirement of fluency.

Among the *correctness-focused speakers*, there were those who met their requirement of grammatical correctness, and those who did not. Neither speakers, who met their requirement of correctness, nor speakers who did not meet their requirement of correctness gave preference to the strategy of *ad hoc coinage*. The strategy of *paraphrase* was more frequent among speakers, who met the requirement of correctness. This was also the case with the strategy of *restructuring*. A high use of the strategies of *paraphrase* and *restructuring* may account for the fact that these speakers met their requirement of grammatical correctness. *Restructuring* and *paraphrase*, being fluency-oriented strategies, contributed to the improvement of grammatical correctness, too. Apparently, the use of *paraphrase* and *restructuring* only occurs if the speaker is not certain about a lexical item or syntactic construction. The search for other familiar means of expression, by means of *paraphrasing* or

restructuring, minimizes the number of possible mistakes. The strategy of *transfer* was observed in the performance of all correctness-focused speakers. *Code-switching*, on the other hand, was more frequent in the performance of speakers who met the requirement of correctness (a high use of *code-switching* was also observed in the interviews of fluency-focused speakers). Although it was thought that the occurrence of *self-correction* and *reduction* will be higher in the performance of speakers who met the requirement of correctness, these two strategies were frequently used both by of those who met the requirement of correctness, and those who did not. In other words, *self-correction* was frequently used by correctness-oriented speakers. It is not surprising, however, that strategies of *reduction* and *self-correction* were more common among the correctness-focused than fluency-focused speakers.

Taking an account of these observations, it is possible to suggest that such strategies as *paraphrase*, *restructuring,* and *transfer* assisted speakers in achieving such performance requirements, as grammatical correctness and fluency. The function of the above strategies may thus be seen as the one which facilitates both fluency and grammatical correctness.

The strategic behaviour of two fluency- and grammatical correctness-focused speakers was similar to the strategic behaviour of both fluency-focused and grammatical correctness-focused speakers. As seen in the two previous groups, *ad hoc coinage* as performance strategy was not preferred by the speakers. Instead, preference was given to the strategies of *paraphrase* and *restructuring, code-switching* and *reduction*. *Restructuring* emerged more often than *paraphrase*, similar to what was observed in the performance of fluency-focused speakers. Clearly, the motivation beyond *restructuring* is finding a '*better*' or sometimes '*more correct*' or '*more appropriate way'* to express himself/herself and the message. Apart from looking for a more appropriate vocabulary, the speakers may also search for a '*more correct way'* to express themselves. The willingness and desire to minimize mistakes, although not explicitly expressed by the speakers, may motivate them to exploit more strategies of *restructuring* than strategies of *paraphrase*. This behaviour may also indicate that grammatical correctness is attended to by the speakers (they also explicitly mentioned this). A frequent *switch* to German, observed in the performance of Sebastian, was an indication that German was more active than English, and that it was used for compensating for the gaps in vocabulary and for clarifying the interviewer's questions.

The emergence of *transfer* and *reduction* was higher in the performance of Natalya than in the performance of Sebastian. This suggests, I believe, that Natalya focused on both achieving fluency, hence the use of *transfer* and grammatical correctness, and the use of *reduction* and avoiding structures in which the speakers was not certain. It is interesting that *self-correction* prevailed in the performance of Sebastian. This, in turn, may indicate that Sebastian put an emphasis on grammatical correctness, as he mentioned in the interview.

To summarize, I have examined the distribution of performance strategies in the interview performance of study participants. By integrating data from the speakers' requirements profile, I attempted to show that there is a relationship between the requirements imposed by speakers on their performance and their strategic behaviour. A closer look at the strategic behaviour of individual speakers revealed that the strategic behaviour of speakers was likely to be affected by the requirements to the overall performance rather than specific tasks and problems that the participants tried to solve. The following observations were made: (i) strategies, which were oriented toward improving fluency, such as *code-switching*, tended to occur more in the performance of speakers who focused on *fluency* in their performance; (ii) other fluency-oriented strategies, such as, *paraphrase, restructuring and transfer*, were equally used by (a) *fluency-focused speakers*, and (b) *correctness-focused speakers who maintained correctness*. Taking this development into account, it is possible to assume that fluency-oriented strategies perform the function of improving both fluency and grammatical correctness. *Self-correction*, on the contrary, emerged more in the performance of speakers who focused on correctness.

Chapter 10. Lexical mosaic of Eastern European English

Since the descriptive focus of this study is on Eastern European manifestations of English as a lingua franca, this chapter identifies some of the lexical features of this newly emerging variety. *Chapter 9* has shown that speakers use strategies of performance in order to meet the requirements of fluency and grammatical correctness. The linguistic manifestations of these strategies revealed that the speakers' strategic behaviour triggers and motivates the emergence of lexical features of English, which are not observed in Standard English. To identify features of the lexical mosaic of English used by Slavic speakers, this chapter takes a close look at the linguistic manifestations of performance strategies.

The chapter is structured in the following way. Initially, I discuss code-switching to the speakers' L1s Russian and Ukrainian, and a contact language, German. I observe that Russian and German are code-switched when Slavic speakers want to compensate for gaps in their knowledge of open word classes, whereas German is code-switched to convey coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, adverbs and prepositions. Next, I discuss the manifestations of transfer from Russian, Ukrainian, and German observed in the data, focusing on the transfer of single nouns and lexical expressions. Phonological and morphological modifications that accompany the process of transfer are also considered. Subsequently, I discuss the use of paraphrase and conclude that its use, together with literal creativity, give rise to lexical innovations when speakers use English for lingua franca purposes. The lexical mosaic of English used by Slavic speakers, therefore, seems to be an interrelation of such factors as (i) the speakers' L1 and previously acquired or '*additional*' languages', (ii) the use of performance strategies, and (iii) creativity, which affects the use of these strategies.

10.1 Code-switching to Russian, Ukrainian and German

In the previous chapter, which discussed the distribution of performance strategies, I pointed out that speakers code-switched when they have realized that they shared a common language with the interviewer and the interviewer could understand them. As Russian, Ukrainian, and German were the languages shared by some interviewees and the interviewer, switches to these three languages were common. Whereas Russian and Ukrainian were mostly used by

speakers who were interviewed outside of Germany, German was used by speakers who were interviewed in Germany. Although these three languages served the same function, namely of ensuring the flow of conversation and achieving a communicative goal, the motivation behind using them was different. Russian and Ukrainian were the speakers' first languages, whereas German was the language of contact, used because speakers (i) were placed in Germany during the interview; hence, German was their '*active*' language, (ii) knew that German was a common language, apart from English. In the following section, I will present some of the instances of *code-switching* to the languages mentioned above. Code-switching to Russian, Ukrainian, and German will be presented separately.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is quite difficult to identify the reasons that instigated code-switching. If the interview data allows for assumptions concerning this, a reference will be made.

Code-switching to Russian and Ukrainian

I will now turn to the occurrence of Russian and Ukrainian lexical items and expressions in the interview. Although it is not possible to specify the exact reasons for code-switching, switching to Russian and Ukrainian was the most obvious when: (i) speakers rendered some sociopolitical and academic concepts, especially when the participants thought there were no corresponding concepts in English, (ii) speakers rendered the geopolitical terms and names of the countries, and (iii) speakers wanted to appeal to the interviewer for assistance.

The examples from the data illustrate how two speakers of Ukrainian switched to Russian, when they referred to *the academic concepts*:

(10-1) *Right now, I am working <break/> I am a student of <NLU> aspirantura <NLU>. I think it shouldn't be translated; you are familiar with these studies of mine.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Аспирантура/aspirantura – RUSSIAN/UKRAINIAN – NOUN – FEM. – SG. – GENITIVE

En: PhD program

(10-2) *I know I love languages but I know that I don't want to enter our University of Inyaz. (L1 Ukrainian)*

Иняз/Inyaz – RUSSIAN ABBR. – NOUN – MASC. – S.G. – ACCUSATIVE

312

En: College of Modern Languages

As we see above, the two concepts in Russian come from *the area of education*. Academic-related words, like '*aspirantura*' (En: PhD program) and '*the University of Inyaz*' (En: university of foreign languages) were used by two Ukrainian speakers of English, disregarding the fact that these two concepts have equivalents in English. What causes the speakers to use concepts in Russian when they speak English? Are these two instances of *code-switching* intentional? Considering the data, it is possible to say the following: whereas in the second example, a Ukrainian speaker used a Russian word '*Inyaz*' without any acknowledgement of an action performed, in the first example that contained the word '*aspirantura*', she made a clear reference to the *code-switch* by the following comment '*I think it* ('*aspirantura*') *shouldn't be translated. You are familiar with these studies of mine*'. This comment may indicate that the speaker used a Russian term '*аспирантура*' to convey a concept of '*postgraduate studies under the supervision of faculty leading to the Candidate of Science degree (an academic degree between Master's and Doctorate in the Newly Independent States)*', which, in her mind, differed from the PhD program in English-speaking countries. Moreover, she intentionally used the Russian concept, and showed her awareness of this action to the interviewer. Concerning the code-switch in '*university of Inyaz*', it is possible that it is intentional. The awareness of the fact that the interviewer shared a cultural background and background knowledge with the interviewee allowed this speaker to convey some concepts in Russian.

The second context, in which the use of *code-switching* was obvious, was naming *countries and nationalities*. One of the possible reasons for this type of *code-switching* is that the situations in which speakers had to name countries in English were not numerous. The speakers, therefore, simply did not know how the countries they referred to, were named in English. One of the examples of this type is illustrated below:

(10-3) *It's not, for me it's not something like language of USA or England, it's more, and sometimes, even in Maroc <break/>, I was travelling to Pakistan and <NLU> Arabski Emiraty </NLU> Dubai.*

A Ukrainian speaker clearly used the name of the country '*The United Arab Emirates*' in Ukrainian – *Arabski Emiraty*.

The third context, in which Russian or Ukrainian were often used, was *asking the interviewer for assistance* or *clarification of unknown English lexical items*. One of the instances of this occurrence, also mentioned in the previous chapter, was the translation of a word from English into Russian or Ukrainian in order to ask the interviewer for affirmation and clarification, if necessary.

Code-switching to German

Similar to code-switching from L2 English to L1 Russian and Ukrainian, German was a favourable foundation for *code-switching* when English lexical items and structures were missing from the speaker's lexicon. It is interesting that when a speaker possesses another L2, this L2 is often in competition with the speaker's L1, where code-switching and transfer were concerned.[28] In the study on multilingualism, Jean Marc Dewaele (1998) pointed out that the speaker's preferred source of lexical information is *the active language*, which has the highest level of activation: '*Access to lemmas of languages that have a lower level of activation is partially blocked. It appears that 'the L1 is not necessarily always the dominant active language and that access to its lemmas could accordingly be limited*' (Dewaele 1998: 488). The use of another L2 rather than L1, however, was not only limited to lexis. In their studies on multilingualism, De Angelis & Selinker (2001) have reported that speakers of three and more languages transfer more from their L2 than from their L1, especially, when function words are involved (De Angelis & Selinker 2001: 47).

Given that many study participants were multilingual speakers and many of them were placed in Germany during the interview, the fact that speakers switched to German, although it was neither the interviewer's nor the interviewee's first language, was not surprising. It should also be noted that *code-switching to German* was not only observed in the performance of those speakers who were in Germany during the interview, but also in the performance of those speakers who used German in their home countries on a weekly basis. Figure 10-1 gives an overview of some of the instances of code-switching to German:

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[28] The pioneering studies on multilingualism by Vildomec (1963) and Ringbom (1987) showed that speakers transfer structures and lexis more from other L2, than from their L1. More recent studies by Dewaele (1998), Cenoz et al. (2001), Jessner (2003), Aronin and Hufeisen (2009) showed similar results.

Figure 10-1. Instances of code-switching to German

Nouns	German: das Stocherkahnfest English: a punting festival	(10-4) *It was Erasmus, Erasmus scholarship, so I had to come here, and before I came I've heard that Tübingen is called German Oxford or German Cambridge something like this, because of this <FLG> Stocherkahnfest </FLG>* (L1 Ukrainian; country of residence: Germany).
	German: die Deutsche Reiseliteratur English: travellor's literature	(10-5) *Subjects which are connected with <FLG> Literatur </FLG>, because I was attended a courses, course about German <break/> I don't know how to say it in English, this was about about, it was <FLG> Deutsche Reiseliteratur </FLG>* (L1 Polish; country of residence: Germany and Poland)
	German: die Mängel English: a drawback	(10-6) *Ok, so I am a German teacher, and I know I know what's important, so when I have to speak English, I am a little bit shamed, ashamed, because of my mistakes, because of my <FLG> Maengel, wie sagt man Maengel auf Englisch? </FLG>*. (L1 Polish; country of residence: Poland).
	German: der Redacteur English: an editor	(10-7) *A colleague of me is a is a <FLG> Redakteur </FLG>?* (L1 Polish; country of residence: Poland)
	German: der Chef English: a boss	(10-8) *When I communicate with my chef in Poland*. (L1 Polish, country of residence: Poland)
	German: das Verständnis English: understanding	(10-9) *It's very important, <FLG> aber <FLG> but to <unclear> </unclear> especi for </FLG> Verständnis <FLG>*. (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)

Adverbs	German: mehr English: more	(10-10) *This German language was was not <FLG> mehr </FLG> was not no more as official League of Nations <unclear> internization </unclear> language.* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)
	German: besser English: better	(10-11) *Why? Because I see that level <FLG> ist </FLG> is <FLG> auch </FLG> a little bit be <FLG> besser </FLG>.* (L1 Russian, country of residence: Germany)
	German: seitdem English: since	(10-12) *I remember myself from twelve or </FLG> bis </FGL> to twelve to fifteen years, I wanted to <FLG> seitdem </FLG>, since that ages I wanted to be a lawyer, and not heavy influence but some influence had TV serial Santa Barbara* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)
Prepositions	German: so lang English: for a long time	(10-13) *Okay eh I am learning English <break/> <FLG> so lang </FLG> no, okay at five five at five years, I have started to learn English and year eh eh I was in London one year at <FLG> elf </FLG, and <break/>* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany).
	German: mit English: with	(10-14) *I speak <FLG> mit <FLG> every man or woman.* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)
Coordinating conjunctions	German: aber English: but	(10-15) *Vocabulary, and gra grammar is is it is not <FLG> so </FLG> possible, I think <FLG> weil </FLG> because for writing and reading my grammar is <FLG> perfekt </FLG> I think, <FLG> aber </FLG> but for speaking </break>.* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)

		(10-16) *It's it's my opinion, <FLG> aber </FLG> in German. It was the the first aspect, the second aspect grammar, but I think it was the influence of German.* (L1 Ukrainian; country of residence: Germany)
	German: und English: and	(10-17) *With not-native speaker speakers it is easier eh to understand <FLG > und </FLG> and I don't see much differences between us.* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany
	German: oder English: or	(10-18) *Okay. I am reading, and I have a grammar book, and eh it is not <FLG> so </FLG> so that every day, but one day <FLG> pro pro </FLG> per week <FLG> oder </FLG> or or <unclear> </unclear> or <FLG> mehr </FLG> I can a little bit re reading.* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)
Subordinating conjunctions	German: weil English: because	(10-19) *Weil </FLG> every month we bekom we bekom a new rules, new, which are we must know, and I need every day <FLG> schauen </FLG> every day looking for it, and every day.* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)
		(10-20) *Weil </FLG> I understand that I make many mistakes, that…*(L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)
Demonstrative pronouns	German: dieses English: this	(10-21) *In Belarus, yes, or in another different countries of students of the world, and then it is </FLG> sehr </FLG> popular to go another country to <FLG> to become diese /FLG> Master degree.* (L1 Russian; country of residence: Germany)

The figure demonstrates that Slavic speakers code-switched to German to render the following word classes: (i) *nouns*; (ii) *adverbs*, (iii) *prepositions*, (iv) *coordinating conjunctions*, (v) *subordinating conjunctions*, and (vi) *demonstrative pronouns*.

Regarding *code-switching* for rendering the open word classes, German does not only prove to be a good source for rendering such culture-specific and academic-related concepts as '*die Mängel*', '*die Fächer*', '*die Stocherkahnfest*', '*Resiseliteratur*', but also for rendering vocabulary of everyday use, such as '*der Redakteur*', '*der Chef*', and '*das Verständnis*'. All these instances used, intentionally or non-intentionally, have an effect on improving fluency and maintaining the flow of conversation.

Code-switching for rendering the closed word classes is also observed. This type of code-switching is represented by the use of German *adverbs*, *prepositions*, *demonstrative pronouns*, *coordinating* and *subordinating conjunctions* in place of their English equivalents. Typical examples, frequently found in the speakers' performance, are '*seitdem*', '*so lang*, '*seit*', '*besser*', '*oder*' and '*und*'. In comparison to code-switching for rendering the items from the open word classes, code-switching for rendering the closed word classes seemed to be more unconscious and non-intentional; therefore, not controlled, or less-controlled by study participants in most of the cases observed. Often, when the speakers realized that the item they used was in German and not English, they corrected it, and replaced it with an equivalent English lexical item or function word. Code-switching to German appeared to be more multifaceted than switching to Russian or Ukrainian, as German was used in a variety of linguistic contexts, ranging from vocabulary of everyday use and culture-specific terms to function words. The use of Russian and Ukrainian, on the contrary, was limited to rendering some of the common names that speakers lacked or had difficulties retrieving.

It was observed that German, as an '*additional language*' had a greater influence on speakers who had a lower proficiency in English, and who did not meet the requirement of correctness, as was the case with Lena M., Dmitry, and Lena T. (their performance diverged greatly from Standard English, and they did not meet the requirement of grammatical correctness). It is possible to suppose that speakers with a lower proficiency in English are more sensitive to the German forms, and code-switching in general, whereas speakers with a solid and more consolidated L2 knowledge are likely to stay unaffected, disregarding the immense contact with the language.

Although the exact reasons for code-switching were difficult to identify, the following tendencies were observed: first, speakers of English intentionally used a Russian/Ukrainian or German concept, when they wanted to convey a concept, which, (i) in these speakers' mind, did not exist in English, or (ii) which was not able to adequately and fully convey a desired concept. A code-switch to Russian '*aspirantura*' to refer to the PhD program is an example of this. Second, when speakers were not able to timely retrieve an appropriate English lexical item, they used the lexical knowledge of such previously acquired languages as Russian/Ukrainian and German. Code-switches to German '*Mängel*', '*Verständnis*', etc. are examples of this. Third, the code-switch to German function words appeared to be an automatic process, often observed in the performance of speakers with a lower proficiency in English. Finally, study participants naturally code-switched to those additional or previously acquired languages that they knew were shared by the interviewer. No code-switches to languages, other than those shared, were observed.[29] The instances of *code-switching* affected the improvement of the speakers' fluency, although their use was not always intentional.

10.2 Transfer from Russian, Ukrainian and German

In the following section, I shall consider some of the instances of transfer and its underlying processes. Discussing transfer as a strategy of performance, it is necessary to keep in mind the following three points: (i) from which source language the speaker transfers the lexical item; (ii) which linguistic feature or item the speaker transfers, and, (iii), whether the speaker performs morphological and/or phonological modifications to ensure that a transferred item resembles a target language form.

Transfer from Russian and Ukrainian

With regard to transfer from the speakers' native languages – Russian and Ukrainian, the following types of transfer were observed in the data: (i) lexical transfer, including transfer of (a) single nouns, (b) lexical and idiomatic expressions, and (c) '*false friends*', and (ii) transfer of L1 features. The accompanying phonological and morphological processes were also observed. The table below gives a summary and illustrates some instances of transfer observed in the data:

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[29] Some speakers also had French as an additional language. Code-switches to French, however, were not identified.

Figure 10-2. Instances of transfer from Russian and Ukrainian into English

Type of Transfer	Other processes involved	Transferred item	Example
Lexical transfer a) Single nouns	Phonological modification /dj/ in place of /g/	Ukr: магістр /magister En: Master of Science	(10-22) *That's why I want to recollect my knowledges, and then to pass TOEFL, and maybe to learn some marketing or MBA, or, maybe Magister, I don't know in English to say Magister level, somewhere.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
	/er/ in place of /e/	Ukr: термін/ *termin* En: term	(10-23) *Well, in Slovakia in academic <unclear> </unclear> it's for me, it's it's better to speak English, because I <unclear> learnt these <NLU> termins </NLU> </unclear> but I speak Slovak actually.*(L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
	Morphological modification (i) affixation Adding two noun-forming suffixes –o, and –logy	Ukr: політологія /politologiya En: political science	(10-24) *Only have one course, it's political <break/> politology or there is no word like that in English. We say <NLU> політологія </NLU>* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
	Adding a noun-forming suffix –ity	Rus: специальность/ *spetsial'nost'* En: major	(10-25) *My speciality is marketing, so I received my diploma and I also study English here.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
	(ii) compounding Compounding of two stems -etho and -politology	Ukr: етнополітологія /etnopolitologiya En: ethnic political science; ethnopolitics	(10-26) *I guess in English, but if to translate it correctly, how we are using this term it's Ethnopolitology, well, it could be somehow refer to the term*

			Ethnopolitics, yeah. (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
b) Lexical and idiomatic expressions	Translation of a Russian idiomatic expression with a substitution of 'a more complex word '*to swallow*' by a simple word '*to eat*'	Rus: глотать слова /*glotat' slova* En: to swallow the endings of the words; to eat the endings of the words; to mumble	(10-27) *And if I am speaking with native speaker, they are very often <break/> they are speaking very quickly and very often they something like <u>eat the ending of the words</u>, and that is why it is more difficult, I think.* (L1 Ukrainian, fluency-focused speaker)
	Direct translation of a Russian lexical expression	Rus: степень кандидата/ *stepen' kandidata* En: an academic degree equivalent to PhD	(10-28) *I have to get my <u>Candidate's degree.</u>* (L1 Russian; correctness-focused speaker)
		Rus: verb phrase: иметь комплекс/*imet' kompleks* En: to have a barrier	(10-29) *And I <u>have not this some complex</u>, you know, if you know language, and go somewhere, you always think how to say and even, my teacher, Miss Maize, said <quote> never think how to say correct, just try to speak </quote>.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
		Rus: noun: комплекс/*kompleks* En: barrier, difficulty	(10-30) *And they said <quote> <u>don't don't complex</u>, we don't know even one word in Ukrainian </quote>.* (L1 Ukrainian, fluency-focused speaker)
b) 'False friends'	Two lexical items differ significantly in semantic meaning, and have the same or similar phonetic representation	Rus: магазин/*magazin* (a shop; a store) En: magazine (a periodical which consists of a number of articles	(10-31) *And this boy is really <break/>, he had big experience in furniture business, because he was working in Kiev, he was a director of such <u>magazine</u>, and I*

Transfer of L1 Features	English singular nouns become pluralized	published on a weekly or monthly basis)	*wasn't.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
		Ukr: гроши/*groshy* (plural) English: money (singular)	(10-32) *After that the control under our sales and also I control the money, control money which we accept from our customers, and then pay them to our Kiev control office.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
		Ukr: знання (plural)/*znannya* English: knowledge	(10-33) *Yes, if you have if you have basic basic knowledges.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused speaker)
		Rus: расслабиться/ *rasslabit'sya* (reflexive verb) En: to relax	(10-34) I *understand really that everyone must work, maybe hardly work, but everyone must know that after this work he will get a good salary and then can relax himself or herself.* (L1 Ukrainian: fluency-focused speaker)

Transfer of single nouns with phonological modifications

As is the case with code-switching, transferred lexical items, which underwent further modifications, belonged to the semantic fields of *academia*, *social politics*, and *vocabulary of everyday use*. In the excerpts (10-22) and (10-23), two Ukrainian speakers transferred two lexical items to English from Ukrainian: '*магістр*' (English: Master) and '*термін*' (English: term). In addition to transferring these two lexemes, the speakers modified them to meet the phonotactic constraints of English. In the noun '*Магістр/Magistr*', the phoneme /g/ was adjusted to /dg/ taking into account the English phonotactic constraints. In the noun '*термін*', the Ukrainian phoneme /e/ was adjusted to /er/. In addition to the phonological modification, a speaker added a plural affix –*s* to the transferred item '*termin*'. The morphological accommodation occurred along with the phonological accommodation.

Transfer of single nouns with morphological modifications

Apart from accommodating transferred lexical items phonologically, Slavic speakers accommodate lexical items morphologically in order to meet the morpheme-specific constraints of the English language. Two Ukrainian nouns - *'політологія'/ politologiya* (Political science) and 'специальность'*/spetsial'nost'* (field of study) – are transferred from Ukrainian and morphologically modified by a word-building process of affixation[30]. In both processes of transfer, noun-forming English suffixes *–ity*, *–o*, and *–logy* were added to the stem. Although, a noun *'speciality'* is also an English noun with a similar meaning, it is unlikely that a Ukrainian speaker used this word, taking her proficiency level into account. It is more likely that a Ukrainian speaker transferred a lexeme from Ukrainian, performing necessary morphological modifications. In transfer of a Ukrainian noun *'етнополітологія'* (*Ethnopolitology*), two word-building processes were involved. Initially, a speaker coined a noun *'politology'* by adding suffixes *–o*, and *–logy*; next, a speaker added another stem *ethno-* to the already existing noun *'politology'*. The new lexical item was thus formed by means of transfer and affixation. The fact that speakers revert to the derivational processes of compounding and affixation may indicate that they intentionally accommodated the transferred item to the English phonotactic and morphological constraints. The use of this strategy, as a result, allows the conversation to flow and fluency to be maintained.

Transfer of lexical and idiomatic expressions by means of (i) approximate translation and (ii) direct translation

The next issue to be discussed, in connection with transfer, is translation of lexical expressions from the speakers' L1 Ukrainian and Russian. Two main tendencies were observed with regard to this type of transfer. First, Slavic speakers of English directly translated entire chunks from their first languages – Russian and/or Ukrainian; second, they translated the entire chunks from the first languages, replacing the items they lacked by lexical items available to them. In the example (10-27), presented in the table, a Ukrainian speaker translated an idiomatic expression *'glotat' slova'* from Ukrainian, which means *'to*

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[30] Word-building processes are discussed in greater detail by Katamba (Katamba 1994: 59).

mumble, not to speak distinctly'. Directly translated into English, this idiomatic expression means '*to swallow the endings of the words'*. Possibly, unable to retrieve or not knowing the verb '*to swallow'*, a Ukrainian speaker replaced a verb '*to swallow'* by a verb '*to eat'*, thus, paraphrasing and simplifying the existing idiomatic expression. The Ukrainian idiomatic expression, which is word for word translated, undergoes unexpected changes as the speaker cannot timely retrieve lexical information. In the expression '*candidate's degree'*, it is possible to see a literal translation from Russian of '*степень кандидата', /stepen' kandidata/* i.e. a degree between the Master's and the Doctorate in the academic systems of countries of the former Soviet Union.

In another instance of lexical transfer a Ukrainian noun '*комплекс'/kompleks* – NOUN – MASC. – SG. – NOMINATIVE is used in a verb phrase '*to have a complex'*. The emergent verb phrase '*to have complex'* is a literal translation from Russian '*иметь комплекс'/ imet' kompleks/* (to have complex – INF. – NOUN – SG. – ACCUSATIVE), used to denote *psychological problems, which are deeply rooted.* In (10-30), a noun '*complex'* undergoes the process of conversion from the word class of nouns to verbs. Only activating the world knowledge and multilingual lexicon, the hearer may be able to recover the speaker's intended meaning.

'False friends'

Another type of transfer to be discussed is the transfer of lexemes, which are phonetically similar to the English counterparts, but semantically neither share common features, nor denote the same concept. The transfer of a Russian noun '*Магазин'/magazin* (magazine), which means '*a shop, a store'* is an example of this:

(10-40) *And this boy is really <break/>, he had big experience in furniture business, because he was working in Kiev, he was a director of such <u>magazine</u>, and I wasn't.* (L1 Ukrainian)

It appears that a noun '*magazine'* refers to the publishing house, and not '*a store'*, which the speaker intended the noun to refer to. As a result, there is a clash between the meaning of the L1 and L2 lexical item because of the semantic differences and phonetic similarities between the two items. Knowledge of Russian in this case is a prerequisite to recover the speaker's intended meaning.

When considering instances of lexical transfer that emerged in the data, it is possible to make two observations. Some types of lexical transfer are not likely to cause comprehension difficulties, whereas other types are likely to do so. In the second scenario, sharing the speaker's L1 is essential for recovering the speaker's intended meaning. The interpretation of such nouns and lexical expression as '*ethnopolitology*', '*politology*', '*magister*', '*to eat the endings of the words*' may not cause comprehension difficulties, whereas the interpretation of such lexical expressions, as '*candidate's degree*' may do so. In addition, the interpretation of the so-called '*false friends*' may lead the hearer down the garden path, allowing him/her to draw false inferences.

Transfer of L1 properties

Another type of transfer, encountered in the performance of speakers, was the transfer of certain properties or features of the speakers' first languages into English. One of the examples that I want to give here (other types of transfer, such as morphosyntactic transfer were also observed, but not discussed here) is the property of *nouns*. The two nouns, which often emerged in the performance of speakers, were '*money*' and '*knowledge*'. As these two nouns are plural in Ukrainian, the speaker transferred this feature onto the English nouns and used them as nouns in the plural form. As a result, the nouns '*knowledges*' and '*money*' appear to be in plural, as the excerpts in Figure 10-2 illustrate. Another illustration of transfer of L1 properties, which was presented above, concerned the properties of a *verb*. The English verb '*to relax*' becomes reflexive in English since a Ukrainian speaker transferred the feature of a Russian verb '*расслабиться*' ('*rasslabits'ya*') to the English verb '*to relax*'. This causes the emergence of '*to relax himself/herself*' observed in the performance of this speaker.

Above, I discussed instances of transfer observed in the performance of the speakers. Particular attention was given to different types of lexical transfer. Throughout the course of the discussion, it was pointed out that speakers transferred structures and lexical expressions from the previously acquired languages, performing phonological and morphological modifications, if necessary. The transferred expressions varied in terms of comprehensibility complexity.

Transfer from German

As in the case with Russian and Ukrainian, German as an additional language provided a good foundation for lexical transfer, as well as transfer of morphological and syntactic

features. Figure 10-3 summarizes the types of transfer observed in the interviews and illustrates them by giving examples from the data:

Figure 10-3. Instances of transfer from German

Type of Transfer	Other processes involved	Transferred item	Example
Lexical transfer a) Single nouns	Phonological modification - stressing the word in the first syllable	Ger: der Doktorand En: PhD student	(10-35) *I am a <FLG> Doktorand </FLG> in the University of Tübingen eh and so on.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Germany)
		Ger: die Systematik En: systematicity, system	(10-36) *Because it is the systematic the systematic of of grammar, and as as going on of this learning of German I paid I paid attention to grammar* (L1 Ukrainian, fluency- and correctness-focused; country of residence: Germany)
		Ger: die Praxis En: practice, experience	(10-37) *Yes, yes, but it's a it's a point of <FLG> praxis If you have <FLG> praxis </FLG> you have eh eh you have e less problems as you have.* (L1 Ukrainian; country of residence: Germany)
b) *'False friends'*		Ger: bekommen En: to get En: become Ger: werden	(10-38) OK. I am study here at Engl <break/> at German, Germany, and I make eh Master programme, and at least *become /bikom/ master degree.* (L1 Russian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Germany)

Transfer of L3 features	adding the German adjective-forming suffix *'isch'* to the English noun	Ger: Griechisch En: Greek	(10-39) *The owner of this company is a Grea Greek Greekish Greetish Grekish Greekish.* (L1 Russian, correctness-focused; country of residence: Germany)

Since some of the study participants were in the contact situations with the German language, the fact that speakers transferred lexical items and expressions from German was not surprising. Similar to code-switching to German, transferred items were both from open and closed word classes. Some of the transferred items appeared to undergo phonological modifications. Examples of the lexical type of transfer with accompanying phonological modifications are such nouns as, '*Linguistik*', '*Touristik*', '*Praxis*', '*Systematik*' and '*Doktorand*', some of which are mentioned in the figure above. Transferring the noun '*ein Doktorand*' into English, a Ukrainian speaker modified it by placing a stress from the third syllable in German to the first syllable so that the transferred item resembled an English word. Modifications, in terms of pronouncing particular sounds such as /i/ in '*Systematic*', and /e/ in '*Praxis*', also took place.

An instance of the so-called '*false friends*' in the interviews was noticed in connection with the transfer of the semantic meaning of the German verb '*bekommen*' to the English verb '*become*', which means '*werden*' in German. As a result, there was a clash between the English and German lexical items, which, however, was unnoticed by the speaker.

The transfer of German features to the English nouns was observed in connection with adding the German adjective-forming suffix *–isch* to the English nouns. Adjectives '*Greekisch*' and '*Mexicanisch*' are examples of this.

In summary, by drawing on the data, I have illustrated that the English performance of Slavic speakers – in addition to other factors involved – can be characterized by transfer of single lexical units, lexical expressions and features from previously acquired languages. Thus, Russian, Ukrainian and German served as a good foundation for various types of transfer. As speakers transferred lexical items, i.e. did not code-switch, the transferred items did not appear in their original form, but underwent phonological and morphological modifications so that they resembled words of English.

10.3 Paraphrase

Chapter 9 showed that all the study participants, in disregard to their requirements of performance, used strategies to fulfil their communicative goals. Apart from strategic processes, partially based on the activation of L1 and L3 resources, there were strategic processes that involved a creative use of *'available'* English knowledge. The strategy of paraphrase is an example of this. In the following section, I will discuss how speakers used strategies of paraphrase and which collocations emerged because of this creative use. This section will discuss two types of paraphrase: (i) *paraphrasing by using approximate and general vocabulary*, and (ii) *paraphrasing by using restatement*. Whereas in the first type, speakers are mostly concerned with paraphrasing collocations mostly, in the second type, speakers are concerned with *paraphrasing concepts*.

Paraphrase, as discussed in the previous chapter, is used by speakers when they lack or cannot retrieve a desired expression, and they want to meet their requirements of performance. Below, I will present a number of examples, which illustrate these two types of paraphrase.

(i)   *Paraphrasing by using approximate and general vocabulary.*

Figure 10-4 below presents some of the instances of the first type of paraphrase:

Figure 10-4. Instances of paraphrase by using approximate and general vocabulary

To make	Master's degree	(10-40) I *am study here at Engl \<break/\> at German, Germany, and I make eh Master program, and at least become /bikom/ master degree.* (L1 Russian; correctness-focused; country of residence: Germany)
	Doctor degree	(10-41) *I want to stay here in Germany or in Europe one more year, and make eh eh Doctor degree, and then I want eh eh I want to work at home, but I don't know of it is, if it is possible.* (L1 Russian; correctness-focused; country of residence: Germany)

	niveau	(10-42) *Yes, I want to eh eh eh <u>to make a</u> <u><FLG> niveau</u> oder?* (L1 Russian; correctness-focused; country of residence: Germany)
	courses	(10-43) *I work for a language school, and there <u>I make language courses.</u>* (L1 Ukrainian; correctness-focused; country of residence: Ukraine)
	joint venture	(10-44) *Now, it's very popular <u>to make some joint venture</u>, for example, from Italian persons.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Ukraine)
To do	mistakes	(10-45) I *am not so good in English as in German, so I know, <u>I do many mistakes</u>, and it's just comfortable for me to speak German and in this situation, sometimes I am doing a lot of of mistakes.* (L1 Polish; fluency and correctness-focused; country of residence: Germany)
	courses	(10-46) *I will <u>do the next course</u> next summer.* (L1 Russian; correctness-focused)
To catch	someone's English	(10-47) *That was actually time when <u>I had to catch my English</u>, I have to improve, actually* (L1 Russian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Ukraine)
	the world	(10-48) *But times changed and it's not at all Soviet Union, and we have to improve, and we should not live with that glory of past we have <u>to catch world</u>.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Ukraine)
	knowledge	(10-49) *We have <u>to catch new knowledge</u>, we have to rethink, we have to analyze them, and with such system we are actually not*

329

		catching that. (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Ukraine)
To learn	(on) level	(10-50) *I want to <u>I want to learn next level</u> of my English and I want eh yea, mom, at the moment I think that my English is eh. <FLG> sehr </FLG> low, and I am planning to go to learn.* (L1 Russian; correctness-focused; country of residence: Germany)
To stop		(10-51) *I <u>stopped on this level</u> when I stopped, when I stopped my English classes.* (L1 Polish; fluency and correctness-focused; country of residence: Poland)
To meet	someone at the news	(10-52) *I liked American accent very much, very much, I just didn't like English at all, but eh English people told me it's rude, it's just disgusting, and later, when <u>I eh met somebody at at the news</u>, American news* (L1 Russian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Germany)

The examples above illustrate that the verb '*to make*' appears to be productive under the ELF conditions. It collocates with the lexical items related to education, as in '*to make a Master's degree*', '*to make a Doctor's degree'*, '*to make a niveau*' and '*to make courses'*. Also, it seems that the verbs '*to make*' and '*to do*' are in free variation, as they both collocate with the noun 'courses[31]'. Next, the verb '*to catch*' collocates with such nouns as '*English*', '*the world'*, and '*knowledge'* in the performance of a Ukrainian speaker of English. Considering that these three colocations are not instances of transfer from the speaker's L1, it is possible to suppose that they were used by the speaker to meet the requirement of fluency and maintain a flow of conversation. Considering the three instances, it becomes clear that the meaning of the verb '*to catch*' varies from one instance to the other. First, what the speaker wants to express

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[31] The same observation was made by A. Cogo and M. Dewey in their work *Analysing English as a Lingua Franca* (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 73).

in (10-47) is '*to catch up on something*'. Second, '*to catch the world*', as used in (10-48), possibly implies a desire to be at the same level with other people in the world. Finally, a possible reading of '*to catch new knowledge*', in (10-49), is to acquire new knowledge. Thus, three different readings seem to arise when the verb '*to catch*' collocates with different nouns. The noun '*level*', often emerging in the data, collocates with verbs '*to learn*' and '*to stop*' in the data. In (10-50), the collocation '*to learn next level of my English*' possibly entails that the speaker wanted to improve her English, whereas in (10-51), by using the expression '*to stop on the level*', the speaker conveyed that she has not further developed her English skills. The verb '*to meet*' collocates with the phrase '*at the news*'. The collocation '*to meet somebody at the news*' was intended by the speaker to convey the meaning of '*to see*' or '*to come across*'.

The collocations discussed above are not observed in the British National Corpus; hence, they are an indication of the new trends in the use of vocabulary in the ELF contexts.

The other two examples, which illustrate a loose and imprecise use of vocabulary in the course of paraphrase, are the adjectives '*easy*' and '*hard*', used in place of adjectives '*simple*' and '*heavy*'. See the relevant interview excerpts below:

'Desired' English word	Paraphrase	Example
Simple (Having or made of only one or a few parts, The Cambridge Dictionary of English)	*Easy* (not difficult, not needing much effort; The Cambridge Dictionary of English)	(10-53) *Some <u>expressions are so easy</u> and so beautiful, and they have some this I don't know how its <break/> flexibility in speaking, some some things in expression things* (L1 Polish; fluency-focused; country of residence: Germany)
Heavy (weighing a lot, needing effort to move or lift; The Cambridge Dictionary of English)	*Hard* (firm or solid, not easy to cut or break; The Cambridge Dictionary of English)	(10-54) *And I have I've spoked to some person like that, French people, Poles, and they have such a <u>hard pronunciation</u> that sometimes <break/>* (L1 Ukrainian; correctness-focused; country of residence: Ukraine)

Clearly, adjectives '*easy*' and '*hard*' are used loosely and inappropriately by study participants. In the data, an adjective '*easy*' appears in a co-text with the plural noun '*expressions*', as in (10-53), and an adjective '*hard*' collocates with a singular noun '*pronunciation*,' as in (10-54). In the example, which includes the adjective '*easy*', it is not entirely clear which characteristics are attributed by the speaker to the noun '*expressions*' by using the adjective '*easy*'. Does the speaker intend to express that *expressions are easy to learn or understand* or are they '*easy*' in the sense of construction and formation? Given that the collocation '*easy expressions*' does not add much in terms of information, the inappropriate use of vocabulary is not likely to cause comprehension problems. In the case of an adjective '*hard*' used with a noun '*accent*', there is not much room for interpretation, and one of the possible readings is that '*an accent referred to is difficult to understand*'.

Apart from using approximate and general vocabulary to convey collocations, speakers paraphrased concepts by using vocabulary with a close semantic meaning to the 'desired' English concept. Figure 10-5 presents some of the examples of this type of paraphrase excerpted from the interviews:

Figure 10-5. Instances of paraphrase by using restatement

'Desired' English word	Paraphrase	Example
College of Modern European Languages	University of languages	(10-55) *I did not <u>finish any university of language</u>, and I can't be perfect, and I think even in business world, I am never shame of that I did some mistakes.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Ukraine)
Foreign accent	Foreigner pronunciation, not being a native speaker	(10-56) *Pronunciation, it's <break/> I understand that I have some <u>pronunciation, which mean foreigner pronunciation, that I am not a native speaker</u>* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency-focused; country of residence: Ukraine)
An accent	'the way they speak', hard pronunciation	(10-57) *First part it is people, who know English, who know English very well,*

		but their pronunciation and their break/> the way they speak is like /accent/ and they have such a hard pronunciation that sometimes </break>. (L1 Ukrainian; correctness-oriented; country of residence: Ukraine)
Minor (second major)	The second subject of my profession	(10-58) *I started to learn English at the university. It was the second the second subject, if <break/>, the second subject of my profession.* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency- and correctness-oriented; country of residence: Germany)
	Obligatory subject according to the state program	(10-59) *Like on departments, where not, how to say it, on the departments, who are not specializing political sciences but political science according to a state program, it's obligatory subject.* (L1 Ukrainian; correctness-oriented; country of residence: Ukraine)
Major	Professional subject	(10-60) *I would like to to research to go on researching not for dissertation or <unclear> something </unclear> but just for meself, and I have I want it's it's very it's it's my my task, I want to mh I want to work on my English as my as my professional subject*. (L1 Ukrainian; fluency- and correctness-oriented; country of residence: Germany)
Non-native speakers	People, which do not have English as mother language	(10-61) *It's it's it's always my, it's always my point, but is this is not my point if I am communicating with people <unclear> </unclear> if when I am communicating English with people*

		which which don't have English as mother language. (L1 Ukrainian; fluency and correctness-oriented; country of residence: Germany).
Native speakers	People with English as mother language	(10-62) *It was important because because as I I as saw that the pronunciation <break/>, if you communicate with people with mother language, with English as a mother language, they have to understand, they have to understand me* (L1 Ukrainian; fluency- and correctness-oriented; country of residence: Germany).
Students in their final year	Students of the last year Last year students	(10-63) *Then, I have the Actual Problems of Federalism in the World, that's for the students of the last last year, last year students.* (L1 Ukrainian; correctness-oriented Ukrainian; country of residence: Ukraine)
To brainwash	To brush and abuse someone's brain	(10-64) *I said since the ten year, when I was ten years old, he said, no it's not right level of English, I am sorry, and I had three out of five, and after this after these exams, I even <unclear></unclear> after last lessons I said never ever anybody will brush and abuse my brain never ever I will study foreign languages at all.* (L1 Russian; fluency-oriented; country of residence: Germany)

Possibly, in (10-55), the speaker wanted to convey to the hearer the concept of '*College of modern European languages*'. Unable to retrieve a necessary expression, she paraphrased it by a superordinate term '*university*', which she combined with the area of study – *languages* – in this case.

In the examples (10-56) and (10-57), '*a foreign accent*' was referred to as '*foreigner pronunciation*' and '*the way non-native speakers speak*', because the noun '*accent*' was neither found in the speaker's vocabulary, nor could be timely retrieved. In the first example, the speaker used a noun '*pronunciation*', which shared semantic features with the word '*accent*' according to the speaker's evaluation, and added a noun '*foreign*' in place of an adjective '*foreign*' to the phrase. Another way of saying '*an accent*' was by means of the paraphrase '*the way they speak*', observed in (10-57).

The noun '*major*' was paraphrased as '*professional subject*' and '*minor*' was paraphrased as '*the second subject of my profession*'. Similar to what one finds in English-speaking cultures, these two concepts belong to academia in the countries of the Soviet and the Post-Soviet space, and therefore, were known to the speaker. The fact that the speaker was not familiar with the educational system in English-speaking countries may possibly explain why she could not retrieve the necessary word. Although, the identity of a '*non-native speaker*' was known to ELF users and extensively referred to, the concept seemed to cause problems when non-native speakers had to refer to them in the interviews. Often, Slavic speakers described non-native speakers as '*people who don't have English as a mother language*', as shown in (10-61). Along the same lines, the concept '*native speaker*' was conveyed by the expression '*people with English as a mother language*', as shown in (10-62).

It appears that the use of paraphrase, including inappropriate prepositions, may cause difficulties in understanding, or at least, provide room for different interpretations. In the excerpt given in (10-63), a noun phrase '*students in their final year*' is rendered by '*the students of the last year*'. The paraphrase '*students of the last year*' is corrected and changed to '*the last year students*'. The entire paraphrasing chain, consisting of two elements, seems to cause syntactic and semantic ambiguity. The two interpretations that may be allowed here are: (i) *students that took the course last year* and, (ii) *students in their final year*. As this does not add much to the interpretation of the entire message, this information unit with putative ambiguity is likely to be unnoticed by the hearer.

Above, I have examined collocations which emerged because speakers paraphrased a lexical item or expression they could not retrieve, relying on their L1 and L2 resources. What was behind paraphrasing was often the creative use of language upon considering which lexical items can best convey the required lexical item. In the course of *creative phrasing*, speakers relied on the semantic meaning of single words, and often conveyed their meaning

335

directly. '*What was said*', therefore, did not seem to differ much from '*what was meant*'. Contrary to native speaker discourse where the idiomatic expressions function as chunks and are used in various contexts, in ELF communication, the coined expressions seem to have a short '*life cycle*', in other words, they are used only '*here*' and '*now*' - *ad hoc* - for a particular purpose. The creative use of performance strategies, therefore, motivates the emergence of new collocations and lexical expressions[32]. Clearly, the use of some innovative expressions may affect comprehensibility.

10.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have given an overview of the lexical mosaic of Eastern European English. Analysing a number of examples, I observed that the use of such performance strategies as *code-switching*, *transfer*, and *paraphrase* induced the emergence of new collocations. Russian, Ukrainian, and German served the purpose of *transfer* and *code-switching*, as they were shared by the interviewer and some interviewees. Although these three languages were used by speakers for the same or similar reasons, such as compensating for gaps in vocabulary and meeting the speakers' requirements of correctness and fluency, the motivation behind using them was different. Russian and Ukrainian were shared by the interlocutors as they were the native languages of the interlocutors. German was also shared among the interlocutors, as it was the contact language.

Although some of the innovative forms can be attributed to idiosyncrasies, in terms of individual performance and individual use of performance strategies, the following general tendencies were traced: (i) the novel expressions and collocations arose because speakers used strategies of performance; (ii) the novel expressions and collocations arose because of semantics and hence, the possession of common features between the desired concept and the word used, and (iii) creativity was a force, involved in the application of performance strategies. In summary, the emergence of innovative forms in the speakers' English seems to be the result of the speakers' strategic behaviour combined with creativity.

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[32] Given that creative phrasing is a process that takes place in ELF communication, a requirement of *comprehensible expression* may be added to the speaker's personal profile (Kohn 2013: personal communication).

Chapter 11. Morphosemantic and some morphosyntactic features of Eastern European manifestations of English

11.1 Study objectives

Having given a brief overview of a few of the features of Eastern European lexical mosaic and the factors that contribute to their emergence, I suggest taking a look at how the same speakers render temporal-aspectual relations in the spoken narratives. In a language contact situation, like lingua franca, the speakers' performance in English is not in isolation, but in a constant contact with other languages. The situation, therefore, becomes more complex than in the spoken or written performance in a typical foreign/second language setting. Given the differences in temporal and aspectual systems of English and Slavic languages, I consider it necessary to investigate how Slavic speakers handle situations in which they convey temporal and aspectual relations, and consequently, which repertoire of tenses is available to them to achieve this goal. The aim of this chapter is to examine how Slavic speakers use temporal and aspectual devices and how they express temporal relations in spoken narrations.

In this chapter, the categories of tense and aspect in English and Russian languages are initially discussed. The discussion is followed by a close examination of the temporal-aspectual markers which are used by Slavic speakers to construct a temporally-anchored discourse. In particular, the categories of tense and aspect are examined. Taking the observations of the study into account, the functions of English tenses in their Eastern European manifestation are then specified.

To construct spoken narrations, speakers have to use specific linguistic and pragmatic features which help them to maintain the unity of their narration. Tense, aspect, and situation types help speakers to classify situations and construct discourse (Saeed 1997: 107). In the traditional account, Comrie defined the category of *tense* as '*relating time of the situation or the event to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking*' (Comrie 1976: 1). Substantially later, Huddleston defined tense as '*a grammatical category, which applies to the system of the verb, with terms differentiated inflectionally or by means of auxiliaries, where the primary semantic contrast has to do with location in time, especially location relative to the time of speaking*' (Huddleston 2000: 80-81). For example, the sentence, '*She gave a talk*

yesterday' locates an event in the past, '*She gives a talk every week'* locates an event in the present, and '*She will give a talk next week'* locates the event in the future, i.e. after the moment of speaking.

The grammatical category, which is often discussed together with that of tense, is *the category of aspect*. Contrary to the grammatical category of tense, the function of *aspect* is to show in which manner the action was performed and not the distance of a particular event to the moment of speaking. In other words, tense presents events in their external consistency, i.e. in relation to the moment of speaking, and aspect presents events in their internal consistency, i.e. showing the manner, in which the event was performed.

The category of aspect is represented differently in different languages. English differentiates between: (i) *progressive* and *non-progressive*, and (ii) *perfect* and *non-perfect* aspect. In Russian, the distinction is drawn between (i) *perfective*, and (ii) *imperfective aspect*. As both tense and aspect perform similar functions, these two categories are rarely considered in isolation from each other. In English, however, the interrelation between tense and aspect is closer than in Russian. In Russian, as we shall see below, aspect and tense are often viewed independently from each other.

In the following section, I will give a brief introduction to the temporal and aspectual systems of English and one of the Slavic languages in focus. Given that the majority of speakers in the study were native speakers of Russian and that the temporal-aspectual systems of Ukrainian, Polish, and Slovak resemble the Russian temporal-aspectual system, the description of the temporal-aspectual systems of Slavic languages will be based on the Russian language. What follows below should not be seen as a comprehensive account of English-like and Slavic-like temporal-aspectual systems. Only those aspects relevant for the discussion are considered

11.2 Tense and aspect in English

Like many Indo-European languages, English allows an event to be placed at (i) *the present* (at the moment of speaking), (ii) *the past* (before the moment of speaking), and (iii) *the future* (after the moment of speaking). Examples in (11-1) illustrate this:

(11-1)

    (a) *Jane gives lectures every week* (habitual present).

    (b) *Jane gave a lecture last week* (past).

    (c) *Jane will give a lecture next week* (future).

The sentences above, however, present one of the possibilities for narrating the events. English allows (i) *the fact* of performing an event, and, (ii) an event *in progress*, to be presented. The same event thus may be presented in two different ways, depending on the emphasis the speaker wants to give to the described event. Please, consider the examples in (11-2), which express the proposition discussed above:

(11-2)

(a) *Jane is giving a lecture now* (present).

(b) *Jane was giving a lecture at five p.m. yesterday* (past).

(c) *Jane will be giving a lecture tomorrow* (future).

Apart from presenting the temporal location of the event – in the present, past, and future – the sentences express the manner in which the event took place. The function of expressing the manner in which the events took place is performed by the category of aspect in English. As shown above, it is differentiated between progressive and non-progressive, and perfect and non-perfect. Since there is a close interrelation between these two categories, the category of tense is often presented together with that of aspect. Below, I present an overview of those temporal-aspectual categories, which are relevant for the study.

Figure 11-1. Tense and aspect in English

		Aspectual categories			
	Tenses	Progressive	Non-progressive	Perfect	Non-perfect
Present-based anchoring	The simple present		+		+
	The present progressive	+			+
	The present perfect		+	+	
Past-based anchoring	The past simple		+		+
	The past progressive	+			+

The relevant categories for the study are tense and aspect forms. Among the temporal forms, I decided to look at those which are used for anchoring the events in the present (present-based anchoring) and those which are used for anchoring the events in the past (past-based anchoring). The tenses used to anchor events in the present are: (i) *the simple present*, (ii) *the present progressive*, and (iii) *the present perfect*. The selected tenses, used for anchoring events in the past, are: (i) *the past simple*, and (ii) *the past progressive*. As the figure illustrates, the progressive aspect manifests in the present and the past progressive (the perfect progressive is not included). The perfect aspect, in turn, manifests in the present perfect (the past perfect is not included). The present simple and the simple past are neutral in terms of aspect. In the following paragraphs, I suggest taking a closer look at the functions of English temporal and aspectual forms in Standard English.

The simple present, *the present progressive*, and *the present perfect* are used to narrate events, which take place or have taken place in the present.

The simple present in Standard English performs the following functions: initially, it refers to events that happen habitually or regularly and to those events where the time of occurrence is either indeterminate or irrelevant, as in '*The Sun rises in the East*' (Huddleston 2000:145). The other two uses of the simple present are for reference to future events and for reference to past events, narrated in the present to add additional effects and bring the hearer to the past event ('*historic present*'). The simple present, as already mentioned, is neutral in terms of aspect.

Another possibility for English speakers to render events in the present is to use *the present progressive*. In this form, as previously demonstrated, tense combines with aspect, allowing speakers to not only render the fact of performing an action in the present, but also specify its progress. In other words, the present progressive presents the situation in progress; therefore, the situation often has a dynamic character. Contrasting the present progressive with the simple present, Hatcher (1951) in her early work on aspect, concluded that progressive describes events in '*a single occurrence*' either as an overt activity as in '*She is washing the dishes* or as a state that is developing by degrees as in '*I am developing a cold*' or '*I am beginning to understand*' (Hatcher 1951), whereas the events in the simple present have habitual reading. Comrie (1976) and Dahl (1985) claimed that the English progressive is used

in a wider range of contexts than progressives in other languages, and that it conveys more than a simple aspectual meaning. Bybee saw the function of the progressive in describing '*subjects in the midst of doing something*' (Bybee et al. 1994: 35). Huddleston, similarly to the position expressed by Hatcher (1951), believed that the progressive had a single occasion interpretation (Huddleston 2000: 155).

The English category of aspect is fully grammaticalized, in other words, there are grammatical forms in English that allow the distinction between *events as facts* (present simple) and *events as processes* (present progressive) to be conveyed.

The difference between the perfect and the non-perfect aspect in English can be well-illustrated in the following two sentences:

(i) *She has been there* (the present perfect).

(ii) *She was there* (the past simple).

The essential difference is that it (i) locates an event into the past, and its occurrence is relevant for the present, and (ii) locates an event into the past, and its occurrence is not relevant for the present. Given that *the present perfect* and *simple past* have similar functions in the sense that they locate the event before the moment of speaking, the present perfect and simple past are often in competition with each other. The main difference between these two forms is that although both locate events into the past, the perfect aspect extends the scope of the action to the moment of speaking, and the past simple locates the situation wholly in the past, excluding the moment of speaking. Another implication of the perfect aspect is that it emphasizes the completion of some previous action, which began in the past (hence the connection of the present perfect with the simple past).

According to Huddleston, there are certain restrictions on the use of the past simple and present perfect. They are given below:

(i)   Expressions such as *at present*, *as yet, since last week*, *lately* combine with the perfect but not with the past simple

(ii)   Expressions such as *three days ago*, *at that time*, *last week*, *yesterday* combine with the past tense and not with the perfect, as they identify time, which has no relevance for the present (Huddleston 2000: 158).

Another important feature of the system is that the speaker's choice between a perfect and a past tense is not determined by actual temporal location of the situation, but depends on the speaker's conception of it (Huddleston 2000: 159).

Similar to the simple past, *the past progressive* is used to render events that happened in the past. As the name suggest, the progressive aspect presents the situation '*in progress*'. It implies that the situation is presented as taking place, and it usually has a more or less dynamic character (Huddleston 2000:153). It also implies, as Huddleston pointed out, that the event is not presented in its totality, and at least, has a potential for continuation (Huddleston 2000:153). Given that the progressive denotes dynamic actions, it cannot be compatible with motion verbs, stative verbs, and what is referred to as '*achievements*' in Vendlerian sense (Bertinetto et al. 2000: 533).

The non-progressive events, on the contrary, can be either static or dynamic; they are presented in their temporal totality. Examples below illustrate the contrast:

(i) *She was writing him an e-mail* (past, progressive).

(ii) *She wrote him an e-mail* (past, non-progressive).

The two sentences refer to the past events. The first sentence highlights a dynamic character of the event and a potential for its continuation. The second sentence does not specify the statics or the dynamics of the event; it presents the event as simply obtaining in the past.

Another feature, which is important to mention, is the presence in the temporal-aspectual system of *a lexical aspect* of a verb or *Aktionsart*. *A lexical aspect* is an inherent property of a verb, which provides information on the manner or way in which this verb relates to time. The most influential classification of predicate types was done by Vendler (1957). In this classification, he proposed to differentiate between *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments,* and *achievements*. Rothstein (2004) defined Vendler properties as '*constraints on how events are characterized*' (Rothstein 2004). Let me briefly define and exemplify each type. *States* present an event as a static state of affairs, and they do not entail any changes. *States* are unbounded in time, as in the example '*John is sick'*. *States* usually are not acceptable in the progressive. *Activities* are similar to states in the sense that they present events unbounded in time, but they involve a change; hence, they are dynamic, as in the example '*John is writing up'*. *Activities*, unlike states, can occur in the progressive.

Accomplishments, similarly to activities, also involve change, but unlike activities, they present events which are bounded in time, as in '*John has written an essay in an hour'*. Here the event includes two points: the beginning and the end of an action, with a process in between. *Accomplishments* can occur in the progressive. *Achievements*, in turn, involve a change and do not involve process, as in '*John won the writing competition'*. Achievements cannot occur in the progressive (cf. Rothstein 2004: 36–58).

The table in (11-2) summarizes the compatibility of the predicate types and the progressive aspect:

Figure 11-2. The compatibility of the predicate types and the progressive aspect

Predicate Type	Progressive Aspect	Example
States	-	John is sick.
Activities	+	John is writing up.
Accomplishments	+	John has been writing an essay.
Achievements	-	John has won the writing competition.

In summary, English allows events to be placed in the past, present, and future. In addition to placing the events on the time line, English shows whether the events described are durative or non-durative. Not all predicate types, however, can be used with the progressive aspect. States and achievements cannot be used in the progressive aspect, whereas activities and accomplishments can be used.

11.3 Tense and aspect in Russian

In considering the differences between Russian and English temporal-aspectual systems, it is first important to know what a Slavic verb is like. In Slavic languages - in Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Slovak, all or almost all verbs exist in a binary opposition between two aspectual forms – *perfective* and *imperfective*. To give a few examples: *читать – прочитать*; to read Imp. – to have read Perf. (adding perfectivizing prefix pro- to form perfective), *писать – написать* to write Imp. – to have written Perf. (adding perfectivizing prefix na-), *решать –*

решить to solve Imp. to have solved Perf. (-a-/ -и- are suffixes in Russian; change of stem).[33]

Slavic languages make the distinction between *the perfective aspect* and *imperfective aspect*. Although many non-Slavic linguists consider the Slavic aspect to be a lexical category, Slavic linguists, such as Zalizniak and Shmelev, argue that aspect in Slavic is a grammatical category since choosing between imperfective and perfective is obligatory (Zalizniak & Shmelev 2000: 11) and it is not a matter of choice. Each verbal form, consequently, belongs semantically and, in many cases, morphologically either to perfective or imperfective aspect.

In Russian, the categories of tense and aspect are distinct[34]. Three tense forms in Russian – present, past, and future – similar to English, allow events to be placed into the moment of speaking, before or after the moment of speaking. Contrary to English, Russian does not have a double tense form, which has two ground situations[35] inside the scope (e.g. '*He wrote a letter*' vs. '*He was writing a letter*'), but only one ground situation (e.g. '*He wrote a letter*'). Apart from presenting the event on the time line, Slavic speakers have to choose an aspectual form, which is appropriate for the situation (in the past and future only). Interestingly, Slavic speakers are not confronted with the choice to make. The selection of an appropriate aspectual form – perfective or imperfective – depends on the context, and not on the willingness of the speaker, to convey a particular meaning.

It should be noted that not all tense forms in Russian have perfective forms. The present tense only contains imperfective forms; the past and the future tenses contain both the imperfective and the perfective forms. Perfective future forms are formed inflectionally, i.e.

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[33] Isacenko (1960), Bertinetto & Delfitto (2000), Tatevesov (2002), Janda (2007) object to the proposed bipolar system of the Russian verb classes and claim that the so-called aspectual units comprise more than just two members. Janda's study (2007) demonstrated that treating words in a binary opposition failed to differentiate between different types of perfective. A semantic map she proposed captured Aktionsart and aspectuality, allowing for a four type classification of perfectives, for seeing existing relationships between verbs and for predicting possible aspectual pairs (Janda 2007: 641).

[34] Bogdan and Sullivan in their work on Polish claim that aspect usually combines with tense, to provide the basic structure of the narrative. The tense-aspect form of the verb then tells which function the clause performs in the overall narrative (Bogdan & Sullivan 2009: 50).

[35] Grounding is the location of a speech event in time.

by means of prefixation; imperfective future forms are formed periphrastically, i.e. by means of an auxiliary verb *to be* and *the imperfective infinitive.* The examples below illustrate the construction of the future forms in Russian:

Russian: *Я позвоню ему завтра/Ya pozvonyu emu zavtra* (Future, perfective).

I (1st ps pronoun) call (future, perfective) him (pronoun dative) tomorrow

English: I will call him tomorrow.

Russian: *Я буду звонить ему завтра/Ya budu zvonit' emu zavtra* (Future, imperfective).

I (1st ps pronoun) call (future imperfective) him (pronoun dative) tomorrow

I will be calling him tomorrow.

English: I will try to reach him tomorrow.

Figure 11-3 summarizes the compatibility of the perfective and imperfective aspect with the tense forms:

Figure 11-3. The compatibility of the perfective and imperfective aspect with the tense forms

Tense form	Imperfective	Perfective
Present	+	-
Past	+	+
Future	+	+

According to the traditional account of aspect, it is common to treat imperfective aspect as *unmarked* and perfective aspect as *marked.* The best functions of the imperfective and perfective are demonstrated in their past tense uses. Let me now outline the most prominent functions of the perfective and imperfective aspect. In one of the first accounts of Russian and Slavic-like aspects, Forsyth, making a comment about the perfective and imperfective dichotomy, suggested that the imperfective '*...seems to evoke an action in itself; there is no connection between these forms and the duration of the activity*' (Forsyth 1970). In particular, imperfectives are aspectual neutral verbs, which generally *denote processes*, or are used in the context, where the completion of an event is not specified, i.e. fulfil the basic functions of verbs. They do not express the continuation of performance over any length of

time (cf. Dahl 1985: 75). Imperfective verbs denote three types of actions (Salizniak & Shmelev 2000: 21):

- processes ,i.e. incomplete actions or actions in the course of their performance

- states

- events, which involve a change of a situation (two stages of a situation are visible to the speaker and hearer)

Not all imperfective verbs, however, have the durative meaning. Russian verbs, such as '*читать/chitat' (to read), 'писать/pisat' (to write')*, which inherently convey the durative meaning, do not additionally carry a durative function.

The perfective forms, as mentioned earlier, are found in the past and the future, but not in the present. The main function of the perfective aspect is to present an event or an action as a whole. The example below illustrates this function:

Russian: *Я взял книгу/Ya vzyal knigu. Kniga u menya* (Forsyth 1970).

I (1st ps pronoun singular) take (past perfective) a book (noun singular accusative).

English: I took the book. I have got the book now.

Apart from the main function, in presenting the event as a whole, the use of the perfective aspect in this sentence presents the event which is relevant for the moment of speaking.

In addition to the grammaticalized distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect, Slavic verbs can be characterized by a predicate type to which it belongs. In the Venderian classification of predicate types[36] (Vendler 1957), verbs in Russian denoting states and

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[36] Vendler (1957, 1967) suggested a four-way categorization of verbs (states, activities, achievements and accomplishments) based on their semantics. See the examples given for each type:

States – *love someone, hear music*

Activities – *run around, play in the garden, push a cart*

Achievements – *notice a painting, recognize a friend, die*

Accomplishments – *build a house, eat a pizza*

processes (durative actions) are expressed by the imperfective aspect, whereas what Vendler names achievements and accomplishments and what Salizniak and Shmelev (Salizniak & Shmelev 2000) name events, are expressed by the perfective aspect. Expressing durativity of an action, a speaker is not interested in presenting an event as it is taking place at the moment of speech, but rather in duration of an action. To give an example of this use, please, consider the following:

Russian:

Ты уже три часа делаешь домашнее задание/Ti uzhe 3 chasa delaesh domashnee zadanie.

You (2nd person singular) already three hours do (present, 2nd person singular) home (adjective neutra accusative) work (noun neutra accusative).

English: You have been doing your homework for three hours already.

So, the combination of grammatical aspect and Aktionsart (predicate types) form the Russian aspectual system.

In a newer cognitive account of aspect, Boris Gasparov proposed that the major difference in the meaning of perfective and imperfective was neither in the character of the situation, nor in the content of the situation (Thelin 1990: 191). It was rather the difference in world views or *Weltanschauengen*. Thus, a native speaker of Russian, choosing between perfective and imperfective aspect, decides how he/she wants to present an action with its reference to the world. Taking this perspective, perfective is a view that a speaker takes when intending to present a situation as consisting of discrete events. Imperfective, on the other hand, presents a situation in progress, where the subject is in a continuous evolvement. The process of evolvement implies that there is no event as such; the speaker merely tries to convey conditions of experiencing the situation (Thelin 1990: 209).

Later, Durst-Andersen also attempted to link overt linguistic manifestations with cognition and mental models. He claimed that events and processes first found their manifestation in human cognition, and only then are realized in a real language (Durst-

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This classification gave rise to further investigations of the effect of the lexical aspect on second language acquisition (*the Aspect Hypothesis*, and *against the Aspect Hypothesis*).

Andersen 1994: 62-81). Agreeing with Jacobson's claim, that '*languages differ in what they must convey, and not in what they may convey*' (Jackobson 1959: 236), Durst-Andersen, in his central claim of the argument, said that human cognition, regardless of its membership in a particular speech community, differentiates between different types of events (non-events). In other words, the human mind is capable of drawing a line between actions and non-actions, states and activities, events and processes. The fact that the Russian verb must convey the perfective-imperfective distinction implies that there is a distinction between the way languages manifest basic cognitive principles (universal), such as representation of time, and that for a Russian native speaker in particular, this is a fundamental dichotomy. The Russian sentence '*Он остановил ее на улице'/On ostanovil ee na ulitse.* (He (pronoun, 3rd ps sg, masc) stop (the past tense) she (pers. pronoun, 3rd ps sg, acc) in street (noun, sg, fem, dat.)) may have three counterparts English:

(i)   *He stopped her in the street.*

(ii)   *He has stopped her in the street.*

(iii)   *He had stopped her in the street.*

The above sentences denote the same event in the past with the proposition that a male person stopped a female person in the street. Durst-Anderson claims that a human has two ways of observing the event, i.e. one either experiences it (i) indirectly - observing only a state situation – or (ii) directly – observing an activity situation (Durst-Andersen 1994: 98). Speakers, who directly witness the event, place it in past-world storage (as a film, in his terms). Speakers, who experience it indirectly, and can only see the end-product, place it in present-world storage (as a photograph, in his terms). English, unlike Russian, offers both modes of presenting reality: a flashback (as a film) and a flash (photograph). The difference between the English simple past and present perfect can, therefore, be based on the distinction between the past and the present world storage. Narrating events that occurred in the past, native speakers of English are always confronted with a choice to make, i.e. choosing between two presentation modes – as a flashback (simultaneously showing the film), and hence emphasizing the fact that one directly observed the event, or as a flash (reporting an event) – only indirectly witnessing the event, as in '*I rescued the dog/ I have rescued the dog*'. Russian speakers, however, are not confronted with this choice, as they can only present an action either as an event or a non-event. The choice of a certain verb – *perfective* or *imperfective* – depends on the context, and not on the willingness of the speaker to convey a certain meaning. Thus, the English sentence '*I have rescued the dog*' (see above), can only be

rendered using the *perfective* verb in Russian, therefore only one choice – *Ya spasla (spas) sobaku* – is available to convey the meaning of this sentence.

Additionally, Durst-Andersen (Durst-Anderson 1994: 105) proposed that every language has a determinant category, i.e. the one which determines all other categories. According to his position, tense is a dominant category in English, and aspect is dominant in Slavic. Earlier accounts of tense and aspect, such as the one proposed by Forsyth (1970), claimed that there was no compelling evidence to believe that aspect proceeded over tense in Russian (Forsyth 1970).

In a recent account of Russian aspect, Kravchenko (2004) also proposed looking at aspect from a cognitive perspective. Based on the morphological and syntactic evidence from Russian, Kravchenko argued that aspectual oppositions have little to do with *boundness* and *totality*, as it is often claimed in formal descriptions of aspect (Smith 1991; Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985). The choice between the aspectual pairs in Russian is determined by the source of information the speaker has about the event, i.e. speaker's knowledge of the event and speaker's observation of the event. The relationship between the source of information, speaker and the reality not only has an effect on how the reality is presented, but also on who is part of the reality.

In summary, Russian differentiates three tense forms – the present, past, and future. Whereas the past and future contain the imperfective and perfective forms, the present tense only contains the imperfective forms. The choice between the perfective or imperfective verb is obligatory, and not a matter of the speakers' choice.

11.4 The expression of temporal-aspectual relations in the video interviews

Based on what was said above, it is possible to make assumptions about the use of tense and aspect by Slavic speakers. English and Russian, as seen above, differ in how they present structures of reality. In particular, English copies events to the human mind and presents them either as a *flashback* or *flash*, whereas Russian only presents them as events or non-events; in other words, it restrictively presents the structures of reality without an account of the speaker's or hearer's perspective. The fact that English offers more than two options for conveying what could be said in one way in Russian allows an assumption that this area may be problematic for Slavic speakers when they narrate the events in English and locate them on

the time line. Furthermore, it is possible to assume that Slavic speakers of English will rely on parameters of their L1 temporal-aspectual systems, and transfer them into English. It is possible to make the following assumptions:

1. Given that Slavic aspect differentiates between imperfective and perfective, and not between progressive/non-progressive, and perfect/non-perfect, Slavic speakers may preserve the distinction between imperfective and perfective in English.

2. Given that in Slavic languages all verbs in the present tense are in the imperfective aspect, Slavic speakers may transfer this feature into English. The transfer may result in using the English simple present or present progressive in the obligatory contexts of other tenses, such as present perfect.

3. In narrating the past events and in an attempt to convey the Slavic distinction between perfective and imperfective, Slavic users of English may make use of the following English temporal-aspectual constructions:

   (a) the English past progressive is used to convey what is imperfective in their L1

   (b) the English simple past is used to convey what is perfective in their L1

Falsely associating Slavic perfective with the English simple past and Slavic imperfective with the English progressive, Slavic speakers of English may use the simple past for rendering complete actions in the past, and the past progressive for rendering incomplete actions in the past. The fact that the English progressive may emerge in the progressive non-obligatory context may cause the overuse of the progressive.

4. As Slavic languages do not differentiate between the flash and the flashback representation of events (the simple past and the present perfect), Slavic speakers may have difficulties with the simple past and the present perfect, and inappropriately use them.

5. In choosing the tense and aspect in English, Slavic speakers may not be guided by the rules and constraints of the English system, but by Aktionsart (see predicate types or Vendlerian classes of verbs).

Before I proceed with presenting how Slavic speakers render temporality, let me briefly mention how temporal-aspectual data was collected, and the difficulties connected with it. To elicit the use of temporal-aspectual devices, speakers were asked a set of questions, which required an obligatory use of the past tenses (for a detailed discussion of questions asked and the applied methodology see *Chapter 3*). Some speakers, however, reported in the post-interview session that they intentionally avoided narrating in the past tense once they realized that the non-present anchoring was required. Thus, selection of passages containing at least five non-present anchored utterances was difficult with some speakers. In the analysis, all temporally-anchored utterances were extracted. The functions tenses carried out by tenses in Standard English were compared to what had emerged in the Eastern European manifestation of English. Tense functions in the ELF context were finally explained.

Below, we shall take a look at which devices are available for Slavic speakers of English for expressing temporality and which functions these devices perform in the Eastern European manifestation of English. The use of tenses for the non-past-based anchoring - (i) *the present simple*, (ii) *the present progressive*, and (iii) *the present perfect* will be examined first. It will then be followed by considering tenses used for the past-based anchoring, such as (i) *the simple past*, and (ii) *the past progressive*. Functions, carried out by these tenses, in the lingua franca context will be discussed.

11.4.1 The present-based anchoring

The simple present, the present progressive, and *the present perfect* are used to narrate the events that take place in the present and/or are relevant for the moment of speaking.

The Simple Present

The simple present is a tense, which is widely used by all speakers in the study. Contrary to the functions of the present simple in Standard English as shown above, in the Eastern European manifestation of English, the simple present extends its functions and leaves the domain of the present simple use. *The present simple* in its new manifestation performs the functions of: (i) *the simple present*, (ii) *the past simple*, and, (iii) *the present perfect.*

One of the functions of the simple present is to render events, which take place on a regular basis and involve habituality. The simple present in its Eastern European manifestation fulfils the same function in Standard English. In examples (11-3), we see an

overlap in the functions of the simple present in Standard English and in its Eastern European manifestations:

(11-3) *But I feel more comfortable with American English, I don't know why, probably United states and Canada was the first English speaking country to which I came first and that's why <break/> American English seems to me more up-to-date.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In this passage, extracted from the interview with a Ukrainian speaker, it is possible to see that the speaker uses the tense-aspect morphology consistently. The verb phrase '*to feel comfortable*' is used with the present simple, and not with the present progressive; the auxiliary for *the first-person singular* is used in the formation of a negative clause; the subject-verb agreement as in '*American English seems to me…*' is present.

The appropriate use of the present simple for *the description of facts and habitual events* is illustrated in the following two utterances:

(11-4) *It seems to me that English is a very good thing, means for international communication, because, English is simple language.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The above utterance illustrates the agreement between the subject and the predicate (*it seems to me*) and the regular use of the copular '*be*' in the present simple in '*English is simple language*'.

(11-5) It is always the same *in every language that that you use some words that for that people from from abroad, do not know*. (L1 Ukrainian)

Similar to the example above, here the person pronoun '*you*' is in agreement with the verb '*use*' in the present simple; the person pronoun '*they*' is in agreement with auxiliary '*do*' and the negative particle '*not*'.

The second function of the simple present is rendering the events that took place before the moment of speaking and which have no relevance to the moment of speaking. This function is performed by *the simple past* in Standard English. The excerpt in (11-6) shows how the simple present is used to anchor the event into the simple past:

(11-6) *Yeah, but but today I can say that mhm I really find what I wanted.* (L1 Ukrainian)

This particular use of the present simple might be accounted for by the fact that speakers non-intentionally select the present tense forms, as they seem to be more accessible to them, and use them for narrating the past events. This development results in the simplification of the relevant subsystem of tense and aspect.

The third function of the simple present is rendering events, which began in the past and continued until the present; the occurrence of events is relevant for the moment of speaking. In Standard English, the present perfect performs this function. It is interesting that Slavic speakers continue to use the simple present where the temporal adverbials, triggering the use of the present perfect, are present. Such temporal adverbials as *since*, *for a long time*, *now,* and *right now* are ignored by Slavic speakers in their narrations. The excerpts below (11-7), (11-8) and (11-9) illustrate how the present tense is used with *adverbs of time* and *duration*:

(11-7) *I started learning English when I was twelve at school, and I have a very strong motivation because, <u>since </u>my childhood <u>I am interested in politics, in history</u>.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In (11-7), the English aspect system requires placing the event '*to be interested in politics'* into the recent past, and the present perfect is used to fulfil this function. Transferring a verb phrase from Ukrainian in the present tense and imperfective aspect, this speaker chooses the English present simple, expecting this tense form to convey the function required (present tense and the imperfective aspect).

The same is observed in the following utterance, where the verb phrase '*you live'* is used in the present tense with a temporal adverb '*very long'* triggering the present perfect.

(11-8) *Of course, when I am doing my research, I am usually using my reading skills, reading skills, but I feel that I need some more oral practice, because <u>when you live very long in your native country</u>, so the language is forgotten.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Similarly, in the utterance that follows, the simple present is used with a temporal adverbial '*now'*.

(11-9) *That was actually time when I had to catch my English, I have to improve, actually. I can't say that <u>right now that I really improve it</u>, but...* (L1 Ukrainian)

Analysing this passage, it becomes clear that that the speaker talks about the past events using the past tense, as the clause '*that was the time, when I had to catch my English*' illustrates. Continuing, the speaker switches to the present tense saying '*I cannot say that right now that I really improve it*'. It seems, however, that the present perfect had to be used to fulfil the function of rendering the event, i.e. '*right now, I have improved it*', which began in the past, and is still relevant for the moment of speaking.

Another instance of the use of the present simple in the obligatory context of the present perfect is given below. Different from the instances above, a temporal adverbial is not present. Please, consider the example below:

(11-10) *So <u>when I acquire these skills</u> and can use them I think it helps, <u>it will help</u> me to improve not only myself and level of life.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The verb '*to acquire*' is clearly in the present perfect obligatory context. A Ukrainian speaker, however, placed it in the present simple. In Russian, the verb *'to acquire'* '*приобретать/priobretat*' carries the meaning of completion due to the prefix '*pri-*', which, obviously, is not the case in English. In English, the completion of the future action is shown by means of the future perfect tense. Given that the Russian verb already contains an element marking its perfectivity, i.e. the prefix '*pri-*' adding additional perfective element is not necessary (the possibility of rendering the event in the future perfect), taking the perspective of Russian speakers into account. Russian speakers of English, therefore, use the present simple relying on the fact that perfectivity is already expressed by verb semantics. The present simple may thus be used for rendering the Slavic perfective aspect as well.

Why Slavic speakers use the present simple in the obligatory context of the present perfect could be explained by the differences between Slavic languages and English in the threshold of the present time. Russian allows the non-past events to be placed, which began in

the past, and are in progress at the moment of speaking, into the present[37]. English, on the contrary, requires[38] these events to be located into the recent past[39].

We have seen so far that the present simple is used in the obligatory contexts of the *present simple*, *past simple*, and *present perfect* (with and without adverbials of time). One of the most obvious problems because of the inconsistent use of the present simple is the ordering of events in time, which cause ambiguity. Frequent switches of tenses - from the present to the past and from the past to the present – make it difficult for the hearer to order the events and construct the representation of an event. One of the excerpts to illustrate this is given below:

(11-11) *We already talk about possibilities of future cooperation, because we want to take it further, the issue of project management and project managers in Europe.* (L1 Slovak)

In this excerpt, the speaker does not make it clear whether the event '*to talk about possibilities*' belongs to the present or to the past. Placing the event into the recent past or past, '*we have already talked*' or '*we talked*' implies that the speaker began to negotiate about the cooperation and that the first steps have already been taken. Placing the event '*we already talk*' in the present time span as in '*we are already talking*' implies that the negotiations with management about the future cooperation was in progress, and that the first steps have yet to be taken. The same concerns the following example:

(11-12) *I've been almost to every country. I met people from all European countries, almost. We talk about many issues and it's a great experience, you learn an awful lot of things, which you, sort of overlooked or were not able to see them.* (L1 Slovak)

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[37] Hewson & Bubenik (1997) argue that the tense system of Russian, constructed with descending time, allows placing events, which began in the past, and are in progress, into the present (Hewson & Bubenik 1997: 333). The sentence '*Ya govoru uzhe 10 minut*' (* *I already speak for ten minutes*) is possible in Russian, but not in English.

[38] This question has been examined by Korrel (1991). She argues that the difference in the usage of the present perfect and the present simple in English and other I-E language stems from a representation of the present as' just actualized' (Russian, German, Dutch) and 'not actualized' (English) as in *I speak for ten minutes.

Likewise, the event '*talk about many issues*' emerges in the present simple. The speaker begins her narration by presenting events, which took place in the past as in '*I've been almost to every country*', '*I met people*' and then switches to the present '*We talk about many issues*'. Whether the event took place in the present or past is not clear.

In summary, the simple present, as used by Slavic speakers, extends its functions and leaves the domain of the present simple use in Standard English. This development may be partially explained by transfer of L1 structures, such as imperfective or perfective aspect, or by faster accessibility of L2 structures, such as the present tense verbal morphology.

The Present Progressive

Another tense, which allows the events to be placed in the present and presents the internal consistency of the event, is *the present progressive*. The present progressive, in the Eastern European manifestation, is extensively used to convey *habitual events and repetitive actions, with or without adverbials of temporality*. Some occurrences of rendering habitual actions by the progressive aspect are presented below. In the examples, which we shall see now, there are no temporal adverbials of habituality.

(11-13) *I'm listening to the songs, and I'm reading, I try to read in English, and when it happens I try speak with people in English.* (L1 Polish)

In (11-13), a speaker intends to convey the actions that happen on a daily basis, i.e. the speaker *'reads books in English', 'listens to the music'*. The use of the progressive aspect, therefore, is not obligatory here. In the next example (11-14), the speaker was asked by the interviewer to comment on skills which he needed to develop in order to improve his/her English. The speaker enumerated language learning skills, and concluded that the only skill he/she did not practice was writing. Consider the example below:

(11-14) *I'm not writing*. (L1 Ukrainian)

Similar to what was seen previously, the speaker placed the action in the progressive aspect because of marking the Russian or Ukrainian imperfective aspect. In utterances which follow below in (11-15), (11-16), (11-17), and (11-18), there is no obligatory context for the use of the progressive. Actions described refer to habitual events and not to single occurrences, which in turn, requires the use of the present simple. All actions below involve the verb '*to speak*'. In addition, they belong to the predicate type of activities, according to Vendlerian

classification of predicate types. The verb '*разговаривать/razgovarivat`, говорить/govorit'* (En: *'to speak', 'to talk'*), is inherently durative in Russian, and by marking the English verb *to speak* for the progressive, speakers convey imperfective actions.

(11-15) *In Belarus, English is very useful. We are speaking Russian and second international language for us is English.* (L1 Russian)

(11-16) *Every <break/> when somebody do not speak your language <unclear> </unclear>, then we are speaking in English.* (L1 Russian)

(11-17) *Because when you are speaking with non-native speaker, and on the one hand it's easy, because his level is low, but on the other hand, it's even could be more difficult, because that person does not know language, and you have to guess.* (L1 Ukrainian)

(11-18) *It's mean that she not very fluent, especially in Italy, to me it is <break/> they are not speaking fluently.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In the following example (11-19), a native speaker of Russian uses the progressive aspect to convey the following proposition '*someone speak English*'. What is obviously meant by '*this person is speaking English really good*' is not a momentary or a single occurrence event, but rather an everyday practice or a habitual action.

(11-19) *And I say <quote> oh, this person is speaking English really good </quote>, but ordinary </break>... communicating in English with somebody <break/>*

In (11-20), a Ukrainian native speaker recalls habitual daily events, such as business trips, weekend, and leisure activities. Given that the use of tenses within the performance of this speaker is not consistent, it seems very unlikely that this aspect is used to add emotional colouring or intensify the frequency of occurrence. Thus, I suppose, the speaker conveys the Ukrainian imperfective form '*путешествовать/puteshestvovat'*' (En: *'to travel'* by using the English progressive.

(11-20) *He, like, more quiet, because he is, maybe he is a director, he is travelling a lot, and when came <unclear> </unclear> weekends, he will just calm, and for me weekends, is always some <break/> doing something.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Moreover, the progressive aspect is also used with the present simple triggers, such as *temporal adverbials*, which mark habituality and repetitiveness: *usually*, *from time to time* as

illustrated in instances (11-21) and (11-22). The excerpts are taken from the performance of Ukrainian and Russian native speakers:

(11-21) *Of course, when I am doing my research, I am usually using my reading skills, reading skills, but I feel that I need some more oral practice, because when you live very long in your native country, so the language is forgotten.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Here, the speaker used the progressive aspect to speak about habitual events, and not actions in progress. Thus, the present progressive emerges in the obligatory context of the present simple with triggers of the present simple. In (11-22), a temporal adverbial *from time to time* triggers the use of the present simple. The speaker, nevertheless, presents the event as action in progress:

(11-22) *And this book is designed very well, and from time to time, I am looking to this book.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Other activities, emerging in the progressive aspect and which are in the present tense and imperfective aspect in the speakers' first languages, are: *to specialize*, *to use, to communicate, to read, to learn, to plan, to travel*. We shall see in the examples below that these verbs are not in the present progressive obligatory context either. Speakers, however, tend to mark them as durative:

(11-23) *Because my research <break/>, I am specializing in political science and international relations, and English is the major language, so I am using all the English speaking, English language sources.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In (11-23) and (11-24), what the speaker tries to convey is not an event which has relevance for the present moment; it, therefore, does not require the use of the present progressive. What the speaker does is render an imperfective aspect of the verb by marking the action as (+ progr.).

(11-24) *I am using the old knowledge I already obtain, conversational one, but at the moment I actually need to learn more and hardly.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In (11-25), the verb *to communicate* is used to render an event in the conditional clause. Similar to the previous case, no obligatory context for the use of the progressive aspect is

given. The speaker, however, marks the event for the progressive aspect, being supposedly driven by the fact that the verb was in the imperfective aspect in the speaker's L1 Ukrainian.

(11-25) *I can I cannot judge some somebody's English is bad because I don't know* _if I'm_
communicate <break/> . (L1 Ukrainian)

Such verbs as *to try, to learn, to listen* are durative in Slavic languages and in the context in which they are used, they are in the imperfective form, i.e. no completion of an action is emphasized. According to Venderian classification of predicate types, they are also activities. The speakers' attempt to render the Russian imperfective feature of the verb results in the use of the verb in the English progressive aspect. Some examples of this occurrence are presented in Figure 11-4 below:

Figure 11-4. The use of activities in the progressive aspect in the interviews

Content verb	Example
To maturitize	(11-26) *You can learn eh some new words, but for people* _who are_ _maturitizing as I think main thing is to have something interesting, some literature, or some text of the subject_. (L1 Russian)
To try	(11-27) *They are Germans, but sometimes I* _I am trying to speak_ _German_*, but not always successful. So, mostly, I speak English here.* (L1 Ukrainian) (11-28) *Well,* _I am trying to participate_ *in some international conferences, for example, in a few days I will be in Istanbul at seminar.* (L1 Ukrainian)
To learn	(11-29) *Because when* _I'm learning a foreign language_*, I would like to have a class, homework to do, to read something, to do something, to write something, and he was so <break/>, it was not very important to him.* (L1 Polish)
To wait	(11-30) *It's a fact it's a fact, because I don't want these people which have English as mother language that that* _they are_ _waiting_*, because </break>* (L1 Ukrainian)

It is interesting that not only activities are used in the progressive aspect, but other predicate types as well, such as *states* and *achievements* (Vendlerian classification), neither of

which combines with the progressive aspect in Standard English. In the following set of examples, the verb phrase '*to come from*' is marked in English as progressive.

Figure 11-5. The use of achievements in the progressive aspect in the interviews

Content verb or verb phrase	Examples
To come from a small town	(11-31) <u>*I am coming from a small town*</u>, *but I was I was studying in the village school, where my grandparents <break/> and <break/> living*. (L1 Ukrainian)
To come from Eastern Europe	(11-32) *Everybody understood* <u>*that we are coming from Eastern Europe*</u>, *and actually Slovaks are also somehow at the same situation*. (L1 Ukrainian)
To come from	(11-33) *It's obvious with whom you are speaking because somehow you realize or you will found out from dialogue person will probably tell from* <u>*what country he or she is coming*</u>. (L1 Ukrainian)

As the progressive views action as ongoing at a reference time, it applies typically to dynamic predicates and not to stative ones (Comrie 1976). Slavic speakers, however, tend to extend the use of the progressive aspect from dynamic predicates to stative ones, as we shall see below. Again, the underlying reason might be the speakers' willingness to render events which are imperfective in Slavic. Stative verbs such as *to think* and *to feel,* for instance, are not used in the progressive aspect. In the performance of Slavic speakers, this, however, is not the case. Consider two sets of data excerpts with verb phrases *to think* in (11-35), and (11-36) and *to feel comfortable* in (11-36) presented in the following table:

Figure 11-6. The use of states in the progressive aspect in the interviews

Content verb	Example
To think	(11-34) <u>*They are thinking* maybe I am Englishman you know.</u> (L1 Ukrainian)
	(11-35) *Maybe its sounds really not polite, but <u>I am thinking that we better do</u> some practical things then just to waste five years at university, without doing anything.* (L1 Ukrainian)
To feel comfortable	(11-36) *</cut> in some situation <u>I am feeling comfortable</u> and I have no problem with understanding, and in other situations, have to ask more and more <quote> please, repeat </quote>, it's my worst feeling.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In the examples above, the verb *to think* denoted a state the speaker was in, and not an activity. In spite of this, it was used as an activity. The same concerns the verb phrase *to feel comfortable* which, again, denotes a state, and not an activity.

In the examples that we have seen so far, there was no obligatory context for the present progressive. The simple present simple could have been used in all occurrences, especially when the temporal adverbials of habituality were present. Because Slavic speakers transferred the L1 feature, namely the present tense and the imperfective aspect of a verb, they used the present progressive to fulfil this function.

Slavic speakers not only refer to the present progressive to convey habitual actions, they also use the present progressive to render events which began in the past and were still going on at the moment of speech. *The present progressive* thus begins to cover the domains of *the present perfect* and *the present perfect progressive* in its Eastern European manifestation. In the excerpts that we shall see below, certain adverbials of time create an obligatory context for the present perfect progressive. Slavic speakers, however, use the progressive aspect only. The following instances illustrate how the present progressive is used with the temporal adverbials *how long* and *over the last years*.

Figure 11-7. The use of the present progressive with the present perfect triggers

Adverb	Example
How long	(11-37) *It's it's not easy to ask somebody oh <u>how long are you studying English</u> if she or he just started to study English, okay.* (L1 Ukrainian) (11-38) *Mhm, yes, but it's a difference in how <u>long they are studying language</u> eh English language English language, and what is what is their using of English, eh mhm so.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In (11-37) and (11-38), both actions had their starting points in the past and were occurring at the utterance time. Both events belong to the predicate type of activities. The present perfect progressive could have been used to render this event because of the manner in which the event took place and accompanying temporal adverbials. In the following excerpt, the speaker uses a combination of tenses, i.e. *the present progressive* and *the present perfect*. The present progressive is used when the duration of an action is being emphasized. This is not in accordance with Standard English.

(11-39) *Oh, well <u>in last five years, I am researching this subject</u> as I mentioned eh, as I mentioned German tenses and in during <u>during this researching I have I have learnt</u> much more <u>in the five years</u> much more as as I as I could as I could as I could before these five years.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The verb phrase '*I am researching this subject*' is used in the progressive aspect. A temporal adverbial '*over the last five years*' requires the present perfect progressive though.

Furthermore, Slavic speakers extend the use of the present progressive to events which began in the past and were either completed or still happening during the utterance time. The use of *the present progressive* in *the present perfect* obligatory context is illustrated below:

(11-40) *Okay, eh, I am learning English eh le le <break/> <FLG> so lang </FLG> no, okay, eh at five at five years old I have started to learn English, and year eh eh I was in London one year at <FLG> elf </FLG, and <break/>* (L1 Russian).

In this excerpt, the speaker uses the English present progressive to render an event which began in the past and was still occurring. What we see in the production is the use of the

present progressive with the adverb *of*, which is not based on what is prescribed by Standard English. This use of the present progressive in place of the present perfect may be explained by the fact that the meaning the speaker wanted to convey required the use of the imperfective, in the present tense in particular. Supposedly, guided by the intention to present the situation in process, the speaker chooses the English present progressive, which, to his knowledge, the Russian imperfective verb is able to convey.

Another use of the present progressive is for rendering events, which will take place in the near future. This function of the present progressive is also found in Standard English. Let us consider the excerpt in (11-41):

(11-41) *He is finishing gymnasium number four now in this year and he want to enter Polytechnic Institute in Kiev.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Considering this example, it is possible to make three observations. First, the speaker wanted to render an action in the future, and for this reason, used the present progressive. Second, the speaker wanted to convey that the action took place at the utterance time, and because of this, he/she used the present progressive. Finally, what the speaker did (automatically and non-intentionally), was transfer a feature of a verb from his L1, i.e. the verb in the present tense and in the imperfective aspect, and the present progressive, in this speaker's opinion was able to convey it.

In conclusion, the present progressive was used in various contexts. In particular, it was used in the obligatory context of *the present simple*, *present perfect*, and *present perfect progressive*. The present progressive was used with predicate types of activities, states, and accomplishments. Taking an account of these observations, it is possible to assume that it is not the predicate type that determines the tense and aspect to be used, but transfer from L1 of particular features of a verb, namely of the present tense and the imperfective aspect.

The Present Perfect

Now, let us take a look at how *the present perfect* is used in the interviews with Slavic speakers. First, the data shows that the present perfect is used by speakers when referring to actions which have *definite points in time*, which is the domain of *the simple past* in Standard English. In the following excerpt (11-42), the present perfect is used to refer to an event,

which began in the past and was over in the past, hence, having *no reference to the utterance time*. The time of the event is also specified.

(11-42) *I've graduated this university in nineteen ninety nine, then I was a student of post-graduate programme and I've <break/>, after that I defended my thesis.* (L1 Ukrainian)

An over-extensive use of the present perfect was especially observed in the performance of those speakers who lived in Germany and used German on a daily basis. An immense L3 German interference may account for this development as speakers tended to transfer the tense form from German into English without necessary modifications as to the conditions of use. The excerpts below were elicited from the interviews with Slavic speakers who lived in Germany when the interviews were recorded. It is possible that in the excerpts (11-43), (11-44), and (11-45), the speaker intended to speak about the past-based events. Because of German interference, she chose the present perfect tense form, which is not appropriate for the past-based narratives in English.

(11-43) *They have learnt, they learn, but I think I think that eh somebody is somebody is speaking English well well as foreign language as foreign as a foreign language.* (L1 Ukrainian)

A Ukrainian speaker reports on the events occurring in the past as in '*they learned the language*'. The past simple, and not the present perfect, seems to be appropriate in this context. In the following two examples, the present perfect is also used in place of the simple past.

(11-44) *Ah, in Europe for example in Italy or in Spain and my last my last journey was in London, and I have to I have to I have to I have I have tried to speak English.* (L1 Ukrainian)

(11-45) *...and my supervisor of this diploma in Ukraine has offered me eh this subject, and I was interested because I like because I liked to research something what is not abstract, but something what is concrete.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In these two examples, a Ukrainian speaker, reports on the events which occurred in the past. In the first example, the speaker said that he made a trip to London and tried to speak English there. In the second example, she recalled her studies by mentioning the topic, which was

suggested to her for her PhD research. As in the previous instance, the past simple is more appropriate for fulfilling this function.

Apart from inappropriately using the tense, some speakers inconsistently use the perfect verbal morphology. The auxiliaries *to have* and *to be* are often interchangeably used, which causes the emergence of a new verbal construction *to be + the past participle*. To illustrate this, please, consider the utterance that emerged in the interview with a Ukrainian speaker of English:

(11-46) *This year <u>I am been to Canada</u>, to Toronto. So, actually, I have to say that I am really frequently using English.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The excerpts above have illustrated that Slavic speakers of English do not use the present perfect consistently; instead, they use it in the obligatory context of the simple past, even when the definite time is specified.

Concerning the anchoring of events in the present, the following can be said. The present simple, present progressive, and present perfect were used by the speakers to construct narrations. The functions for which these tense and aspect forms were used differed from their functions in Standard English. It was observed that making English verbs for aspect, the speakers seem to transfer such features of L1 verbs, as tense and aspect. The fact that two predicate types – states and accomplishments – emerge in the progressive aspect supports that assumption that it is the aspect in the speakers' L1, and not the predicate type, which has an effect on aspect marking.

11.4.2 The past-based anchoring

The past-based tenses occurring in the data were *the simple past* and *the past progressive*. In the introduction to this chapter, it was mentioned that Slavic speakers mark English verbs as perfective or imperfective, since aspect marking is obligatory in Slavic. In particular, they mark verbs associating the unmarked imperfective with the English progressive, and the marked perfective with the English simple past. In the following section, I will examine how speakers use the two past-based tenses – the simple past and the past progressive – in their spoken narrations.

The Simple Past

I will begin the discussion by showing how *the simple past* is used by Slavic speakers when they talk about events that occurred in the past. Taking an account of data, it becomes evident that *the simple past* in the Eastern European manifestation of English has the functions of (i) *the simple past,* and (ii) *the present perfect*.

The simple past refers to events, which have the past time reference; in other words, it appears in the simple past obligatory context. This use of the simple past is the same as in Standard English. The following two instances illustrate this:

(11-46) *I remember <u>I was rather young</u>, <u>I was</u> in eleventh form, and I was working as interpreter here, and my language was really poor.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Here, the speaker narrated events that occurred in the past. The verb *to be* in this context is in the perfective aspect in Ukrainian and Russian. The simple past is, therefore, used to convey this function. In example (11-47), a Ukrainian speaker recalled her experience with learning English. In doing so, she enumerated past activities with which she was involved, and the emotions associated with them.

(11-47) *<u>I tried</u> to do it myself<u>, I bought</u> a lot of books, self-study books, and <u>I tried</u> to improve my language by myself, because <u>I was not lucky</u> with my English teachers at school.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Similar to the previous example, the events reported here belong to the past. Given that the verbs *to try*, and *to buy* were in the perfective aspect in Ukrainian, the speaker used the simple past to render this. These two excerpts illustrate that the simple past is used for the past tense reference.

Although the use of the simple past in place of other tenses does not seem to threaten comprehensibility, there are contexts in which the correct rendering of the temporal and aspectual planes appears to be important for understanding. One of the examples to illustrate this is given in (11-48):

(11-48) *I hope I will get fractionation because one year ago, actually, not one year ago, this year, it was in March, when I participated in labs, and I did this actually liked this topic, because it's very interesting, and when <u>we did it we didn't see any fractionation</u>, we didn't do it properly, and my supervisor told me that it's also result,*

yah, but nevertheless they will continue, and this probably we have to study more.
(L1 Russian)

Here, the speaker recalled events that happened in the past, mentioning the time of the event. The simple past, therefore, seems to be acceptable and applicable for that. When the speaker went into the details of her explanation, it became clear that she only rendered a temporal plane, placing the events either in the past or in the non-past. From the listener's perspective, this may create comprehension problems. To be more specific, the clause '*when we did it, we did not see any fractionation*', may have two possible readings. First, they did not see any fractionation while doing the experiment; in this case, the action in progress, and not the result was meant. Second, the research team had not seen any fractionation when the experiment was over. In that case, the result, and not the action in progress, was meant. The speaker then concluded that the experiment was not done properly, which in a way resolved the ambiguity, suggesting that there were no results in the end. It could also, however, mean that the results were not seen in the process.

When there is a present time reference, the simple past is used to convey the functions of *the present perfect*. The actions in the following excerpts (11-49), and (11-50) have a present time reference, which requires the use of the present perfect. Slavic speakers, however, seem to ignore the present perfect triggers such as '*now*' and '*for*' and use the past simple.

(11-49) *Because <u>now I finished institute</u>, university, and I want to have some maybe Master.*
(L1 Ukrainian)

(11-50) *It's normally, and <u>I understood now</u> because year by year, you just have to live to saw how life is, it's very important, and knowledges in books, they are also important, but knowing about life, just life.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In examples (11-49) and (11-50), the events began in the past, and had relevance for the utterance time. In particular, the speaker '*finished the institute*', so at the utterance time, she was a graduate of the institute she was referring to. In the second example, the fact that the speaker had understood something was important and relevant for the utterance time; hence the present perfect would have been appropriate here, as well as, in the first example. In both excerpts, the verbs *to finish* and *to understand* are in the perfective aspect in Russian and Ukrainian.

367

In the next example, the speaker wanted to show that *'learning'* took time, and occurred over some time. The preposition *'for'* was used to show the duration of an event. In spite of the present perfect trigger *'for'*, the simple past was used. In this case, the verb *to learn* in Ukrainian is in the imperfective aspect in the past. See the example below:

(11-51) *I learnt it* in at school *for eleven years*.

The excerpts above have illustrated that Slavic speakers use the simple past to narrate events which happened in the past and in the recent past, conveyed by the simple past and present perfect in Standard English. In addition, a tendency toward use of the simple past with verbs which are perfective in the speakers' L1, was observed.

The Past Progressive

To render past events in the imperfective aspect, Slavic speakers use the English progressive. Similar to the present progressive, Slavic speakers use *the past progressive,* not to show the duration of an action, but convey what is in the imperfective aspect in Slavic.

The use of the past progressive does not entirely reflect its use in Standard English. The past progressive, in its Eastern European manifestation, thus extends its domain of use and appears in the non-obligatory progressive context. One of the extensions of the past progressive functions is rendering past events with no specification of duration or progressivity, thus conveying what is normally performed *by the simple past*. In utterance (11-52), for example, *the simple past* could as well be used in this context.

(11-52) *And then* <u>*I was working with languages*</u> *more, and then there was some period, especially now, my work is not really connected with language, and I understood that I have no practice, that is why I decided to go here.* (L1 Ukrainian)

As the verb *to work* in Ukrainian was in the past and in the imperfective aspect, a Ukrainian speaker marked it as imperfective. Using the past progressive aspect in this context, Slavic speakers, in such a way, extend its domain of use.

The verbs *to help* and *to speak* that emerge in the following two excerpts are in the past and in the imperfective aspect in Ukrainian. Both Ukrainian speakers of English intend to convey the imperfective aspect, and not necessarily the process, which was involved. The excerpts are illustrated below:

(11-53) *I didn't have problems of conversation with them, because they knew we are foreigners, so we just <break/> so, <u>they were helping us</u>, I would say.* (L1 Ukrainian)

A similar pattern is observed in (11-54).

(11-54) <u>*We were speaking about job, job opportunities in our country*</u> *and I said that if I wanted to become like lab assistant or something I had to spend a week on probation, and he said that was connected with criminal or something.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The occurrence of the verb *to speak* in the past progressive also supports the assumption that the speaker wanted to mark the verb as imperfective.

Whereas in the previous instances both the simple past and the past progressive were possible, in the following instances, there is an obligatory context for the simple past only, as the verbs in question belong to the predicate type of achievements that cannot be combined with the progressive aspect. Slavic speakers, however, mark these predicate types as progressive. Let us consider the following excerpts from the performance of Ukrainian speakers of English:

Figure 11-8. The use of achievements in the progressive aspect

Content verb	Example
To come from Scotland	(11-55*) And accent and that was different from actually way of speaking of <u>professor who was coming from Scotland</u>.* (L1 Ukrainian)
To travel to Pakistan	(11-56) <u>*I was travelling to Pakistan*</u> *and <NLU> Arabsky Emiraty </NLU>, Dubai and even I have to speak <break/>, when I was speaking very good English language, or with good pronunciation, they can't understand me.* (L1 Ukrainian)
To visit exhibitions	(11-57) *And sometimes, <u>I was visiting some exhibitions in business</u> and I try to speak English, because when I am speaking English they are more polite with me, they are more polite with me, they are thinking maybe I am Englishman you know*. (L1 Ukrainian)

In all of the examples, the past progressive was used in the past simple obligatory context. Such predicate types as, '*to come from Scotland* as in (11-55), '*to travel from Pakistan'* as in

(11-56) and '*to visit exhibitions*' as in (11-57), are neither durative nor unbound in English. They correspond to what Vendler called a predicate type of achievements (Vendler 1957). In Slavic languages, however, verbs '*приезжать/priezzhat'/to come*' '*путешествовать*/puteshestvovat'/*to travel*' and '*посещать/poseshat'/to visit*' are imperfective. It appears that when marking these verbs as progressive, speakers rely on the lexical aspect of these verbs.

Not only is a predicate type of achievements used in the progressive aspect, but a predicate type of states is used, as well. This manifestation of the use of English by Slavic speakers is illustrated in two examples below.

Figure 11-9. The use of states in the progressive aspect

Content verb	Example
To know	(11-58) *I was knowing that my grammar is terrible, but they understood me and it was very pleasant for me*. (L1 Ukrainian)
To dream	(11-59) *But I always was dreaming to have some work which connected with international </break>*. (L1 Ukrainian)

Verbs *to dream* and *to know* are states, according to Vendlerian classification, of predicate types (Vendler 1957); normally, they are not used in the progressive aspect, as English does not allow states to be durative and unbound. In the speakers' first language – Ukrainian – these verbs are in the past, and in the imperfective aspect. In addition to this, they are durative. I assume that marking these two verbs, Slavic speakers transfer the feature from the L1 into English. This, in turn, results in the fact that the progressive aspect is used in the non-obligatory context.

Another feature of the past progressive, which is worth mentioning, is that it is used in place of *the present perfect* and *the past perfect*, when the event began in the past, and was continuing until the moment of speaking. The past progressive is even used with the temporal adverbial *for*, which shows the duration of an event. See the two examples from the data:

(11-60) *It was like, I was working more than half an year, and there was no shop.* (L1 Ukrainian)

(11-61) *Okay, English is my fi, my second foreign language is my second foreign language, and mhm, I think so that I was studying English at the university, these six semester,*

six semester but I knew that that this studying at the university was as a ba, as a basic. (L1 Ukrainian)

The events *to work* and *to study* began in the past and were still continuing at the moment of speaking. In the first excerpt, the duration of an event is specified by '*more than half a year*'. In the second excerpt, it is specified by means of '*six semesters*'. The speakers, in spite of this, use the past progressive as they mark the verbs as imperfective in the past.

11.4.3 Shift of tenses

In spite of the fact that speakers use the past simple to talk about past-anchored events, the tense switches from the past to the present and from the present to the past are very common in the non-native speaker discourse. We shall now look at a passage, in which these temporal shifts occurred. In defining the term *tense shift*, I largely rely on the definition proposed by Maya Hickmann (2005). In Hickmann's sense, '*a shift is the use of all tense markings, which do not correspond to the main anchoring, i.e. shifts to the present when the main anchoring time is the past and correspondingly, shift to the past when the main anchoring time is the present*'. To take a closer look at a temporal shift occurring in the spoken narration, let us consider in (11-62) an interview excerpt of Tanya, a Ukrainian study participant:

(11-62) *I am not just a director, which came to the place. I was something like organizing this is business, because the owners, they invited me and one person, one boy, and they said <quote> you will be here one month and after one month we'll <break/> <quote/>, it was one year ago, <quote> we'll decide whom of you we'll <quote/>, something like left, <quote> who is better <quote/>. And this boy is really <break/>, he had big experience in furniture business, because he was working in Kiev, he was a director of such magazine, and I wasn't. And then, we begin to work, and we was good, two of us, but we was very different, you know. We do different work, so we like combine each other. And then I just begin from zero, so I had something like some place, where I can make this shop and I has <break/>, this person, this owner they have their own production, but they said, in this magazine have to be their production and some other. We have to find someone. So we visited different exhibitions, we analyze our <break/> the whole city, which shops we have. We found the thing, which are not <break/>, which wasn't represented earlier here. And in two days, this boy, my partner, he is not now my partner, because he is a*

director of a production area of this firm, and *I am* <unclear> </unclear>. So everything, which is in this magazine *I ordered*, and so, it's really interesting because it's like <break/> *I was* <break/> *don't know, the birth of this magazine was by my some, it was like, I was working more than half an year*, and th*ere was no shop*. *I just was organizing everything*. And at the first steps, *it was not easy, it was not a lot of people, people don't know, we spend (spent) a lot of money*, and *there was not* a lot of salary, but now *it's going better* and better.

The question asked by the interviewer '*How did you get started in business*?' was anchored in the past and was intended to elicit temporal-aspectual markers in the narration grounded in the past. In this passage, the speaker reported about getting started in furniture business.

The speaker began the past-based narration by reporting the current state of affairs, which was anchored in the present simple '*I am not just a director which came to the place*'. The speaker then introduced a past-based plane, by means of the past progressive, which she used to describe her exact tasks in the initial stage of business organization '*I was organizing this business*'. Reporting the direct speech of her employer and the future actions they were going to take, she reverted to the future simple '*you will be here one month and after one month we'll decide whom of you we'll left*'. The speaker then took '*here and now*' setting and mentioned that she referred to past events, namely to what happened a year before '*It was one year ago*'. She then continues her narration by creating an image of '*a boy*', her colleague, and reporting what he was then '*this boy is really…*'. A tense switch from the simple present to the simple past '*he had big experience in furniture business*' was followed by the past progressive '*he was working in Kiev*'. These events were then followed by a personal comment in the past simple '*he was a director of such magazine and I was not*'. Subsequent switches of tenses as in 'w*e have to find someone, so we visited different exhibitions, we analyse our* <break/> *the whole city, which shops we have*' made it difficult for the listener to follow and construct a discourse that is coherent.

The tense shifts from the past to the present and vice versa were observed in the entire passage. The past simple passages were followed by the present-based passages when the speaker wanted to comment on the current state of affairs, as in '*do different work, so we like combine each other*' or was unable to retrieve the past verbal morphology or did not see the need to do so, as in the following excerpt: '*and then I just begin from zero, so I had something like some place, where I can make this shop and I has* <break/>*, this person, this owner they*

have their own production, but they said, in this magazine have to be their production and some other.'

To summarize, in the past-based narrations (more occurrences of the past tenses than of present) there are frequent switches of temporal planes, as shown above.

11.5 Some morphosyntactic features of Eastern European English

The divergence from Standard English was not only observed in the expression of temporality and in the use of temporal and aspectual devices, but in syntactic constructions, as well. In the following section, I will discuss the divergence from Standard English in the use of such structures as *the conditional clauses*, *the subject-verb agreement*, *the omission of the third person singular –s,* and *the omission of the copula 'be'*.

The way Slavic speakers use the conditional *-if clauses* is not in accordance with Standard English. Given that Slavic languages allow the use of the future perfective in the conditional clauses, Slavic speakers transfer this feature into English. The excerpts, in (11-63) and (11-64), illustrate that speakers used the future simple in place of the present simple, as required by the temporal system of English.

(11-63) *I think that it's important to communicate with both of them, but first of all <u>if it will be necessary</u> for my daily life and for my improvement in professional spheres, I think.* (L1 Ukrainian)

(11-64) *Well, of course, <u>if you will ask me</u>, like let's a bit correct your question. <u>If you will ask me</u>, if you wanna to improve your English, with whom would you prefer<u>? If if it would be</u> possible to meet just to prepare the pre-proposal* (L1 Ukrainian).

In these two excerpts, the two Ukrainian speakers use conditional *–if clauses*. In the example (11-63), the speaker used the verb form in the future simple '*it will be'*, and in the excerpt (11-64), '*if you will ask me'*. In both cases, the use of the future simple in the conditional clauses was not in accordance with the grammar norms of English. In the next example (11-65), a Ukrainian speaker simplifies the construction of the subjunctive mood:

(11-65) *I think that maybe <u>it will be very good if we can</u> communicate in English not with each other, but with native speakers, first of all. (L1 Ukrainian).*

Instead of using the subjunctive mood '*it were good, if we could communicate*', the speaker used the future simple in the main clause, and the present simple in the main clause. By doing this, the speaker unintentionally simplified the formation of the subjunctive.

In the previous studies on ELF (Seidlhofer 2006: 40; Cogo & Dewey 2012), the omission of *the third-person singular -s* was reported to be one of the features shared by speakers in spite of their first language. Contrary to the results of the previous studies on ELF (Seidlhofer 2006: 40), my data does not provide compelling evidence for this development. It is obvious that in the performance of some speakers, there are more instances of the omission of *the third-person singular -s*, whereas in the performance of other speakers, this omission is less frequent. The examples, in (11-66), illustrate the contexts of in which *the omission of the third-person singular –s* takes place:

(11-66) *So, and also culturally former <u>Soviet Union</u>, despite of some many ideological differences <u>belong</u> to European civilization.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In this example, there is no agreement between the subject in the third person singular '*the Soviet Union*' and the verb '*belong*'. The same is observed in the excerpts from the interview with a Ukrainian and Polish speaker of English:

(11-67) *If, for example, I see that <u>the person begin</u> too think too much, its mean that she not very fluent, especially in Italy, to me it is <break/> they are not speaking fluently.* (L1 Ukrainian)

(11-68) *When we met and she told me actually <u>she need</u> someone to take care of the international activities.* (L1 Polish)

In (11-68), a Polish speaker did not mark the verb *need* for *the third-person singular*. This causes the emergence of the invariant present tense form in place of the present simple. Let us take a look at another example, illustrating the same feature:

(11-69) *I understand that I have some pronunciation, <u>which mean</u> foreigner pronunciation, that I am not a native speaker.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In the example (11-69), the speaker wanted to convey an event that occurs regularly, therefore, it is possible that the speaker intended to use the simple present. Failing to maintain

the agreement between the subject and predicate, the speaker *omits the third-person singular –s* in '*the person begin*', and '*which mean*'.

In (11-70), there is no agreement between a personal pronoun '*he*' and the auxiliary verb '*do*' in the negative form:

(11-70) *I think if my husband will be really <break/>, <u>if he really don't want</u> that I go abroad then maybe I'll enter some international institute, which is situated in Kiev.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The few examples that I have shown do not serve as compelling evidence for Seidlhofer's finding, as there were many instances in the interviews when the agreement between subject and verb was maintained, and the verb in the present simple was inflected for *the third-person singular –s*. This raises the question of why some speakers preserve *the third-person singular –s* inflection, and others omit it. Possibly, the emergence of this feature, as well as other features that I have previously shown, is controlled by *the speakers' English proficiency, the exposure to the language, the degree of automaticity that English is used with,* and *the speakers' performance requirements – fluency and grammatical correctness*. Considering the nature of ELF encounters, it becomes clear that the involvement of speakers in these encounters is not controlled by the variables mentioned above. The speakers come from the various linguistic, educational, and social backgrounds, and interact with different levels of English proficiency, exposure to English and previous encounters, the degree of automaticity and their requirements to performance. The interplay of the variable mentioned above may often cause the simplified use of the language that may, in turn, appear to be the (intentional) simplification of English.

Another feature that occasionally emerges in the performance of some speakers is *the absence of agreement in number*. The examples below illustrate this:

(11-71) *Sometime I know that <u>there is not such words</u> in English.* (L1 Ukrainian)

In this example, we are faced with an instance, when the existential construction '*there is*' is used with plural subjects '*words*'. In the next example, there is an instance of generalization of *the third-person singular –s*, as it is used with the plural subject '*people*':

(11-72) _People who speaks English from Australia, for instance, it's really hard, for me it's easy to understand persons who are coming from Great Britain, who speak..._ (L1 Ukrainian).

The next example, in (11-73), illustrates that there is often no consistency in the use of agreement and/or in the omission _of the third-person singular –s_. Even in one utterance, it is possible to see the invariant tense form due to zero marking of the third person singular, and the present simple and the marking of _the third-person singular_:

(11-73) _I think that it makes a difference for me, because native speakers, they <break/> the communication with them give you the opportunity to appreciate, evaluate your ability to speak and not only to speak, but be understandable for them._ (L1 Ukrainian)

Deletion of '_be'_ is another characteristic feature of _agreement_ in the spoken performance of Slavic speakers. This development may be explained by the absence of this feature in the speakers' first languages. The two excerpts from the data illustrate this:

(11-74) _He like more quiet, because he is maybe he is a director, he is travelling a lot, and when came <unclear> </unclear> weekends, he will just calm, and for me weekends, is always some <break/> doing something._ (L1 Ukrainian)

(11-75) _They can't really hear my mistakes, because, you know, they like me._ (L1 Ukrainian)

In both examples, a Ukrainian speaker deleted the copula '_be'_ in the phrase '_he is like more quiet'_, and, and '_they are like me'_. As the copula '_be'_ is not required by Ukrainian, the speaker generalized this rule and applied it to English.

The emergence of these features is not explained by the speakers' first languages only, but by the speakers' performance requirements, as well. The two excerpts are from the interview with the speaker who claimed that fluency was more important than grammatical correctness. Paying less attention to the grammatical correctness and more to the requirement of fluency may account for the emergence of some features.

Another feature observed in the use of English by Slavic speakers is _the emergence of the present simple construction_ of the kind '_to be + infinitive without the particle to'_. The occurrence of this construction may be accounted for by the generalization of the rules for the

formation of the progressive aspect and application of them to the present simple. This gives rise to the following two patterns of the same construction: (i) *to be +infinitive without the particle 'to'*, and (ii) *to be+ the verb in the present simple.* See the emerging constructions below:

(11-76) *And it's all <u>the problems are influence</u> on the quality of education, the quality of diploma.* (L1 Ukrainian)

(11-77) *No, with those who <u>I am</u> right now <u>communicate</u> we do not have any problems.* (L1 Ukrainian)

(11-78) *And <u>it's seem</u> that we will be growing farther.* (L1 Ukrainian)

The following constructions, therefore, are emerging: '*the problems are influence*, '*I am communicate*', and '*it is seem*'. Judging from the consistency with which these constructions were used, it is possible that the subject determines the form of '*be'* to be used. In the next example, the auxiliary verb *to be* in the third person singular is followed by the verb in *the third-person* as in '*it's sounds really'*:

(11-79) *Maybe <u>it's sounds</u> really not polite, but I am thinking that we better do some practical things then just to waste five years at university, without doing anything.* (L1 Ukrainian)

Above, I have shown some morphosyntactic features that emerged in the spoken performance of Slavic speakers of English. The emergence of some features, such as *the use of the future simple in the conditional clauses* or *the deletion of the copula*, appeared to be the result of the transfer from the speakers' first languages, hence, these features are L1-specific. The emergence of other features, such as *the omission of the third person –s* and *the absence of agreement*, however, cannot be attributed to the speakers' first languages; hence, they are not L1-specific. Such factors, as the level of proficiency, the degree of automaticity with which English is used, the exposure to the language, and the requirements of performance may contribute to, and cause the emergence of the features that are not L1-specific.

11.6 Summary

In this chapter, I showed how Slavic speakers express temporal and aspectual relations in spoken production. A detailed look at the distribution of tenses in non-past and past narratives revealed that speakers do not make a full use of the available repertoire of the English tenses.

Two general tendencies are observed here. First, as the category of aspect is a grammatical category, and the aspect marking is obligatory in Slavic, Slavic users of English tend to mark verbs for perfective and imperfective, falsely associating Slavic perfective with the English simple past, and the Slavic imperfective with the English progressive aspect. Second, as the English progressive is used by Slavic speakers for rendering imperfective actions, it emerges in the progressive non-obligatory context, for instance with the predicate types of *achievements* and *states*, and with habitual and repetitive events. This, in turn, leads to the overuse of the English progressive. The present-based tenses used for the narrations were: *the simple present*, *the present progressive*, and *the present perfect*. The present progressive was used to convey what was imperfective in Slavic and the present perfect occurred more often in the production of those study participants who were in Germany when the interviews were recorded, and thus, were under the influence of the German language. The past progressive and the past simple were basic tenses which rendered past-based events. The past progressive, as mentioned earlier, conveyed what was imperfective in Slavic, and the past simple conveyed the perfective aspect. The predicate types, therefore, did not seem to influence the selection of a particular tense form. Tense shifts from the present to the past and the past to the present were frequent.

Other features that were occasionally observed were the *deletion of 'be'*, *the absence of agreement*, and *the formation of the if-clauses with the auxiliary verb 'will'*. A restricted number of cases I looked at, however, do not allow for the claim that these features are unique to Slavic speakers. Further studies, examining this domain, are necessary to provide compelling evidence for or against this development.

In conclusion, Slavic speakers of English did not make a full use of the available tense repertoire. Figure 11-10 below summarizes the functions of English tenses:

Figure 11-10. The use and functions of English tenses in spoken performance of Slavic speakers

Tenses		Standard English								
		Present Simple	Present Prog.	Present Perfect	Past Simple	Past Prog.	Past Perfect	Present Perfect Prog.	Past Perfect Prog.
Eastern European English	Present Simple	+		+	+				
	Present Prog.	+	+	+				+	
	Present Perfect			+	+ L3 German				
	Past Simple	+		+	+				
	Past Prog.			+	+ states	+		+	
	Past Perfect								

The table shows that the functions of tense in the Eastern European use of English have become more flexible, where the domains of their use were concerned. The English temporal-aspectual system thus seemed to be simplified and reduced in its Eastern European manifestation.

Conclusion

The use of English by Slavic speakers, in the contexts of ELF communication, was not studied before. Because of this, I examined this domain of the use of English in a small-scale study with fifteen native speakers of Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Slovak. Examining the use of English by Slavic speakers, I addressed the following four major areas: (i) the speakers' attitude toward ELF and ELF-related issues; (ii) the speakers' requirements for their performance in English; (iii) the speakers' strategic behaviour, and (iv) the emerging lexical and grammatical features. The main research questions were:

1. What is the attitude of Slavic speakers of English toward English as a lingua franca?
2. Do Slavic speakers of English impose certain requirements on their ELF performance? What are these requirements?
3. Is there any interrelation between speaker-specific characteristics and self-imposed performance requirements? Are certain speaker characteristics likely to emerge in particular requirement profiles?
4. Does the speakers' performance comply with imposed performance requirements? What implications does it have for ELF performance?
5. How are self-imposed performance requirements related to strategies used by speakers? What patterns of speakers' strategic behaviour are likely to emerge?
6. What linguistic features – lexical and grammatical – can characterize the use of English by Slavic speakers in the contexts of ELF communication?

To answer the research questions posed, it was important to define the types of data needed and the research methodology applied. Since *the first interest* lay in the investigation of the spontaneous spoken production of the Slavic speakers and the linguistic features that emerge when English was used by Slavic speakers, *the spontaneous spoken production data* was one of the data types collected. The spoken production data was collected by means of *the semi-structured video-recorded interview*. *The second interest* lay in understanding how speakers assess themselves in the encounters that require the use of English, what requirements they impose on their performance, and how they evaluate lingua franca communication. To answer these questions, it was necessary to have access to *the introspective data* that contained *the speakers' self-evaluative comments*. The collection of *the introspective data* was embedded in

the collection of the spontaneous production data elicited in the interview. The third main type of data was *the test of written proficiency – the Global Test of English –* that tested the speakers' *correctness rate*, i.e. competence in the structure of English, including such categories, as *tense* and *aspect,* and the speakers' *certainty rate*, i.e. their perception of what is and is not correct according to Standard English. The grounded theory research methodology that posits that the scrutiny of the data should be done with increased awareness and theoretical sensitivity, as well as openness to the emerging new categories, was applied in the research.

Before I approached the research questions, I made an attempt to place my study on *the Eastern European manifestations of English as a Lingua Franca* in the research framework of World Englishes and ELF, explaining this by the fact that the PhD project had two main research interests: (i) the emerging linguistic features, the interest that falls within the domain of World Englishes and language variation, and (ii) the characteristics features of ELF behaviour, including the attitude toward ELF, performance requirements and the realization of them in the interviews, and the strategic behaviour. *Chapter 1* thus placed the current study in the research framework and reviewed some of the previous research done in the field. In *Chapter 2*, I introduced factors that possibly influence the speakers' performance in ELF encounters. Taking into account the results of the second language acquisition studies and multilingualism, I proposed that such factors as (i) *the speakers' performance requirements*; (ii) *L2 English knowledge*; (iii) *knowledge of previous languages*; (iv*) the attitude to ELF*, and (v) *literal creativity* play a role in how the speakers perform in ELF encounters and contribute to the diversity and richness of English used for lingua franca purposes, as well. In *Chapter 3*, I presented the six research questions in greater detail and introduced *the Personal Profile approach* and the grounded theory methodology used in the study. Drawing a line between the research questions and grounded theory methodology, I attempted to explain why the application of this method may be beneficial for the studies on language variation. Describing the research design, I presented the speakers and the video-interviewing procedure, summarizing the interview questions and the research objectives. *Chapter 4* was intended to answer research question one, and give the reader an insight into *the attitude of Slavic speakers toward ELF and ELF-related issues*, such as (i) *the English learning standards*, (ii) *difficulties and preferences in communication with native and non-native English speakers*, (iii) *'perceived' negative and positive aspects of ELF communication.* The results of the survey have shown that American English, as model for

learning English, was preferred by the study participants. The preference for a particular native variety of English was accounted for by objective factors, such as previous encounters with the variety and the frequency of contacts with its speakers, as well as subjective factors, as '*American English sounds better to me*', and '*British English is pathetic*'. All speakers recognized the unique status of English as compared to other languages, and were positive about its use in lingua franca encounters. Interestingly, acknowledging that English is mostly used for the communication between non-native English speakers, Slavic speakers neither wanted to have a non-native English variety as a role model, nor named non-native speakers as preferred communication partners. The disadvantages, in the use of English seen by Slavic speakers, were the neglect of other languages and the simplification and reduction of English. In *Chapter 5*, I examined research question two of whether Slavic speakers of English impose requirements on their performance. Going into the details of the participants' profiles, I highlighted the features of their requirement profiles. Examining the speakers' introspective comments, it became clear some speakers gave preference to fluency in communication, whereas others gave preference to grammatical correctness, and yet others found it difficult to take the two requirements apart. Other emerging individual differences concerned assessing oneself as a learner or non-learner, being satisfied or dissatisfied with one's own English, and preferences toward native or non-native speaker interlocutors.

Examining research question three, I compared the self-imposed performance requirements with other features of speakers' English learning profile in *Chapter 6*. I observed that all fluency-focused speakers and 75% of correctness-focused were satisfied with their English. Among both the fluency- and correctness-focused group, there were speakers who assessed themselves as learners of English. These speakers preferred to have interactions either with English native speakers, or with both native and non-native speakers of English. A non-native speaker alone as a type of ELF interlocutor was not mentioned by either group. Those speakers, who did not assess themselves as learners of English, still claimed to be satisfied with their competence in English. The non-learners named native and non-native English speakers as possible communication partners. However, speakers who gave preference to non-native speakers of English seemed to avoid contact situations where their English competence could appear insufficient. Considering these features in relation to the speakers' scores on *certainty* and *grammatical correctness* in *Chapter 7*, I observed that speakers who focused on correctness and did not consider themselves learners of English, tended to mark their answers as correct, even when they were incorrect. They thus tended to

overestimate their competence in English. The fluency-focused and the fluency-and correctness-focused speakers, who did not consider themselves learners of English, showed less certainty in marking their answers as correct, even when their answers were correct. Thus, the speakers who claimed to focus on fluency in performance underestimated their English skills. Finally, the two speakers who focused on correctness and assessed themselves as language learners were able to objectively evaluate their knowledge of correctness, as there were no differences in their scores on certainty and grammatical correctness. The emerging patterns possibly indicate that the speakers' self-perception and the self-imposed requirements in communication have an impact on how speakers perform and assess themselves in English. Whether the speakers consider themselves as learners or non-learners of English, whether they orient themselves toward fluency or correctness may influence on how they act in various situations. Since fluency and grammatical correctness appeared to be the main intentions the speakers wanted to fulfil in their performance, it was interesting to see whether these self-imposed performance requirements indeed manifested in the speakers' interview performance. In *Chapter 8*, I examined the interview performance of fifteen speakers in relation to the self-imposed requirements of grammatical correctness and fluency, attempting to answer research question four. Adapting the list of the grammatical features of newly emerging varieties of English, I examined the speakers' spoken production against these grammatical features. As a result, all fluency-focused speakers managed to meet this requirement, whereas in the correctness-focused group, there were speakers who managed to realize this, and those who did not. Speakers, who claimed to give priority to both fluency and grammatical correctness, managed to meet one of the self-imposed requirements – either fluency or grammatical correctness.

With regard to the speakers' strategic behaviour, it was observed that most of the speakers used strategies of performance to meet their performance requirements. Attempting to answer, in *Chapter 9,* research question five, I examined the distribution of performance strategies in the interviews and showed that the individual strategic behaviour was likely to be affected by the requirements to the overall performance rather than specific tasks and problems that the participants tried to solve. Distinguishing between the strategies oriented toward fluency – *ad hoc coinage*, *paraphrase*, *restructuring,* and *transfer* from '*available'* languages Russian and German – and the strategies oriented toward grammatical correctness – *reduction of form and function*, and *self-correction*, I observed that fluency-oriented strategies were not only preferred by the fluency-focused, but also by the correctness-focused

speakers, as well. Moreover, such fluency-oriented strategies, as *restructuring* and *paraphrase* emerged in the performance of speakers who met the requirement of correctness. Fluency-oriented strategies, therefore, served the function of improving grammatical correctness and fluency. With regard to the strategy of *reduction*, it emerged predominantly in the performance of correctness-focused speakers. *Self-correction*, in turn, emerged in the production of speakers who focused on correctness and considered themselves learners of English. Generalizing about the strategic behaviour of speakers in *Chapter 10*, I observed that the use of such performance strategies, as *code-switching* to Russian, Ukrainian, and German, *transfer* from Russian, Ukrainian and German with or without morphological and phonological modifications, and *paraphrase* generated the emergence of new collocations and single lexical items. Giving insights into the lexical mosaic of Slavic English put forward in research question six, I concluded that although some of the innovative lexical forms could be attributed to the individual differences in the use of performance strategies, the following tendencies were still observed: (i) the novel expressions and collocations arose because speakers used strategies of performance, such as above mentioned, and, (ii) creativity was often involved in the use of the strategies of performance.

Approaching the question of the distinct grammatical features of Slavic English, posed in research question six, I observed that the spoken performance of Slavic speakers seemed to display distinct temporal and aspectual features. Examining the distribution of *tense* and *aspect* in spoken narrations in *Chapter 11*, I concluded that Slavic speakers of English did not make a full use of the available repertoire of the English tenses. Two general tendencies became evident. First, as the category of aspect is a grammatical category, and the aspect marking is obligatory in Slavic, Slavic users of English tended to mark verbs as perfective and imperfective, associating Slavic perfective with the English simple past, and the Slavic imperfective with the English progressive aspect. Second, as Slavic speakers used the English progressive for rendering imperfective actions, the progressive aspect emerged in the progressive non-obligatory context with the predicate types of *achievements* and *states*, and with *habitual* and *repetitive events,* causing the overuse of the progressive aspect. The tenses for anchoring the events in the present were: *the simple present*, *the present progressive*, and *the present perfect*. The present progressive was used to convey what was imperfective in Slavic and the present perfect occurred often in the production of those study participants who were in Germany when the interviews were recorded, and whose use of tenses was influenced by German. The tenses for anchoring the events in the past were: *the past progressive* and

past simple. *The past progressive*, as mentioned earlier, conveyed what was imperfective in Slavic, and *the past simple* conveyed the Slavic perfective aspect. Clearly, the functions of the tenses, in its Eastern European manifestation, have become less rigid, and the domains of use, more flexible. The temporal and aspectual system of English seemed to be simplified to meet the speakers' communicative needs.

Considering the lexical and grammatical features of Eastern European manifestations of ELF reveals that the emergence of some features is rooted in the speakers' consideration of performance requirements (*fluency* and *grammatical correctness*), the use of such performance strategies, as *code-switching* and *transfer*, and *the degree of literal creativity*. Due to immense individual variation, the use of English for lingua franca purposes by Slavic speakers cannot be claimed to be entirely homogeneous. At the same time, it can be characterized by the presence of such common tendencies as, the use of performance strategies, the simplification of temporal and aspectual system, and creativity. It appears that creativity, applied to the strategies of performance, generates an infinite number of new single lexical items and collocations that contribute to the richness and multifacetedness of English used for lingua franca purposes. Thus, the use of English by Slavic speakers in the context of ELF communication shares features, such as *the requirements of performance*, *the use of performance strategies*, and varies depending on the language-specific parameters, such as *the representation* of *tense* and *aspect*. Taking these results into account, it becomes necessary to thoroughly examine the domains of morphosyntax, morphosemantics, and lexis to provide compelling evidence for this development.

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Appendices

A: Interview questions

1. Can you introduce yourself?
2. What is your name?
3. What do you do?
4. Where do you come from?
5. What is your educational background?
6. Why and how did you learn English?
7. Where do you use English?
8. Does knowing English facilitate your work?
9. Is your English sufficient for your needs?
10. Do you consider yourself a learner of English?
11. What makes you think so?
12. Are there any areas of English that you would like to improve? What are these areas?
13. What standard of English do you aim at?
14. Can you evaluate someone's English?
15. What do you base your judgement on?
16. How important is it for you to be correct?
17. Does it depend on the communicative situation you are in?
18. How important is it for you to be fluent?
19. Is it sufficient to be understood?
20. Does it make a difference to you to communicate with native and non-native speakers of English? Why?
21. Who do you prefer – native or native speakers – as interlocutors?
22. What is your worst fear when you communicate with native speakers of English (non-native speakers of English)?
23. What is your attitude to English as a lingua franca or English as an international language? Do you see any advantages (disadvantages) in it?

24. What do you do now?

25. Why did you decide to become a (…)?

26. Has someone or something influenced your decision to become a (…)?

27. How did you get started?

28. What did you do to get the project (if applicable)?

29. How did you become interested in the project (if applicable)?

30. What do you like to do in your leisure time?

31. Are there any things that brought about change in your life over the last few years? How have they changed you?

1. Ukrainian speakers

1. Alena G.

<u>Elena</u>: Okay, first of all, can you introduce yourself and say where you come from?

<u>Alena</u>: My name is <u>Alena</u> and I come from Ukraine. I was born in Chernivtsi.

<u>Elena</u>: Could you, please, tell me why and how you learnt English?

<u>Alena</u>: I started learning English at school so, I learnt it in at school for eleven years, and then I went to the university to the department of foreign languages to learn English, and now I am teaching at the university. I've been teaching for two years, and again English.

<u>Elena</u>: Okay, so, it's necessary to know English for your work.

<u>Alena</u>: Yes, of course, because I am teaching English to students. English as a <break/>, phi I am a phi philologist, so to say.

<u>Elena</u>: Okay, are there some areas in English that you want to improve?

<u>Alena</u>: You mean teaching English or?

<u>Elena</u>: Learning English, for you. Do you feel that you are still learning English?

<u>Alena</u>: Of course. Every day I am learning something new, like new words, and when I started teaching English I understood that when you start teaching that's the way to, you begin learning language really, because then you understand everything, and if you don't understand anything perfectly, then you can't teach.

<u>Elena</u>: and what <break/> do you anything specific to learn English? Do you have some specific strategies or techniques?

<u>Alena</u>: No, now I don't have specific strategies or techniques. I usually learn something new from Internet, from the Internet, some articles, something new from the articles I look for in the internet for my research paper. That's the way I learn something new, or grammar books, some English grammar books.

Elena: Okay, can you judge someone's English, when you hear the person for the first time, for example?

Alena: I usually do that at the university when students for the first time, and they want to enter our department, sometimes I am asked to ask questions to to and to judge and to say whether this person can enter the department whether he has capacities and capacities for being a philologist.

Elena: And what do you base your judgement on?

Alena: Well, usually I <break/> when I ask general questions, questions about hobbies, questions about interests, I can judge whether the person can understand how to answer questions and when I answer something difficult and if the person can answer difficult question, at least formulate the statement, some difficult statement, then that person has some philological thinking, some logical thinking that shows that he or she can become a linguist.

Elena: So, it's more based on understanding what you are saying and responding then.

Alena: Yes, when learning language languages understanding and comprehension is very important.

Elena: Okay, and if you mean a person on the street, for example, and you hear him or sh, her speaking English, can you judge that person, who is not a philologist, not a linguist?

Alena: Usually in Chernivtsi, I don't think I can meet such a person in the street, and if I hear someone in the street speaking English that would be a foreigner, usually. And if students speak English in the street that's just for fun, and they are <break/> have, they are just joking.

Elena: Okay. How important is it for you to be correct, when you speak English and when you write? And does it depend on the communicative situation that you are in?

Alena: Well, for the teacher it's very important, because I feel awfully embarrassed when I make a mistake and in the classroom, and I understand that I've made a mistake. And then, well, at first I didn't correct myself, because I thought that would be incorrect, but now, I try to say everything correctly after my incorrect statement, and what do I?

Elena: And does it depend on the communicative situation, does it mean, for example that if you are on the street or with the friends then you speak in a different way?

Alena: Well, if I am with friends or with some Americans, I don't think I will correct myself or I will feel embarrassed, even if I speak to a native speaker.

Elena: Okay, how important?

Alena: And in the classroom I will be

Elena: more correct

Alena: confused.

Elena: And how important is fluency for you? What do you place higher fluency or correctness?

Alena: Fluency or correctness. Mhm, it depends upon your profession, I believe. Again, for the teacher correctness is very important and fluency is important for interpreters, I think. It is important for some businessmen, some people who deal with politics, something like that. That is fluency. And correctness, well, correctness in politics and economics is important in documents, I believe but when you speak, of course, it is important, but not that important, gramma grammatical correctness is not very important in this case.

Elena: Okay, do you think your English is sufficient for your needs?

Alena: Mhm, well, usually I can prepare it to my classes, and I think when I can prepare it that is sufficient and if I need to communicate with someone in the street, or just with friends, it's more than sufficient, but for the classroom, it depends upon the topic, actually.

Elena: Okay, thanks. Does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English or non-native speakers? And where lies the difference for you?

Alena: I don't have a <break/> that barrier, that <break/> I think I used to have it when I was a student; it was difficult for me to think of a question to ask a foreigner or something like that. But now, I don't have it, perhaps, because I speak with students every day I

communicate with many people and I always speak English, and I don't have this barrier. And what is important for me in communication, yeah?

Elena: No. Do you see a difference in communication with native speakers and non-native speaker but for you?

Alena: When I speak to native speakers I know that I have to speak only English, and they will not understand me if I speak Ukrainian, and non-native speakers, well, I can explain to them something in Ukrainian and I had an experience of teaching a Black American, no, he was not American, Black man, he came from Denmark and he was also teaching in the English courses and when he came, I understood that he doesn't understand Russian or Ukrainian as well as my other students and it was very difficult for me, the first two classes, when I had to explain to him the meaning of abstract notions and I was, really a difference, because he wouldn't understand what is embarrassment, for example, or what is, well, I don't remember the words, but anyway, I could not explain such feelings, because confusion, embarrassment and shame

Elena: Yeah

Alena: They seem somehow similar and when you try to explain the difference <break/> you can explain the difference for example, between noun and a verb, and in the usage, but difference between feelings, it was very difficult, and that was primarily <break/> because that is the world view, perhaps, that we have and they have. He was Black and he grew up in Denmark, and he came to Ukraine to study medicine, and then he wanted to study English as well and that was, actually, first week was horrible, but then I got used to it and

Elena: to his kind of language

Alena: To his kind of language, and he knew a bit of Russian, but it was not sufficient to understand every word.

Elena: Okay, another question <break/> if I formulate it this way, when you communicate with native speakers and non-native speakers do you accommodate your language to the person that you are talking to, or not really, you just use your language the way it is?

Alena: I don't think I accommodate the language, just the language I can use, but I know that if non-native speakers don't understand me, I can always translate or explain what I am talking about.

Elena: Okay. What is your worst fear when you communicate with native speakers of English, if you have any?

Alena: If I have any. It depends upon the profession of that native speaker, because once I communicated to the dean of the American college and I was afraid, because I was the fifth year student, and I was afraid that he would not understand me, he would not understand what I am talking about.

Elena: Because of your accent or vocabulary or because of what?

Alena: No, because of vocabulary

Elena: Vocabulary.

Alena: I asked him if he understood my lan-, my accent, and he said <quote> well, it's Okay </quote>, and actually, there was one word, something like probation. We were speaking about job, job opportunities in our country and I said that if I wanted to become like lab assistant or something I had to spend a week on probation, and he said that was connected with criminal or something

Elena: Ah yeah.

Alena: And that was misunderstanding

Elena: Mhm, but then you coped with it somehow, yeah?

Alena: Yeah, but he <break/> I explained that as a week you have to spend. He said <quote> oh, yes, we have that as well </quote> and

Elena: He used a different term for this, perhaps

Alena: Yes.

Elena: Okay.

Alena: And we came to terms eventually.

Elena: Okay. Do you sometimes feel that you are not learning English that you have fossilized at some point, or for you it's continuous learning?

Alena: No, I don't have such feeling, not yet. I am learning everything every day, something. I am learning something every day.

Elena: Okay. What model of English is more relevant for your? Is it more British English or American English or English as an international language? What do you teach?

Alena: We say, Ukrainian English. That's a joke we have at our department. We teach British English, we are supposed to teach British English, but at our department, we never had real like Britain, person from Britain, who came to teach English. We usually have Americans from Peace Corps, who come and teach English to our students, but actually, the cassettes we have, and something like the books we have, Oxford editions, they all belong to British variants of English.

Elena: Okay. And what is your attitude to English as an International language, it becomes more and more international. Do you think it's positive or negative for the language itself?

Alena: Hm, well you'd better ask a native speaker, because, <unclear> me </unclear> English, I think it's good for English, because more and more people speak the language and if more and more people spoke Ukrainian, I think I would be proud of the language.

Elena: Yeah, I think it's quite positive, okay. The second part is about your work, and the institution that you are working for. Can you tell me what you do at the moment and what is your role in your institution?

Alena: I am a teacher of English, I started teaching as a first year student teacher, and then I was teaching at the university different subjects, like phonetics, some aspects of practical English, conversation, grammar and everything to the first year students. Then, second year stu-, then I became second year students teacher and I taught home reading, and that was more interesting for me, because I could really develop as a teacher and that would be <break/> next year will be my third year at the university, and I hope I will be teaching third year students, and that would be Basic English, and I will be teaching grammar and the vocabulary and everything in complex. I think that would be quite different from what I used to teach before.

412

Elena: And what is your own educational background?

Alena: Well, I have secondary education, school education, the school was called gymnasium in our country, specialized school and five years at the university, so I got Bachelor's degree, and we have kind of Specialist's degree, <unclear> we </unclear> I don't have Master's degree.

Elena: So, you were majoring mainly in English.

Alena: In English.

Elena: And French Philology.

Alena: Right, majoring in English and French.

Elena: Okay. And why did you decide to become an English teacher?

Alena: Mhm, the first mom- the first moment, I really thought of becoming a teacher was at school, when my English teacher told me that I was good at languages and that was perhaps, impetus, for becoming a teacher of English, just because he told me that I am good at language, because it was easy for me to learn the language, and then I decided to enter the university and learn English, and then I saw that it was not very difficult for me to learn French and German and I really was convinced that languages is my choice in life.

Elena: Cool. And what do you like best about your work?

Alena: Working with students. I like communicating with students and teaching them and like to see how they make progress, how they feel happy after their success, and how they communicate, and well. The greatest moment of the work is perhaps, when they come and say thank you <unclear> </unclear>.

Elena: At the end of the year, perhaps.

Alena: Perhaps, they can tell you after the class, a successful class that they like very much.

Elena: So, they would come and say <quote> I really enjoyed the class </quote>

Alena: Mhm, thank you for the class.

Elena: That's really nice. Is there anything that you would like to change about your work or about the institution that you are working for?

Alena: There are some things, like the books. First of all, we have <break/> the main books the students are using is Arakin. I don't know if you heard about the books, I don't think you did, but the book is really out dated. It was first published in nineteen seventies, and we are still using the books. Okay. I believe that the structure of the books is not bad, but the language is really like nineteen seventies.

Elena: So, you would like to change the materials.

Alena: I would like to change the books, and we have some teachers, they say that old teachers, like elderly teachers are the same in any institution that they are tired of their work and they do not get ready for their classes. I don't say that all middle aged or elderly teachers are like that, but students really fall asleep in their classes, and they don't really learn something new. And rest of teachers who teach by fear, and that's really bad in our institution. There are still some teachers, and when I believe when students are afraid of you then they can't learn. They will learn the words, they will actually, they will cram the words into their minds, but but they won't really enjoy what they are doing and they won't really learn the language.

Elena: So, it looks like learning Latin many many years or centuries ago.

Alena: Mhm, perhaps

Elena: Very traditional.

Alena: Yes, because they learn texts by heart, they learn words, then they can't use the words and they don't actually use them in <unclear> their </unclear>, so it's not their active vocabulary, just passive vocabulary somewhere in the depths of their minds.

Elena: Yeah, that's true. Okay. Is there any area in your work that you feel you would like to learn more about?

Alena: Area in my work. Yes, when I was told to teach seminars in some specific disciplines, like Lexicology or History of Language, I don't think I really can do that, when I am told one month beforehand. I think I should have been told about that a year ago beforehand, so that I could find some literature and to read that literature and to be

ready to teach seminars. Of course, I learnt Lexicology and History of Language when I was a student, but that's very different, because when you start explaining some nuances, some very minute differences, students the students can ask you about, you really don't know what to answer and you have to say I don't know, but I'll have to look it up, and I think it's wrong for the teacher.

Elena: But sometimes, you do say.

Alena: That's what I would like to improve. Yea, sometimes I do say I don't know, or I am not sure, and I'll have to check it.

Elena: Okay.

Alena: And that is especial with pronunciation. Because American, because of American, British pronunciation again, because some students have Webster's at home, and some have Oxford dictionaries, and so some have English-Ukrainian dictionaries, English-Russian dictionaries, and I've had some situations when students found three variants of pronunciation and I knew only one of that, and I could not say what is British, what is American and what is just a mistake.

Elena: Mhm, yes.

Alena: And then we had to bring dictionary into the classroom and to check.

Elena: Yes, so that's a bit complicated.

Alena: Mhm.

Elena: Okay. Can you tell me a little bit about your private life and what do you like to do in your free time?

Alena: Well, in free time I like to rest, because I really don't have free time, having two jobs. But I like to watch TV, I like to go to the cinema and sometimes in summer, in summer I have more free time, I like to go to the river and the park, to eat ice cream.

Elena: What kind of ice cream do you like?

Alena: I like just simple white with chocolate, usually.

Elena: Okay, are there any things that brought about change in your life over the last few years and how they have changed you?

Alena: I don't think I had any drastic changes in my life.

Elena: So far

Alena: So far, yeah.

Elena: Okay.

Alena: Perhaps the job at the university was the greatest change in my life, because it directed me into some scientific work, or something, I don't know.

Elena: So, are working on your PhD at the moment?

Alena: In our country it's not called PhD. So, before PhD, I have to get my Candidate's degree or something, and then we have Doctor's degree or PhD only after that. If I

Elena: So, you have already taken the exam?

Alena: I have already taken two exams, because we have to take an exam in Philosophy and exam in foreign language, and so, I did not take an exam in my major, like second major French, but I took an exam in my minor, German, and then I have to take an exam in English, but I don't know when it will be because I have to write some parts of my paper first and to show it to my scientific advisor, and only then I can take an exam in English, and I hope to do that in half a year <unclear> </unclear> the first part of my paper.

Elena: Okay, that's about it. Thank you very much for your time.

Alena: You are welcome. Thank you.

2. Natalya L.

Elena: Okay, thank you very much for the opportunity to interview you. First of all, can you introduce yourself and say where you come from and what you do at the moment?

Natalya L.: Well, actually, it's my pleasure as well. Right now, I am working <break/> I am a student of <NLU> аспірантура/aspirantura </NLU>. I think it shouldn't be translated, you are familiar with these studies of mine. At the moment I also work in the department of political science here in Chernivtsi University. Well, I come originally from this region, <break/> from small town nearby. I am also fine with this.

Elena: Okay, thanks a lot. Can you tell me a little bit of how you learnt English and why you learnt English?

Natalya L.: Well, actually, English in my case it was a subject at school, but frankly speaking, that was not really a happy story with the studying, with the learning English at school, because we have <break/> I am coming from a small town, but I was I was studying in the village school, where my grandparents <break/> and <break/> living, and actually we do not we did not have actually teacher, good teacher, teacher of English, so that happens that we had teacher of physics who taught us English, so you know, how it <unclear> </unclear> picture.

Elena: Yeah yeah.

Natalya L.: And when I actually <break/>, well, in my case, I was reading a lot at that time, so always it's happening, I had a good memory, and when I entered to university, I studied here, but I have to say that it was mostly passive knowing, and after I graduate university, I entered to studies of Academy of Science and <unclear> </unclear> Languages, it's educational institution in Slovak Republic and actually, that was actually time when I had to catch my English, I have to improve, actually. I can't say that right now that I really improve it, but

Elena: Your language is quite good.

Natalya L.: that was actually <break/> thanks, but actually two years in Slovakia were <break/> my studies in Slovakia where actually <break/>, English was the main language of instruction.

Elena: So you had to learn it.

Natalya L.: I had to learn it, and I hope I learnt it some

Elena: no other choice. And how do you use English living in Ukraine?

Natalya L.: Well, even here in our city, I have many friends, who are foreigners, Germans for instance, and English is the language of communications between us. Well, professionally, I have to say that I am frequently, from time to time on <break/> participating in conferences in international ones, and actually almost every year, I am travelling abroad to Slovakia, to Poland, and this year I am been to Canada, to Toronto. So, actually, I have to say that I am really frequently using English.

Elena: And you use English all the time, even if you go to Slovakia, then you would rather refer to English when communicating?

Natalya L.: Well, in Slovakia in academic <unclear> </unclear> it's for me, it's it's better to speak English, because I <unclear> learnt these <NL> termins </NL> </unclear> but I speak Slovak actually.

Elena: As well.

Natalya L.: Yeah, so in normal day, in conversation I use <unclear> </unclear> Slovak

Elena: It's similar to Ukrainian or more to Russian, I don't know.

Natalya L.: Well, not really. It's Slavic language, but I've been there for two years, I actually <break/> that was a really great opportunity for me to learn it, and that was actually easy done, I think for me. The conversation, but grammar and writing, I still don't

Elena: Still have to be improved. Okay. Are there any areas in English that you would like to improve or to learn more about?

Natalya L.: Yeah, yeah. I think, for me actually, it's no problem listening comprehension and I could somehow, I could communicate, but I would like actually to improve grammar, because that gap, it still remains from my school

Elena: And how do you improve grammar, do you have some techniques?

Natalya L.: Well, I have just to study more, I think. I have to learn and I have to do tests more, because right now, actually, I am short in time, and I have to work here, and on another hand, I am also writing my thesis here, so I just let my English somehow behind it. I am using the old knowledge I already obtain, conversational one, but at the moment I actually need to learn more and hardly.

Elena: And do you feel that you are still learning English?

Natalya L.: Yeah.

Elena: And what makes you think so? Is it just grammar?

Natalya L.: Well, I know that for good for good, well, I need actually good writing skills, so, I realize that, actually.

Elena: Academic writing or?

Natalya L.: Yeah.

Elena: Academic writing.

Natalya L.: Yeah, Yeah. I guess this field should be improve all the time since we have to work, I mean we, those who are interested, we have to work more and more.

Elena: Of course. Can you judge someone's English?

Natalya L.: Sorry?

Elena: Can you judge someone's English, when you hear a person speaking?

Natalya L.: Yeah.

Elena: And what do you base your judgment on?

Natalya L.: Well, I could distinguish <break/>, I already found out that I could not understand people who speaks English from Australia, for instance, it's really hard, for me it's easy to understand persons who are coming from Great Britain, who speaks, if it's if it would be correct to say classics. It <break/>.

Elena: traditional English

Natalya L.: Traditional English, it's more understandable for me. I had few problems with understanding, well, I know why, of American English. They use a lot /ai/dioms, well, but it's all actually, a lot of depends on the person who are speaking to you in English. You know, if they really want that you will translate, that you will

Elena: Understand then you will understand.

Natalya L.: Then they will make you somehow <break/>, they will speak slower, keeping in mind that, you know, this knowing, you know, that they are speaking with the foreigner.

Elena: Okay, and can you evaluate someone's English and say whether this English is good or bad English?

Natalya L.: Well, I am not doing such evaluation, because, actually, I think it's not my job to evaluate

Elena: yeah yeah, but subconsciously, I mean

Natalya L.: Well, yeah, probably.

Elena: And what would you base it on?

Natalya L.: Well, I will I will just base on, again pronunciation, if the words are really clear to understand, <unclear> really understand </unclear>, the speed of speaking, if it's correct to say so. Well.

Elena: Okay.

Natalya L.: I think, actually, I am not interesting <break/> in my case in our case, like for those who are just started to learn English maybe five years ago, I think it's really just beginning in our in my case, it's </break>, the priority is to understand. If I understand the context, for me, frankly speaking, it does not matter if person made mistake in past, she or he put sentence in past or future, I will make it correct.

Elena: Yeah.

Natalya L.: The priority is to understand each other

Elena: And when you speak personally, is it important for you to be correct? Or is it more important to be fluent?

Natalya L.: Well, I am trying to do both. But frankly speaking, I am a bit lazy, so I just, I am just trying to be understandable.

Elena: Don't really care

Natalya L.: Yeah. I guess I have to but at the moment

Elena: Okay, and does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers? With Germans speaking English and British or Americans speaking English?

Natalya L.: Well, in fact, I have few friends who are coming from Ireland, we were studying together actually and we don't actually, actually, I didn't have problems of conversation with them, because they knew we are foreigners, so we just <break/> so, they were helping us, I would say. If I did not or if I do not understand, I could ask once more, so <break/> for me

Elena: And when you communicate with non-native speakers are there any problems?

Natalya L.: No, with those who I am right now communicate we do not have any problems.

Elena: And what do you prefer?

Natalya L.: The only problem they wanted make me to speak, to learn German

Elena: Yeah.

Natalya L.: I can't say that there are some problems, of course, it's obvious with whom you are speaking, because somehow you realize or you will found out from dialogue. Person will probably tell from what country he or she is coming. So, but generally, I did not experience, as <unclear> I said </unclear> difficulties so far.

Elena: And what do you prefer communicating with natives or non-natives, and why?

Natalya L.: Well, of course, if you will ask me, like let's a bit correct your question. If you will ask me, if you wanna to improve your English, with whom would you prefer?

Elena: Okay, yeah

Natalya L.: Of course, I would prefer with

Elena: natives

Natalya L.: With native speakers, because it will, somehow, you know also push me to race's level, it would be really great. But my friends are non

Elena: Non-native speakers

Natalya L.: Non-native speakers, so for me <break/> yeah. Probably, sometimes I even obtain the German accent in some, accent in some English words. I could say its happens.

Elena: Because you are communicating with them all the time, and then it influences your pronunciation somehow.

Natalya L.: Yeah, Yeah

Elena: Okay, do you have any particular fear when you communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers.

Natalya L.: Fear. Not really

Elena: Not really? So, you are quite open and you don't really feel

Natalya L.: It's personal, actually. I was really , when I just started to learn English, when I just started to study it in Slovakia in this Inova institution, I was really, I was afraid, I was stressed, I was shocked, I just I just was afraid to say something, I was afraid that I will say it wrongly, that people would not understand me at all, that I am somehow low quality, I don't know, student and but actually that was great atmosphere, everybody understood that we are coming from Eastern Europe, and actually Slovaks are also somehow at the same situation. So, they to understand, but we had actually, the majority of professors teachers coming from Europe, from Brussels, from Netherlands, from Luxembourg, from Ireland, I already mentioned. Well, on the beginning the beginning, that was only actually for all of us problem with Irish professors, because they were speaking really fast

Elena: with strong accent

Natalya L.: Yeah, and accent and that was different from actually way of speaking of professor who was coming from Scotland.

Elena: Of course, yeah because the accents are quite different

Natalya L.: And that was just some time on the beginning to realize that to try to catch, to follow. Yeah, that was, that time I was really afraid, because it was really stress for whole day for me, because I was afraid if I would not understand something, I am not able to follow, and then, that probably I will be, I will have to quit from school, from studying there

Elena: Yeah which would be a pity.

Natalya L.: Of course.

Elena: Okay. What standard of English do you aim at?

Natalya L.: Standard? Sorry.

Elena: Standard, what standards of English do you aim at? What variety would you like to acquire? Is it more British like, American like or more international like?

Natalya L.: Well, I never been to Great Britain. Never. Well, the only country, I guess it's Canada, very different. But it also has I think a lot of differences from English language in Great Britain, of course.

Elena: And would you like to speak like Canadians or you don't really care?

Natalya L.: I think Canadians, you probably know that it's a country of immigrants yeah that's true.

Natalya L.: And well, probably, they have the standard of English there as well, I am sure they have, but everybody knows that immigrants could not speak Canadian

Elena: That Canadian English

Natalya L.: So they just <break/> it's naturally created another. So, I would not be surprised it would be dictionary or vocabulary like Canadian English and Great Britain English.

Elena: Mixed

Natalya L.: I already saw one vocabulary like Canadian English and Newfoundland English, so. Well, I actually, yea <break/> for me, in my case, it's, the already told, it's the biggest priority, is to to really to learn to improve my academic English.

Elena: Academic writing, you mean.

Natalya L.: Academic writings and I think then in my field, people will understand me, that's actually my priority. And of course, if God will help me somehow, and I will help myself, one day I will appear to Great Britain, that would be really great for me to learn

Elena: this kind of British

Natalya L.: British English, yeah that would be great, but so far, I do not have any experience

Elena: Okay and nowadays, there is a tendency to say English as a lingua franca or English as an international language. Do you have a particular attitude to it? Do you think it's negative or positive for the language to be an international one?

Natalya L.: Well, positive or negative? I don't I am staying at the position, actually, that language change changes, so English, yeah, it's international language, and on another hand <quote> the more languages you know </quote> <break/>, you know this saying. It's necessary right now, and in my case it's also necessary to learn other international languages, I wouldn't mind <break/>. Again, it depends on me, and I wouldn't mind to learn German.

Elena: Yeah that's quite important.

Natalya L.: But I actually, <break/> in my field, in my topics, what I am interesting, the English is really helpful, really. It's international language, if you wanna to be understandable and you wanna to understand others, so you have to learn this.

Elena: Okay, thanks. And the second part is more about the institution that you are working for and the job that you are doing at the moment. Can you tell me a little bit about this institution, the department, what lectures you are offering?

Natalya L.: What do you want to know about our institution?

Elena: What are you doing, what lectures you are offering, and how many students you have, perhaps? And what do you teach personally?

Natalya L.: Well, let me recall, what I was teaching. Well, actually, I am working <break/>, I am a part time worker here, because like, first, firstly, I am occupied with my studying at <NLU>аспірантура/ aspirantura </NLU>, which is not PhD. That's why I am using this term. During three last years, I was I taught subject difference. Like on departments, where not, how to say it, on the departments, who are not specializing political sciences but political science according to a state program, it's obligatory subject. Well, you are not allowed actually to choose it, probably; it will it would be changed in two years with Boulognean process, implementing this Boulognean system

here in Ukraine. So two major courses, it was psychology and political sciences on the departments, other departments of the university, and I was teaching in Pedagogics department and Geographic department and right now sure, how to say Physics department?

Elena: Physics, yeah.

Natalya L.: Then here in department of Political Sciences, I had special courses in Political Psychology and what be and actually one of the courses; this term does not exist, I guess in English, but if to translate it correctly, how we are using this term its Ethnopolitology, well, it could be somehow refer to the term Ethnopolitics, yeah.

Elena: Okay.

Natalya L.: Yeah, so this course here. Then, last semester actually, again it's Sociopsychology, and right now we are <break/> we have to deal with internship on psychology actually, so my <break/>. That actually what I just could recall.

Elena: Okay, and what is your own educational background?

Natalya L.: Well, I graduate from History department

Elena: From this University?

Natalya L.: Yeah, from this university. Right now, I have to say that our department was somehow transformed and grew up and at the moment <break/>. When I was studying actually, we had only three specialization at history department, and right now it's five, and we, the department, the faculty, sorry, was renamed from History department to department of History, Political Sciences and International Relations, actually.

Elena: So, International Relations is something new?

Natalya L.: Yeah, actually, something new, already for two years, if it's possible, and it's seem that we will be growing farther. Well, at the moment we have at our department around, I mean all regular and non-regular students in all these specializations up to one thousand students only in our department.

Elena: That's quite a lot.

Natalya L.: Yeah, quite a lot. Political, department of Political Science was celebrated five years this winter, February, so I already told that I graduate like pure historian, but right now, I am dealing with political sciences.

Elena: And why did you decide to become a historian?

Natalya L.: Well, historians actually <break/> even in school, I was really interesting in this subject, and actually that was my choice, because my parents, they saw me in different

Elena: And did they try to influence your decision?

Natalya L.: Well, they were trying, but not really strongly

Elena: did not help

Natalya L.: I guess I was the strongest, <unclear> did not happen </unclear>

Elena: Okay, what do you like best about your work?

Natalya L.: Well, it's actually, it's mostly about research, that's why. Actually, this I like to do, but on another hand, it's, it's also great to work with the students, and when you see some results of that work, it's also even really, it just <break/> you feel happy. Of course, sometimes, you feel also unhappy, but when you see these results, you are happy as well.

Elena: Okay, is there anything that you would like to change about your work?

Natalya L: Yeah.

Elena: And what is it, if it's <break/>?

Natalya L.: Well, if you have more time than twenty minutes, I could say you more. The system itself, the evaluation of students' work, the conditions of work of professors, teachers here. I would prefer to see them changed, because, well, because what, because I guess you usually know the situation: how what actually the problems we have

Elena: Yeah, what happens here

Natalya L.: And it's all the problems are influence on the quality of education, the quality of diploma. Right now we have big numbers of people who will receive, or already received as a diploma of high education, but if to see the quality, and when they actually are find, where they want to realize them.

Elena: Sometimes they don't correspond.

Natalya L.: I think, yeah I think it's useless, because I would sometimes, maybe its sounds really not polite, but I am thinking that we better do some practical things then just to waste five years at university, without doing anything

Elena: Any work, any proper work.

Natalya L.: Any learning and

Elena: Gone in vain, yeah.

Natalya L.: It just, I do not see, I do not see generally any practical reasons. Why you need this diploma of higher education?

Elena: Yeah, it's getting more and more popular.

Natalya L.: If you do not have after this paper any knowledge and you don't want even to know

Elena: Even to learn.

Natalya L.: And of course, it's about motivation. Motivation, I do not want to say that all have this low motivation, but main <break/>, and of course, on another hand, actually, it's two sides problems. It's not only about students, it also about the educational system in Ukraine at the moment. We used and we still are telling that we have a great educational system in Soviet Union, but times changed and it's not at all Soviet Union, and we have to improve, and we should not live with that glory of past. We have to catch the world.

Elena: Of course.

Natalya L.: We have to catch new knowledge, we have to rethink, we have to analyse them, and with such system we are actually not catching that. We are far far far behind.

Elena: That's absolutely true, I guess, and it has to be changed somehow.

Natalya L.: Yeah.

Elena: Okay. And the final question would be about your leisure time and hobbies. Do you have some hobbies, or how do you spend your leisure time?

Natalya L.: Well, because of my German friends, all my leisure time we spend watching the German movies.

Elena: In German?

Natalya L.: In German and English, with English subtitles. But I was lucky, I had the translator, personal one.

Elena: That's good.

Natalya L.: But we were actually involved in different cultural activities, which were organized, but these my friends are actually working here. They are representatives of German Cultural Foundations here, and for the last half a year, I just remember me going with them, seeing everything.

Elena: Sounds great.

Natalya L.: Being on performances and exhibitions, and that was really great time. What I am going to do about my leisure, frankly speaking, I do not have really leisure time, because, right now, I have I have to write, I have to finish my thesis actually, and I am just reading, I am just thinking.

Elena: And what is your thesis about?

Natalya L.: Well, my thesis is about national minorities and system of protection in new post-communist c/au/ countries, such as Slovakia and Ukraine.

Elena: So, you are working with both countries

Natalya L.: Yeah, I am trying to compare these those experiences

Elena: And have you done some data collection or you are just going?

Natalya L.: I am going to do it. Actually for the next year I am going to Bratislava, to Academy of Science, and I will be staying there for next year, and I will be involved in few projects of surveys. So, I need those data.

Elena: Okay.

Natalya L.: So far, I am just in preak stage of work.

Elena: Okay. Thank you very much for your time. That's about it.

Natalya L.: Thank you.

Elena: Thanks a lot.

3. Natalya T.

Elena: Ah, let's start our interview. Ah, first of all, can you introduce yourself and say where you come from and what your name is?

Natalya: Well. My name is Natalie. I am from Ukraine. I am a <FLG> Doktorand </FLG> in the University of Tuebingen, ah and so on.

Elena: Thank you. And can you tell me why you decided to be a researcher, and what kind of research are you doing at the moment?

Natalya: Eh, I am researching eh eh tenses in German, and this is eh mhm going on with my eh eh with my point of my diplom eh work at the university.

Elena: Thank you. And what do you work on specifically?

Natalya: I I am researching tenses in German, the the grammar of tenses in German.

Elena: Thank you. Ah, why did you decide to be a researcher? Has someone influenced your decision to be a researcher?

Natalya: Eh, nobody nobody did influence this decision of me. Eh, I studied German as a foreign language as well as English /e/ at the university and in the eh in the last or in the last sem semester I have to do eh diploma, and my supervisor of this diploma in

Ukraine has offered me eh this subject, and I was interested because I like because I liked to research something what is not abstract, but something what is concrete. And I think if I am researching eh grammar, German grammar I have to do with concrete points and not with abstracts, not that I can to do what with fantasy, but with material that I I can't I can't change.

Elena: Something that is real <unclear> </unclear>.

Natalya: Yes, something that is real, and that is important for learning of German, and

Elena: and maybe for teaching also, for teaching German in the future.

Natalya: Yes, yes, yes of course. But eh eh if if we study foreign language, and on the some high level, I mean not only for communication, just just daily communication, but for the high level, we have to do with grammar and <break/>.

Elena: In terms of your learning English, did you have any specific reasons for learning English, and how did learning actually take place?

Natalya: Mhm, I started to learn English at the university. It was the second the second subject, if <break/>, the second subject of my profession , and it was in the mhm in the fifth semester, and I am happy, and <unclear> </unclear> I am happy that I can a little bit English, but I was happy to to study English at at the university, because I knew at that time, that if you if you study one foreign language, you have to do eh you have to study the second because you have comp you can compare them, and eh eh mhm the two two foreign languages, studying of two foreign languages make it easier.

Elena: So, you think that for your work let's say now, for your German PhD, learning or knowing English facilitates your work somehow.

Natalya: Yes, yes. I, yes, I I feel it. Eh, I feel it. Eh, I have in my in my researching of a German tense I have to read very much articles and books in English

Elena: Written by British people or American or written by Germans in English or both?

Natalya: Mhm both.

Elena: Both

Natalya: Both. American, American <FLG> Linguistik </FLG>, American < FLG> Linguistik </FLG> about German and German linguistic about German and about English.

Elena: So, it's vice versa in both directions.

Natalya: Yes, because German English are the languages of the same language group.

Elena: Thank you. Another question would be coming back to the process of learning English, let's say ten or fifteen years ago, did you pay attention to any specific aspects of the language, when you were learning it or what aspects did you concentrate more, if you see what I mean <unclear> </unclear>.

Natalya: The learning of English was the second learning of foreign language. I have eh learnt before, before I have learnt German, and eh as I started to learn English, I have understood for me, for myself, what is important for me, and it was pronunciation...

Elena: So, it was important.

Natalya: It was important because because as I I as saw that the pronunciation, if you communicate with people with mother language, with English as a mother language, they have to understand, they have to understand me, and I wanted to be understood, and I and I understood the pronunciation is important in English, maybe not in German, maybe not in French I I don't <beak/>. It's it's my opinion, <FLG> aber </FLG> in German. It was the the first aspect, the second aspect grammar, but I think it was the influence of German.

Elena: because in Germany, in German

Natalya: Because it is the systematic, the systematic of of grammar, and as as going on of this learning of German, I paid I paid attention to grammar.

Elena: Based on what you learnt from German, <unclear> </unclear> basically.

Natalya: Pardon me.

Elena: Based based on what you learnt from German, for example if your language was other than German, or first language was French, than you wouldn't pay so much attention to being correct or something like that, being, paying too much attention on grammar.

Natalya: I don't think so, I don't think so. Mhm, but mhm it's it's it's it's a problem that I knew that I am learning English for communication as as first as a first goal, and for teaching.

Elena: Yes, as a teacher you have to be correct, you don't have, you can't make mistakes as a teacher, right. Something like that.

Natalya: Something like that. Okay, English is my fi, my second foreign language is my second foreign language, and mhm, I think so that I was studying English at the university, this six semester, six semester, but I knew that that this studying at the university was as a ba, as a basic, and eh every time, if I if I get the opportunity to speak English or to read English or to hear some English, I, but it is it is only the it is only the facts which which I do as going on. But the basic was at the university, and this basic was grammar, was, these points the points of basic was pronunciation, grammar, and of course vocabulary.

Elena: And, thank you. And for for your <break/> for you at the moment what is more important for you to be correct or to fluent, when you speak English, let's say with people at the university?

Natalya: Mhm. I I cannot I cannot to to take these two points from each other. It's I can't I can't say the fluency is very important, and the grammar okay, in the middle. I want to be correct, I want to be correct but and I don't want that that people that people are waiting for me, because I think what is right, what is the what is the /can't find an appropriate word/ <break/>. It's okay, but. I don't <break/> It's, I don't think that that English that English mhm is mhm such a language, which which doesn't give us a possibility to be fluent.

Elena: So, that's kind of an easy language, maybe to learn and then an easy language to speak, unlike German, I think, which is difficult to learn, and then difficult to speak, somehow.

Natalya: No, I think I think English is is such a language which which gives us this opportunity to speak fluent

Elena: And at the same time being more or less correct.

Natalya: Yes, if you have if you have basic basic knowledges.

432

Elena: Knowledge.

Natalya: Knowledge, you can do it.

Elena: Thank you. I know that many people have different sorts of fear when they communicate with native speakers of English, and non-native speakers of English. Do you have a particular fear when you communicate with Americans or let's say British people?

Natalya: Eh.

Elena: Fear.

Natalya: Fear is difficulties? /asking for assistance/ or?

Elena: <FLG> Angst </FLG>.

Natalya: Difficulties?

Elena: <FLG> Angst </FLG>.

Natalya: Ah, okay. No no, no.

Elena: You don't have any fear.

Natalya: No, no no.

Elena: So, not at all. And you never had <unclear> some </unclear> language barrier?

Natalya: No, no, no.

Elena: That's great. You are a great language learner then, Okay, a couple of final questions. When <break/> does it make a huge difference for you to communicate with native speakers and non-native speakers? Do you think your language behaviour changes when you communicate with the Brazilian girl or with the American girl? <unclear> </unclear> the same kind of English that you use?

Natalya: Yes, of course. I would like to I would like eh to use the same the same kind of English, yes, <Concoction> bite <concoction> but, eh because because I learned I learnt one English.

Elena: And it's applicable for both, let's say Brazilians and Americans.

Natalya: Mhm, if it is applicable, it's a other question, but eh Okay, maybe I can I can explain, I can explain it I can explain it a little bit different. If I'm communicating with Americans or Engl, or English people, then I I want to be better in my /pause, thinking of a word/ speech. It's it's okay. Yes, yes I <break/>. It's a fact it's a fact, because I don't want these people which have English as mother language that that they are waiting, because

Elena: for you to say something.

Natalya: It's it's one point, and the other point maybe, not maybe but I am sure that that my English is of course different and I don't want to to make for American or from of okay, for people with English as mother language, I don't make for for them difficulties to understand me. It's it's it's always my, it's always my point, but is this is not my point if I am communicating with people <unclear> </unclear> if when I am communicating English with people which which don't have English as mother language

Elena: for them it's just the same second language as for you or foreign language?

Natalya: Mhm, Yes, but it's a difference in how long they are studying language eh English language English language, and what is what is they are using of English, eh mhm so.

Elena: Thank you. Ah, as a language teacher and as a researcher can you say that you can judge someone's English, and what is your judgement based on, if you judge, how can you say that someone's somebody's English is good or bad. Can you determine that?

Natalya: You mean Eng, foreign language?

Elena: Yeah, let's say English, in our case.

Natalya: Eh, okay eh. Okay I can say I can say or as as as you said I can judge I can judge that some judge?

Elena: Mhm

Natalya: I can judge that somebody's English is good, I can I cannot judge some somebody's English is bad because I don't know if I'm commu communicating in English with somebody, it's it's not easy to ask somebody oh how long are you studying English if she or he just started to study English okay They have learnt, they learn, but I think I

think that eh somebody is somebody is speaking English well well as foreign language as foreign as a foreign language eh if if the using of vocabulary is right, the using of vocabulary is right, eh and these these constructions of languages what which are typical typical /ai/ only for English

Elena: You mean idiomatic expressions, something like this?

Natalya: not only idiomatic idiomatic, but this construction of of <unclear> verb and </unclear>

Elena: <unclear> syntactic structuring </unclear>

Natalya: Yes, not as I have I I want eh to have I want to have from somebody not only what what what, but combinations, right combinations of eh eh

Elena: Of words of constructions

Natalya: Of words of constructions, not that somebody somebody has heard

Elena: Just a word

Natalya: Just a word and using without eh without right, not in right situation, and so on and I think it's important it's, if if I would if I would judge if somebody is is speak English well or not well if somebody understands English.

Elena: So, understanding would be the key point for you. If somebody understands and is understood then the person's is good or up to the level, something like that. Is that what you mean?

Natalya: Yes, yes, but understanding understanding, you can have understanding for your translations, for example, if you have to translate something, and you have to understand for com, you have you have the other's name for communication.

Elena: Okay, right. And how important is pronunciation for you? a native like pronunciation, I mean. Is it important to have <break/> for us, as second language users or learners is it important to have a native like American or British or German pronunciation, in your case?

Natalya: Eh

Elena: Or does it make a difference whether you speak sort of Russian English or German English or let's say British English? What kind of pronunciation should be aimed at?

Natalya: You saying pronunciation of native speakers or pronunciation of foreigners?

Elena: Let's say pronunciation of foreigners, yes.

Natalya: What is impo what is important?

Elena: Is it important to have a native like pronunciation and American like pronunciation or British like pronunciation, or the kind of English that we are speaking is also okay? Where is the <break/> If you have a structure of some aspects of the language, where would you place pronunciation? Is it on the top, something that is more important or is it somewhere something on the bottom?

Natalya: In the middle

Elena: In the middle?

Natalya: In the middle, in the middle, I think in the middle. And for for <break/> If I compare mhm if I compare mhm German or English, English has a typical /ai/ pronunciation, eh

Elena: And German?

Natalya: German has to, German has to. But I think that that the learning of pronunciation is in English not easy, as in German.

Elena: Mhm, right, maybe you are right.

Natalya: And, I think that in English the pronunciation can can change the the

Elena: and now I have a couple of pri personal questions. Are there any things that brought about change in your life over the last, let's say five years, and how has it changed your life?

Natalya: Eh

Elena: If there has been something. Something that changed your life or happened to you in the last ten or five years

Natalya: Do you do you mean this question with English or?

Elena: No, in general.

Natalya: Generally, in generally

Elena: How has your life changed in five years, last five years?

Natalya: Last five years?

Elena: Yes.

Natalya: Oh, well in last five years, I am researching this this subject as I mentioned eh, as I mentioned German tenses and in during during this researching I have I have learnt much more in the five years much more as as I as I could as I cou as I could before these five years. This is the the first point and I have travelled very much

Elena: Where have you been in Europe?

Natalya: Ah, in Europe for example in Italy or in Spain and my last my last journey was in London, and I have to I have to I have to I have I have tried to speak English

Elena: And was it easy to understand British English?

Natalya: Eh, mhm I have I have to say that I I said always to people please slowly.

Elena: Yes, because you can't grasp the whole meaning. It <unclear> </unclear> step by step, something like this, yeah.

Natalya: Yes, yes, but it's a it's a point of practice. If you have <FLG> Praxis </FLG> you have eh eh you have e less problems as you have

Elena: <unclear> </unclear> And how do you see yourself in five years from now, when you have finished your PhD already?

Natalya: Ahm, I hope I hope that I will finish this dissertation of me with good mark, I want I want to get it, because I I have done I think much for this subject and I want to get and I want to finish it but I don't want to finish the researching. I I would like to to research to go on researching not for dissertation or <unclear> something </unclear> but just for meself, and I have I want it's it's very it's it's my my task, I want to mh I

want to work on my English as my as my professional subject so that these five years at the university which I which eh which which during which I have studied English, and this time or during which I tried to to

Elena: to use it.

Natalya: To use English to read something and I think I I will eh I will try to get different opportunities to do something with English and to improve my English.

Elena: Thank you very much indeed for your time.

Natalya: Thank you.

4. Olga

Elena: Okay. First of all, can you introduce yourself and say where you come from and what you do at the moment?

Olga: My name is Olga. As for my origination, I am from Ukraine, city Chernivtsi. I am 23 years old. One year ago, I graduated the Chernivtsi National University, Economical department and now I am working in the company, which handle which is handling whole sales of household appliances. Now, my work is manager of accounting. As for me the learning, the studying of English language is very interesting for me, because I think that maybe first of all, everyone must know at least one language well. One language such as English language, because English language is international language, and anywhere you are you can free communicate with different people, representatives of different folks and nationalities, and understand each other.

Elena: And do you think, it's good for the language or it's a negative side to be an international language?

Olga: I think it's good for the language, because first of all, I think that English culture, English <break/> special moments, special things are represented all over the world, and many people want to visit English spoken countries such as En Great Britain, such as USA and others. I think it's good.

Elena: And can you tell me why and how you learnt English, and why did you decide to learn English?

Olga: First of all, I began learning of this language from my school years, and when I was the age of nine-eleven in summer I tried to improve my knowledge and read different texts in English language and tried to <unclear> </unclear> and tried to learn new unknown words. After that I had English lessons at school from five to eleven forms and after that I continued learning English of English language at the University, when I got Master Degree, the special exam/ai/ne was English disc/ai/pline. So, I think that after so many years of studying, it is necessary to know this language and to use it freely.

Elena: And do you need English for your work? And how do you us English in everyday life?

Olga: Now in my <break/>, nowadays in my present work, I don't need using of English language, but I want to improve myself and after I will get and after I get necessary experience, I am planning to change maybe my <break/> <NL> seichas <NL>, I am planning to change my work, I think and maybe I will connect it more closely with economics, and I think that English language maybe will be very necessary for me. Besides, I maybe have only my dreams, but I would like, I want to have a work in future, connected with tourism and I think that the most required condition will be the knowledge of English language, and I think I could use it.

Elena: Okay, and are there some areas in English that you would like to learn more about and you would like to improve?

Olga: I think that maybe it will be very good if we can communicate in English not with each other, but with native speakers, first of all. And maybe if we have the opportunities, we have such opportunities in schools, in universities, to exchange maybe between students of different countries, English spoken countries, and I think only free communication and making friends from different English spoken countries and communication with them may improve our knowledge and make this not as a norm, not as an obligation. It must be free and connected with getting enjoyment, I think.

Elena: And can you judge someone's English, when you hear the person for the first time? And what do you base your judgement on?

Olga: No, I don't judge.

Elena: But do you think you can judge a person?

Olga: I don't know, to judge. I think that is it now. I can't judge the person. Judge judge <NL> это же осудить, правильно/ eto zhe osudit, pravilno </NL>?

Elena: No no no. <NLU/R> судить, судить о знании/ sudit o znanii </NLU/R> whether the person knows English well or the level is not

Olga: It depends on how difficult and different words, notion, this person would use in her communication or his communication, I think. It depends on only, it depends on also how fluently he or she speaks and I don't think that it depends on right using grammatical grammatical rules and others. I think, first of all, it depends on the size of vocabulary stock and fluence of talk.

Elena: Okay, and is it important for you to be correct when you speak English?

Olga: I don't think that it is very important because as I know many foreigners, they even can't write correctly, and they also don't use correct tense forms. The most important, I think, fluence possessing of language and the ability to understand each other, knowledge different words, ability to express what do you need to say, what do you want to say, I think so.

Elena: But does it depend on the communicative situation that you are in, for you, personally? For example, if you are in the exam situation, do you want to be correct or you don't care that much?

Olga: If you are at the exam, I think, it's very important to be correct, I think so. But exams, they have some stricts, some borders, there definite numbers of assignments, you know that you have for example, thirty English texts, some grammar assignment and after that free talk in English on definite topic, I think. And I think that it is possible to prepare for exam and to pass it <searches for an appropriate word> pass it successfully, I think so.

Elena: Okay. Does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers, and where do you see the difference for you?

Olga: I think that it makes a difference for me, because native speakers, they <break/> the communication with them give you the opportunity to appreciate, evaluate your ability

to speak and not only to speak, but be understandable for them. As far as concerned not-native speakers, it is very important for me too, because as I said previously, English is international language, and it gives me the opportunity to communicate not only with English speakers, so it's ability to understand each other, to express your opinion and have a good communication and conversation.

Elena: Okay. And what do you prefer to communicate with natives or non-natives?

Olga: I think that it's important to communicate with both of them, but first of all if it will be necessary for my daily life and for my improvement in professional spheres, I think.

Elena: Okay. And what standard of English do you aim at, when you learned a language?

Olga: Which standard? What do you mean?

Elena: What model do you take for <break/> as a model? For example, is it British English or American English, or English as an international language?

Olga: I think that American English, because I see from <break/> English language in <break/> Britain English is not so understandable for me, because the words are not so <NLR/U>произносятся/proiznosyatsya </NLR/U>

Elena: pronounced

Olga: Pronounced; understandable, distinctive. American English is more understandable, discourse is more distinctive, and I think that American variant is more used nowadays, by different <break/> by representatives of different nationalities, I think so.

Elena: Okay. Now I have a couple of questions about your professional life and the institution that you are working for? And can you tell me what you do at the moment and what are your daily responsibilities at work?

Olga: Now I am working as a manager of accounting in net of household appliances, trading company Foxtrot, and my daily duties include such duties as work with different goods: acception of this good and distribution them among our department stores. After that the control under our sales and also I control the money, control money which we accept from our customers, and then pay them to our Kiev control office. And it's interesting job, I think, and first of all, it gives me the opportunity to

communicate with different people of different age, of different experience, and I think that in our market economy, it's very important to adapt for such situation as our and try to learn during your work successfully.

Elena: And why did you decide to work in the marketing sphere, in the economic sphere?

Olga: I don't know yet, because I can't predict the situation what may be. If we have a good salaries and very job conditions, of course, it will be very convenient to work in this sphere, but also I would want to take, to get some pleasure, and I think that for people it's very important not only work for getting profits, for getting salaries, but only not only for this, but also for communication with people and getting pleasure, delight from that work what you are are performing.

Elena: And what do you like best about your present job?

Olga: I like that I not only work, I can make a jokes with other colleague, so for example, after our working term, we may go to the sports gym, for example, spend time together and have a rest together, for example, near lake, play different sports games. When we have some holidays, for example, New Year, Day of Creation of our Company, so we have corporation holidays, cooperation parties and we have the opportunity to recognize to know each other not only as a professionals, as a colleagues, the workers but first of all just as ordinary people with their problems, with their good traits and others.

Elena: And are there some skills that you would like to acquire?

Olga: I don't know exactly now what profession, what sphere will be the most a appropriate for me. After graduation of the university, first of all, it is very important the first time to get some experience and only after that, you may to get the job that will be more appropriate for you, and I think that first of all one condition for this aim must be good experience of work in company with famous name, I think so, and good references and I think the knowledge of English and in computer

Elena: computer skills.

Olga: Computer skills, I think so. So, when I acquire these skills and can use them I think it helps, it will help me to improve not only myself and level of life

Elena: In general, now a couple of final questions about leisure time and hobbies that you do. What is your favourite leisure time activity?

Olga: First of all, I have to say that I have three day a week work week, and my weekend is only Sunday, so I try to use this time for good leisure. First of all, I like to spend much time with my friends and relatives, and also I try to spend much time among nature. If I have a free time I like to go, going to the sports gym, working out and also like very much travelling, travelling all around the Ukraine and abroad too. And also I like

Elena: What is your most favourite trip? Or what was your most favourite trip?

Olga: By the time by time, I travelled to Egypt, I was there a couple of months ago, and I had so much impressions, and I understand really that everyone must work, maybe hardly work, but everyone must know that after this work he will get a good salary and then can relax himself or herself, have appropriate rest with fashionable modern convenience and could feel himself or herself the really advanced person and have appropriate award for his or her hard work. And I think that foreigners also have such opinion.

Elena: Right. I think so. Okay, that's about it. Thank you very much for your time.

Olga: You are welcome.

Elena: Thanks.

5. Pavlo

Elena: Okay. First of all, thank you very much for the opportunity to interview you. Can you introduce yourself and say where you come from and what you do at the moment?

Pavlo: I am Pavlo. I am associate professor of department of Political Science, Chernivtsi National University. Well, what else have you asked?

Elena: And where do you come from?

Pavlo: I am from Chernivtsi, Ukraine.

Elena: Okay. Why and how did you learn English?

Pavlo: Well, I've studied English in my school for ten years. It was special school for children who want to learn English language from the first year. So, there was, probably, the basic possibility to study English <unclear> </unclear>. Then I studied it in the university for a couple of years, and that's it.

Elena: Okay. And how do you use English, living in Ukraine? Does it facilitate your work, and is it necessary to know English for your work?

Pavlo: Sure. First of all, I've I wrote my thesis on question questions of Canadian federalism and Quebec problem, that is why I need I needed to translate a lot of English sources, English papers and then I every day in on my work community in the university, is very important to use English language, because we have a lot of guests here, then we have a lot of different conferences, meetings and so on. That is why is very important to know English and to speak English.

Elena: Do you translate sometimes, when <break/> during the conferences?

Pavlo: No. Actually, I have not ever tried to translate, because I am not the only one here in our college who speaks English, but I translated some lectures of invited professors, who were here like a year or one ago. And they gave our students some lectures in English, and I tried to translate, so.

Elena: Sounds great. Can you judge someone's' English?

Pavlo: Can I judge?

Elena: Someone's English. Like, when you hear the person speaking, can you make an evaluation whether his or her speech is good or bad? Is it good or bad English?

Pavlo: Sure.

Elena: And what do you base it on?

Pavlo: I can divide all persons who speak English in two like in two parts. First part it is people, who know English, who know English very well, but their pronunciation and their <break/> the way they speak is like <break/>, it's very traditional and you can definitely see that this person, is from like USSR, this is Russian or Ukrainian school in language skills. So, it's easy to hear this kind of language. Another part is people who had some oral, some practice English speech, some practice, they they have been somewhere abroad, so their English language might be better, if they had that practice.

Elena: Okay.

Pavlo: So, it's it's <break/> sometimes it's hard to define either person speaks good either or bad, because <break/>. Mostly the pronunciation can show you can tell you a lot of things about English language of someone.

Elena: Okay, and how important is it for you to be correct when you speak English and when you write?

Pavlo: Sorry.

Elena: How important is it to be correct for you?

Pavlo: It's very important.

Elena: It's very important. Is it more important than to be fluent or less important?

Pavlo: I don't know.

Elena: So, when you speak English do you try to be correct or you don't really care?

Pavlo: No, I really care.

Elena: About being correct.

Pavlo: I try to be correct, but sometimes, you know <break/> it all depends on your practice, as far as I understand. If you have a lot of practice, like you can speak every day, and it's not a problem for you to speak correct, and for sure if you have possibility to go abroad like US, Canada or English speaking countries, but if you have no such a possibility, then you just <break/> it's not really easy to speak correct.

Elena: All the time.

Pavlo: You can translate every day, you can like, listen to the radio or any other English speaking sources, but if you don't have any practice, speech practice it's difficult.

Elena: Right. Okay. Is it sufficient for you to be understood or to understand? What is more important?

Pavlo: Hard question.

Elena: Yeah, it's a bit

Pavlo: Well, I guess, probably to be understood, because , well, I don't know. Mostly I understand a lot of things, I mean, I understand almost everything. Well, some words are not <unclear> some words I just cannot <unclear>

Elena: Just guess.

Pavlo: But . So, it's probably more important for me to be under-, to that somebody

Elena: can understand you.

Pavlo: Can understand, I guess.

Elena: As far as I understand you communicate a lot with native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English in English. And does it make a difference for you to communicate with both of them?

Pavlo: Yeah.

Elena: And where do you see the difference?

Pavlo: Sorry?

Elena: And where do you see the difference in communicating with natives and non-natives?

Pavlo: Once again, pronunciation, the way of <break/> they speak, because non-natives they mostly use their knowledges from school, university, some courses, English courses, and that is why you can see the difference between the way they speak and the way the native English people or English speaking people speak.

Elena: And what is more difficult for you to understand, natives or non-natives? For example, Indian person speaking English or German person speaking English, and American person speaking English.

Pavlo: Well, I guess, non-native is difficult for me to understand because they have some very specific pronunciation, some accent, and I have I've spoked to some person like that, French people, Poles, and they have such a hard pronunciation that sometimes you just cannot get what they are trying to say. It's even more difficult for me, it's <break/> I don't know why is that so, it's weird, but anyway, it's even more difficult for me to understand the English man than the American person who speaks English,

Elena: It's strange.

Pavlo: Because, you know, the pronunciation of the guys from Great Britain like, and from US or Canada differs a lot

Elena: Yeah

Pavlo: And it's easier for me to understand Americans or Canadians

Elena: Than British

Pavlo: And sometimes I try to understand what they are trying to say when I am speak to English man.

Elena: Okay. And do you think your English is sufficient for your needs?

Pavlo: No.

Elena: And where would you like to improve it? Are there some areas?

Pavlo: Ah, well, I think that the the most the main problem of my English is my vocabulary, I think it's very poor, because when I am trying to translate something from Ukrainian to English, or Russian to English, it's <break/> sometimes it's really hard to find the word, just trying to remember.

Elena: So do you have a feeling that you are still learning English?

Pavlo: Sorry.

Elena: Do you have a feeling that you are still learning English?

Pavlo: Yeah.

Elena: And what makes you think so? New vocabulary or?

Pavlo: Mostly, yeah mostly.

Elena: Okay. What model of English is more relevant for you? Is it British or American or English as an international language?

Pavlo: Well, I guess English as an international language. I like I don't like English pronunciation. Well, I don't mean that I don't like it, but I like Canadian pronunciation, that is what I wanted to say. Sometimes I don't like American pronunciation. Well, it also depends on the states.

Elena: on the region.

Pavlo: But, I guess that the international language is <unclear> pretty good </unclear>

Elena: And do you think there are some disadvantages or advantages of <break/> for the language to be an international language?

Pavlo: To be what?

Elena: to be an international language. Are there some disadvantages of being an international language or advantages?

Pavlo: I don't know. I guess, there are more advantages in this meaning because, you you <break/> everyone can understand you, but it's more difficult for someone like me or anyone else to understand for example, Englishmen, because, some of them <break/>, I have spoked to some of them from Scotland, I guess, or so, and they used some words I never heard, and they have such a specific pronunciation that I was pretty confused to translate what they are saying, so.

Elena: Yes, that's true, I think. Okay. The second part is about you work. Can you tell me a little bit about the institution that you are working for and the job that you are doing at the moment? What lectures or seminars are you teaching?

Pavlo: I have a couple of courses for the students of Political Science department and for the students of department <break/> College of Economics and College of Law, but for the students of College of Law and Economics, I only have one course, it's political

politology or there is no word like that in English. We say <NLU> политология

politologiya </NLU>, but in English it's just political science or political studies, and for the students of department of Political Science, I have some courses. First of all, it's The Person and Politics. It's the first course, then but not the main. Then I have <NLU> державна/derzhavna </NLU> Public Administration, very hard and difficult course, I guess, for the students. Then, I have the Actual Problems of Federalism in the World, that's for the students of the last last year, last year students and the totela-, how do you pronounce <NLU> тоталітаризм/totalitarism </NLU>.

Elena: Totalitarianism

Pavlo: Totalitarianism in twentieth century.

Elena: Okay, and do you do lectures or mainly seminars?

Pavlo: I mostly do lectures,

Elena: Lectures

Pavlo: Almost have no seminars.

Elena: Okay. Do you have some administrative duties at the university?

Pavlo: I am vice dean of the College of History, Political Science and International Relations. So I have pretty much job about it and

Elena: And what are your duties mainly?

Pavlo: Mostly I organize other <break/> some kind of student parties, celebrities, things like that. Then, different competitions, it's my work.

Elena: Okay. And what do you like best about your work?

Pavlo: What is? Well, I guess that for me the most interesting in my work today for me is the opportunity to speak to different people, to have different students every every year, so it always changing, so it's not boring. That's probably the main thing. And the second things is that I feel that I am not standing on the same level, intellectual level, and I feel like I am <break/> how do you say, I am improving my intellectual level.

Elena: Okay.

Pavlo: I have to.

Elena: Yeah, you are professor, right? What is your own educational background? Have you graduated from the same university?

Pavlo: Yea, I've graduated this university in nineteen ninety nine, then I was a student of post-graduate program and I've <break/>, after that I defended my thesis.

Elena: Your PhD thesis?

Pavlo: Yeah.

Eena: At this university?

Pavlo: Yeah

Elena: Have you had some experience abroad?

Pavlo: Canada

Elena: And you were an exchange student or?

Pavlo: Yeah. It was summer school on Political Science.

Elena: Okay, sounds good. Okay. And why did you decide to become a politologist? How did you start it?

Pavlo: It's a difficult question. I can only say that when I studied at school, one of the Chernivtsi schools, I've I've, I was very <break/> how do you say active active boy, I mean, I often had some problems with teachers, mostly concerning history, because when I studied at school it was just was the time when Ukraine got its independent, so you know, it was very romantic, it was maybe such an independent movement, so I was re-patriot, that is why I had argued argued with teachers from my school, who were communists in the ideological

Elena: thinking.

Pavlo: Yeah, thinking. After that, I guess, after that I decided that it is interesting for me to talk about politics, to be interested about it, and when I entered the Faculty of History,

it was it just was the time that one the department of political science opened, so it's like my group, I mean the group I studied in was probably the first

Elena: graduating.

Pavlo: Yeah from this new department.

Elena: Okay, now a couple of things about your leisure time. How do you like to spend your leisure time here in town, or do you go out of town quite often?

Pavlo: I would really like to go out of town, but it's very difficult, because I do not really have a lot of time. Mostly, I spend my time with my friends, drinking beer, playing tennis, basketball, sometimes going to gym. Well, if I have a time and was really to go out of the city, then we go to the Carpathians like go for a couple of days. We have a trip mostly, I guess.

Elena: Okay, that's about it. Thank you very much for your time.

Pavlo: Welcome.

Elena: Thanks.

6. Sergiy

Elena: Okay. First of all, thank you very much for the opportunity to interview you. Can you introduce yourself, and say where you come from and what you do at the moment?

Sergiy: I am Sergiy. I am associate professor of department of political science. Now I am sitting here and I participating in interview.

Elena: Thanks. Can you tell me a little bit of why and how you learnt English?

Sergiy: I started learning English when I was twelve at school, and I have a very strong motivation because, since my childhood I am interested in politics, in history, although my studies at school were not very successful, because in Soviet Union, the general level English study was pretty low. So, I tried to do it myself, I bought a lot of books,

self- study boos, and I tried to improve my language by myself, because I was not lucky with my English teachers at school.

Elena: And have you had any experience abroad?

Sergiy: Yes, I have very <break/> it's pretty new experience, and in general I spent three and a half years in English speaking countries, or in English speaking environment.

Elena: In <break/>, where was it, in America or Canada?

Sergiy: It was one year in the United States, one year in Great Britain, and one <break/>, I also studied at Central European University in Hungary, in English speaking university, and I spent a few months in Canada. That was my experience.

Elena: Sounds great. And living in Ukraine, how do you use English, and is it necessary to know English for your work at the university?

Sergiy: Probably, it's more important for me to know English for my academic research rather than to work at the university. But from time to time, we have some events in English, some seminars, joint seminars with our foreign colleagues, and <unclear> </unclear>. I don't think that I need English very much here at the university in Chernivtsi.

Elena: But it's more for your personal research and for your own sake.

Sergiy: Because my research <break/>, I am specializing in political science and international relations, and English is the major language, so I am using all the English speaking, English language sources. So, it's necessary tool.

Elena: Do you think your English is sufficient for your needs?

Sergiy: I think in general yes. Of course, when I am doing my research, I am usually using my reading skills, reading skills, but I feel that I need some more oral practice, because when you live very long in your native country, so the language is forgotten. So, you have from time to time to refresh your knowledge.

Elena: And how do you do this?

Sergiy: Well, I am trying to participate in some international conferences, for example, in a few days, I will be in Istanbul at seminar with my <break/> Eurasian Security with my

American colleagues. So, I <break/> it will be a three day seminar and it will help me to keep the <break/> my speaking language.

Elena: Very interesting, I guess. Okay. Can you judge someone' English, when you hear the person for the first time speaking, let's say?

Sergiy: Excuse me. Could you <break/>?

Elena: Can you judge someone's English, the level of English, the English proficiency?

Sergiy: Yes, of course.

Elena: And what do you base your judgment on?

Sergiy: It's based on speaking, you know, on grammar, on vocabulary, pronunciation. I can distinguish between American and British English. Previously, I even could split between British and Australian accents and now I probably not.

Elena: Okay, what is most important for you when you speak English?

Sergiy: For me, the most important thing is to be understood, to be understood correctly, and you know, when I start speaking English, you know, when I start speaking English after a break, I have, you know a feeling of incomfortable. I am a bit incomfortable, but later I am good.

Elena: And how important is it for you to be correct when you speak?

Sergiy: I try to be correct. Sometimes, you know, I know that some people are trying to speak slower in order to speak more correctly, but you know, my manner is <break/>. Usually my language is fast, it's my fault. I have to be more slower.

Elena: And does it depend on the communicative situation that you are in, your requirement to yourself?

Sergiy: It depends on the situation, depends on the situation. When I am speaking with my colleagues, I am trying to be, you know, at their level. It's my mistake, because, probably, I have to speak slower, but I try to adjust to

Elena: Their level

Sergiy: No, flow of language, and in this situation, sometimes I am doing a lot of mistakes.

Elena: Okay, does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers?

Sergiy: Of course.

Elena: And where do you see the difference?

Sergiy: Sometimes, it's easier to communicate with non-native speakers, because they are at my level, and when you speak with native speaker, but it depends, it depends, it depends, but usually sometimes it's easy to speak with native speaker, especially educated native speaker, because when you are speaking with non-native speaker, and on the one hand it's easy, because his level is low, but on the other hand, it's even could be more difficult, because that person does not know language, and you have to guess.

Elena: What he means

Sergiy: What he is speaking about in some situations.

Elena: Okay. What is your worst feat when you communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers?

Sergiy: What's my?

Elena: Worst fear.

Sergiy: Native or?

Elena: Native and non-native, both.

Sergiy: Sometimes, my worst fear is to lose the essence of speaking, sometimes, I do not understand, and I have <break/>, I am asking to repeat. It's <break/>, it's very bad feeling, when you ask to repeat again, and again, and again. Its shows, that I <break/> no, sometimes it depends <break/>, in some situation I am feeling comfortable, and I have no problem with understanding, and in other situations, have to ask more and more <quote> please, repeat </quote>, it's my worst feeling. With native speaker and non-native speaker I don't feel <break/> when I feel that my language is better than person, bad feelings <break/> better than somebody's English

Elena: the person that you are speaking to. Okay, I see. Do you sometimes feel that you are still learning English?

Sergiy: My <break/>?

Elena: Do you sometimes feel that you are learning English?

Sergiy: I am learning?

Elena: Learning English, still learning English.

Sergiy: Yes, I try to, but <break/> I try to learn English all the time, because when you back to the United states or English speaking country after significant break, you have <break/> you feel that you have to refresh your vocabulary at least, so I am <break/> when I have time, I try to learn, to review my knowledge. I have some self-reference books, also I am using <break/>, there are many interesting learning vocabularies like Longman, American English Longman, American English. And this book is designed very well, and from time to time, I am looking to this book.

Elena: Okay, and what standard of English do you aim at? Is it more English as an international language, or do you chose American or British variety?

Sergiy: Usually, I prefer to speak <break/>, at school, all we learnt English, British English, but I feel more comfortable with American English, I don't know why, probably United states and Canada was the first English speaking country to which I came first and that's why <break/> American English seems to me more up-to-date.

Elena: Okay, and what is your attitude to English as an International language? Do you see some advantages and disadvantages of it?

Sergiy: It seems to me that English is a very good thing, means for international communication, because, English is simple language, in comparison with some Slavonic languages or <break/> not to mention Oriental languages. English grammar, it seems to me that <break/> I don't know German, but my feeling is easy than German. And it seems to me that it's not easy to learn, it seems to me that for any motivated person, it takes up to half a year to learn English in general for communication. It's not difficult. It seems to me that English is well designed for international communication, but of course, it is changing, when it goes through all

cultures and nations. So English <break/> it seems to me that English is getting simplified, it's getting more simple.

Elena: Right. Okay. The second part is about your institution that you are working for, and your role here. So, can you describe your job, what you do in this in this institution?

Sergiy: I am teaching at the department of political science. It's usual routine of <break/> for the lecture, so nothing special here.

Elena: So, you do lectures.

Sergiy: Lectures, seminars. I am help, I help to prepare some, you know, course work, some final papers and so on, general usual.

Elena: Okay, and what is your own educational background?

Sergiy: Well, I am graduated from Chernivtsi then State University, with Honours Diploma. I am historian, then I I am Candidate of Sciences in History, and then I am also M.A. in Political Science from Central European University in Budapest.

Elena: In Budapest. And why did you decide to become a politoligist?

Sergiy: I don't know. It's difficult to say. I like this, you know, I like the society, I like to observe processes in society. I like to follow this, you know, it's it's a part of our life. So, I like general look at the society processes. So for me social sciences are the best job or profession. It's difficult to say, difficult to say, and no one knows

Elena: the answer. Okay, what do you like best about your work?

Sergiy: I like the feeling, feeling when students are obtaining something new from me, and when I look at them and see their interesting eyes, it's really great. Also, I like communication with my colleagues, so of course they aren't family, but when I go, when I come here every day I am meeting some of my colleagues and we have discussions, it's a good part of my work.

Elena: And is there anything that you don't really like about your work and would like to change?

Sergiy: I was thinking about this, but probably, the worst things is not very high salary.

Elena: It could be better, if it were a bit higher. Okay, and are there some skills that you would like to acquire?

Sergiy: For what?

Elena: For any purpose, I don't know. It could be English or computer skills or whatever that you want to learn more about?

Sergiy: Probably, I was thinking about learning a second foreign language. You know, many times I started learning, for example French, but, you know, I did not have strong motivation, but I wish it be French. I like French language, but I had no chance to start it, and to, what is more important, to complete

Elena: The process

Sergiy: To achieve a certain level, because all the time <break/> I have no time, probably, it's laziness, it's

Elena: It's too time consuming also.

Sergiy: Okay and can you tell me about your family life and what you like to do in your free time?

Sergiy: Well, I have family. I have two kids, daughter and daughter and the son. Now, I have no spare time because I am working at my doctoral dissertation, but usually I like, I like reading. When I was young I went to swimming pool, unfortunately now we don't have it in Chernivtsi. I like walking, but in general I like my <break/>, you know, I like my profession, my <break/> because, every day is new when you engaged in politics and the study of policy, politics, you you know, there is no routine. So, every day is something new, and you are trying to read, to think, to analyse those processes all the time even if you are doing something different or <unclear>

Elena: Okay

Sergiy: Probably, it's my problem that I can't I am I can't relax completely.

Elena: Yeah, always thinking about your work, and something like this.

Sergiy: Yes, even without my will.

Elena: Yes, subconsciously. And the final question would be: what is your thesis about?

Sergiy: My thesis is about security in post-Soviet space and in Europe.

Elena: Can you tell me a little bit about it?

Sergiy: Okay, so I try to <break/>. The hypothesis of my thesis is that in twenty first century Post Soviet territory, the territory of so-called Soviet Union will be included into the into the so-called Euro-Atlantic space, because for the west it will be vital important, because in some regions there are <break/>, some regions are rich of mineral resources, for example oil and gas, and the territory of former Soviet Union is rather secure in comparison with some other regions of for example, in Persian Gulf or <unclear> </unclear>. So, and also culturally former Soviet Union, despite of some many ideological differences belong to European civilization, in my understanding. So, that's why, it's a general hypothesis of me. <Unclear> </unclear> I am trying to learn some institutional form of this cooperation, in securities term, between NATO, European Union, United States and Russia, Ukraine and some other countries, in general.

Elena: In how many years are you going to complete it?

Sergiy: I try to complete it in one year, probably. It depends.

Elena: On how it goes, that's true

Sergiy: Yeah

Elena: Okay, that's about it. Thank you very much for your time

Sergiy. Thank you for invitation.

Elena: Thanks a lot.

7. Tanya

Elena: Okay. First, thanks a lot for the opportunity to interview you, and first of all can you introduce yourself and say where you come from and what you do at the moment?

Tanya: So, my name is Tanya, surname </cut>. Where I come from <break/>, I come from this town and I finished a gymnasium, then just one week ago I finished Trade and Economic Institute, and so, my speciality is marketing, so I received my diploma and I also study English here. Actually I was also working with <break/> working languages because I was studying in Italy and in German, and actually sometime I worked as interpreter of Italian and German and sometimes English. But <unclear> </unclear> will better, but there was no practice, and that is why now I decided to better it. So <break/>.

Elena: Okay. Why and how did you learn English?

Tanya: So, at first I was learning it in my gymnasium and I was very satisfied with the level of studying there and in the eleventh form I had the teacher from USA, Miss Maize. I like her very much, and I can say that really after finishing the gymnasium I was not maybe really fluent, but I was fluent because I could speak English, and then I was studying by myself, began to work, but <break/>. I was not like very how to say it very professional interpreter. I was working for example, like a manager of some firm, and this firm has some international business, and that is why so, I was using my language like interpreter, but actually, I was, for example, manager of inter, how to say <NLU> *зовнішнє економиічне /z*ovnishne ekonomichne </NLU> trade, It's like, you understand me.

Elena: Yeah:

Tanya: And then I was working with languages more, and then there was some period, especially now, my work is not really connected with language, and I understood that I have no practice, that is why I decided to go here, and the second reason why I continue to learn <unclear> </unclear> because now I finished institute, university, and I want to have some maybe Master degrees abroad, that is why I have to pass TOEFL. That's why I want to recollect my knowledges, and then to pass TOEFL, and maybe to learn some marketing like MBA, or maybe Magister I don't know in English to say Magister level somewhere, I don't know, some international, I mean. Maybe it will be German or another country, but I want to learn in English, because I know that is possible, especially high level, even in different countries, they all study in English.

Elena: Okay. Do you think English is sufficient for you needs?

Tanya: yes. Actually, I love languages, and if to speak about languages, I can't say that English is language for me. It's, you know, <break/> I don't <break/>, I can't <break/>, I don't know how to explain this, but maybe because if I speak Italian I speak only with Italians, yes, only with native speakers. If I speak German, actually I don't like German too much; it's not so melody, as for example <break/>. I love Italy and German so so. And if to say about English I spoke English very often with people who are not native speakers, that is why I have more feeling that it's just the language for the world, but not <break/> it's not, for me it's not something like language of USA or England, it's more, and sometimes, even in Morocco <break/>, I was travelling to Pakistan and <NLU> Arabsky Emiraty </NLU> Dubai and even I have to speak <break/> when I was speaking very good English language, or with good pronunciation, they can't understand me, that is why I have to speak in bad pronunciation and not very, how to say, very simple words, because they understand better. So, it's not like <unclear> key to conversation <unclear/>.

Elena: And do you think it's positive for the language to be an international language or negative?

Tanya: From one point, surely, the first reason it's really positive, but from another, I <break/> what I under <break/> what I want to explain to you, for example for me Italian is language, or something like. It is connected for me with country, with people, with traditions. French is language, and English for me is not connected too much with traditions, more international language. So I surely <break/> I <break/> it's connected with USA and England. But also it's some <break/> a little bit separate from their native speakers, really.

Elena: And when you see the person for the first time, can you judge his or her English, and what do you base your judgment on?

Tanya: What do you mean judge English? She knows English?

Elena: How he or she knows English, and whether he or she speaks good English, proper English.

Tanya: You know, sometimes, especially Europe, there are people who know really good English, and sometimes I begin to speak with them and I am not sure or they are from

England or they are from German. And when I say <quote> where are you from </quote> and they say <quote> I am from German </quote> and I say <quote> oh, this person is speaking English really good </quote>, but ordinary, it's maybe that is why that I was living in different countries and me it's very easy even without speaking with a person to say from what country she is, especially in German people have some specific in their clothes, in their speaking, even if they speak English: Italian, American. So but I begin to speak with person, it's very easy to hear what level language, how to say it, because

Elena: And what do you base your judgment on?

Tanya: Judgment? What it's based on? Pronunciation, it's I understand that I have some pronunciation, which mean foreigner pronunciation that I am not a native speaker, but pronunciation and the fluency of speaking. If, for example, I see that the person begin to think too much, its mean that she not very fluent, especially in Italy, to me it is they are not speaking fluently. They can say but how to say simple words and they begin to think something, to analyse, that is why I see that they are . But in business world, there are really a lot of persons which are perfect, and I think they have to be perfect 16 because they work on contracts, and they discuss different things, and it's not very nice when you can't explain something to your partner. That's why, especially high managers, or owners, or directors, they are really good in English.

Elena: Okay, how important is it for you to be correct when you speak English, and does it depend on the communicative situation that you are in?

Tanya: Actually, I have not this barrier, because <break/> maybe because of Italian. I came to Italy, and I was not <break/> I never learnt this language, and surely, then by two months living there, I began to speak some <unclear> </unclear> just words. And I have not this some complex, you know, if you know language, and go somewhere, you always think how to say and even, my teacher, Miss Maize, said <quote> never think how to say correct, just try to speak </quote>, and I am not <break/> I did not finish any university of language, and I can't be perfect, and I think even in business world, I am never shame of that I did some mistakes. In <break/> especially what I can say about languages, I don't like to communicate sometimes with German, because if you

say something, not good grammar, they said <quote> what you mean? </quote>. I know that they understand you, but why are you saying what? And sometimes, I was visiting some exhibitions in business and I try to speak English, because when I am speaking English they are more polite with me, they are more polite with me, they are thinking maybe I am Englishman you know, and with Italians, it's very easy, they are <break/>. I remember I was rather young, I was in eleventh form, and I was working as interpreter here, and my language was really poor. You know, I know words but I don't know grammar and I said that. And they said <quote> don't don't complex, we don't know even one word in Ukrainian </quote>. You know, they are very easy. I was knowing that my grammar is terrible, but they understood me and it was very pleasant for me. And it was pleasant that I can understand them, so I haven't any, you know. Sometime I know that there is not such words in English, but I try to explain by five words, and I think it's normal, it's <break/> and then, if it is a good speaker, and he something like, in good relations, he can try to help you and I think it's normal, it's not problem.

Elena: Okay. And does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers, and where do you see the difference?

Tanya: Yes, it's easier to communicate with not native, because

Elena: Why?

Tanya: because I feel more free, because I know that they don't really hear my acc pronunciation, bad, if it's bad. They can't really hear my mistakes, because, you know, they like me. And sometimes I can be better in level, and if I am speaking with native speaker, they are very often <break/> they are speaking very quickly and very often they something like eat the ending of the words, and that is why it is more difficult, I think. And also, a little bit psychologically, you know, I think how is my pronunciation and little </break>

Elena: You re-analyze yourself.

Tanya: Yes. More more than with not-native speakers.

Elena: And what is your worst fear when you communicate with native speakers and non-native speakers?

Tanya: I think when I speak with native speakers, I try that my language <break/> maybe I am not using too much different construction with which I am not sure, you know. I'd like to say maybe more more poor, not poor language, but how to say it, more clear. Something like this.

Elena: And do you have a feeling that you are still learning English?

Tanya: Yes.

Elena: And what makes you think so?

Tanya: Learning?

Elena: Yeah.

Tanya: Fear or feeling?

Elena: No no, feeling. Do you have a feeling that you are learning English?

Tanya: Actually, no. One year ago, I came here and begin to learn French, and it was so strange for me and some strange feeling, I did like this feeling. Why? Because I was used to better language, not </break>, for example, in English I have one level, in Italian another, in German another, and I was used that I understand text, I can speak but I just improve it, and it was really different when I begin to learn language from zero. It was really difficult, and I have not any how to say pleasure, because it was difficult, I can't speak, I can't understand, and in English, I just have <break/>. Even I can't say that I took a lot of from these lessons, but it's really interesting to read something, to speak, to communicate. I think something like I am in club of interest or something <break/> we are discussing something, but not really learning, because <break/> from zero, yes. I think that people <break/> it's not very easy when I hear the person is twenty years or twenty five say <quote> Oh I'll go on courses </quote>, you know, when he is zero in English, it's not so easy and it's not so interesting, because of you can speak, then it's more interesting for you, and easier. I have feeling that I am improving language, not just learning from zero.

Elena: yea, that's true, I think. And what standard of English do you aim at, when you learn it?

Tanya: What I want, yes?

Elena: yea

Tanya: Actually, when I was beginning to visit these lessons, I have very unpleasant feeling that very often, I know words, I understand them easily, but I something like have to collect them from my mind. You know, to talk, when I was speaking, teaching, no studying in school, and I was <break/> have lessons every day, I was really fluent. So, maybe I have some unknown difficulty words in texts, but I was really fluent in speaking and it was unpleasant feeling, when I feel, so I want to be more fluent and to understand cassettes, you know, not just native speakers, who are speaking very quickly, but still to understand minimum ninety percent, then it's really pleasant, because when you read and you understand, then when you listen cassette and to understand twenty percents, the you feel that you have a lot of things to improve.

Elena: Okay, right. The second part is mainly about your professional life and institution that you are working for. So, can you tell us what you do at the moment, and can you give me some idea of your daily life?

Tanya: At the moment, so I said that I finished university, and I am, how to say, bad, but my work now is not connected with language, because I am working as <break/> I don't know how to say it better, administrator or a director of a furniture furniture salon French, how to say it. It's expensive, and it's very nice, it's really interesting work and, and as I am director of this salon, I have a lot of responsibility, beginning with working with the client, and ending up with all <unclear> </unclear> I have to do, finance and so on. It's interesting, but I always was dreaming to have some work which connected with international. Actually, one problem is that I am married and my husband <break/> he has <break/> he is director of one firm here, so he don't want really to move to Kiev, and I sometimes <break/>. I finished and I want to do somewhere abroad to learn, and I understand that it's very difficult to find the work, because here is nobody needed <break/> knowing English, Italian and German, three languages, you know. And, actually, I never wanted to work really like teacher, or translator. I want to be an economist, my profession is economist or marketing, and to use my languages. So, in Kiev, it's really easier to find such job, because there's is a lot of international firms, which really need such persons. And I think even after work, studying abroad one year it will be <break/> I'll have more <break/> how to say skills, and will be easier to have really good work of international companies. So, something

like plans, and I suppose that I <break/>. I think if my husband will be really <break/>, if he really don't want that I go abroad then maybe I'll enter some international institute, which is situated in Kiev. Maybe some MBA, and if you go to MBA, it's have to be in English, so.

Elena: Right.

Tanya: So, I want to study but in English, my profession, but in English.

Elena: And why did you decide to be an economist?

Tanya: I can't say that I am economist, is <break/> I just say this for persons, because it's easy. Actually, I like my profession very much. It's not very developed in Chernivtsy, and if for example, you say in Chernivtsi <quote> where do you study, what will be your profession </quote>, because I finished only one week ago, and I say marketing, they say <quote> Oh, how you don't go to accounting </quote>. You know, it's strange for me, because I never wanted to account, I want to have some work, which connected with, you know, like design with something, design in <unclear> </unclear>, I mean. Some interesting work, and when I finished my school I was thinking that I know I love languages, but I know, that I don't want to enter our University of <NLU> Inyaz </NLU>, and I want some work where <break/>. And marketing is a really the profession, which is not very connected with accounting and so on. It's really interesting, and you, it's very <break/> something like spread, and a lot of new things appear. So you can study, study all your life <unclear> </unclear>.

Elena: And how did you get started in this work that you are doing now?

Tanya: Actually, it was <break/>, I am not just a director, which came to the place. I was something like organizing this is business, because the owners, they invited me and one person, one boy, and they said <quote> you will be here one month and after one month we'll <break/> <quote/>, it was one year ago, <quote> we'll decide whom of you we'll <quote/>, something like left, <quote> who is better <quote/>. And this boy is really <break/>, he had big experience in furniture business, because he was working in Kiev, he was a director of such magazine, and I wasn't. And then, we begin to work, and we was good, two of us, but we was very different, you know. We do different work so we like combine each other. And then I just begin from zero, so I

had something like some place, where I can make this shop and I has <break/>, this person, this owner they have their own production, but they said, in this magazine have to be their production and some other. We have to find someone. So we visited different exhibitions, we analyse our <break/> the whole city, which shops we have. We found the thing, which are not <break/>, which wasn't represented earlier here. And in two days, this boy, my partner, he is not now my partner, because he is a director of a production area of this firm, and I am <unclear> </unclear>. So everything, which is in this magazine I ordered, and so, it's really interesting because it's like <break/> I was <break/> don't know, the birth of this magazine was by my some, it was like, I was working more than half an year, and there was no shop. I just was organizing everything. And at the first steps, it was not easy, it was not a lot of people, people don't know, we spend a lot of money, and there was not a lot of salary, but now it's going better and better.

Elena: That's great. And what do you like best about your work?

Tanya: I think, for me the most important in the work when I can grew up. So, if for example, even I have a lot of money, salary, but I do the same work, I can't make my <unclear> </unclear> my own decision, and when I am not growing up, so I am not learning something new, then it's bad work. And now I can learn, because I really learn a lot of new things, and I can do my own decisions, so people are listening to my thoughts, it's not my money, their money, but they are something like asking me what to do or not, like saying do this, and we are not interested what you are think, so. This is this is good. Also, speaking with people, and so, not bad. It's not really what I want, because it's not connected with languages, and it's not really easy to come from the work, because I really have hard day work, and that is why <unclear> <unclear>, but in this part of my life, it's good, and then I will try maybe to change something, and find something another. Actually, my dream <break/> I want to have my own business, and I want that it will be some international, not international, but joint venture. I have a lot of friends abroad, not really friends, they like persons, who have different enterprises, and I was working with them as interpreter and now it's very popular to make some joint venture, for example, from Italian persons. They open here some enterprises, which produce something; they bring their equipment, like in leasing and

their sources, their knowing. So, I think but not now, I need more knowledges to start something.

Elena: And what other skills would you like to acquire?

Tanya: What skills, I am

Elena: In general.

Tanya: Which I want in future to have?

Elena: Yeah, something like this.

Tanya: First skill, it just knowing life, and to know life, you can you can't even, even if you are really clever, you can't know the things which you will know in thirty, forty, in twenty. It's normally, and I understood now because year by year, you just have to live to saw how life is, it's very important, and knowledges in books, they are also important, but knowing about life, just life.

Elena: Common sense.

Tanya: The life giving a lot of something like lessons, you just have to learn and to see what life is showing to you.

Elena: Thanks. Would you mind telling me a little bit about your family life and what you like to do in your free time? What are your favourite activities?

Tanya: I have very friendly family. I am married only half an year, and they have not really feeling this is my family. I have no feeling that my family is my father, my mother and my brother. Now, my parents, they moved to Kiev to work, they are two doctors. My father is surgeon, child, and my mother is also a doctor. I have a brother; he is finishing gymnasium number four now in this year and he want to enter Polytechnic Institute in Kiev. My free time, actually, I have a lot of hobbies, and I sometimes <break/>, for it's strange when people don't know what to do, and a little bit I am different with my husband. He, like, more quiet, because he is, maybe he is a director, he is travelling a lot, and when came <unclear> </unclear> weekends, he will just calm, and for me weekends, is always some <break/> doing something. I like very much going for sports, I am <break/> love travel, to see different people, different traditions. So, in my free time <break/> also sometimes, I also like some calm, just to

467

sit near my house, to read books, it's also interesting, but generally I like something like moving, seeing something new, and doing something new. Then it's something, you are always in movement.

Elena: Okay. That's about it. Thank you very much for your time.

Tanya: Thank you for your.

Elena: Thanks.

2. Russian speakers

8. Dmitry

<u>Elena</u>: Okay. Thank you very much for the opportunity to interview you. Can you introduce yourself and say where you come from and what you do here in Germany.

<u>Dmitry</u>: My name is Dmitry. I come from Belarus, Minsk. I've studied my <break/> er Belarus Law, I studied Law in Belarus. Now I am here to continue my education, I make an LLM program in <break/>.

<u>Elena</u>: What kind of program is that? Can you characterize it a little bit?

<u>Dmitry</u>: It's middle stage between doctor test thesis and Bachelor, Bachelor degree.

<u>Elena</u>: So, you've got your Bachelor's or your Master's back home, and then you came here to do your second Master's, so to say.

<u>Dmitry</u>: No, I have made only our Bachelor's degrees and <unclear> </unclear> make a Master degree here.

<u>Elena</u>: How do you use English living in Germany?

<u>Dmitry</u>: I do not use English.

<u>Elena</u>: At all, or do you do some readings or?

<u>Dmitry</u>: Sometimes I read in English for the purpose of my Mag MaDJister thEsis, and not not more much.

<u>Elena</u>: When you were back home, how did you use English. Were there some needs to use English?

<u>Dmitry</u>: In Belarus, English is very useful. We are speaking Russian and second international language for us is English. When somebody don't know Russian, we speak English or German. Also literature is in English, special literature I mean.

<u>Elena</u>: So basically, you can't do without it back home. Do you think knowing English facilitates your work here or your studies here?

<u>Dmitry</u>: Can you reformulate your question?

Elena: Does knowing English facilitate, makes it easier to study here or? What do you think?

Dmitry: Now, now of course I write now my Magister thesis, and most literature is in English to this topic, that's why it's very useful for me now.

Elena: Would it be possible to do it without English?

Dmitry: No, you know in United Nation Organization German language is not official language, since Second World war, because of second world war this German language was was not <FLG> mehr </FLG> was not no more as official League of Nations <unclear> internization </unclear> language, that's why every official document every <functional reduction strategy abandons the message, because he can't find an appropriate English word> yeah, every official document is is not in German language, but in English. That's why I must read in English, I must translate from English to Russian, from Russian to German.

Elena: Yeah, that's a bit tricky, okay. Are there some areas where you want to improve your English in?

Dmitry: Every area.

Elena: Can you characterize your English a little bit? Do you feel confident speaking English? And what are the things that you would like to improve </cut>?

Dmitry: First my spoken English, I can read well, I can understand not good, but I cannot speak in English, and my special, my Law English is quite well; also my spoken English for normal purposes for normal life.

Elena: Okay. Do you need more grammar wise? What do you think?

Dmitry: I think that if I will study English, I will remember my <FLG> Kennt </FLG> my knowledges that I know from school.

Elena: You mean grammar?

Dmitry: I mean grammar.

Elena: Can you judge someone's English? Evaluate someone's knowledge of English?

Dmitry: Yeah, of course.

Elena: And what do you base it on? And what do you base it on then?

Dmitry: I don't know, sense of language.

Elena: Okay. Can you elaborate this little bit?

Dmitry: When I hear somebody, when his language, his pronunciation, his grammar, his intu <functional reduction strategy, abandons the word>, pronunciation, grammar and <FLG> wie </FLG> <FLG> nicht wir <FLG> how fast is his language, I can <FLG> ja <FLG>, judge a little bit <unclear> if </unclear> his language good or bad is.

Elena: Do you personally, do you feel confident speaking English and comfortable?

Dmitry: No, not now.

Elena: What makes you think so?

Dmitry: Normally I speak Russian or En, or German <FLG> schon </FLG> since <FLG> zweitausend <FLG> two thousand three I haven't speak English for two years. That' s why it's now not very good, not comf, I feel myself not very comfortable, I need more practice, more conversations, to <unclear> feel </unclear> myself better.

Elena: What is most important for you in the communication?

Dmitry: What do you mean?

Elena: Whatever. When you talk with the native speaker or a non-native speaker in an informal conversation or formal what do you pay more attention to?

Dmitry: It depends on what's kind of conversation it is, if it's professional conversation or normal living.

Elena: If it's a professional one?

Dmitry: Then, of course, the professional knowledges in, professional <break/> , then it's more important for me to become some new knowledges, some interesting information about the topic, language is not important not as form a form of transmission of knowledge.

Elena: How important is correctness for you when you speak?

Dmitry: It's very important, <FLG> aber </FLG> but to <unclear> </unclear> especi for <FLG> Verständnis </FLG>

Elena: Understanding.

Dmitry: For understanding it's <break/>, especi but not not more.

Elena: Okay. And how important is fluency? What is more important, fluency or correctness for you?

Dmitry: I would say correctness. When language is correct then you can understand better better <FLG> besser </FLG> better. When it's when it's fluently spoken but not very correct, then you can <break/> can you understand not all things, or you can understand nothing. So, correctness is on the first place.

Elena: Okay. And does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers?

Dmitry: For me, it's has no difference. I speak <FLG> mit </FLG> every man or woman. So I so I speak so I can speak so I <FLG> ja </FLG>. For me, it's no difference, but I haven't speak w.ith no native speaker.

Elena: For a long time or?

Dmitry: I cannot.

Elena: You said native or non-native speaker, wait a minute.

Dmitry: With native speaker. I can I cannot remember conversation with native speaker.

Elena: So, basically, it was more with the non-natives.

Dmitry: Yeah.

Elena: And when you communicate with non-natives, are there some things that you find difficult to understand or do you experience any problems?

Dmitry: Mhm, sometimes. Every non-native speaker is is ever influenced by with his native language, his mother language. That's why some expressions are not un, are not are not to understand. But basically, it's <break/> yeah <unclear> okay </unclear>

Elena: It's okay, yeah. Do you have any fear when you communicate with natives and non-natives, with non-natives, because you haven't talked to natives?

Dmitry: No fear, we </break> it's non mother language for you or for these persons, so I <break/> there's no problem, if we make some errors or have some problems with language, it's <FLG> kein </FLG>, it's no problem.

Elena: Okay. What model of English do you aim at? What is your standard in learning English?

Dmitry: Mhm.

Elena: What kind of English do you want to speak?

Dmitry: I would say

Elena: What do you how do you characterize what you want to achieve?

Dmitry: For me, it's important to speak to speak good for my professional English, I mean, English, Law English to communicate good in normal living. That's minimal standard for me.

Elena: Mhm.

Dmitry: If it's will, if it's will go be better, it's will be good, but, minimal standard is professional English and good normal living communication.

Elena: So, you wouldn't take British English or American English as a standard.

Dmitry: I would prefer American English.

Elena: You would prefer American. Are there some reasons for this?

Dmitry: The reason is that American English is <break/>. Okay, America ist is now is nowadays a big and <break/> oh..

Elena: powerful country

Dmitry: and powerful country, and also we have to speak mostly with Americans, not with Eng not with <FLG> Engländer </FLG> or Austr Austral Australianer, or people from from Australia. That's why American English is preferable.

Elena: Okay. And how important is pronunciation for you, when you speak, or when you hear a person speaking?

Dmitry: Second place.

Elena: It's not a...

Dmitry: Not so important as not so important as grammatical and <break/> <FLG> so </FLG>, not so important. That's it.

Elena: Good. Do you feel sometimes that you are still learning English?

Dmitry: No, I still, I stay still with my English since I have ended my school. In University I have <FLG> also </FLG> there there was in progress in my English, and now it's on the regress.

Elena: Okay. So, do you do anything to improve it or <break/> to keep the level?

Dmitry: Now, no. I want one one time for <break/> one time once I will to go to any English course. I want to make first Cambridge Certificate or TOEFL examination, but it's only my intentions, but.

Elena: So, you have not taken TOEFL before you came here? It was not a requirement.

Dmitry: No, I think. I should only speak Deus, German and make a <break>

Elena: German as a Foreign Language.

Dmitry: DSH Exams once more.

Elena: Okay. What is your attitude to English as an International Language? What is positive or negative about it?

Dmitry: It's more international language. I cannot judge about it, it's so. Every <break/> when somebody do not speak your language <unclear> Form RS </unclear>, then we are speaking in English. Esperanto is is Esperanto is dead, <FLG> Latein </FLG> is dead, English is only language that that is known by all the <FLG> Menschheit </FLG> all people.

Elena: Okay. Now a couple of things about your professional life: can you tell me a little bit about your institution, where you are working, the institute, the Master's program, and <break/>. Just try to give some details about the subject.

Dmitry: My institution in Belarus or here in Germany?

Elena: Here.

Dmitry: Okay. I study in Law faculty of Tübingen University. It's quite <break/>, this university is quite good, not best in Germany, but quite ja quite okay. Our program <FLG> ist </FLG> a program for people who have who have studied in their own <break/> in another country, not in Germany. It can be also in Germany, but with high education in for example in England. And its man main aim is to make a German Law system for us closer, to give us some knowledges, some basic knowledges es of German law system.

Elena: Is it more international or German Law system?

Dmitry: We can choose international branches of law when we when we study, also for example I and Elena have chosen international law, international public and international private law, international economic law. So, for us it's more more international. For other people it's <unclear> </unclear>.

Elena: So it all depends on what you choose.

Dmitry: Yeah

Elena: Basically.

Dmitry: But main aim of the program is make us closer with German law system. We have some some <break/> there is a there are some branches of law that we must study, but for us this is now a German Civil Law.

Elena: And what's your favourite field?

Dmitry: My favorite field is Civil Law and International Civil International Private Law.

Elena: Mhm. So, are you going to write your Master's thesis about it or on it?

Dmitry: Yes, I write now I am writing now.

Elena: What is your topic?

Dmitry: My topic is oh my god. I know I know it in German.

Elena: You can say it in German if you want.

Dmitry: I have been translated it for two weeks from English to German. Now I know it in German but I and <break/> one moment, please.

Dmitry: Ah, the use of electronic communications in International Contracts.

Elena: Mhm.

Elena: How are you going to collect your data? Or is it more based on literature, existing literature or descriptive study?

Dmitry: There is not not so not so many literature on this topic, on this concrete topic I write. The most of my data I have downloaded from official site from United Nations Organization. It's not not von not direct direct from United Nations Organization site, but from <unclear> enclosed </unclear> site. I cannot tell you.

Elena: So what do you like best about your studying here in Germany?

Dmitry: Hm, actually it's <unclear> </unclear> all right.

Elena: How do you like the system, the educational system?

Dmitry: I like <break/> I don't </break> I can't say that I like it, but it's very different from our system, <FLG> ist </FLG> liberty of education, I mean the liberty of choose, the liberty in choosing your way of education. In Belarus, it's more like in school, have a program, you must you must learn due to this program, and in Germany you have only your aim in four <FLG> Jahre </FLG> in four years to make a state state examination. You can choose how do you get it is the same by yourself.

Elena: Right.

Dmitry: Also by our also by our program you can see it we can choose our <FLG> Fächer </FLG>?

Elena: subjects

Dmitry: Subjects, we can choose whether we got whether we go to lectures or no <unclear> which is everything </unclear>.

Elena: So, it's more individual.

Dmitry: <FLG> Ja </FLG>

Elena: Okay, and now, going back to history. Why did you become <break/> why did you decide to become a lawyer, or to pursue the studies? What were the reasons for this, generally, even when you were back to Belarus?

Dmitry: Actually, I don't know. I remember myself from twelve or <FLG> bis </FLG> to twelve to fifteen years, I wanted to, <FLG> seitdem </FLG>, since that ages I wanted to be a lawyer, and not heavy influence but some influence had TV serial Santa Barbara. One of the heroes

Elena: Rich and successful.

Dmitry: Not rich and successful, but but very interesting and exciting.

Elena: Who was that person? Do you remember?

Dmitry: Ah, it was son of this rich father.

Elena: Ah, Okay, I remember. I remember now.

Dmitry: He was very good.

Elena: So, he was your hero at the moment?

Dmitry: Not hero, but

Elena: Ideal.

Dmitry: I thought he was quite good.

Elena: So, you decided to...

Dmitry: Not because of Santa Barbara

Elena: <unclear> </unclear> but still it influenced your decision somehow?

Dmitry: Somehow.

Elena: Did your parents influence your decision to become a lawyer? Or did they sort of push you there?

Dmitry: No, it was a position of my parents that I must decide myself what I want to study and so, I have I had only said that I would that I want to be a lawyer, and that was that was okay.

Elena: Okay. I am not sure if I asked the question about how you learnt English. Can you give some details of how it went? Did you have a private teacher?

Dmitry: Mhm, I have a private teacher. I have learnt, mostly I have learnt my English in school, and I have some I have had some pri I had some private <FLG> Unterrichten </FLG>

Elena: classes

Dmitry: some private classes, but it was my school teacher, but she was, she is a perfect teacher. I would say a perfect teacher, we have from null point <FLG> bis </FLG> till <FLG> Fortgeschrittene </FLG>

Elena: advanced

Dmitry: To advanced English knowledges in two years. It was <FLG> ja </FLG> quite okay, but since that time I haven't study English, I haven't learnt English <unclear> </unclear> regressive way.

Elena: Yeah, it's just a matter of experience, I think, or exposure to language. What do you like least about your studying here and about the job of being a lawyer? What don't you like about it, or is there everything that you like or?

Dmitry: Actually, I can, I know not everything, but more er, more about the job. I know every pluses and minuses.

Elena: What are the minuses?

Dmitry: For example, there is no, <FLG> so ein </FLG> lawyer worked works not from nine o'clock <FLG> bis </FLG> from <FLG> neun </FLG> a.m. till <FLG> sechs </FLG> p.m. but the whole the whole day. There is no <break/> you cannot plan, they works

478

also on the weekends, the <break/> <FLG> so </FLG>, it's not a work, it's it's a style of life.

Elena: Right, it's continuous, it's not an office job.

Dmitry: Yes, and

Elena: But you are prepared to take this, more or less.

Dmitry: not more or less, it's it's my aim to have so a style of life with this.

Elena: Mhm. Okay, good. Are there some skills that you would like to acquire or something that you would like to learn more about?

Dmitry: Do you mean, English?

Elena: Not necessarily connected.

Dmitry: English English skills?

Elena: No no no no just general.

Dmitry: Personal skills

Elena: Personal skills.

Dmitry: I don't really know. It's

Elena: Learning other languages?

Dmitry: I think is everything okay with me. You must ask <u>Elena</u> about this.

Elena: Everything should be fine, yeah.

Dmitry: What's to improve myself.

Elena: What are your future plans or plans for the future for the next two years?

Dmitry: For the next <FLG> ja </FLG> for this year I plan to finish my LLM studies, to marry Elena, and to begin with normal law job, to find a good job in <FLG> also </FLG> and <unclear> to be </unclear> a normal living not as a student

Elena: Not as a student, right.

Dmitry: not as ERIMA worker, but as a lawyer.

Elena: Yeah, I am sure you will get a good job here. But you want to work here in Europe or?

Dmitry: In Europe, yeah, not in Germany. Firstly, I have no license to work in Germany, will not achieve it, and second we don't want it.

Elena: So, you might be working back home or not necessarily?

Dmitry: Not home, but in Russia, Moscow or Sankt Petersburg.

Elena: Moscow should be should be fine, excellent <unclear> </unclear>. Okay, now a couple of things about your private life, if you don't mind. Can you tell me a little bit about your family, what you do on weekends and what are your leisure time activities mainly?

Dmitry: My family lives in Belarus, I live here in Germany, so I spend no time with my family.

Elena: At all?

Dmitry: I travel two or three times a year.

Elena: Which is rather good

Dmitry: It's quite okay. More ah more <FLG> als </FLG> as other people but it can it could be often it could be <FLG> öfter </FLG>

Elena: Okay.

Dmitry: Normally, what I make in my leisure time in weekend, in weekends I sleep a lot, I must stand at fives, I must stand up at five o'clock every day, so it's very important to sleep good and sleep much. At the weekends make some things that I do not, that I didn't done during the during the week, I meet some people, I go to cinema, everything

Elena: Have some fun.

Dmitry: To have some fun. There we are.

Elena: Okay, that's it. Thank you very much for your time.

Dmitry: Thank you for interview.

9. Lena M.

Elena: Okay </cut> ah, first of all, can you introduce yourself and say your name, in what region of Germany you are and where you come from?

Lena M.: I came from Ukraine, but actually it's not right because I came from England here, to England I came from Russia, so as correct the question I came from Ukraine. What is your native country? My native country is Ukraine.

Elena: Good. And can you tell me what you do at the moment, and what you did some time ago?

Lena M.: Now, I work as worker at very small company, who does some job for bigger company. The owner of this company is a Grea /grei/, Greek /i/, Greekish /grikish/, Greetish /gritish/ Grekish /grekish/ woman, who tries to survive in a very difficult Ger German eh economy situation.

Elena: Is it far away from your house?

Lena M.: Not at all, it's just ten minutes

Elena: Ten minutes by bike?

Lena M.: Yeah

Elena: So you walk there?

Lena M.: Yeah

Elena: Or sometime you can ride a bike when it's summer time

Lena M.: Yes, I will

Elena: Great. And what did you do in the past, when you were still in Ukraine or in Russia?

Lena M.: I <break/> In Ukraine, straight after school I worked one year at a libr at the library, and one year at the <break/> say accountancy department or at department who calculated some fees, like wages and salaries for other different factories. It was ah a department of big eh a big factory, but they did work for different other factories as well. Their computers were not like PC, their computers were very strange and big and I worked for them, I just printed some stuff.

Elena: And did accounting also.

Lena M.: No, not all. I printed financial documents for them. I didn't want to be accountant in the future, I wanted to be psychologist, and two times I didn't pass my exams, that is why I had to I had to work, and after that I I changed my mind and married a Saint Petersburg's man, and ah I did pass my exams to St. Petersburg university to <break/> yes, I met a girl who said sociology department is the same as psychology faculty, but no physics, so physics was for me very difficult thing, so I agreed to go to economy depart <beak/>, faculty to pass my exams there, and I had more chance to pass exams. I didn't pass it on, I had not enough high mark to go to day department, morning department, so I went to evening department, but anyway, I was in there.

Elena: Thank you. I see that your English is quite good. Why did you decide to learn English? Can you give me some idea?

Lena M.: It was not actually idea, it was, I had to do that, because, firstly, I went to the evening department, where we had lowest lowest com comp competition I can say, lowest, the people who didn't have enough marks to go to the morning department were welcome to go to the evening department, when mark is higher than some, but they decided average mark, and eh I went there eh for <break/> to study for person who planning eh social socialism economy, but after one year, I had a baby, and I had two chances to go to international department, which was new. Before that year they had an international department, but only for people from Africa and for children of very high communist leaders. But since this year, they closed <unclear> planning </unclear> economy, socialist economy, and open opened eh international department for everybody who wished and who had quite high marks in <break/> as in math and in foreign languages, but you know, when you have math brain, you don't know very well foreign language, so that was the way where people who didn't know properly no

English no math, had chance, to have a very good very good education eh, but ah I had chance to be there only because I had a baby, so, but I had to lose one year, so I I did that decision. As I loosed already two years, because I didn't pass my exams for psychology department, and plus this year it was really a disaster, but I did that, so I studied, I had to study good during this year which I lost, but I had eh to study eh things which I didn't study last year, eh first year of the <unclear> planning </unclear> economy, socialist economy, and I did that, yeah I had to do that. It was very easy book, not like we did first year in </unclear> planning </unclear> because we had to translate hundreds of, tons of texts, but in this <unclear> </unclear> we had just to <break/> So, I had to study that, and I did that.

Elena: Did you take some language courses after that?

Lena M.: No, we studied that until fourth year, not inclu, until third year including, and eh after after <unclear> I can say </unclear> we had two groups, one group were the girls from English schools, people who who studied at English schools with deep studying English language. They they knew language very well, but second part of the group, they were just ordinary, or who studied deep the other languages like French or German, and I was the best in the weakest group, but when at the exam my teacher, and the examiner asked me how long I studied English, and I said since the ten year, when I was ten years old, he said, no it's not right level of English, I am sorry, and I had three out of five, and after this after these exams, I even <unclear> </unclear> after last lessons I said never ever anybody will brush and abuse my brain never ever I will study foreign languages at all, but by accident I met a girl, I went from work, and I met a girl who couldn't find her way, she was from France, she was from Paris, and she had one hour to go to to find the way to go to Moscow Railway Station because her group should leave St. Petersburg to go to Moscow, and she couldn't find this way, because she couldn't find find metro station, she was near <unclear> </unclear> Cathedral

Elena: And she didn't know the language.

Lena M.: Russian, yes. And nobody could help her

Elena: In English.

Lena M.: So I find <break/> I showed her way, and I don't know, I was probably in a very bad good mood, that is why I told her about myself and I presented her a book which I had, this business guide, North Business guide with address of north companies, companies of north countries, European countries, and she and she recen <break/> and after that I I had a letter from her, and after that we yeah, we pe pen pals with her during five years, every month I wrote about my life, and I received a letter the letters from her. She sent me some books in English about France, so I had to read that, because it was sent with <break/> a person who wanted me to read these books, so I read /i/, it was a trip on the on the river Loire <unclear> </unclear> with all her castles, about France and French people.

Elena: So, it was in English.

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, and that book as well, Great the Great Gatsby. It was my first book.

Elena:

Lena M.: Yea, that was in my first book. I can tell I didn't understand many words, yeah, yeah, but at the end of the book I knew what this book about and what happened to people.

Elena: <unclear> so actually </unclear> were you writing down the words, and then memorizing them or

Lena M.: I just read /i/ that, I just read /i/ that

Elena: But how did you translate the words?

Lena M.: No, not at all.

Elena: No, so you guessed the meaning.

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, and not meaning of the words, but meaning of the

Elena: Of the plot.

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah. And when I came to England to live, I knew that I am close to a big acean /eisn/ and I have to drink it somehow, and I knew that nothing will help just to start to read what I really knew very well. So, I started to read this book, and after year, I decided I should go to study that at the college, at an college, in English college

so, I had to go to go to study at the college I had to study these book.

Elena: a college in English

Lena M.: They can tell you, yeah, yeah, management and accounting. So, awful thing in that
was that I didn't understand business law or plot. I did study business law in Russia,
but I didn't understand a lot of words in this book, which I had to read, yeah, and I was
absolutely frus frustrated, but I read /e/ . My husband has very good
recording system and I read /e/ all this book, all, every chapter to eh to the tape, and
when I was in the kitchen, I just switched it on.

Elena: And you listened?

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah. Every tape, something like five six times, and after that I had revision
kit in them in that, that is that. And it was first first year, we had
to to to do computer's assessment, base assessment. Eh, and you just have some
answers and you click on what you think is right, and I The same as here you
have some choices, and you need just to eh circle what is right, so I did that, because I
read /i/ that two times as well.

Elena: And your English wasn't very good at the moment.

Lena M.: No, after, no after, not at all. Because I tried to find job, they said your English is
not good. They will not understand you, customer will not understand you.

Elena: Okay. Then, another question that I have how often do you use English?

Lena M.: I use that when

Elena: when you use English, and what sphere of life do you use English in?

Lena M.: More, main thing, my husband is an Englishman, so we speak

Elena: So you speak English on a daily basis.

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, and we have two TV sets, one speaks only Deutsch, second speaks only
English, so most of the time, second TV set switched on, so I can hear only English

Elena: All the time.

Lena M.: All the time, yeah. That main sources, yeah, and I studied second year, and I studied financial accountings and finances as well. I had to read that as well to <break/> and <break/> second year should be write paper based assessment, so I had to write actually, but my spelling

Elena: writing essays. Do you use English for internet purposes sometimes; do you browse English sites or chat with friends?

Lena M.: No, not all all. I write I write my girlfriends sometimes

Elena: E-mails in English?

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah.

Elena: Can you characterize your language abilities? How can you evaluate your English? That's quite a difficult question, but whatever you think.

Lena M.: I I can tell how program different from computer user. That is, as well like a person who knows English from knowledge which I have English. It's like I have a computer user.

Elena: Or just like a user. Can you consider <break/>. That's great. Yeah. Can

you consider yourself a language learner at the moment?

Lena M.: Eh, it's all. Yeah, yeah.

Elena: You think you are still, do you think you are still learning English or your <break/>?

Lena M.: As I can say, now I have to study Deutsch, that is why, I am confused I am learner of another language.

Elena: Not English.

Lena M.: Not English.

Elena: So, you don't really learn English words, new English words or

Lena M.: Sometimes, when I meet eh eh a word, which I don't know, sometimes I ask my husband what it is,

Elena: You ask your husband.

Lena M.: Yeah, what that yeah what it is or very rarely I am looking to vocabulary

Elena: Dictionary, yeah.

Lena M.: Dictionary, yeah.

Elena: Does your husband give you English explanation or <break/>?

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, English.

Lena M.: Okay, great. When you were still learning English, let's say in St. Petersburg, yeah, what aspects of language did you pay more attention to?

Lena M.: I can say we had a program, we had a book, where we had to know speaking language, I can say that just speaking language, and we had just to learn that, to read that.

Elena: By heart.

Lena M.: And to repeat, we had to do that. But later, when I read /i/ read /e/ the book, I just read /e/that, I read that. I didn't want to force myself because my brain is more like mathematical brain, I need to have some

Elena: Links?

Lena M.: Links, yeah, yeah. and when I don't have that the information is lost, it's comes, I can't bear that in my my , that is why, It was just reading, reading

Elena: So, if you had a chance now, if you were learning English now, what aspects would you pay more attention to? Would you concentrate more on reading, or on speaking or I don't know, something else.

Lena M.: Ah, I I should say reading, yeah

Elena: Reading?

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, but

Elena: Why reading?

Lena M.: I studying, how I studied Russian, just to have some small eh essay, to have some small text, and just to rewrite that, rewrite that.

Elena: And then it helps.

Lena M.: Yeah, it helped, yeah.

Elena: And for a language learner, what aspects of the language are more important <unclear> </unclear>? When you give an advice, what aspect should the person pay more attention to?

Lena M.: Not many people have wonderful memory, and if you are, if you have a wonderful memory, you can learn eh some new words, but for people who are maturitizing /speaks quietly/, as I think, main thing is to have something interesting, some literature, or some text of the subject, in whi in which you are interested, and when you, and wonderful thing when you have that in another language, in your native language, when you have two texts in front of you, and you have always connections between, and it not <unclear> </unclear> it's something what somebody wanted to say to you, and to understand that you tried to read that five times, if you didn't understand that you read /i/ in your nat native native language, yeah. I think that is the best thing. What we are doing now with Vanya, with my older son. We have three Bibles in three languages, Russian, English and Deutsch. We read Russian first, one number it's just I don't know text eh half of the page. First thing <unclear> </unclear> his mother language is Russian, he read /i/ that, second <break/> he understands perfect English, he read that, and third it's German. It's only way for me to teach him German, yeah, yeah, and to study it for me.

Elena: Thank you. Another question that I wanted to ask is when you speak English how important is it for you to be correct, when you speak?

Lena M.: I can say it's very eh very important, but eh <break/> /thinking/

Elena: Do you think it's important?

Lena M.: It's important, but eh, you know, because it's just culture level of culture. You don't want to eh to be eh <break/> I thought about that. I thought about Ger German language in this /thinking of a word/

Elena: Case

Lena M.: Case, yeah. People like to hear what they have, some construction, which they use use to use. They don't want to hear something like that. That is why if you want to say something, you can say what you can say, but it will be not much pleasure for people who knows there should be another way, it should be another way, but you are trying to say, they will understand you, but eh, when it's not like they eh eh normally hear, it will be not, it will not work.

Elena: Do you think they will laugh at you if they here that you made a mistake or, when you make a mistake, when you talked with your husband at the beginning, did he laugh at you or did your friends laugh at you or his friends when you made a mistake?

Lena M.: Not at all.

Elena: Not at all. So, they don't, but do you think they look at you in a different way, if you make mistakes?

Lena M.: Then less you know, then you sure that you know everything. So, eh, and I know when I didn't know the language, I wasn't afraid that I speak not right. English people are very, very very nice people. They don't show, they don't want you to be upset, so they never showed me that I speak not properly, just eh eh <break/> when I tried to find the work <unclear> </unclear> the person who had interviewed me said, I am sorry people will not understand you, I wasn't sure, because I know people understand me very well, why yeah, why they won't understand me, just a case for which purpose do we use your language. If just eh in ordinarily life it's okay, but when it's you you need to use it on professional level, you have to have this level.

Elena: I see. Are there some aspects that are difficult for you to acquire or to learn, or something that is still difficult for you?

Lena M.: Yes.

Elena: And what is it?

Lena M.: Ah, these forms, time, times.

Elena: Tense forms

Lena M.: Perfect, perfect yeah. All perfect I don't understand, really.

Elena: You mean grammar?

Lena M.: Grammar, yeah, grammar yeah.

Elena: Can you explain it?

Lena M.: Because I don't understand this structure. I know something has happened before something other.

Elena: So you don't understand the usage?

Lena M.: Yeah.

Elena:

Lena M.: I know I know them, I know I studied that many times, I know that I know something happened before something, that is why it has been or that, but I really don't have that clear. It isn't clear for me <unclear> to tell </unclear> that I am so busy I can't really sit and eh say, I had to study grammar instead of that, but I didn't want that that is why it's very difficult for me to study now eh <FLG> Deutsch </FLG>. Because I think language is an instrument, but if I eh profi in something like that why I have to know instrument perfect to do something else, that is why yes, they English people, they are accepted, yeah you can be an accountant when it eh at least whose touch taught me. You can be an accountant, when you have when you know something like that perfectly you know, perfect eh language of the tools, say languages, not the word, but here, no <FLG> Deutsch </FLG>, no they

Elena: No chance.

Lena M.: Yeah, they, you have to know first

Elena: German

Lena M.: Proper German, yeah, after that they will let you study something else.

Elena: Right. And my question would be when you communicate with native speakers of English, what is your worst fear?

Lena M.: I don't

Elena: You don't have any fear, when you <unclear> </unclear> so, you are not afraid of making mistakes or

Lena M.: I know some Russian people have fear of accent, Russian accent, yeah yeah, but I didn't have it from the beginning because I heard, I heard radio from I was eh BBC, and Voice of America from I was something like ten years old. So, I didn't unterstand what was that about, but I I loved the music of the language, and I just listened to that like classical music, and of course, it's was in my head /hat/, that is why since I started to speak I didn't feel that my tone of speech are absolutely different from yeah, native speech, yeah.

Elena: So, do you think it's important, when we learn a language, is it important to have a native speaker accent just like your husband has or is it not important?

Lena M.: I can tell when I can hear Russian accent

Elena: Very strong

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah. It's disgusting. It's

Elena: Do you think it's important for you?

Lena M.: Yeah, it is important. The same as, say America American accent, first, eh I liked American accent very much, very much, I just didn't like English at all, but eh English people told me it's rude, it's just disgusting, and later, when I eh met somebody at at the news, American news, I just realized, yes, it's is just disgusting, it's is absolutely rude, it's rude. I can't tell that eh say somebody, people, some people yeah, who are buying some stuff in local s store in Blackburn, I don't like their accent at all.

Elena: That's northern accent, northern British accent, yeah?

Lena M.: It's, no they have plenty of accents, they have huge amount, and South England is <break/>, I like this accent. I don't like Scottish, I don't like North

Elena: <unclear> </unclear> just like Russian

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, and very very simple.

Elena: Simple? Yeah, not like Southern English, Standard English.

Lena M.: South Engl English is beautiful, at least eh what I have heard and it is <break/> I I didn't speak with many Londoners I can say or York Yorkshire /quieter/ somebody, I didn't speak, but what I can hear on TV set, yeah, it's beautiful, and my girlfriend, my <break/> I remember I had to girlfriends in and I have two girlfriends in Blackburn, one speaks with Blackburn accent second speaks with South accent, and South eh eh sounds very eh aristocratic,

Elena: Southern English?

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, and North and Blackburn, my husband says I don't want my son have Blackburn accent.

Elena: Because it's not prestige, yeah?

Lena M.: No, it's just not nice, its sounds not nice

Elena: But I think your husband has <break/> is quite easy to understand

Lena M.: He doesn't have any accent.

Elena: He speaks Southern English

Lena M.: No, he didn't speak any any accent, because he is originally from Liverpool, but he lived long time abroad that is why he lost his, yes, his London accent.

Elena: His Liverpool accent?

Lena M.: Yeah, he had, yeah.

Elena: So, he lost, you think he lost his Liverpool accent.

Lena M.: He said I lost, because many people say I am sick from Liverpool accent, I don't know what is that, I didn't catch that yet. I didn't catch, I don't know what is that.

Elena: And my last question would be: Many people think that English is a very easy language to learn and then an easy language to speak. Do you agree or disagree with this?

Lena M.: Somebody said it's languages of slaves, because it's easy

Elena: Slaves?

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, it's easy, because compared to Deutsch, I just know I one Indian person, who lived from very young age in England, she said I can't understand this German grammar, why they just don't communicate with each other just simple, just why they have to eh change everything, and compared to Russian, where you have to change a lot of /thinking/ voices

Elena: Cases

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, so, it's easy language,

Elena: Because it doesn't have case system, yeah?

Lena M.: Because, it's, you know it's not a somebody, a nation language, it's a language which commu- which <break/> you know, when you have some difficult languages, like Latin language from one side, and German language from the other side, and French language from third side, of course, when all these people want to communicate each other they try to make it easy way, it's like, language which was produced not /thinking/

Elena: Like Esperanto

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, it's

Elena: So, English is more an international language, than British or American?

Elena: Ah.

Lena M.: So, you you would consider English as an international language

Lena M.: Yeah, absolutely.

Elena: Not as belonging to Britain or belonging to America, it's more an international.

Lena M.: Yeah, yeah, it is.

Elena: And you think you speak British, American or international English

Lena M.: I speak <break/> no, it's it's not, no no I can't tell that Ameri <break/>, first of all, America. They said it's it's no culture at all, because it's a mixture of culture. I can find very a lot of simu- simula-

Elena: Similarities

Lena M.: Similarities between English culture and American culture. So, English Americans it's English people, ah, say, ah, Mexicanish American it's Spanish culture or perhaps, some of Indian, from Indi, from <unclear> </unclear> South America. It's difficult cultures, it's no culture, or mixture of cultures, it's difficult cultures, different cultures. You will never ask African Americans, it's said, somebody said on chat in internet <quote> if you think America have no culture because mhm, it's one nation, you need to go to Black Black districts, to see what <break/> how wron-, wrong are you. So, I can tell that English language was made because people of different nations tried to communicate with themselves each

Elena: With each

Lena M.: With each other, yeah, and they wanted to be to have that easy way, that is why nobody wanted to study deep somebody other's language, that's is why they took, yeah, they took I can see, a lot of similarity /u/ between English and Deutsch. And I know that there are many similarities between Latin and English. So is it just one language, which was eh made to make communications easier, that is why so many nation as well as yes, of course, industry and culture impactment on the other nations, of English nation, yeah, I can say, yeah, that's right, but eh English language is much easy to study than any other language.

Elena: Any other language

Lena M.: Yeah.

Elena: That's because of it's internationality.

Lena M.: Yeah, because it was produced like international language, yeah

Elena: Thank you very much indeed.

Lena M.: Thank you.

10. Lena T.

Elena: Okay, first of all thank you very much for the opportunity to interview you. Can you introduce yourself and say what you do here, and what are you doing in Germany actually?

Lena T.: Ah, yes. My name is Elena. I am from eh Belarus, eh eh I am five twenty five years old, and eh I study here law.

Elena: Mhm, are you doing Master's program or <break/>?

Lena T.: Yes, and now I am doing Master's pro program and eh later I am I am planning to do doctor.

Elena: Okay, I see that your English is rather good. Can you tell me why and how you learnt English, and how many years have you been already using English?

Lena T.: Thank you for my English. Okay. Eh I am learning English eh le le <break/> <FLG> so lang </FLG> no, okay eh at five at five years old I have started to learn English, and year eh eh I was in London one year at <FLG> elf </FLG>, and

Elena: Can you tell me a little bit about this London experience?

Lena T.: Yes, it was summer English school. it was eh rather gu <FLG> sehr sehr gut </FLG>, we can eh, it was </FLG> sehr </FLG> many many people from different countries, and we have experience to speak with <FLG> einen oh Mann </FLG> which with with us, and so

Elena: And did you stay in the families or you were living in a dormitory?

Lena T.: No, it was eh one school and one pension .

Elena: So, it was one year school.

Lena T.: Yes.

Elena: Oh, that's really good, I think. Okay. How do you use English living in Germany? Are there some areas that you need English or that you use English here?

Lena T.: Ah, yes, I use English here, but a a little, and it is Law area.

Elena: Do <break/> is it mainly reading or writing?

Lena T.: <FLG> Ja </FLG> yes, mainly reading or and writing.

Elena: So, you have to write papers in English for this Master's program?

Lena T.: Yes, yes.

Elena: Okay. How can you characterize your English? Are there some areas that you want to learn more about English in some areas? How do you want to improve your English if you want to?

Lena T.: Yes, I want to eh eh eh to make a <FLG> niveau oder </FLG>?

Elena: Level?

Lena T.: Oh, yes, thank you. I want to I want to learn next level of my English and I want eh yeah, mom, at the moment I think that my English is eh <FLG> sehr </FLG> low, and I am planning to go to learn.

Elena: Mhm, and what do you need to learn more? Is it more grammar of vocabulary?

Lena T.: Vocabulary, and gra grammar is is it is not <FLG> so </FLG> possible, I think <FLG> weil </FLG> because for writing and reading my grammar is <FLG> perfekt </FLG> I think, <FLG> aber </FLG> but for speaking <unclear> </unclear> it is <break/> I need to speak.

Elena: Mhm, so you need more oral practice.

Lena T.: Yeah, yes

Elena: And when you write, do you experience any problems or <break/>?

Lena T.: No.

Elena: Not at all? It's not problematic at all. Good. Can you judge someone's English, evaluate someone's knowledge of English?

Lena T.: Judge?

Elena: Judge? Evaluate.

Lena T.: Mhm. Can <break/> I don't <unclear> understand </unclear>

Elena: Ah, can you describe whether this English is bad or bad, is good or bad, when you hear the person speaking?

Lena T.: My English?

Elena: No no no, somebody. You hear someone speaking, and then can you say whether his or her English is good or bad?

Lena T.: Ah, yes. I speak English mostly with people from <FLG> Deutschland </FLG>, and I think that English, their English is good.

Elena: And what do you base your judgement on?

Lena T.: They make eh <unclear> </unclear> they they doesn't make mistakes,

Elena: You mean, what kind?

Lena T.: Gra grammar mistakes and vocabulary eh eh, they are various.

Elena: Mhm. Okay, and when you personally speak English, what is more important for you in communication?

Lena T.: In communication? Ah, to speak eh, frankly speaking for me, is this eh is, it is important to speak /thinking of a word/ to speak not only mhm eh on science science language or eh law language, but ah, and eh language in <break/> but my language in different in a in another different eh eh

Elena: Situations?

Lena T.: Yes, situations, and

Elena: Okay, okay. And when you speak, how do you want to be correct? Or do you want to be more fluent than correct? What is more important for you?

Lena T.: To be correct.

Elena: And where would you place fluency in this case? How important is fluency for you, fluency of speech?

Lena T.: It is for me

Elena: If you compare these two criteria

Lena T.: Yes, Okay, okay. For me it is important, because two years I spoke correct, I spoke much, and I haven't so problems that I <FLG> muss </FLG> I must thinking what what for one word <FLG> muss </FLG> I must I here, must I here, use, yes?

Elena: Mhm.

Lena T.: <FLG> Jetzt </FLG> it came, it comes always <FLF> Deutsch Deutsch </FLF>.

Elena: Mhm. And can you describe a little bit your learning history? So, you learnt English in school first, when you were back home?

Lena T.: Yes, in at school, then in England, then at university

Elena: Four years at the university or five years at the university

Lena T.: No, two years at the university, and it was all.

Elena: And when you were back home how did you use English there?

Lena T.: At home?

Elena: Mhm.

Lena T.: I think, my English know only to listening, cinemas, or it's a cinema, it is so or or to to read.

Elena: Mhm. So, basically you were not really talking with natives or non-natives

Lena T.: Yeah.

Elena: Okay. Does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English or non-native speakers?

Lena T.: Yes.

Elena: And where do you see the difference? How <break/> what do you prefer?

Lena T.: With native speakers, I must, I need two or three days eh to understand, really understand, I mean all, without problems. With not-native speaker speakers it is easier eh to understand <FLG > und </FLG> and I don't see much differences between us.

498

Elena: When you communicate with non-natives

Lena T.: yes, between us.

Elena: And what do you prefer?

Lena T.: With native speakers is it is more interesting for me for me to speak.

Elena: Why? Can you explain this a little bit

Lena T.: Why? Because I see that level <FLG> ist </FLG> is <FLG> auch </FLG> a little bit be <FLG> besser </FLG>

Elena: When you speak with natives

Lena T.: With native, yes.

Elena: Okay. And, so you basically prefer to communicate with natives

Lena T.: Yes.

Elena: Okay. Do you have a feeling that you are still learning English?

Lena T.: Feeling?

Elena: Feeling? Do you feel that you are still learning English?

Lena T.: Yes, of course.

Elena: And what makes you think so?

Lena T.: <unclear> all my questions </unclear>

Elena: Ah, and how do you, how do you learn English? Do you learn English, like every day? Or do you have specific techniques or strategies?

Lena T.: Okay. I am reading, and I have a grammar books, and eh it is not <FLG> so </FLG> so that every day, but one day <FLG> pro pro </FLG> per week <FLG> oder </FLG> or or <unclear> </unclear> or <FLG> mehr </FLG> I can a little bit re reading.

Elena: So you do a little bit of reading?

Lena T.: Yeah.

Elena: Do you talk with natives or non-natives?

Lena T.: No.

Elena: So, mainly you use German here.

Lena T.: Yeah.

Elena: Okay. Good. Do you any fear when you communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers?

Lena T.: Fear? What is it/whispering/?

Elena: Fear? Do you <break/> Are you scared when you communicate with natives or non-natives?

Lena T.: I don't understand /whispering/

Elena: Angst

Lena T.: Thank you. No, actually I have a I have I haven't I haven't <FLG> Angst </FLG>

Elena: Fear

Lena T.: Fear, I haven't fear, but

Elena: When you communicate with natives or non-natives?

Lena T.: But when for example, I need English to communicate with native but in my for my study in law, yes of course, I'm I need to prepare I need to my mhm to to learn to to read, and so on.

Elena: You mean for the class or when you just talk with the person who comes from the states or from Britain?

Lena T.: No, I mean for for law skills. When we when I <FLG> zum </FLG> for example, when I know that at the morning I must eh about study <FLG> oder </FLG> about

Elena: With the professor or ?

Lena T.: With professor from England to speaking, yes. When it is <FLG> zum </FLG> for example students, like me, no I haven't actually <unclear> kin </unclear>, I haven't actually eh fear to speak with it.

Elena: Even though they are native speakers of English?

Lena T.: Yeah.

Elena: Okay. Good. Do you feel comfortable speaking English?

Lena T.: No.

Elena: Why not?

Lena T.: <FLG> weil </FLG> I understand that I make many mistakes, that

Elena: What kind of mistakes, do you mean?

Lena T.: Eh, grammar mistakes, oral mistakes, intonation, mistakes with in my intonation, I know it.

Elena: Okay. And what standard of English do you aim at? What standard of English do you want to achieve?

Lena T.: Standards

Elena: What are your standards?

Lena T.: I want to speak <FLG> wie </FLG> En like English eh eh <FLG> Volk </FLG>

Elena: Like English people

Lena T.: Like English people, yes. Their intonation <FLG> zum </FLG> for example, American people, American English I don't like. It is eh so wow wow

Elena: Do you think it is connected with the fact that you were in England and?

Lena T.: Yes, of course, with traditional tradition English with tradition of the people tradition of the people.

Elena: And what is your attitude to English as an international language? Do you have a specific attitude to it? Do you think it exists, and where do you see the advantages?

Lena T.: Early, yes. It was eh only one language I can speak, and it was really traditional, really

Elena: International

Lena T.: International language for me, I spoke only English one year. Today nowadays, I can I I can <FLG> Deutsch </FLG> German I can German and I can German, and I can and I know many people are from England, from USA they speak German <FLG> sehr gut </FLG>, very well, and...

Elena: So, now for you it's not that international as before, because you already know German

Lena T.: Yes.

Elena: Okay, and you you think, in general terms, is it positive or negative for the language to be an international language?

Lena T.: It is possible positive, <FLG> weil </FLG> because many people know only English, and and okay, nowadays eh eh all people can can English. It is only one language eh eh which all people can.

Elena: Right, right, absolutely, okay. Now the second part would be about your life, your professional life, your institute where you are working. So, can you explain a little bit what you do at the moment again, say what kind of program you are pursuing, what degree will you get, and what does it consist of?

Lena T.: Okay, I am study here at Engl <break/> at German, Germany, and I make eh Master program, and at least become master degree.

Elena: So you will get your Master's at the end of the summer, basically.

Lena T.: Yes, the end of the summer.

Elena: Okay. What subjects are you doing there? What subjects are you taking? What are your favourites?

Lena T.: Mhm. I I study Law, and eh eh it is eh differences between Crime Law and Civil War Law. I 'm more eh civilist, as I get to say, so, I like the Civic Law <FLG> mehr </FLG>.

Elena: Mhm, better than the other, than the Crime Law, Criminal Law, probably.

Lena T.: Yes.

Elena: Okay. How many people are there in your group, and

Lena T.: Okay. Fifteen people, they are from different countries, and we speak eh eh eh more Ger German here in Germany.

Elena: Mhm. So, basically, even though they come from other countries, they still try to speak German

Elena: Okay. And, can you tell me a little bit of why you decided to take this law program, why did you decide to be a future lawyer, and what where the reasons for this?

Lena T.: Okay, Master program <FLG> ist </FLG> ist the is ve very very popular between eh Law students and when we <FLG> bekommen bekommen <FLG/> become okay when we eh eh have got <FLG> Diploms </FLG> Diploms of Law that we are lawyer.

Elena: You mean, you mean in Belarus?

Lena T.: In Belarus, yes, or in another different countries of students of the world, and then it is </FLG> sehr </FLG> popular to go another country to <FLG> bekomme diese </FLG> Master degree.

Elena: Mhm, mhm. Just to do one year international program to get a Master's.

Lena T.: Yes.

Elena: Okay, when you were back home, why did you decide to become a lawyer? Why did you take this career, and how did you get started actually?

Lena T.: Actually, I don't know from from how old I was from sis fifteen years old I wanted to be lawyer. I don't I don't know why. To my mind, it is it's why <break/> my parents wan wanted <FLG> es </FLG>, and it was popular jo job, popular, and

Elena: Did they influence your decision? Did your parents <break/>?

Lena T.: My parents, yes.

Elena: But in a positive sense, not in a negative sense.

Lena T.: No, in positive. It wasn't a way <FLG> so </FLG>, pushing you must <FLG> oder </FLG> or <FLG> etwas </FLG> or <FLG> so was </FLG>.

Elena: So, you were really happy with that decision afterwards.

Lena T.: Yeah, bu but today I can say that mhm I really find what I wanted.

Elena: Okay, what are your plans for the future?

Lena T.: I don't know. Mhm, I want to stay here in Germany or in Europe one more year, and make eh eh Doctor degree, and then I want eh eh I want to work at home, but I don't know of it is, if it is possible.

Elena: To use this degree when you go back home?

Lena T.: Yes, yes.

Elena: whether it is accredited.

Lena T.: <FLG> weil </FLG> sin Europe it is possible, and I have so opportunity to stay here, and working.

Elena: Yeah, but when you go back home, then you are not very sure whether it will be acceptable or not.

Lena T.: Yes.

Elena: Okay. What do you like best about being a future lawyer? What are some good things in it?

Lena T.: Mhm, what I like. I like <break/> what do you mean, what I like, do you mean?

Elena: What do you like best about your future work, if you are working for an international company or if you are working back home?

Lena T.: Yes, <unclear> I wanted this </unclear> I want to be eh a lawyer and I want to be in international organization, a lawyer of international organization.

Elena: Mhm.

Lena T.: <FLG> Zum Beispiel </FLG> in UNO or UNESCO

Elena: Mhm, so it's always possible to apply.

Lena T.: Yes and from Germany it is more poss more poss more possible to apply this

Elena: Than from back home.

Lena T.: Then from Belarus

Elena: Then from Belarus, okay. Is there any area that you would like to learn more about? It shouldn't be connected with law or something else, something that you would like to learn or acquire, some skills?

Lena T.: Yes, of course. Studying law law, it is it is so difficult, <FLG> weil </FLG> every month we bekom we bekom a new rules, new, which ar we must know, and I need every day <FLG> schauen </FLG> every day looking for it, and every day studying what is new what is

Elena: Mhm, so it is always in process

Lena T.: Yes, yes always in process

Elena: Okay. Now a little bit about your family life, your life in general. Can you tell me a little bit about your family, where you come from, from what city, what you like to do on the weekends and stuff like this?

Lena T.: Okay. I'm I am from Minsk. It is a capital of Belarus, and my family is here in <FLG> Deutsch... </FLG> Germany <unclear> </unclear> but they live in Stuttgart, and I am here in Tübingen, but I live with my friend. At weekends <FLG> sehr </FLG> frequent we are go to eh we go to my family <unclear> </unclear> to visit my parents, mhm. That's that's all.

Elena: That's basically it, okay. Well, that's about it. Thank you very much for your time.

Lena T.: Thank you for your.

11. Oksana

Elena: Okay, first of all, thank you very much for the opportunity to interview you. Can you introduce yourself and say where you come from and what you do at the moment?

Oksana: My name is Oksana. I come from Russia. I study Master's program, ah Tübingen University. Ah, so our program ah has name ... and Science. So, its interdisciplinary course, and we have ah also international <break/> and we have students from different countries and studying this program in Russian, oh sorry, in English language. Ah, yea, and it's my second year of studying.

Elena: here in Germany.

Oksana: Mhm

Elena: And how do you use English living in Germany?

Oksana: Almost always. I mean classes

Elena: In what spheres of life do you use English?

Oksana: Mhm?

Elena: In what spheres of life do you use English?

Oksana: Ah, at university, and outside of university, with my friends, with my classmates also with my flatmates. They are Germans, but sometime I I am trying to speak German, but not always successful. So, mostly, I speak English here.

Elena: And that's your working language at the university?

Oksana: Yeah.

Elena: Okay, and when you were in Russia, how did you use English there?

Oksana: I studied this language, then I worked as a translator a little bit. I translated some articles, some safety sheets for the <unclear> are not interpreter </unclear> just translations of texts.

Elena: Mostly technical translation?

Oksana: Scientific translation, of my field, Chemistry and Natural Sciences.

Elena: Okay, from English into Russian or both variants?

Oksana: Both.

Elena: Okay. Are there any areas in English that you want to improve or to learn more about?

Oksana: In English language?

Elena: In studying English or learning English.

Oksana: Vocabu ah, you mean vocabulary or grammar, or whatever?

Elena: Yeah, anything that you think you need to learn more about.

Oksana: I think vocabulary.

Elena: And do you have specific techniques of improving vocabulary or?

Oksana: No, I don't have specific techniques.

Elena: Do you improve it somehow?

Oksana: Ah, during classes yea, but sometimes, I mean English is a language when you have to speak with simple sentences, it's better to speak, or it's more convenient to speak, ah yeah. But I think in Russian still, not always but most of the time. And usually in Russian I speak in very complicated sentences, so when I start to translate sometimes, yeah but, yeah, maybe like this I have some problems, but

Elena: In general it's okay.

Oksana: Mhm, in general it's Okay.

Elena: Can you judge someone's English, evaluate someone's knowledge of English?

Oksana: Yeah

Elena: And what do you base your judgement on?

Oksana: Grammar.

Elena: So, when you hear the person speaking, then you would pay more attention

Oksana: Yeah, I pay more attention on grammar, and when I speak I also require from myself ah to speak ah, to use English grammar properly.

Elena: And what is more important for you to be fluent or to be correct?

Oksana: To be correct.

Elena: And what about fluency? Where would you place fluency in this case? How important is it for you and why?

Oksana: What is important?

Elena: Fluency of communication.

Oksana: Fluency. For me, I don't know, it's not a problem, actually, I mean. I don't pay so much attention on it. When the person speaks very slowly, not slowly, ah, in the sense that it's pronouncing every word, but when it's like ah ah ah I mean, this is really annoying. Yeah, but in general, no problem.

Elena: Okay, so what is more important for you in communication?

Oksana: From the language point of view?

Elena: Yeah, from from this point of view.

Oksana: Mhm, grammar, I told.

Elena: Grammar. So, you would keep to this.

Oksana: Yeah.

Elena: Does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers?

Oksana: Yeah

Elena: And where do you see this difference?

Oksana: Yeah.

Elena: Can you elaborate this?

Oksana: When native speakers speak

Elena: When you speak to native speakers

Oksana: Yah, it depends on from which country they come, and sometimes Americans speak not very clearly. Yeah, British people as well. But its also depends on the region in their country they come from. Ah, sometimes it's easier to understand not-native speakers.

Elena: And are there some reasons for this?

Oksana: Ah, <unclear> </unclear> because they have no this particular accent of their language. Ah, but some of them, for example, people from India, or from China, I cannot remember now, but for example, yea, it's very difficult to understand them. Yeah. I have one native speaker in my class. She comes from Canada, and she has very specific pronounce, way of pronouncing words. And in the beginning it was very difficult for me to understand her, like I couldn't understand any word, any. And maybe in three months I could manage this. Now I understand her very well, and everybody, actually, understands her very well. And with time her accent changed also because her parents told her, like <quote> which language do you speak now </quote> because yeah

Elena: Yeah, it's strange.

Oksana: Maybe she started to pronounce words more slowly, because during classes, for example, when she speaks to us, we can understand everything, but when she speaks to professors, when she asks questions, ah, yea, me at least, and some of my classmates have problem of understanding.

Elena: So, she sorts sort of accommodates her English to the situation.

Oksana: Yeah, I think so, yeah.

Elena: And do you think that situation that you are using English in has changed, if you compare to back to Russia?

Oksana: Yes, sure. In Russia, I didn't speak English, because I didn't have opportunity or I didn't have a reason. I didn't need it. Ah, when I come here, when I came here I am, had problems a little bit maybe because I was not used to it, and then with time, it started to be easier.

Elena: The situation and using English for that situation.

Oksana: Mhm, yeah.

Elena: And what do you prefer to communicate with native speakers or non-native speakers? Or you don't have any <break/>?

Oksana: Does not make a difference for me?

Elena: So, you wouldn't accommodate your language?

Oksana: If I understand, I mean, no. I mean, if I understand, it's Okay. If not, I can ask, I mean, to repeat or whatever. I don't have preferences.

Elena: And, do you have any particular fear when you communicate with non-native speakers?

Oksana: No.

Elena: With native speakers?

Oksana: Ah, not fear, but I start to pay much more attention to my language.

Elena: In what way? Can you elaborate a little bit?

Oksana: Because, yeah, I think, if I speak properly or whatever, and sometimes I don't understand them, and this makes me uncomfortable, or <break/> yeah.

Elena: But generally, do you feel comfortable speaking English?

Oksana: Yeah.

Elena: Okay. Do you sometimes feel that you are still learning English?

Oksana: Yeah, I learn English.

Elena: And what makes you think so?

Oksana: Mhm, I cannot remember any example, but during yea my study here yea, during classes or whatever.

Elena: Is it more vocabulary based or grammar based?

Oksana: vocabulary based.

Elena: Okay, what model of English is more relevant for you? Is it more British English, American English or English as an international language?

Oksana: American, I think.

Elena: And did you have any experience with American English or it' just your preference?

Oksana: I prepared it for the exam, which is TOEFL, and it's mostly American English, so it's not British <unclear> </unclear> British is very pathetic for me.

Elena: Okay. What is your attitude to English as an International Language or English as a lingua franca? Do you have a specific attitude to it, a particular attitude?

Oksana: Ah, I don't

Elena: To the use of English in international context.

Oksana: I think, I don't understand completely what you mean, I mean.

Elena: Do you think it's positive or negative for the language to be an international language? And what is the role of English in being an international language?

Oksana: <FLG> Ah so </FLG>, English as International language in interaction between people from different countries, like this?

Elena: Yeah.

Oksana: Yeah, it's important. It's very easy because in my class, for example, we have people from over all over the world, and proportionally we have ah more <break/>, like if we take the ratio or the number of people of one particular nationality or even not nationality <break/> speaking, people who speak same language to their total number of people, so it would be Spanish people, Spanish speaking people, and yeah, most of the time they speak Spanish, and I don't think it's very nice, because, I mean, it's not very polite also, but they feel comfortable. Ah, but most of the time we speak English and we can interact, we can exchange our experience or whatever, I mean, this is a language of communication here, when people cannot speak German, for example.

Elena: Or cannot speak German fluently to express themselves.

Oksana: Yeah, probably. Yeah, mhm. We have also one guy from Russia in our class, and sometimes we speak English as well with him, just because it's became to be habit or

Elena: It's more convenient.

Oksana: Yeah, it's more convenient, Mhm. It's going automatically.

Elena: Okay. Can you tell me a little bit of the institution that you are working for, this institute, the program that you are doing, what specific subjects you are taking, and what is your work about?

Oksana: The centre is called <GFL> Angewandte Geowissenschaften </GFL> so Applied Geosciences, and mostly it's Geology, but applied sciences in the concept of geology and environment as well. So, we study environment, and everything which is connected with soil, for example, soil of ground water, chemistry of ground water or microbiology of Geo-microbiology geochemistry, I mean these are my subjects which I study. I study also other things like engineering, modelling, mining, risk assessment, economics, I mean, because it's interdisciplinary, and everything which is connected with environment, so this is our field of studying. Then, I mean with time, I mean after several months we start our projects, Master projects. We choose topics

and what topic are you going to choose? Do you have an idea at the moment?

Oksana: Yeah, I decided already. It will be chemistry.

Elena: What specific aspects in chemistry?

Oksana: Well, it's sorption of organic compounds to soil and isotope fractionation during this process.

Elena: How are you going to collect you data or materials for this project?

Oksana: I will make experiments, batch experiments, which are carried out in particular vials, one in glass vials, so I put my sorbent in the solution, then I model my sorption, so I measure concentration and what <unclear> are </unclear> isotope ratio, and also in high performance liquid chromatography machine, also I do my experiments like in the <unclear> column </unclear>, I mean it's different methods, yeah, so.

Elena: and then when you have some results, you gonna write the thesis

Oksana: Yeah, mhm. I hope I will have results. I hope I will get fractionation because one year ago, actually, not one year ago, this year, it was in March, when I participated in labs, and I did this actually liked this topic, because it's very interesting, and when we did it we didn't see any fractionation, we didn't do it properly, and my supervisor told me that it's also result, yah, but nevertheless they will continue, and this probably we have to study more.

Elena: You have to consider all the variables, when doing these experiments, you have to <break/> not to forget, not to leave out some of those.

Oksana: Mhm, yeah, I have to foresee some things, and sometimes it's not possible to foreseen.

Elena: That's true, that's how it goes, that's the process of doing things, it's not the result.

Oksana: Yeah.

Elena: Okay. Can you tell me why you decided to be a geoscientist and what made you <break/>?

Oksana: I am not a geoscientist.

Elena: In the future, or what made you choose this career and apply for this program, for example? How did you get started?

Oksana: I, so my subjects before <break/>, I studied in Russia chemistry, biology and ecology, and I was very interested in chemistry, it was the first, because I love this subject very much and also ecology, environment and so, I am very interested in this field, so that's why I chose it.

Elena: And you have decided to apply for an international program here?

Oksana: Yeah, for international, because I wanted to study in English.

Elena: Mhm, What do you like best about your work?

Oksana: I like the work in the lab, and not to sit in the classes, and listen to boring lectures, yeah, because this semester started and they are so boring, maybe I am not used to it

anymore after ten months of working in the lab, I don't know, but really and the lecturers sometimes are not very professional as well, I mean, I like my course, I like my guys, I mean my classmates, but the program is not very, like not high quality, how to say it, not high quality of teaching, not even good quality of teaching sometimes, only maybe several professors are really good and mostly it's like </break>, sorry to say.

Elena: Yeah, but that's life. And would you like to change something about your work, or some things that you would like to improve about your life here in Germany or work in general?

Oksana: In particular? Like what?

Elena: Anything, do <break/> would you like to change the town or the place?

Oksana: Yea, I wouldn't like to spend a lot of time in Tübingen. I like the city, I mean, it's very nice, very quiet, a lot of students, international place, I think the atmosphere is very particularly <break/> it's maybe only in Tübingen, I don't know. I didn't spend much like more time in other cities, but yeah, I would like to go somewhere in, maybe in bigger place to make the comparison and I think in big cities is much more perspectives for development, for career development. <unclear> </unclear> more opportunities, job opportunities as well.

Elena: Yeah, okay. Is there any area in your work, in your particular work that you want to learn more about or are there some skills that you would like to acquire?

Oksana: Practical skills?

Elena: Practical skills.

Oksana: I think everything. I cannot choose some particular field, usually, I want to improve everything, I have this disease of being perfect <unclear> </unclear> of doing everything perfect, I am always, not satisfied with myself, and usually I want to do like a lot <break/> yeah, so I I cannot determine any particular area, I cannot choose between theoretical background and practical background, because theoretical background is very important for practical and vice versa as well.

Elena: Interrelated, you have to improve both.

Oksana: Yeah.

Elena: Okay, now I have a couple of questions concerning your family life, if you don't mind. Can you tell me a little bit about your family and your background, where you come from and what town you were living in.

Oksana: Mhm. So, I wasn't born in Russia, I was born in Kazakhstan, and I was, yeah, I was grown up there, so we moved to Russia when I was fourteen. My parents are Russians, I mean they come from Siberia, and yeah, I have one brother, younger, he is studies in school, the last year, yeah. And then we lived in Novosibirsk region. My parents live there, I finished three years of high school there, and then I moved to Novosibirsk because I had to study at the university at Pedagogical <break/> Novosibirsk Pedagogical university, so, and then after graduation I worked for four years, and then I came here.

Elena: Worked in school or?

Oksana: No, I worked in in Research Centre, it was State Research Centre of Virology and Biotechnology <unclear> </unclear> is very famous, like in the world, because they have these collections of very harmful infections, harmful viruses and bacteria, and another one is like <unclear> added </unclear> into US, so there are two museums in the world, and there were in a lot of interactions between them, and in Soviet time it was very very good place like to work very developed and the work was going on, and everything was okay, and then after perestroika everything started to be a shit yeah, and now it's really the further the worse the situation, and yeah <break/>. I was there the junior researcher and also a little bit of some kind of candidate, I mean PhD, I know, I mean, they make this parallel between PhD and Candidate thesis in Russia, for example.

Elena: Candidate of Science

Oksana: Candidate of Science, but it's not completely like true, because <unclear> </unclear> yeah, it's not completely the same at all, yeah.

Elena: You basically started this candidate of science program?

Oksana: I started yeah, and then I interrupted because it wasn't such a great stuff, my supervisor also was, I mean, he was a very nice person, very good, the he had very

good personality, and everything, but as a supervisor he wasn't very great, and in general, it wasn't my field. It was modelling, it was more math, which I don't like and yeah, I mean, it wasn't my field.

Elena: And then you decided to take an international program?

Oksana: Yeah, I decided to study abroad

Elena: To get more experience.

Oksana: Mhm, yeah.

Elena: And to look at things from different perspective, which is true, I think.

Oksana: Yeah, because the system of education, the view on the environment is completely different <unclear> </unclear>, yeah, it's interesting, I mean, I like my staying here from the point that I learn a lot, and it's very interesting despite the bad quality of teaching. Anyway, I like it.

Elena: Yeah, that's a good experience anyway.

Oksana: Yeah.

Elena: Okay. I think <break/>, just the final question would be about your leisure time and hobbies. How do you spend your leisure time, and do you have any particular hobbies?

Oksana: I don't have any particular hobbies, maybe I also don't have my leisure time, because <break/> yeah, I try to fill my leisure time with something, I mean, I am not like sitting watching television or something like that. Sometimes I read a book, sometimes I <break/> we are go hiking somewhere with my friends, in winter we go to ski because I like skiing very much, yeah, nothing particular, actually.

Elena: These weekend activities, mainly.

Oksana: Yeah. And studying as well, because during the week we cannot study, we are dead after classes, and yeah, so we have to do it during weekends. At six o'clock I have to go to do chemistry homework with my classmates, so

Elena: That's a lot of work, but it's worth it, think.

Oksana: Mhm.

Elena: Okay, that's about it. And thank you very much for your time.

Oksana: <FLG> Bitte <FLG>.

3. Polish speakers

12. Agnes

<u>Elena</u>: Okay, thank you very much for the opportunity to interview you. Can you introduce yourself, and say where you come from and what you do at the moment?

<u>Agnes</u>: Mhm, My name is Agnezska, I'm I'm from Poland, now I am studying in Tübingen, because I've got a schola scholarship here, so I'm studying here.

<u>Elena</u>: What are you studying?

<u>Agnes</u>: German Philology

<u>Elena</u>: In Brechtbau?

<u>Agnes</u>: Yeah.

<u>Elena</u>: Okay, how do you use English, living here in Germany?

<u>Agnes</u>: I have to say that I don't speak English very often, here, because you know, there are only German here, there are a lot of people from abroad, but I came here to improve my English, to improve my my German, so I I want to I wanted to talk only in English, only in German excuse me, and the, I don't know if it's a problem, but I knew some some people from America here, but they didn't want to talk English, they want they wanted to talk German, so, I had no no I had no not so many opportunities to to speak English here.

<u>Elena</u>: Okay, and when you were in Poland, how often did you use English?

<u>Agnes</u>: So, during last five years, I had English classes at my university, but it was only once a week, an hour and a half, once a week, so it was the the only opportunity for me to speak English in Poland.

<u>Elena</u>: Okay, do you think your English is sufficient for your needs?

<u>Agnes</u>: Mhm. I think, yes. I think yes, because it is, because nowadays you have to speak English if you want to communicate with people all over the world, and mhm, I feel better because I talked to you, and I told you that maybe I had I can have problems

with speaking, but I can read fluently and er I feel better when I can read something in English, literature, and it makes me proud of myself, because doing it, so.

Elena: That's great I think. You can speak English after so many years of not speaking English, then it's always good.

Agnes: Yeah, thank you.

Elena: Okay, can you evaluate someone's English or judge someone's English?

Agnes: I think yes, because.

Elena: And what do you base it on?

Agnes: When I'm hearing it.

Elena: Yeah, when you hear the person, would you judge or evaluate someone's English?

Agnes: because I have been learning for for many years, and er I can hear very well <break/> I I mean er <break/> I can hear <break/> every day you can here songs in English or something like this on, or you can watch films, and you hear how people speak, so when I hear somebody speaking, I can say if his or her pronunciation is okay or not, what kind of words he use, he or she use uses or

Elena: So would, would you base the evaluation on grammar or pronunciation or?

Agnes: On grammar and

Elena: or fluency? What would you choose?

Agnes: Mhm. Grammar and fluency of using English, yeah

Elena: Okay. How important is it for you to be correct when you speak English?

Agnes: It is important as much as in German, but when I am speaking, I know I lot I make a lot of mistakes in German too, because sometimes I'm think, I'm say, I'm saying something, and then I am thinking. I am not doing it in a right way. I should think first, and then say, but I'm doing it on another way, and I try not to make mistakes, but sometimes, it, well it happens, yeah.

Elena: What is more important to you, to be fluent or to be correct?

Agnes: To be fluent.

Elena: Okay, and if you make a mistake what do you do then?

Agnes: Er, when it's not a big mistake for me, I'm leaving it and I'm talking, and I'm going on, but when it is a big mistake for me, I repeat the word in a correct form.

Elena: Does it make a difference for you to communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers?

Agnes: Yes, of course.

Elena: And where do you see the difference?

Agnes: Mhm, because, it is so that I can I can understand not native speakers almost hundred percent, and with native speakers, I have some, some problems, because they, they talk too <break/> too quickly, and they use the words I don't know sometimes, because they, it is their <FLG> Wie heißt Muttersprache?</FLG>

Elena: First language.

Agnes: First language, yeah, and they know, they know the words, it is, it is always the same in every language that that you use some words that for that people from from abroad, do not know.

Elena: Okay, and do you prefer to communicate with natives or non-natives?

Agnes: It depends. It depends, because with non-natives I can be more more I don't know how more relaxed, and with natives I have to watch out what I'm saying and how I'm saying it, and with not natives I don't feel that I should be always correct, yeah.

Elena: Basically, on the same level.

Agnes: Mhm, yeah.

Elena: Okay, What is your worst fear when you communicate with natives and non-native speakers, if you have any?

Agnes: What is?

Elena: Worst fear?

Agnes: Fear, mhm. That that I can make a a grammar mistake, this so

Elena: With native speakers or with non-natives?

Agnes: With both. That I can make a big mistake or that sometimes I cannot find, in a moment I cannot find appropriate word, word, because I've I've forgot I have forgotten, and yeah

Elena: You can't find the the right word

Agnes: Yeah.

Elena: Okay, do you sometimes feel that you are still learning English or you think you have already achieved the stage when you can fluently communicate?

Agnes: No, I think, I'm learning all the time, because when I'm reading or when I'm hearing something, and I don't know the word, I am checking in a in a <FLG> Wörterbuch </FLG>?

Elena: Dictionary.

Agnes: Dictionary, yeah. I am checking in a dictionary, because I want to know some expressions, some new expressions, or some new words, so I think, I'm learning all the time.

Elena: So, how do you normally learn? Do you read or do you listen to the radio or?

Agnes: I'm listening to the songs, and I'm reading, I try to read in English, and when it happens I try speak with people in English.

Elena: So, you are developing all kinds of skills.

Agnes: Yeah. I'm not writing.

Elena: Okay, you don't need that at the moment.

Elena: What is your attitude to English as an international language, if you have any? Do you think it has the right to exist or?

Agnes: Yeah, yeah, I think without English you cannot communicate nowadays and for me personally English is, when I can say it, English is the most beautiful language in the

world, really. Some expressions are so easy and so beautiful, and they have some this I don't know how its <break/> flexibility in speaking, some some things in expression things, <break/> yeah, I think I think, English is very very important, very important.

Elena: And do you think it's a n easy language to learn?

Agnes: I think, yes.

Elena: In comparison to German, for example.

Agnes: I think the grammar is maybe a little bit difficult because because

Elena: Really?

Agnes: Because I had always problems with with perfect tenses, always. That's why I think the the German grammar is a little bit easier but I think, it is easier to learn English because you, every day you hear the the songs or you watch movies, you hear some new words some expressions, so

Elena:

Agnes: Yeah.

Elena: And what model of English is more relevant for you? Is it more British English or American or English as an international language? What is your standard that you aim at?

Agnes: Mhm, I think I always, I've always learnt British English, but I prefer American English, it sounds better for me.

Elena: Pronunciation-wise?

Agnes: Yeah.

Elena: Okay. Now I have a couple of questions about your institution that you are studying in here. Can you tell me a little bit about this university and your department, and what subjects you are taking, and why did you choose Tübingen?

Agnes: So, I didn't choose Tübingen, Tübingen choose me, because I've got a schola a scholarship here, so I have to

Elena: What scholarship is it?

Agnes: It was Erasmus, Erasmus scholarship, so I had to come here, and before I came I've heard that Tübingen is called German Oxford or German Cambridge something like this, because of this <FLG> Stocherkahnfest </FLG>.

Elena: Punting

Agnes: That takes every year here, that take place every year here, so I came to Tübingen one year ago, and at the beginning, and still is the city is too little for me, but I've used to, I used to I used to Tübingen, yeah?

Elena: I've got used to Tübingen.

Agnes: Ah, I've got used to Tübingen to these people, and I am studying German Philology here, and I choosed only the <FLG> Fächer </FLG>?

Elena: Ah

Agnes: Subjects

Elena: Subjects

Agnes: Subjects which are connected with literature because I was attended a courses, course about German <break/> I don't know how to say it in English, this was abou about, it was <FLG> Deutsche Reiseliteratur </FLG>

Elena: German Travel Travel Literature.

Agnes. Yeah, travel, travel literature.

Elena: I am not good in these terms, so I don't really know.

Agnes: I've also attended a course about a feeling of <break/> I don't know if it exists in English of clustration of people.

Elena: Clusters

Agnes: Clusters of people in the literature after the Second World War. What else? And I've I have chosen, I've choose also one course about the influence of an Arabic literature on German literature, and it was

Elena: So, you did these courses last year basically?

Agnes: Yes.

Elena: And what would you like to do when you graduate?

Agnes: Now, I'm staying one, a half year here in Tübingen, and then maybe in a April or in March I want to come back to Poland and find the job, and I would like to do something with translations, German Polish or something with <FLG> Touristik </FLG> I don't know, I think I hope I will find something something good.

Elena: I'm sure you will. You know so many languages, then it won't be a problem to find a job.

Agnes: I hope so, because I think I <FLG> Spreche ich zu viel </FLG>?

Elena: No, no </cut> yeah.

Agnes: So, I think, it will be good for me, I would feel good in translating or doing something with <FLG> Touristik </FLG>?

Elena: and why did you decide to become a philologist, German philologist?

Agnes: It was totally how <FLG> zufällig </FLG> acci

Elena: Accidental

Agnes: Accidentally, because I wanted to study history or something with history, such psychology or international relationships?

Elena: Relations

Agnes: Relationships, relations, but my mother told me, yeah, you know, it won't be easy to find a job when you will be studying history or psychology, you know German, why don't you try to get a place at the German Philology, so I tried, and

Elena: And you've got the place

Agnes: Yeah

Elena: And which university were you studying back in Poland?

Agnes: I am studying in Krakow, Jagiellonian University.

Elena: I heard about, a lot about this University. There is a good Ukrainian department there.

Agnes: Mhm, they are one floor deeper?

Elena: I understand you.

Agnes: My department is here on the third floor, and the Ukrainian is on the second floor.

Elena: Now I have a couple of questions about your private life. What you like to do in your free time, where would you like to go, what things do you like to see, what would you like to see?

Agnes: Would I like <FLG> oder </FLG>?

Elena: Would you like and do you like to see generally?

Agnes: Okay, so when I've got free time, I like to to read books, or listen to music, but I don't like feeling; I don't like sitting alone at home, and doing nothing. I have to, I need people to live, and I love with <beak/>, I love meeting with people, and talking with them, with my friends, to go out for a dinner or for a supper, or to go out to drink a beer, or to do to the disco, something like this, or just sitting at home with friends, and talking.

Elena: Chatting.

Agnes: Yeah, yeah.

Elena: Okay

Agnes: I like travelling a lot. What else?

Elena: Do you travel a lot here in Germany; have you been to other parts of Europe?

Agnes: No, no no no. I was in Europe, I was only in the Ukraine, France, Check republic, Slovak, Slovak?

Elena: Slovak republic

Agnes: Slovak republic, Austria, that's all.

Elena: Is there anything that you would like to learn more about or some skills that you would like to acquire in the future, generally speaking or connected to you work or to your profession?

Agnes: I would like to learn Spain, and I tried to do it here, but the teacher was so chaotic, and it doesn't work, and it didn't work, because when I'm learning a foreign language, I would like to have a class, homework to do, to read something, to do something, to write something, and he was so <break/> , it was not very important to him.

Elena: Bad- organized, yeah

Agnes: It was not very important to him, and there are, there were people, who had already known Spain, and he made the level up to them, no to the people who didn't speak at all. And I would like to to speak, to learn Spain, it was always my dream, to speak Russian, and I've learnt Russian but only for a very little time?

Elena: Mhm.

Agnes: So, what I

Elena: Was it a foreign language in school or just a private language course?

Agnes: No, no, no, no. I wanted to do only for myself, and what else? Yeah, I think, I would like to know other foreign foreign languages.

Elena: And the final question would be. Are there some things that brought about change in your life over the last five or ten years?

Agnes: Erm.

Elena: Something something that changed you drastically, or have influenced your life somehow?

Agnes: drastically maybe not, but I think, the stay here. It was a great change, probably.

Elena: and how did it change you?

Agnes: You know, maybe you've got the same but, as I was in Poland, I thought the world looks like like it looks like in Poland. But I came here, and I met a people from all over the world, and from other cultures, and now I know that people all over the world

are not are like the people in Poland, and they are not like the people in Europe. Mhm, and I have to, I had to work here, I didn't work in Poland. My father always paid for my studies, <FLG> also nicht </FLG> not for my studies, but for the

Elena: Living

Agnes: Living, yeah, and here I had to work, to earn some money, because my family couldn't afford to pay it for me, so I had to go t work, I had to work <FLG> bei </FLG> McDonald's, and I had to work many times at nights, I have to, I had to take care of myself here, and I had to learn how easy sometimes to sit here with nobody with no friends, with no family, and

Elena: How easy?

Agnes: How does it feel, it is not easy,

Elena: Yeah, it's not easy, but that's good, I mean that's a good experience, being an exchange student

Agnes: Yeah, I think it was a very very, it was a great experience for me, and I knew some people, some new people here, and I know that they are my friends, and they will be my friends.

Elena: Even if you go back to Poland in a half a year or something like that. And what is this scholarship about? Can you tell me a little bit about Erasmus program?

Agnes: I don't know how it works, but it is so that in Poland it is the most popular schola- scholarship for students, and you have to er <break/> <FLG> sich bewerben </FLG>?

Elena: To apply

Agnes: To apply for it, then you become a place, what else?

Elena: Is it a one year scholarship or it can be extended to two years?

Agnes: Yeah, if you are studying, if you are studying in Poland, you can always

Elena: Extend it.

Agnes: Yeah, extend it.

Elena: And stay longer.

Agnes: Mhm, but you won't get money for this.

Agnes: Ahm, yeah, it's only for one year.

Agnes: Yeah

Elea: Okay, that's about it. Thank you very much for your time.

Agnes: Thank you.

13. Sebastian

Elena: First of all can, you introduce yourself and say where you come from?

Sebastian: Okay. My name is Sebastian. I am from Poland, from Lodz, I was born there, and I work there as a German teacher, and I co collaborate with the publisher, and I create handbooks for the German grammar and tests and books with tests.

Elena: Living in Poland, how do you use English there? Is it necessary to know it for your work?

Sebastian: Okay, in my work, I don't have to use English as a teacher, as a German teacher. I don't have to use it. I have to I have to speak English, understand English only when I am abroad. So, I can, okay, I don't have I don't have actually to use English.

Elena: And why did you learn English?

Sebastian: Because, you have to learn, you have to learn two languages, so I chose German and English.

Elena: Are there some areas in English that you think you want to improve your skills in?

Sebastian: Sorry, could you repeat?

Elena: Are there some areas in English that you want to improve, or you might think they need improvement, that you are not very confident about these areas as a language learner?

Sebastian: I am sorry, I didn't, didn't understand you right.

Elena: Okay, let's try this way. Do you feel confident speaking English?

Sebastian: No.

Elena: And what areas would you like to improve?

Sebastian: Okay, I am always afraid just to speak in this language, because I know, okay, I am not so good in English as in German, so I know, I do many mistakes, and it's just comfortable for me to speak German.

Elena: German, even when you are abroad?

Sebastian: Yes.

Elena: And as a language learner, can you judge someone's English? Can u make a judgement whether someone's English is good or bad, according to your personal opinion?

Sebastian: I can say my English is always is always bad. Maybe not very bad

Elena: Oh, no no. Not your English, but the English of your colleagues, let's say.

Sebastian: Okay, I work with German teachers and English teachers, and the English of my colleagues who teach English is excellent, and our English, so the English of us, German teacher, Italian teacher is not so bad, not so good.

Elena: And what makes you think that their English is better than your English?

Sebastian: Hm, it's not easy to say.

Elena: Yeah, just take your time.

Sebastian: Okay, so, when you use English for profe professional use, you are trying to to to, you are trying to be better, so, and I do not have this need.

Elena: You mean sort of motivation.

Sebastian: Aha, and I don't have any motivation. Maybe these meetings are a kind of motivation, but we don't have many meetings, so many meetings. I can say I am a little bit lazy.

Elena: Yeah, the same with me in German.

Sebastian: So, when you do not have any motivation, you do not learn.

Elena: Right, it all depends on the motivation.

Sebastian: Okay, I've been learning, I've learnt English for five years, when I was a student, and then I stopped learning, and for since six years, I do not learn any more. So, I stopped on this level when I stopped, when I stopped my English classes.

Elena: Learning English, so that's, perhaps, your English is sufficient for your needs, and that is enough for what you need.

Sebastian: No, it's not efficient.

Elena: No, I mean sufficient, yeah? That's enough for your needs. For the purpose of intercultural communication in projects meetings, it is more or less enough. What do you think?

Sebastian: No, I can can't say it, because, when I have to introduce me. Okay, it's okay, but when I have to make a presentation, I know, I don't do it right, because of the language.

Elena: You would to do it better, perhaps. When you speak English, are you afraid of making mistakes?

Sebastian: Mhm, always.

Elena: Always? And what is more important for you to be fluent or to be correct?

Sebastian: To be?

Elena: Fluent

Sebastian: Both.

Elena: Both?

Sebastian: Okay, so I am a German teacher, and I know I know what's important, so when I have to speak English, I am a little bit shamed, ashamed, because of my mistakes, because of my <FLG> Mängel, wie sagt man Mängel auf Englisch </FLG>?

Hannes: My faults

Elena: So you are afraid of those?

Sebastian: Mhm.

Elena: Okay, does it make a difference for you to communicate with native and non-native speakers?

Sebastian: Okay, so I can, to be honest, I can say, I really understand better non -native speakers because, I <break/> because they make mistakes, and they are not so good in English, so. It is for me, it is easier to understand non-native speakers, because native speakers speak very very fast, and use many words I do not know.

Elena: so you would prefer to communicate with?

Sebastian: Non-native speakers

Elena: Right. What model of English is more relevant for you, if you see what I mean? Is it more British English or American English?

Sebastian: British English, because I have more, Okay I have to contact more with British English.

Elena: You have more contacts with British than with Americans. And when you were at school, what kind of model were you taught?

Sebastian: British English.

Elena: British English

Elena: Do you have an idea of what English as a lingua franca is or English as an international language?

Sebastian: Sorry

Elena: Okay, do you know what English as a lingua franca is? And what is your attitude towards it, English as an international language, not belonging particular to British or American culture?

Sebastian: Hm, I did not understand you.

Elena: Would you consider English as belonging to Britain or to America, or would you look at it as an international language?

Sebastian: For me, it's an international language, I would say.

Elena: And would you clarify why?

Sebastian: Because everyone can communicate more or less better in English.

Elena: and it is more important to be understood, than to speak with British or American accent or to use idiomatic expressions

Sebastian: Okay, so, for me it is not important, the accent, just the communication.

Elena: Okay, thanks a lot.

Sebastian: Thank you.

Hannes: The second part will be about your work place, your institution. Can u tell us a little bit about your institution and give us a clearer example of what you do, what's your daily life?

Sebastian: So I am a German teacher, I do courses, German courses for students, okay, and I teach. I work for a language school, and there I make language courses. And there <FLG> zusammen arbeiten </FLG> I co

Elena: Coordinate?

Sebastian: Not coordinate

Elena: Collaborate

Sebastian: Cooperate with the publisher, and we write with another authors, authors, grammar books and things so I am not only a teacher, not active as a teacher, not only, not only. I work at home, and

Hannes: What is your educational background? What did you have? What is your own education?

Sebastian: Hm, I've I've <break/> German department. So I am a Master of

Hannes: Good. And why did you decide to become a German teacher? What made you become a German teacher?

Sebastian: It happened, it happened maybe, not by chance, but when I was, when I finished my studies, I had two opportunities, I could, I could work as a as a interpreter, and then, as a teacher, but when you work as an interpreter, you never know if you will get the job or not, and for job as a teacher was sure, more sure. So I chosed, <unclear> chose </unclear> and I do many things after hours as a teacher.

Hannes: Okay and how did you get involved with a publisher?

Sebastian: A colleague of me is a is a <FLG> Redakteur Redakteur </FLG> works as an editor, and one time we had an idea, okay, let 's make a German grammar book, an he, he, he he <break/> so we started our cooperation, and

Hannes: What do you like best about your current work, your teaching work, your publishing work?

Sebastian: What I like better?

Hannes: Best. What's your favourite thing?

Sebastian: Okay, writing exercises is sometimes boring, so I would not never, I could not work only at home, in a front of computer, so I prefer working with people in a classroom, so I like both.

Hannes: If you could change something at the university, what would you change?

Sebastian: Students, because I am not, I am not. German is not number one language in Europe in Poland too, and students are lazy, they think, okay, I can communicate in English, so I don't need German. So, it's a hard work, when you have to, when you have classes with students, who don't don't want to learn this language, so it is not always very easy. So, if I could change something, I would change students. Not students, maybe, their approach, approach to learning German.

Hannes: Okay, how many students are unmotivated in your classes? How many percent?

Sebastian: unmotivated, thirty-forty percent, maybe.

When you have hundred percent of motivated student in the group, you are really, <FLG> Moment zufrieden </FLG>, you are always satisfied with <break/>. So, I am satisfied with my students from a language school, but not always with my students from the university, because they are lazy, too.

Hannes: And what would you change about the approach?

Sebastian: Of the students?

Hannes: And what, where would you like to learn about your professional work?

Sebastian: Where? What do you think you need to learn more for your work? What area, what domain?

Sebastian: Okay, could you ask me again, but <break/>?

Hannes: Where do you need something knowledge-wise? Which area of your work do you need more knowledge?

Sebastian: Aha

Hannes: Is there any area?

Sebastian: German language?

Hannes: Whatever.

Sebastian: Business business language. Okay, I have never had courses of business language. So I am not so good in this area, and okay, it is hard to say

Hannes: Okay.

Elena: Now, a couple of questions related to your involvement in the project. As a German teacher, how is the project Communication in International Communication related to your work?

Sebastian: Hm.

Elena: Do you see some kind of links between what you do back in Poland, and your participation in this project here?

Sebastian: Hm, hm. So I am I am at the project. I don't feel like like like a very important person by the communication in this project, <FLG> bestimmte Aufgaben </FLG>

Hannes: Certain tasks

Sebastian: Aha okay, so and if I have to communicate, so we do it in English, but they try to do it in German or just Polish when I communicate with my chef in Poland.

Elena: And what did you do to get the project?

Sebastian: What would I do?

Elena: What did you do to get the project? Did you write the research proposal?

Sebastian: So, okay, Johanna, a my chef, she knew me, but she did not knew, no, so, she did not know, what I actually do, and after okay she made an interview, and when she was sure what I can, she she suggested, and coo

Elena: Cooperation

Sebastian: Cooperation

Elena: and how do you see your contribution to the project? Is it creating certain tasks for the project? Can you clarify this?

Sebastian: Contribution? What is contribution?

Hannes: Contribution <NLG> Anteil, was würdest du gerne beitragen </NLG>? What would you like to contribute to this project?

Sebastian: To this project?

Elena: You said certain tasks, but what kind of tasks, do you have an idea at the moment?

Hannes: What are you most interested in this project? Where can you do something?

Sebastian: Okay, I am interested in creating exercises, so, okay, I can't say now, because we do not have we don't have any materials to work to work with, so, then, when I have it, I would, I could could, then I could I say more, but not now.

Elena: It is not clear at the moment,

Sebastian: Without any details.

Elena: Good. Thanks. And can you tell us a little bit about your everyday life in Poland? What do you do every day?

Sebastian: Many things. So, okay, I work a lot, so I am so I am very often at the university, and the language school, so when I am at home, I have to spend much time in front of computer, and and in my free time I play squash, and so I would would, no no, I would I have English course one hour a week, but because I don't have so much free time, I have to I have to give up very very often and say <quote> I can't this week, I can't </quote> so, I have a wish so I, it's a pity I don't have enough time to continue to continue my English course.

Elena: Is it a private course or is it at the language institution?

Sebastian: Private course

Elena: So you have a private tutor?

Sebastian: Mhm

Elena: Do you like to go out with your friends? Do you do this on Friday night or more on Saturday evenings?

Sebastian: Friday or </break>, it depends, it depends, Friday

Elena: Okay, thank you very much

Sebastian: Thank you.

4. Slovak speakers

14. Tomas

Elena: First of all, can you introduce yourself, and say where you come from, and what your first language is?

Tomas: My name is Tomas, and I come from Slovak republic. I am a project manager and a trainer in educational institution for non-profit organization, which is a small, non-profit organization, basically dealing with education.

Elena: Okay. Now we have a couple of questions concerning your requirements to your English. The first question would be: why did you learn English?

Tomas: I came across English at grammar school. I chose it a foreign language and studied English and Russian, two foreign languages, and this was basically the first time. Then I stopped for four years, at the university where I studied teaching music, and after university I decided to leave Slovakia for a couple of years, and I spent two years in England. I was working, when I had time I went to language school.

Elena: Language school?

Tomas: Language schools, different language schools. I did not have time to go for any examinations, which I planned to pass in England, so I postponed these exams till I came to Slovakia. When I came to Slovakia, I started to serve a military service. In the meantime I went to another courses, and passed my certificate examination, which is, exactly name is Cambridge certificate of proficiency in English.

Elena: There are different levels, I guess.

Tomas: This is a proficiency certificate.

Elena: How do you use English in everyday life?

Tomas: Mostly in work, mostly in my job.

Elena: So, does it, does knowing English facilitate your work, or is it necessary for your work?

Tomas: Basically, it is necessary.

Elena: It is necessary.

Tomas: Because I am a project manager and I am responsible for all our international relations, international activities.

Elena: When you hear a person, can you judge a person, I mean what his or her English like.

Tomas: Yes, of course, you naturally judge someone.

Elena: What is it based on? I mean the judgment.

Tomas: I think, it's fluency, fluency of communication and conversation. It is the first thing that strikes you when you speak to someone.

Elena: And when you, personally, speak English are u afraid of making mistakes? And how important is it for you?

Tomas: Well, at the moment. I used to work in language teaching, it was then, when it was important not to make mistakes. But at the moment I don't really care so much.

Elena: Right, as long as u are understood and understand.

Tomas: Because the people I speak to, the level of language is just so different, and the purpose of speaking is to understand each other, regardless the mistakes we always get a common understanding

Elena: You work in different international projects, and when you communicate with native speakers of English, and non-native speakers, do you feel a difference in communication?

Tomas: Oh, yes. The main difference is that you, without thinking about it, adjust to the level of the person you speak to

Elena: Partner

Tomas: It is quite natural, you don't even realize it, but when I keep on talking with someone whose English is really low, I tend to speak in a different way, I don't speak long sentences, I choose very simple constructions, I speak very slowly, and I articulate. And when I speak to native speakers after a couple of hours or so, I tend to speed up a little bit.

Elena: It's natural.

Tomas: It's natural; you don't even realize it, doing it sometimes.

Elena: And do you have any preferences speaking with native speakers or non-native speakers?

Tomas: I think native speakers, of course, since my examination, it 's been three or four years and my English has been falling of course, because I am not working on my English, doing nothing, just using it.

Elena: So you think you are not learning English at the moment.

Tomas: I am not learning, I am just using, what I've learnt before and it's basically, going a little bit down, because I don't have time to, when I have time, I do read English books, and I only read books in English, that just to keep me a little bit on the level.

Elena: What model of English is relevant to you? Is it British or American or English as an international language?

Tomas: I lived in Britain. I think British English. I am quite used to British English.

Elena: and do you have an idea, of what English as a lingua franca is? And, perhaps, your attitude towards it, English as an international language?

Tomas: Yeah.

Elena: Do you have a particular attitude to it?

Tomas: Hm, it is a lingua franca.

Elena: And do you think it is positive or negative for the language itself?

Tomas: For the language it's quite positive, and it's very positive for Great Britain, and all the English speaking. It's a good business for the native speakers and for the country, and positive in a sense, that there must be some kind of lingua franca. Esperanto did not prove to be so popular, because no one speaks that language,

Elena: And it's quite useful

Tomas: Yes, it's absolutely useful. I appreciate that there is a kind of language which is a kind of main language and widely used.

Elena: When you communicate with native speakers, do you have any particular fear, and with non-native speakers, coming from different backgrounds?

Tomas: When I speak to native speakers, I don't have any fear, I quite appreciate it and enjoy them, so I want to learn and want to pick up as much as I can. When I speak to non-native speakers, the fear is that I will not understand and or that I will not be understood properly.

Elena: That's somewhere in the back of your mind?

Tomas: Yes, sometimes.

Elena: Okay that's about it. Thanks a lot.

Hannes: Two more parts, actually. The first one is can you tell us more about your institution? What kind of institution is it? What exactly do you do there? What are typical work tasks for you?

Tomas: Hm. We are non-profit organization established about six years ago. We were established primarily for for education and creating and implementing educational programs for NGO managers. And slowly slowly this changed and from various topics we work with its. At the moment in Slovakia it is a project psycho management, PC and training in connection to entering EU. So we also change a target group, and also with economic changes in Slovakia, political changes, situation with donors, and providing support to educational programs to NGOs, Civic Society development to have moved a bit eastward, so it's almost impossible to get support for this kind of program. So we turn business-wise, and we basically act as a business company, still officially having status as a non-profit organization. So we run training programs, tailor-made courses, and also get involved with structural funds, European Social fund and programs, educational programs for mainly managers from municipalities the moment, and we also train people from business sectors.

Hannes: Computer training or language training?

Tomas: it's project psycho management; it's the methodology of project planning and

Hannes: Okay. What is your educational background, your own background?

Tomas: my educational background is teaching. I am a teacher for secondary schools, teacher of music and aesthetics, which is quite far from what I am doing at the moment. And by coincidence, the founder of the institution and my boss, and my colleague, and she is also graduate of the same university, also music teacher, so we met by coincidence and we clicked, sort of, and it's just going on ever since. And we are just four people, I did not mention, very small organization.

Elena: Very small team.

Tomas: very small team. Me and my colleague do the management and training. We have accountant and marketing and technical manager, and some external actors for different topics field.

Hannes: And why did you decide to become involved in NGO business? Why did you switch from music to the NGO business?

Tomas: Suddenly, inspiration from Danitsa, my colleague, I was talking about when we met and she told me actually she need someone to take care of the international activities, and since I was just being returned from my military service and I just passed this certificate, I wanted to use my English, I wanted to work in some more interesting field than teaching, of course it's financial issues which is important in Slovakia very much. I found it as a great challenge for myself.

Tomas: And what do you like most about your job? What is the most fascinating the most interesting aspect?

Tomas: The most fascinating is a creativity that you actually come up with something, with ideas, with new ideas and you turn them into life, which takes sometimes a couple of years, but it usually does happen. I think this is the best thing about my job.

Hannes: And what do you dislike most? What would you change if you had a power to do so?

Tomas: I would cancel deadline, because my life is just becoming dependent on deadlines, different deadlines.

Hannes: And when you look at the area you work in, you job profile, do you, where would you like to have more skills, more knowledge, what do you think, what would you like to improve?

Tomas: facilitation skills. That's personally my feeling, facilitation and consulting skills.

Hannes: Okay.

Tomas: this is, this is something I need I should become a little bit

Hannes: Can you elaborate what you understand by this?

Tomas: Facilitation of, let's say, public meetings, because we work with municipalities. We help them to create analyses, and and, set the strategies and, that means facilitation of of meetings, basically. Working with a group of people, getting out of the group of people, in certain time.

Hannes: Okay. Now we would like to talk about this project right now.

Elena: Coming back to the project: as a project coordinator, as we understand, what did you do to get the project?

Tomas: What did I do?

Elena: Yeah. How did you get it?

Tomas: How did you get it? The first thing was a just the discussion with my colleague Danitsa about this issue of language aspect in project management, because we did run courses for project management for for managers in NGOs and universities, which was quite popular, and we had like stock of materials, and we hired language schools to do this, but it almost never succeeded

Elena: Right

Tomas: Because they never did project English, it was always business wise. So we said, we should really come up with something, which is useful not just in Slovakia, and since we had international activities, we have business partners, it was not very difficult to actually find out that there is nothing like this on the market in the EU. So we approached the national agencies, and talked to national agencies, we managed to persuade them that project managers are occasional target group in Europe already. It

took us about a year of discussions with national agencies, and we contacted partners through our different partners or through national agencies, and then, we prepared a pre-proposal.

Elena: So, you were involved in writing the research proposal?

Tomas: Yes

Elena: And how long did it take you complete it?

Tomas: We started with this idea, it was </break> I don't know which year it was, but it was beginning of the year two thousand one two thousand two. And we contacted partners, and we got initial reaction, which was very positive, especially from Tubingen and EBG, and and Coventry University. We asked them to come to Slovakia, well, we did not ask, we asked if it would be possible to meet just to prepare the pre-proposal, and they said, yes of course. They came on their own expenses, and we spent one day working, just planning this project, and talking about how we would set a <unclear></unclear>. It was spring, and by autumn the pre-proposal was ready, and it was accepted, but unfortunately, the full proposal was not accepted by the commission. Then, we did not lose our patience, and consulted the national agencies, and did it again. I re-elaborated it, we elaborated it a little bit.

Elena: And then, you submitted the final version.

Tomas: Again, pre-proposal, and a final proposal. So, it took two years to get it through European Commission.

Elena: And was quite successful at the end.

Tomas: Well, quite successful, but considering the budget and the cuts in the budget. It was, it is a success we have the project actually, it is quite a hard work, and you could see in meetings, it very often appears at arguments of the partners, that is very little money and how much work people are able to dedicate to

Elena: Are supposed to do

Tomas: Dedicate to the project, and I perfectly understand that because it is just the way it is in this project.

Elena: Right. What specific aspects in this project are you more, most interested in?

Tomas: Me?

Elena: You personally

Tomas: Maybe it's some of the modules, maybe it's the topic of setting up the project and project management and project documentation, because this is something we deal with every day, and language aspect is quite interesting for me, so, it perhaps, these two modules if we talk about the topics.

Elena: And then, perhaps, you could, apply those outcomes to you work in your institution?

Tomas: Yes, sure, because we already have feedback from our participants that they are interested in something like this; it's definitely going to be useful for us.

Elena: And the final questions. What do you expect from the project? What do you expect to get or to learn from the project?

Tomas: Wow, a number of things. For me, this is the first time, I am involved in development of language materials, of such a big extent, and on such a high professional level, and I am learning by working with great people, it's a learning something which I never been involved in. That's one thing. Another thing is, contacts with great people, I constantly meet.

Elena: So many different nationalities

Tomas: So many nationalities and professionals from various institutions in Europe, and of course, we already talk about possibilities of future cooperation, because we want to take it further, the issue of project management and project managers in Europe a little bit further, not just language aspect, but also something else. We already talked about with some partners.

Elena: Great experience

Tomas: Yes, great experience

Elena: Thanks a lot.

Hannes: Now a couple of final questions about your private life. What is your favourite leisure time? What do you do in your free time? How much free time do you have, in the first place?

Tomas: At the moment, not much, because we have, as I said, we are four people, and we have quite a few projects running at the moment, some of them are finishing, some of them are starting, some of them are in the middle. Some of them delayed, and I don't have much free time, unfortunately, but if I have some, I like sports, okay, name swimming, squash, skiing, and as I said, I studied music, and I still like music very much, and I've a couple of not groups, but musicians, I play with. So, this is basically what I like doing in my leisure time.

Hannes: How do you friends react if you're working all the time, if you are at work all the time?

Tomas: How do they react?

Hannes: Why are you working all the time?

Tomas: Yes. First of all, I do not care about what they think of, I mean they have to accept, they are my friends, and they absolutely do understand because they're also busy people; most of them are quite busy with their life, with their work, so we do understand. We are this generation of stressed out people.

Hannes: And how do you feel this work in European project has changed your own personality or which tracks have you noticed, what do you notice? What's the biggest change?

Tomas: The biggest change is broadening your mind, basically, because you travel to places in Europe. I think, I've been almost to every country. I met people from all European countries, almost. We talk about many issues and it's a great experience, you learn an awful lot of things, which you, sort of, overlooked or were not able to see them, because they were just under the surface, and when you go to places, and you speak to people, it's quite different experience.

Hannes: Thanks

15. Vladimir

Elena: Okay. First of all can you introduce yourself and say where you come from?

Vladimir: Ah Okay. So I am from Vanska Bistrica ah in Slova <break/> the Slov Republic.

Elena: Now a couple of questions dealing with how you use English and why you learnt it. Ah where actually did learning take place ah <break/> learning of English and when when did you learn it

Vladimir: Okay, so I I learnt English at the language school so it was maybe for four years so they they were <unclear>aiming</unclear> classes and then I studied English at the university with Russian. So I studied languages, English plus Russian

Elena: So it was your major?

Vladimir: Yes.

Elena: And how do you use English? Could you clarify it?

Vladimir: Ah, Okay. So I use English every day because I'm a teacher but I'm not a teacher of English but I'm a teacher of translation or translation studies. So I teach my students how to translate from English into Slovak and sometimes ah because of practice demand how to translate from Slovak into into English.

Elena: Ah still that's more theoretical.

Vladimir: Little.

Elena: Course <break/> yeah on translation and practical.

Vladimir: Yes, it is theoretical course which is done ah in English but also in Slovak but practical seminars are in English and in Slovak because we we need Slovak because we translate into Slovak

Elena: So that's a working language:

Vladimir: Yes.

Elena: Alright, ah, your English is quite good, but still are there some areas that you might improve for them or want to improve.

Vladimir: Oh, yes, maybe I could extend my vocabulary

Elena: Okay.

Vladimir: But you know if teach somebody to translate so ah sometimes I I feel that I work ah much with Slovak than in English because the English is a source language or English is a ah <break/> is a tool of source texts yes so I have to ah understand, interpret and then to somehow transform into my my native language or target languages.

Elena: Ah, right. Can you judge someone's English? And what <unclear>if</unclear> you

Vladimir: Someone's?

Elena: Yeah, someone's English and what is your judgment based on then?

Vladimir: Okay, so main mainly so I think that I focus on on grammar you know usage of grammar for example very simple ah answer is the third person –s.

Elena: Okay then.

Vladimir: Yeah, yes.

Elena: Okay.

Vladimir: Because I think this is very very general mistake people

Elena: <unclear>oh I</unclear> didn't get anything.

Vladimir: Yeah, people make so this is and then maybe present simple and present continuous, past simple and present perfect.

Elena: So it will be mostly the use of tenses rather than vocabulary or so.

Vladimir: Yes, yes, yes.

Elena: And pronunciation. And how important is <unclear/> for you to be correct when you speak English?

Vladimir: So I that that for me is it's very important since ah I studied English so I should <break/> I should speak correctly.

Elena: correct <unclear/> and where would you place fluency?

Vladimir: Ah you mean in my case or <unclear>general</unclear>?

Elena: In your case yeah and generally speaking?

Vladimir: So so you mean on a scale?

Elena: If you take correctness on a scale, if you take correctness and fluency what would be more important for you to be fluent or to be correct?

Vladimir: To be correct.

Elena: Rather than to be fluent?

Vladimir: Mhm.

Elena: Ah do you see some reasons for this?

Vladimir: So as as I already mentioned since I studied English so I think that I can't speak

Elena: Incorrectly

Vladimir: Yes, incorrectly. So I <break/> but of course I try to be fluent¤<231319>

Elena: At the same time.

Vladimir: Yes, at the same time.

Elena: In different projects you communicate <unclear>what</unclear> with non-native and native speakers of English

Vladimir: Yes.

Elena: And does it make a huge difference for you to communicate with natives and non-natives?

Vladimir: Ah, so I think there is not a huge difference but but I think that the big difference is to understand different accents for example ah Italians or French or Hungarians or

Spanishes. So it's really difficult to to understand their their accent and to get what they're talking about.

Elena: And what are your preferences in communication native speakers <break/> if you had it <break/> to choose native speakers or non-native speakers?

Vladimir: So I think that I have not preferences or so.

Elena: That's fine.

Vladimir: I'm able to speak to everybody.

Elena: and understand. Do you sometimes feel that you're still learning English?

Vladimir: Yes. So I think that I learn it every day because ah I think that language is not close system so it is open system and it is not my native language so I I think that I have to learn a lot.

Elena: And what do you learn every day? Is it more grammar or more vocabulary?

Vladimir: So I think that it is vocabulary as maybe by watching TV or listening to the radio or by by reading newspapers or magazines. Or also when translating some ah technical texts so I learn new words.

Elena: Ah, there are different models of English and what model is more relevant to you

Vladimir: Hm.

Elena: Is it more British or American English? Or is it more English as an international language for instance?

Vladimir: Ah so I still think that British English is a kind of Standard English. And if I compare American English and British English so I I think that American English is easier, because I think that Americans omit a lot of tenses to use.

Elena: Ah yeah, a couple of tenses, yeah

Vladimir: Yes. So and therefore I think it's easier and I think it's <unclear/> but it's it's true but I have no problems to speak to Americans or to British or to <break/> you know to comprehend those two Englishes, if I can say.

Elena: Two kinds of English. And what is your attitude to your <break/> to English as a lingua franca or English as an international language in the world?

Vladimir: Ah so so I think that in the future so it will be very very important a language and it is really an international language.

Elena: And do you think English is an easy language to learn and to understand?

Vladimir: Ah for example if I compare ah grammatical system of English and for example Russian because I I have studied English and Russian so I think ah that English is eh easier or the grammar is easier.

Elena: The case system.

Vladimir: Yes, the grammar system comparing to to Russian grammar system.

Elena: And what do you think makes English an international language?

Vladimir: Ahm business. Ah I think that not ah as a linguistic system but business makes it important and for example that so the US is still a powerful country.

Elena: Ah.

Vladimir: Yes, it makes English very important a language.

Elena: Thanks a lot.

Vladimir: Okay, thank you.

Hannes: Where is English harder than Russian if you say the grammar system it's easier that makes it a good candidate.

Vladimir: Ah so you don't know Russian has a lot of cases but English has a lot or more tenses because Russian has only present, one present, one past and one future and that that's all.

Hannes: Okay.

Hannes: So now the the second part is about your university and your institution. Can you tell us a bit more details about where you work and what exactly do you do there? What's your role at the institution?

Vladimir: Ah, okay, so ah I work for the philological faculty of <unclear> Matibel </unclear> University, the Department of American and British Studies so our eh undergraduates will be ah translators and interpreters. ah They study a combination of two languages. So we <break/> we provide our students with roughly about eighteen ah eighteen languages. Yes, we are not teaching training faculty but we we we prefer <break/> prepare translators and interpreters and I teach translation studies, theory and practical seminars.

Hannes: And your own education?

Vladimir: My own education? So ah I studied pedago <break/> studied pedagogical faculty.

Hannes: Okay. And eh what made you decide to stay at the university?

Vladimir: Mhm.

Hannes: Why did you decide to become a university translation teacher?

Vladimir: Ah <unclear>bec</unclear> because I I like work wi with people, because I think that is very creative and flexible <break/> and flexible ah work. So I can't imagine myself to work for example in a bank, yes to sit at your desk eight hours. I think <unclear> it is</unclear> not not very creative job. So I think that that my my my my work <break/> so it mean teaching so fulfils.

Hannes: And ahem what do you like best about ah <break/> or you already said <break/> but maybe can you tell what do you really like about ah the job with the students?

Vladimir: Mhm. So I

Hannes: <unclear>heard</unclear> thing.

Vladimir: Yes ah I like to communicate, I like <unclear>general</unclear> communicating with them, so I like to arguing with them because sometimes they don't agree with my translational solutions. So I have to somehow persuade them, so I <unclear/> always say that there is not a perfect translation because translation is very very <unclear>subjective [subjective??] </unclear>. There is not only one ah possible translation. Yes so the <break/> this argue so maybe I like. Yes ah and I feel there I'm still at school <unclear>somewhere</unclear> young <break/> because if you if you

work with young people so I think that your attitudes to life are maybe better than if you work only with old or older people so.

Hannes: Okay and what would you change if you had the power to do so?

Vladimir: You mean

Hannes: At the <break/> in your job, you at your job at the university?

Vladimir: Okay so we so we don't have enough money so I mean generally our our university so if I had so the power to <unclear>gain</unclear> money and <unclear>I don't</unclear> where from but to better equipped our teacher with computers, internet access <break/> yes to buy printers or maybe video cameras to use them in the teaching process <unclear>that's it, right</unclear>. Yes to better equipped our teachers and students to buy for example new booth <break/> yes for for

Elena: Translation

Vladimir: Yes for interpreting teaching.

Hannes: Mhm, okay ahem and is there any area where you would like to wor <break/> learn more about for your work? Any of the professional area where you think you need to learn more about?

Vladimir: So ah maybe to attend conferences and to to speak to people who work in the same field as I do or may

Elena: <unclear>You mean</unclear> translation congresses?

Vladimir: Yes, yes co conferences on translation studies <break/> yes to speak ah about how how to teach ah translation, yes from the methodological point of of view.

Hannes: Okay.

Vladimir: So I think it's most important for me because you <break/> once you know theory or you know how to translate so is enough but then you have to know how to present it or how to teach ah students to start thinking about two different linguistic codes yes and have to <break/> have to move or shift some information from one linguistic code into another and to persuade them then when when you translate something you must be very very good at your mother tongue.

Elena: Which is not the case, so.

Vladimir: Yes, because you <unclear> sug</unclear> <break/> because end users will read your tra <break/> the translation in your <unclear>end</unclear> <break/> mother tongue and if you can't speak properly your mother tongue so you can't translate. But it it takes time to explain student that <break/> students that not is of course native <break/> the source language is very important but more important is the target language you translate into.

Hannes: Okay, alright.

Elena: Ahm, now a couple of questions ah related to your involvement in the project?

Vladimir: Mhm.

Elena: Ah what is <break/> how is this <break/> the project related to your work?

Vladimir: You mean this.

Elena: Ah, this project, yeah, it

Vladimir: The, the

Elena: Communication in international projects.

Vladimir: So it has been my my first project I'm involved in. So I I at the moment so it's real difficult how I will use the <unclear>maybe</unclear> , the information ah in my job but while I think that I will use maybe the process of creating teaching material so maybe I will learn here how to create materials and then ah I can create my own <unclear> textbooks</unclear> for for translation some <unclear>hours</unclear> let's say.

Elena: Yeah then apply to the translation projects <unclear> courses </unclear>

Vladimir: Yes, yes.

Elena: Ah, how did you get interested in the project - and how did you get involved in it?

Vladimir: Ah, okay, so a couple of years so we ah I met ah Tomas and his boss Danica and I n I did a couple of courses, English courses for people

who work in non-profitable organizations. So and therefore they they asked me yes to <unclear>s</unclear> <break/> to participate then in in the course.

Elena: Okay, and at the moment do you see your contribution to the project?

Vladimir: Yes oh so I see bec because I I've <break/> I've done some some materials.

Elena: Can you clarify?

Vladimir: Okay so ah I so maybe you can remember ah I've done a presentation of this ahm project meetings.

Elena: <unclear>this one</unclear> on project meeting construction

Vladimir: Yes, yes.

Elena: Okay

Vladimir: Our scenario of project meetings.

Elena: Alright. And can you tell us a little bit about your life in general?

Vladimir: General, Okay. So I'm married.

Elena: Okay.

Vladimir: so I have five years old son, so I live in <unclear> Ban an Vanska Bistrica </unclear>. So I like, what I like? I like swimming very much, so I go swimming maybe twice or three times a week, so I like biking, I like squash playing and reading, of course.

Elena: And what's your neighbourhood like?

Vladimir: Neighbourhood? So I live in a block of flats, so on my <break/> on my floor there are four families living. But ah I'm very occupied with my job, so I I am not very often at home so I I leave

Elena: <unclear>flexible hours</unclear>

Vladimir: my my flat in the morning let's say at seven or at about eight and I come home in the evening about six or later.

Hannes: How does your wife like that?

Vladimir: Aha, so I think that she's used to it.

Hannes: Okay.

Vladimir: Because <unclear/> she n <break/> she knows that ah I like my my job and I like being among people and to be in touch with people. But she knows that I can't imagine to work at home in front of the screen. So I I think it's <unclear/> <break/> it's <break/> for me it's really boring, so I I need to communicate with people and to meet them every day.

Elena: Okay, that's right.

Hannes: That's it.

Elena: Thanks a lot.

Vladimir: Okay.

C: The Global Test of English (adapted from Kohn 1990).

Task: To each of the test sentences give an answer that you think is correct; specify this answer with respect to whether you are:

<u>Sure: I am sure it is correct (!)</u>
<u>Not sure: I am not sure it is correct (?)</u>

1)
a. Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement:
b. Make a question out of the statement.
He was home all day.
a. _____
b. _____

2) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
We arrived at _____ village at _____ sunrise.

3) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
She (to talk) _____ on the phone tight now.

4) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
Lake Windermere is one of the most picturesque places on _____ planet.

5) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
When I (to see) _____ him for the last time, he (to walk) _____ down the High Street.

6) Give correct articles (if no article is needed, use 0).
Maria wants to learn _____ English language, before she goes to America next year.
She already speaks _____German and _____Japanese fluently.

7) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
Do you like this medicine? No, it (to taste) _____ bitter.

8)
a. Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement.
b. Make a question out of the statement.
Mr. Sloan has offered him a job.
a._____
b._____

9) Put the verb in the correct tense form.

When the young couple (to converse) _____ over the morning tea, the doorbell (to ring) _____.

10) Give correct preposition (if no preposition is needed, use 0)
The story was written _____ Conan Doyle.

11)
a. Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement.
b. Make a question out of the statement.
There is some coffee left in the pot.
a._____
b._____

12) Make a question and use the interrogative given.
Phyllis went to the dance with Jeff.
Whom_____?

13) Give correct articles (if no article is needed, use 0).
The whole story is _____ lie from _____ beginning to_____ end.

14) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
It (to happen) _____ three years ago, when I (to graduate) _____ from the university.

15) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
_____ Wind was blowing from _____ north all day.

16) Give a verbal form (gerund, infinitive)
The traffic continued (to move) _____ slowly.

17) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
He (to write) _____ a letter to his family every day.

18) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
'Will you join me tonight? It's out of _____ question; I have lots of things to do.'

19) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
He sat there until the telephone (to ring) _____.

20) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
His cat, Snowball, by_____ name, was playing on_____ carpet.

21) Give correct preposition (if no preposition is needed, use 0)

Mr. Flanagan, who is _____ Ireland, is staying _____ his sister's home in Boston.

22)
a. Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement.
b. Make a question out of the statement:
Mary plays the violin.
a._____
b._____

23) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
Does your brother play _____ violin?

24) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
He wishes that he (to be) _____ able to go to college, but he has to support his mother.

25) Give correct preposition (if no preposition is needed, use 0).
Scot has been living in Berlin _____ 1993.

26) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
If I (to be) _____ the professor, I would give easier tasks.

27) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
Mr. Ripley has given _____ large sum of money to _____ local school.

28) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
Does your brother (play) _____ the violin?

29) Give correct articles (if no article is needed, use 0).
Mr. Preston collects _____ stamps from _____ Oriental countries.

30) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
The Earth (to revolve) _____ around the sun.

31) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
I rang _____ bell, but nobody answered, so I rang _____ second time.

32) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
When does the plane arrive? It (to arrive) _____ at five o'clock.

33) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
She was engaged as _____ primary school teacher.

34) Give correct preposition (if no preposition is needed, use 0).
Is Jane _____ home? No, she is _____ the library.

35)
a. Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement.
b. Make a question out of the statement.
They enjoy horror movies.
a._____
b._____

36) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
I (to step over)_____ the hedge and (to walk) _____around the house.

37) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
*Jane Parpart is ___ Professor of History, Women's Studies and International
Development Studies at ____Dalhousie University in Halifax, Canada.*

38) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
How many pages (to translate) _____ for today?

39) Give correct preposition (if no preposition is needed, use 0).
John always entertains us _____ stories of his experience.

40) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
*Where are Mr. and Mrs. Jones? They (to take)_____ a trip around the
world.*

41) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
____ Woman came up to me and asked what time it was.

42) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
They (to live) _____ in Chicago for four years.

43) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
The attorney told _____ client that they had _____ little chance of winning the case.

44) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
I (to see) _____ the play Macbeth at least seven times.

45)
a. Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement.
b. Make a question out of the statement.
They arrived last night.
a._____
b._____

46) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
When do you play _____ basketball?

47) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
They just (to return) _____ from a trip to Mexico.

48) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
*He (to breathe) _____ heavily as he (to speak) _____, and his blushed
face (to bend) _____ nearer and nearer.*

49) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
The man (to open) _____ the cage and the bird (to fly) _____.

50) Change the following sentence from the active to the passive construction.
The messenger will deliver the package right away.
_____

51) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
She (to dance) _____ opposite Kate with teeny, tiny steps.

52)
a. Change the following affirmative statement to a negative statement.
b. Make a question out of the statement.
He wants some crackers.
a._____
b._____

53) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
*I (to approach) _____ the dwelling from the garden through the gate,
so I (to step) _____ over the fence and (to walk) _____.*
54) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
*I just (finish) _____ watering the lawn when it (to begin) _____ to
rain.*
55) Give correct article (if no article is needed, use 0).
He wishes that he were able to go to____college, but he has to support his mother.

56) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
He said that John (to tell_____ him about our plans.

57) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
He never (to go) _____ home before he (to finish) _____ his work.

58) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
The telephone rang while he (to sit) _____ there.

59) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
I've learnt a lot since, I (to be)_____ a child .

60) Give a verbal form (gerund, infinitive).
I have just finished (to type) _____ my paper.

61) Give correct preposition (if no preposition is needed, use 0).
Is your birthday in March? Mine is _____ March 9.

62) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
He said that he (to be)_____ here tomorrow.

63) Use the sentence:
Harry arrived (late) Tom did
to express a comparison for the following situation:
a)   They both arrive late
_____ as late as_____
b)   Harry arrives at 3:15 and Tom arrives at 3:30
_____later than_____

64) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
We wish that you (to play)_____ bridge.

65) Change the verb from the simple past to the simple present.
We drove too fast on the highway.
_____

66) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
I wish I (can) _____ speak Chinese.

67) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
I wish that he (to finish) _____ his speech in a hurry.

68) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
From the Bronze Age till now, men (make)_____ incredible discoveries.

69) Give a verbal form (gerund, infinitive)
Do you mind (to close)_____ the windows?

70) Put the verb in the correct tense form.

He (to live)_____ in Oslo before he moved to Berlin.

71) Change the following sentence from the active to the passive construction.
The postman brought the mail early today.
_____

72) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
At this time next year, I hope that I (to earn) _____ more money.

73) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
He rarely (to utter) _____ a word of disagreement.

74) Change the verb from the simple present to the simple past.
   The child wants a drink of water.
_____

75) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
The man (to catch) _____ the bird and (to put) _____ it into the cage.

76) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
Mr. Phil has (to teach) _____ for many years.

77) Give a verbal form (gerund, infinitive).
We have decided (to go) _____ to England.

78) Give correct preposition (if no preposition is needed, use 0).
Please, write_____ ink, and don't forget to write _____ every other line.

79) Put the verb in the correct tense form.
He said that he (to be) _____ sick.

80) Give correct preposition (if no preposition is needed, use 0).
Janny is carrying out a PhD project _____my supervision.