Towards International Standard English:

Identifying Standards for an International Lingua Franca

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Abbreviations

AAVE	African American Vernacular English
AmE	American English
BrE	British English
BSAE	Black South African English
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EGP	English for General Purposes
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
ISAE	Indian South African English
iStE	International Standard English
StE	Standard English
WE	World Englishes
WSAE	White South African English

1 Introduction

While reflecting on English language teaching in Germany, I recognized a discrepancy between a focus on formal correctness in the classroom and the focus on communicative competence postulated not only in curricula (Ministerium 1999, 2014) but also in research on the usage and teaching of English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Seidlhofer 2004: 226). Although in Germany[1] the role of ELF, "als Weltverkehrssprache" (Ministerium 2014: 11), is emphasized in the curricula and the successful use of ELF succeeded major native varieties as target varieties of English Language Teaching (ELT), e.g. British English, "Der Englischunterricht stützt sich weitgehend auf das Britische Englisch als Modell" (Ministerium 1999: 19)[2]. This change in language policy seems to be of limited effect on practical language teaching. While communicative language teaching and content and language integrated learning (CLIL) have the momentum of current research and teaching ideals on their side and are indeed spreading, many English classrooms still focus on the same grammatical and phonological forms and problems that have shaped ELT in the past.

Jennifer Jenkins' (2000) research on phonological variation in ELF communication and her suggestion of a "phonological common core" (p. 159) showed that it is possible to distinguish between, in this case phonological, structures that affect ELF communication in a way that leads to communication breakdown and structures that do not have a fatal effect on the communication process. If, as Hülmbauer, Böhringer, and Seidlhofer (2008) claim, "the main consideration [in ELF communication, TM] is not formal correctness but functional effectiveness" (p. 28), focus on form and correctness may unjustly be maintained as a central objective in present-day ELT. Instead, it seems sensible if not necessary to establish, in analogy to Jenkins' phonological common core, a collection of grammatical features that impede communication in ELF. A joined phonological and grammatical common core (and in addition pragmatic conventions) could be used to establish a basis for a World Standard English in McArthur's (1987) sense or propose features necessary for proficiency in international English as proposed by Modiano (1999: 25). This study seeks to contribute to the question whether it is possible to establish such a core and identify some first features that must be absent in order to retain "functional effectiveness." By doing so, this study may help to take one more step "towards international Standard English," beyond the question of ownership of English and segregation into speakers of distinct varieties

[1] North Rhine-Westphalia as the biggest federal state was taken as an example. There are differences between the individual states, but the tendency in language and educational policy is comparable.
[2] The 1999 curriculum also makes references to lingua franca usage, however, in the 2014 edition the emphasis is on lingua franca usage. The representation of diversity of the English language is maintained while references to central (native) target varieties are forgone in the current curriculum.

and from typologically separated circles (Ren 2014, Yoo 2014). Establishing a comprehensive morphosyntactic core, which would be nothing short of writing a grammar of English as an international lingua franca, is beyond the scope of this study.

While the avoidance of communication breakdowns certainly is a necessary prerequisite for successful communication and "functional effectiveness" (Hülmbauer/Böhringer/Seidlhofer 2008: 28), it is not sufficient. Language attitude in form of the acceptance of the forms and variants used by interlocutors also needs to be taken into consideration. Successful and effective communication exceeds the unambiguous transfer of denotative meaning, it involves conforming to social norms and pragmatic conventions. Especially in professional communication, which takes place in various registers of English internationally (Widdowson 1997: 144), the meeting of interlocutors' expectations cannot be neglected if the purpose of communication processes is to be achieved. This applies to various situations and communications from job interviews to the perception of academic publications and presentations. While the use of English in various domains and registers actually suggests that different norms and expectations may be at work in each of these contexts, it must also be assumed that something like General English also exists in non-specialist international usage.

The investigation of language attitude required the assessment of perception. Thus, a further difference to a great many ELF studies is the focus on language reception rather than language production. For this study, a text was compiled that represents general, non-specialist usage which is marked by the absence of specific vocabulary and constructions. Instead, the text represents formal communication that could, in this or similar form, occur in various contexts. The non-standard structures included represented differences between the major native varieties (American and British English), second language varieties from postcolonial settings (mainly India and South Africa), what has been described as common learner errors, and, of course, structures found in ELF corpora (VOICE and ELFA). It should be pointed out that although these can be distinguished in terms of the sources they were taken from, the aforementioned separation of speakers from different language backgrounds ("circles") is misleading as the majority of structures co-occur – if with varying frequency – in different types of varieties of English, i.e. native and non-native varieties from various historical, social, political, and regional contexts. Also, since the structures included in the sample text not necessarily occur in all of the aforementioned varieties, the study does not present international Standard English as another variety of English, instead, different speakers' reactions towards a multitude of structures from various contexts is investigated. If all structures had come from one variety, the object of this study would have been to investigate attitudes towards this particular variety, which may well

have depended on other, extra-linguistic factors. The objective was not to give a detailed analysis of all non-standard structures used in any communication in English worldwide – which seems almost unfeasible – but to identify general tendencies in non-native and native speakers' awareness of and attitudes towards some selected structures.

During the data elicitation process the informants read the text and marked everything they considered "non-standard or an error" (oral instruction). This way, two pieces of information were revealed: first, did the informants identify a certain structure as non-standard or did it pass as Standard English? Second, did they find it acceptable or unacceptable in the given context (formal, written communication in international English)? Acceptable and unacceptable structures were distinguished by color marking. As a further categorization of the structures marked was not necessary, no specialist metalinguistic knowledge was necessary on the informants' side.[3]The markings represent subjective reactions by the participants. While, due to their larger number in a global context (Crystal 2003: 61) the main interest was in non-native speakers, their awareness and attitude. Native speakers were also included as they are, obviously, also part of international communication. Native speakers in this study are defined by their use of English as a home language during childhood. Use and acquisition therefore determined a speaker's status, not their membership in a certain (geographic/national) speech community. Even if belonging to one of the L1 speech communities had been used as an indicator, the combined political, cultural, and especially economic strength of the so-called Inner Circle countries, with the UK and US at the forefront, would make any general exclusion of native speakers naïve with regard to the international usage of ELF. Also, it was possible that language teaching oriented towards native varieties, indeed overachieved by establishing attitudes and awareness for, formally, non-standard structures that are actually widely accepted by native speakers. For a similar reason, teachers were included in addition to other professionals or common speakers.

Teachers not only play a crucial role in the maintenance and dissemination of language norms, they could also be considered language experts with a metalinguistic knowledge above that of the average speaker. While it cannot be denied that this expert status is at least helpful if not necessary for the transfer of language knowledge, it may also be the case that there is, as for the native – non-native dichotomy, an evident difference between the teachers' expectations and those of the common speakers of English. Hülmbauer, Böhringer, and Seidlhofer (2008) state that it is a "common misconception of ELF […] that its speakers are in the process of *learning* a language repertoire rather than using it effectively" (italics in original, p. 28). Hence, the teachers' expectations, formed by and oriented towards the context of language learning, may be dis-

[3] This inclusive approach was well chosen as the lack of distinction, for example, between tense and aspect showed, cf. chapter 9.2, p. 158.

tinct from those relevant for "effective" ELF usage; for example with regard to the functionally redundant third person singular -s (cf. Breiteneder 2005).

Nevertheless, error analysis as a concept from language teaching is applicable in two ways in this context. First, as it can be used to describe how not every non-standard form in international communication is an expression of variational differences between the speakers involved and why the distinction between mistakes and systematic "errors" also justifies the notion of stable learner varieties on a social and individual level. Second, how the perception of non-standard structures and errors is, indeed, independent of established and codified language norms and why grammaticality and correctness are not necessarily the same – which means that the use of grammatical structures may increase the chance but not guarantee that these structures will be perceived as correct by an interlocutor.

The here elicited data could provide several pieces of information. First, the number of structures marked by the individual informant groups (native/non-native speakers, teachers/other professionals) could be used as an indicator for the overall awareness of variation in written international English. Second, the individual structures were stratified according to the number of markings they had received. Thus, it could be tested if different structures had been marked pervasively by the individual groups and how big a common core of non-standard structures in relation to all structures that could be perceived as non-standard is. This, of course, also involved a comparison of the different informant groups. Third, the share of acceptable and unacceptable markings revealed if there was a major difference in language attitude among the individual informant groups. If the effective use of English in ELF is indeed the predominant motivation for common speakers' communication, expecting greater leniency towards non-standard forms that do not affect meaning or cause ambiguity would be a sound hypothesis.

The objective of this study is not to establish a new variety of English that can serve as a "monomodel" (Kachru 1990: 7) in (international) language teaching and replace the established native varieties. Rather, the idea is to enable users, learners, and teachers to identify those structures that affect the success of international communication due to their prevalent unacceptability. This, in turn, would allow for a more economical use of time as a valuable classroom resource in institutional language learning and a more effective allocation of time to form, content, and communication centered activities.

In order to establish the theoretical background against which the present research is set, the role of English as a lingua franca is contrasted to that of the different varieties and the paradigm of World Englishes. Subsequently, the role of ELF in international communication and the limits as well as prospects of a core for international Standard English are outlined. In order to

understand the reaction towards variation as well as the classification of variants in international ELF communication, terms and concepts are borrowed from error analysis. In the next steps, the origin of variants from the different user and use specific varieties of English and their classification according to areas of grammatical (and pragmatic) variation are introduced. After a description of the research instrument and procedure, a detailed assessment of the composition of the informant group is made. After a description of the research design from a macro perspective, i.e. according to informant groups, areas of variation, and other ethnological characteristics, follows a detailed discussion of those structures that previous, corpus-based research found to be common in ELF communication.

2 English as a Lingua Franca

In this chapter the term English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and alternative approaches to describe English as it is used by various speakers around the world are going to be discussed. Three different branches of variation in written English will be introduced that will be used in designing the present research. Then the term international Standard English (iStE) is established and contrasted with the existing ELF and World Englishes (WE) concepts.

Two major factors led to the spread of English around the world: colonialism, namely the British Empire and Commonwealth, and American hegemony in the world after WWII (Crystal 2003: 59ff., 86ff.). Towards the twenty-first century, information technology, especially the World Wide Web and related services, began to help English maintain and develop its status as an international language even further – although there seems to be a development towards more linguistic diversity in the World Wide Web (Graddol 2006: 44ff.). As a result of these historical developments, speakers of various linguistic backgrounds and in many domains nowadays use English on all seven continents. And while the spread of English has its roots in Britain and after displacing the native varieties as well as prevailing in the competition with other immigrant languages also in Northern America and Australia, the majority of speakers worldwide now have English as a second or additional language (Crystal 2003: 61).

The dilemma of describing non-native language use in terms of variational difference has a long history, and it could be argued that the present situation of the foreign language varieties is similar to that of now well-established World Englishes. An overview of the emancipation of World Englishes as varieties and in academic discourse helps to understand these similarities but also the differences. In many former colonies English stayed an official language, even after the respective colonies gained independence. Here, English has either become an additional or secondary language for a major part of the population and fulfills important intranational functions or has indeed nativized and become the home language of at least parts of the population. The countries in which English is not necessarily the native language of a major part of the population but where English is an official language and serves important intranational functions form the Outer Circle of English in Kachru's (1992) model. Although it is not international communication, i.e. communication between speakers of different nationalities and with (possibly) different L1s, English serves similar purposes within individual countries of the Outer Circle. Whether as an international or an intranational lingua franca, English enables speakers of mutually unintelligible languages to communicate with each other (Kachru: 2001). This lingua franca function also led to the spread of English in countries that had not been colonies of English speaking

countries. A recent example, in comparison to colonialism and imperial spread, is the rising number of speakers of English in Eastern Europe after the end of the Cold War (Mollin 2006: 23f.).

What the two spheres of the English speaking world mentioned above, that of the former colonies and that of English as a foreign language, have in common is that English is not the primary home language for the largest part of the population, especially during the formative years of childhood and adolescence. This can be contrasted to the sphere of English as a Native Language (ENL), which is characterized exactly by the fact that English is the primary home language of the majority of the population, often literally the mother tongue. Despite representing a minority now, native-speakers, i.e. those speakers who grew up with English as their home language, and their varieties still provide the model for correct language usage in many settings. Debates that sparked from the question whether the English used by communities of proficient speakers of English could be regarded as new varieties of English or if they were only deviant forms of established native varieties have been around for decades (Kachru 1983, 1990). While the early 1990s debate between Quirk and Kachru had the former colonies and their, meanwhile at least among linguists well-established, varieties in its focus, now the status of speakers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL), i.e. from Kachru's Expanding Circle, is negotiated (Kachru 1991).

English as an International Language (EIL) still is used as an overarching concept that includes all instances of English use around the world, albeit it sometimes is used synonymously with ELF (Jenkins 2007: 3). While earlier ELF research focused solely on communication among non-native speakers (Seidlhofer 2001: 147), EIL and ELF now both explicitly include communication between native speakers and speakers who have English as a secondary or additional language, and speakers who have English as a foreign language (Jenkins 2007: 3; Seidlhofer 2011: 7). ELF communication could, in terms of Kachru's model, thus be described as international communication within the Outer and Expanding Circle and communication across circle boundaries. Hence, EIL and ELF include communication between speakers of different groups and there is no discrimination against or exclusion of any variety, domain, or communicative setting.

2.1 World Englishes and ELF

This chapter further establishes the differences of the early conceptions of World Englishes and English as a lingua franca that are relevant for the further conceptualization of ELF and EIL in this study. The model of World Englishes was established in the context of emancipation of non-native and nativized postcolonial varieties. By contrasting World Englishes with the major native varieties, it also presents a first step towards the differentiation of EIL in the recent discourse. Kachru (2001) distinguishes between three circles of English, the Inner Circle with the native speaking countries, the Outer Circles with former colonies in which English plays an important role for intranational communication, and the Expanding Circle where English does not fulfill *intra*national functions and is used for *inter*national communication exclusively. The countries of the Inner Circle are described as "norm-providing" (Kachru 2001: 522). They not only exported the language to the rest of the world, but also rules and norms for its correct usage. Any belief that the Inner Circle countries are completely monolingual, however, is too simplistic. While the share of citizens who have English as their household language in England and Wales is 91.2% (ONS 2011), the share of the US citizens who speak *only* English at home is 79.3% to which another 12.1% for those speakers of other languages who "[s]peak English 'very well'" (US Census Bureau 2013) may be added.[4] Thus, the share of native speakers of English in the US is somewhere between 79.3% and 91.4%.

In the countries of the Outer Circle, English is an additional language that serves important intranational functions and is a matter of everyday life for large parts of the population. Speakers no longer restrict themselves to the norms provided by the native speaking countries, but have begun to develop new norms. Thus the Outer Circle is described as "norm-developing" (Kachru 2001: 522), which implies the emergence of New Englishes, a term which is synonymously used and was later replaced with World Englishes (Kachru 2001: 520). "Norm-developing" also indicates that these new varieties of English already are or are likely to soon be codified and could then be referred to as Standard Englishes. This process is illustrated, for example, in Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model for the development of New Englishes.

In the Expanding Circle English may fulfill functions as a means of international communication, but it is less widely used within the individual countries. Here, in contrast to both Outer and Inner Circle, English does not have any intranational function. Thus Kachru (2001) suggests that speakers of EFL from the Expanding Circle depend on the norms provided by the

[4] The share of citizens with a home language other than English is 20.7% and 58.3% of these "[s]peak English 'very well'" (US Census Bureau 2013), i.e. 12.1% of the US citizens with a home language other than English are likely to be considered bilinguals.

Inner Circle countries and do not, in contrast to speakers from the Outer Circle, codify new norms English varieties of their own. The Expanding Circle is thus assumed to be "norm-dependent" (Kachru 2001: 522). All these descriptions are of course idealized assumptions that are only valid within this useful model. The reality is much more complex with an overlap between Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle, native and non-native speakers living in countries generally considered part of any of the three circles, and the development of new norms being on various stages from emergence to codification.

Kachru's (1990) intention behind the concept of World Englishes and the three circles of English was to replace the native speaker "monomodel" for language use by a "polymodel" (p. 7). English is no longer seen as the property of the native speakers and the Inner Circle. The "Englishes" spoken in the Outer Circle with the distinct features of different national or regional dialects have to be accepted as new varieties in their own right. Even critics such as Quirk (1982) acknowledged the Englishes used by speech communities in the former colonies as varieties, but only as far as their intranational functions were concerned. Criticism concerned the international use and possible spread of new forms that originated from the New Englishes. They were seen as a danger to the quality and possibly even the intelligibility of the language (Quirk 1990). The notion of the intranational function of English in the Outer Circle is important, because it contrasts Outer Circle World Englishes as intranational linguae francae, and Expanding Circle use of English as a Foreign language and, ultimately, as an international lingua franca.

One of the points of criticism Kachru (1991) uttered in his response to Quirk's (1990) positions was that Quirk supported the view that non-native Englishes are deficient approximations to the native varieties, while the sociolinguistic reality had already established and institutionalized the New or World Englishes of the former colonies. Quirk's argument that proficiency in Standard English enhances the non-native speaker's "freedom and career prospects" (1990: 7) still seems to be valid. Native varieties carry higher prestige and pose an ideal strived for by many speakers. This is expressed, for example, in language teaching and by native speaker language experts (Andreasson 1994). Traditionally, the purpose of learning and using English as a foreign language is to enable the learner to communicate with native speakers of English (Kachru 2001). This, however, is neither the most frequent form of communication within individual countries and speech communities of the Outer Circle, nor for the communication among speakers across the Outer and Expanding Circle or ELF in general. This poses two questions, first, whether it is possible for ELF speakers to develop their own norms of usage and, second, whether this set of norms could be used to describe ELF as a generally acceptable international variety of English.

2.2 ELF as a Variety

There are two starting points to answering the questions posed above. ELF could either be described as a variety of English or as a communicative setting. If ELF were a variety, this would mean that it could be described as *the* English spoken and written by a particular group of speakers. Other than national, regional, social, or ethnic varieties, ELF is described as the language used for communication between speakers of different, not mutually intelligible languages (Firth 1996: 240; House 1999: 74). At first glance it seems difficult to see how the language used by this linguistically heterogeneous group may constitute one common variety of English, but in what way is the situation different from that within countries of the Outer Circle? Outer Circle varieties of English also serve as linguae francae between speakers of different languages within one nation. Thus, the difference is in the territorial spread of ELF as a variety from national to global.

Because of its global nature, ELF communication can include native speakers of English (Seidlhofer 2007). This is almost self-explanatory if the economic and diplomatic hegemony of the USA in the second half of the twentieth century is taken into account. This hegemony contributed largely to the present state of English in the world, as does the British Commonwealth as a forum of political, cultural, and economic exchange. In the present situation, with the US being the world's largest economy, it is likely that speakers from all over the world are interested in gaining access to the American market. As a consequence they need a shared means of communication with English speaking US Americans. This way the status of the American economy and international usage of English are entangled. If the global situation were this bilateral, i.e. restricted to communication of non-native speakers with a socio-economic hegemon, the maintenance of a native-speaker-oriented international language policy would be understandable, but the situation is, of course, more complex and less static than that. The status of the global economy is presently changing with countries like China and India becoming more and more important as their economies grow. Also, the European Union, where English is the most prominent lingua franca (European Commission 2006), is another economic entity that represents predominantly non-native speakers of English; although the UK is one of the larger players within the Union. With this economic change the proportion of acts of ELF communication between non-native speakers grows in relation to the "classic" case of non-native to native speaker EFL communication.

The question is whether ELF is monolithic. If it is, all instances of ELF communication would constitute one variety of English in its own right. If ELF is not monolithic, there is just

the broad definition allowing for all kinds of variation or deviation from native norms as long as speakers of different L1s (Jenkins 2009) are involved in communication in English. ELF researchers refused the criticism of Kachruvian World Englishes scholars who denounced ELF as yet another monocentric approach to English in the world (Berns 2009). Where World Englishes contributed to the acknowledgment of the postcolonial varieties as "New Englishes" (Kachru 2001), ELF treats the English spoken by speakers with various mother tongues and from different regions of this world as incidences of the same linguistic phenomenon – namely ELF. As a response, ELF scholars note that World Englishes focus on the Outer Circle, while the Expanding Circle is more or less neglected (Seidlhofer 2002; Jenkins 2006b).

There are also some intermediate positions that suggest the existence of different varieties of ELF. Mollin (2006), for example, describes a "Euro-English" and Yano (2009) utters the expectation that EIL will eventually split into five major regional varieties (African English, Arab English, Asian English, Euro English, Latin English, and Anglo-American English). This fits in nicely with McArthur's (1987) model of World English, which at the same time postulates a common denominator of the different varieties, identified as World Standard English. World Standard English in this sense could be considered the sine non quam collection of structures that are accepted as Standard English in all settings and by speakers of all varieties. If this World Standard English existed, it would be the basis for all formal, acceptable, and felicitous international communication, including ELF communication in the narrower (among non-native speakers) and wider sense (including non-native as well as native speakers).

While earlier approaches tried to establish a set of norms to constitute a simplified English for international communication (Ogden 1930; Quirk 1982), recent research in ELF focuses on the identification of a set of shared features that frequently occur in the ELF production of speakers with various linguistic backgrounds. This is often complemented by studies on the impact on intelligibility of these features and suggestions for changes in language teaching. The identification of a "common core" (Jenkins 2000: 123ff.) or the search for "salient features" of ELF (Seidlhofer 2004: 215) shows some parallels to Quirk's (1982) much earlier "Nuclear English." Both approaches are concerned with reducing the bulk of features of English to an accessible set that allows successful international communication. But while Quirk roughly suggests a reduction of the established native varieties with possible extensions for specific purposes, Jenkins' ELF core represents a more descriptive approach and does not exclude features that vary from native standard varieties. The most important thing about establishing a "common" core, to maintain Jenkins' terminology, is maybe not the core itself, but the notion that variation within the core is an inevitable part of ELF. In conclusion, the heterogeneity of the

group of speakers of English on a global level does suggest that describing ELF as a variety that is marked by shared features is something that may be possible but not very feasible. Approaching ELF as a communicative setting seems a more promising approach.

2.3 ELF as a Communicative Setting

In this chapter I will outline how ELF can be understood as a communicative setting and what role variational differences play within this setting. Variational differences play a role for the user related as well as use related differences. Widdowson (1997) explained how the spread of English as an International Language was the spread of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). The use in various domains and for specific purposes is something that English shares with other linguae francae (Ammon 2001a). There are several domains in which English is the dominant lingua franca and individual speakers may be proficient in English in more than one domain, but, as Widdowson pointed out, they may only possess limited proficiency outside these domains. This supports the idea that ELF is a communicative setting determined by situation rather than another variety of English defined by a restricted speaker group. In this communicative setting two or more people of whom at least one is no native speaker of English are confronted with the task of establishing mutual understanding. The role of the domains in which English is used as a lingua franca is decisive in this context. Instead of regional and social dialects that describe the language of particular speaker groups, domains are restricted fields of language use with their own features and peculiarities. Speakers who want to participate in these fields thus have to acquire and adopt the features and peculiarities that outline these domains or ESPs (Gramley/ Pätzold 2004: 157ff.).

Domains in which English serves as an international lingua franca include commerce, diplomacy, media, and academia (Ammon 2001b; Guadiano/Favilla/Calaresu 2008; Grau 2009). Although there are other linguae francae around (Ammon 2001a), English is the dominant language of both globally and regionally operating organizations such as the UN, WHO, IMF, WTO, NATO, EU, ASEAN, and various NGOs. Scientific and scholarly articles in many disciplines are primarily published in English, although the researchers are neither native speakers of English nor necessarily concerned with research in the English language (Guadiano/Favilla/ Calaresu 2008). And while Arabic as another important lingua franca is becoming more and more widespread in the media (Graddol 2006: 46), English presently does not seem to cede its position as the most prominent language in this domain.

While there probably is substantial overlap in morphology and syntax between many of the domains of EIL, the lexicon certainly does vary. In established national varieties of English, e.g. in British English, there are also vast differences between the individual speakers' lexicons when it comes to specific purposes. A shop assistant in a computer store will use different vocabulary than a butcher or flight attendant and while craftspeople in general may share a considerable amount of language, mathematicians definitely drop out of that domain and use English for their different purpose. It is therefore not possible to deny ELF the status of a variety in its own right based on the observation that it is realized in specific domains and for specific purposes. ELF is not a user-specific variety as, for example, regional or national varieties but a use-specific variety on a macrolevel incorporating several ESPs. However, if ELF speakers' proficiency is restricted to certain domains, this bears some implications for the description of ELF and also for language teaching.

Aside from the spread of English in form of specific registers, Widdowson (1997) raises another relevant point when he underlines the written nature of English in academia. If there are inherently written ESPs in which lingua franca communication takes place, as a consequence phonological variation does play a minor role and research focus shifts to morphosyntactic structures. The Helsinki based WrELFA corpus has recently begun to collect samples of written ELF in academia[5]. It aims at investigating effectiveness in written international ELF communication and might shed some light on the existence and function of typical structures in (academic) ELF grammar. Investigating the grammar of written ELF is necessary, because of the "stabilizing and indeed standardizing influence" (Widdowson 1997: 143; see also Seidlhofer 2004: 215) writing has on language. In contrast to spoken communication, written language is likely to include a lower number of performance errors due to self-monitoring and correction and a more stable representation of the writer's language. Whether non-standard structures in the writer's language are to be considered errors or functional ELF structures is discussed in the following chapter.

As already mentioned, the lexicon needed within a certain domain is limited and definitely different from that of English for General Purposes (EGP). But not only the lexicon is affected, syntax will also differ between the individual domains. Syntactical features are distributed differently: the passive voice, for example, is more prevalent in English for Science and Technology than in EGP (Gramley/Pätzold 2004: 159), and individual structures might be completely absent in some domains. Unreal and counterfactual conditionals for example seem most unlikely to occur in international patents or business contracts.

[5] http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/wrelfa.html, accessed 9/14/15.

Domains of language use are fields in which language has to fulfill the requirements of specific purposes and thus demanding the speakers' agreement on the use of certain structures. This applies to native speakers and non-native speakers alike. Hence, ELF researchers' postulations that native speakers must accommodate to ELF usage by adjusting their expectations regarding language correctness in international communication are neither surprising nor motivated by an emancipatory impulse (Jenkins 2009). Following the idea of specific characteristics of the language in different domains, it is not the speaker's language background that determines correct language usage. Rather it is the domain and the communicative setting that provide language norms to which every speaker, independently from their language background, has to adopt. Variation is acceptable as long as the norms of the specific domain are not violated. All forms of variation from the norms of the domain demand accommodation processes, no matter whether the speakers involved have English as their native, secondary or additional, or foreign language. Occurrences of variation may be based on (native) dialects, non-native standards (New Englishes), or incomplete and unsuccessful language acquisition resulting in systematic use of non-standard structures by the learner (Selinker 1972).

At this point, before contrasting iStE with ELF, I will try to determine different sources of variation that can occur in ELF settings. So far English in the world has been described according to Kachru's model with distinctions between the three circles, namely the native varieties in the Inner Circle (ENL), the nativized second and secondary language varieties of the Outer Circle (ESL), and English as a Foreign Language in the Expanding Circle (EFL). Now this distinction has to be further differentiated. First, the national varieties in the three circles have to be looked at. For practical reasons it is neither possible to investigate English as it is used in all countries of the Expanding Circle, or any circle for that matter, in the context of this study, nor will I discuss whether the national varieties of English in the Expanding Circle are the result of language development, similar to the emergence of postcolonial varieties described by Schneider (2007), or a societal interlanguage (Jenkins 2007). References like *German English*, may be read as "English as it is used by prototypical German speakers." Thus such an Expanding Circle variety would include forms of variation, or deviation if you will, from the native Standard Englishes that are typical or pervasive for speakers of this regional, national, or language background. Nation in this context refers to speech communities as entities and the influence of political administration on language policy, especially on institutional language teaching and learning. English in the Expanding Circle can be described as EFL, as the language is foreign in that it has no intranational function, and its function is that of an international lingua franca (ELF). Both definitions, that of EFL as well as that of ELF, supplement each other. The former

focuses on the native speaker as the role model for language teaching and communication with the native speaker as the aim of language learning. The latter traditionally focuses on communication within the Expanding Circle. From an EFL point of view, differences to the native varieties constitute systematic errors and the speakers' language can be considered interlanguage (Corder 1982; Kachru 1990; Selinker 1972). The ELF perspective, on the other hand, would be that the language used by every individual speaker in ELF settings represents either the individual speaker's national variety, e.g. Japanese English, or an international, global, or regional variety such as Euro-English or Asian English (Mollin 2006, Yano 2009). Hence, communication involving more than one variety would be the norm for ELF communication. The political implication of this is that while non-native speakers produce defective approximations to ENL standards and thus errors from an EFL perspective, from an ELF perspective there is variety contact in a communicational setting. This poses the question as to the framework of reference for correct language usage that is used in ELF settings and whether there are differences between the expectations of the speakers of various varieties involved.

Even if a neutral perspective is adopted and differences between speakers' languages are viewed as variation between equal varieties rather than deviation from dominant standards, these differences still affect ELF communication as they require accommodation by the interlocutors. Differences exist between and within the different national varieties. Differences between non-native varieties can in some cases be explained with cross-linguistic interference and parallel developments. One example for L1 transfer is the use of the present perfect to express past tense by German speakers of English, which happens because of the similarity of German *Perfekt* and English (present) *perfect* (Swan 2001: 42). Parallel development can be mentioned as a possible reason for differences between native varieties, e.g. British and Australian English. For example, Australian English was, except for some early lexical borrowing, not heavily influenced by the native Australian languages, differences to Standard British English largely result from the different development English took after the colonization of Australia and the influence regional and social dialects of the British immigrants had on this development (Schneider 2007: 118ff.; Baugh/Cable 2013: 311f.).

Next to differences between national varieties, differences within fully developed national varieties are manifold. There are regional dialects, sociolects, ethnolects, genderlects, etc. To make things even more complicated, these dialects stand in relation to the national standard variety in the form of continua with a near infinite number of mesolects. The number of these mesolects is probably close to identical to that of the individuals' idiolects which can be described in terms of intersections of the different dialects in the individual's environment. On a

practical basis, this means that what a person utters will include traces, for example, of their genderlect and a sociolect in the same message. The constellation and influence of the individual varieties may also depend on situational circumstance. If every individual has their own idiolect, every attempt to describe the language variety of a social entity on a typological level can only be an approximation. On a communicational level, this means that accommodation of inter-speaker variation is necessary even between speakers of the same variety.

These observations show that it is not possible to find one variety used by all speakers of English that may serve as a universal key to successful international communication. A corresponding change in language policies can currently be observed. While the 1999 curricula for German students at secondary schools in North Rhine-Westphalia referred to British English as the principal role model for language teaching and learning (Ministerium 1999: 19), the recent 2014 curricula explicitly refer to the lingua franca function of English (Ministerium 2014: 12). The question remains whether such a change in language policy has an immediate effect or whether the consequences need time and a change in attitude and in fact linguistic socialization of language teachers, thus the focus on language attitude in this study.

Although *the* native speaker used to serve and in many settings probably serves as a role model in the language classroom, native speakers are not necessarily the easiest to understand for non-native speakers. Jenkins (2000: 61f., 132, 159) found that non-native speakers could understand their own variety of English best, the English of French speakers of English, for example, is the least difficult to understand for other French speakers of English. Native varieties were only slightly, if at all better understood than the English utterances of speakers with a different L1. This would indicate that as far as intelligibility for non-native speakers is concerned, non-native and native varieties are comparable. If this is true, it is probably not variation or deviation from the native norms that makes English unintelligible. Instead, other factors such as speech rate, contractions, and strong accents (realization of phonemes, prosody, stress, and rhythm) are decisive for intelligibility of spoken English (Jenkins 2000: 13ff., 27). Nevertheless, the status of the native varieties is unquestioned. With increasing formality, L2 speakers of English opt for native-like pronunciation, while characteristic features of L2 English are much more common in informal settings (ibid.: 109). In conclusion, a list of possible sources of variation in EIL would have to include:

- Variation between first (Inner Circle), secondary / additional (Outer Circle), and second / foreign (Expanding Circle) language varieties of English
- Interlanguage and systematic errors due to incomplete or unsuccessful language acquisition vs. features of new varieties and ELF

- Variation within each of these varieties due to social diversity (including gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status)

These three categories of variation are contrasted by the tendency to accept ENL norms for Standard English, especially in writing. So, if standards never represent actual language usage and accommodation to inter-speaker variation is commonplace even within individual varieties, what can be gained from an international Standard English and what is it in the first place?

2.4 International Standard English?

Since this study carries the title "Towards International Standard English," the term Standard English requires some consideration in this context and general usage. Locher and Strässler (2008: 3f.) define Standard English as "the variety commonly used by the media, especially in printing, and employed in the educational systems for both native speakers and learners of English." They also state that "Standard English is not connected to a specific form of pronunciation, register and style, it must be mainly connected to grammar, i.e. to syntax and morphology" (ibid.), and that the question of standard and non-standard language is no longer a matter of correctness, even in the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (ibid. p. 5). Instead, they point out that standard language is indeed based on acceptability and that the real question is how these standards come about (ibid.).

The lack of institutional sanctioning of Standard English usage, in contrast to, for example, the use of French by the Académie Française, especially on an international level, but even on a national level in many countries where English is in fact an official and or native language to the majority of the population, however raises the question who should set these standards. In lieu of another (institutional) actor in the international context, it has to be assumed that what is acceptable and therefore standard is ultimately determined by the speech community itself. Following the same considerations this study focuses on the acceptability of grammatical structures in international written English and therefore allowing a glimpse at what might eventually be established as standard or non-standard usage by the global speech community.

Sharing Bex's (2008: 230) doubts about both the possibility of ultimately determining and codifying (all of) Standard English and his questioning if non-native speakers' understanding of what is Standard English can really be derived from Standard English paradigms that emerged from native speaking contexts, it seems obvious that the international speech community must include non-native speakers. Native speakers need however to be included as well,

first, as they are of course part of the international speech community and, second, to investigate to what extent there actually is a difference in what is considered unacceptable and/or non-standard by native and non-native speakers.

An interesting point in this context is brought forward by Crowley (2003: 117), although with regard to spoken standard language, who states that "standard spoken language could only be defined extra-linguistically. That is, it could be defined coherently only in terms of its speakers." Transferred to the international use of Standard English, also in writing, this would either mean that the international community decides democratically what is Standard English or that a certain variety has been "selected" (Leith 1997: 31). The latter would explain the adherence to native speaker norms and the maintenance of native target varieties and near-native proficiency as a goal of learning English as a second or foreign language in many settings. This point is also mentioned by Trudgill (1999: 124), who refers to Standard English as having received its status from an association with a powerful speaker group. Considering the influence of those countries in which English is the majority's native language, first and foremost the USA but also the UK especially with regard to its former colonies and the Commonwealth, this would explain why native Standard Englishes are often still referred to as the standard in international communication. This directly leads to the next problem, also mentioned by Trudgill (ibid.: 118), Standard English is a variety of the English language. If there are standard varieties of more than one variety of English (at the very least of American and British English), this means that in international communication one of these varieties would have to be *selected* as the standard variety of English in international communication (cf. above and Leith 1997: 31). Trudgill's observation that English is not an accent (1999: 118f.) is of no concern to this particular study but ought to be kept in mind when considering phonology of English as an international language (Jenkins 2000). It is more relevant for this study that Standard English is neither a style (Trudgill 1999: 119ff.) nor restricted to technical registers (ibid: 121ff.). Assuming that style and formality primarily depend on the personal relationship and character of the interlocutors involved in a communication, attempting to make general statements on the style of most international communications in Standard English is probably futile. What could be determinative for international communication is that where there is a first contact between speakers, personal style and the interlocutors' culturally imprinted expectations would have to be established and negotiated first. This might mean that international Standard English communication is, at least in its early stages, more often than not of formal style. Trudgill's observation that Standard English is not restricted to technical registers (ibid. 121ff.) needs to be considered in the context of Widdowson's take on the worldwide spread of English. Widdowson (1997: 144) suggests that

this spread is the result of its successful implementation as the language in various technical fields and registers. Thus, even though Standard English may not restricted to technical registers, it might be assumed that international communication in Standard English primarily takes place within professional fields and their associated technical registers.

In the conclusion of his answer to Quirk's (1990) criticism against liberation linguistics and the amplitude of acknowledged varieties of English, which at the same time was an appeal for "pluricentricity" and "multi-identities," Kachru (1991: 4) calls for a pragmatic approach to codification of English as an International Language if such codification should at all be possible (ibid.: 13). In the context of ELF as a communicative setting as outlined above, such a pragmatic approach must allow for the inclusion of various social, professional, and linguistic speaker identities. The result of a codification of English as an International Language, including the context of lingua franca usage, could be described as international Standard English (iStE).

Other than some older approaches and emphases in ELF research, iStE would not focus on non-native – non-native speaker communication, but on communication in and across all three circles. Therefore, iStE would be an attempt to identify a frameset for acceptable communication within EIL, i.e. international communication involving all varieties of English or acts of communication between speakers from all linguistic backgrounds. This has certain implications for both, the outline of the present study and the teaching of English as an International Language, as described by an international standard.

Native speakers are explicitly included. For two reasons: first, as mentioned above, they, although now in the minority (Crystal 2003: 61), form an influential socio-economic entity within the international community. Second, since the native speaker is still an ideal in many if not most English language classrooms around the world, it is important to investigate which forms of variation make messages unacceptable for native speakers and learners striving for proficiency in a native variety. Acceptability of language variation seems to be affected by the communicative setting. Native speakers involved in international communication and facing variation may apply different norms than they would for formal intranational communication. It would also be interesting to see whether or to what extent native norms in ESL classrooms lead to a similarity in attitude towards language correctness among a) native speakers and non-native learners of English, and b) among non-native learners of English with different first languages. If native speakers do not or at least not strongly object to structures that may vary from their native varieties, it is necessary to reconsider the extent to which these forms should be studied and eradicated in English classrooms. Even if these EFL classrooms work with and aim at native

norms, a re-evaluation of errors in terms of their effect on native speakers seems indicated. It comes down to using the limited time for language learning as efficiently as possible.

Classrooms that aim at enabling students to become balanced bilinguals whose command of English is on the same level with that of native speakers are not affected by the redefinition of curriculum priorities. However the number of such classrooms is limited and the majority of teaching settings aim at functional bilingualism and the enabling of students to take part in international communication. International communication can either take place with native speakers or with other non-native speakers. In both cases students and teachers will benefit from guidelines and curricula based on functional international standards as they allow for a more efficient distribution of the workload. The new guidelines would put the focus on those variants of the English language that bear a high risk of impeding communication or are strongly marked and may lead to social stigmatization of the learner as incompetent, careless, or worse.

Who is to be included in a study that tries to establish a functional morphosyntactic common core for ELF then? The general focus of an ELF study still has to be on international communication between speakers of different varieties of English and the deviation from the individual language norms applied by the interlocutors. Reasons for the inclusion of native speakers have been mentioned. Non-Native speakers, who represent the majority of all speakers of English (Crystal 2003: 61), of different varieties have to be included and would thus comply with narrow definitions of lingua franca communication, which restrict ELF communication to communication among non-native speakers (House 1999; Firth 1996). For an inclusion of all forms of ELF usage, also non-native speakers of the same L1 need to be included.

ELF communication between non-native speakers of the same language may take place for reasons of international intelligibility and conventions, e.g. in international corporations or institutions where meetings are recorded for further usage by other, foreign, branches or because English is the working language in the speakers' professional field, such as many disciplines of science and academia. The question is if and how this would affect the acceptability of certain errors and variety features. Basically, this would put EFL speakers from the Expanding Circle in the same position as speakers from the Inner and Outer Circle who communicate with other speakers of the same variety. At least for the latter case, communication within one Outer Circle community, is also a case of lingua franca communication, although on an intra- rather than international level. Jenkins (2000: 61f., 132, 159) has shown that non-native speakers understand their own variety of English, i.e. English as spoken by speakers of the same first language, best as far as phonology is concerned. Thus, if only features from speakers of the same language background were used and if Jenkins observations made for phonology can be transferred to

morphology, syntax, and lexicon, non-standard structures might appear more acceptable than they would be in mixed international communication. It is therefore necessary to provide informants with features of several varieties of English in order to contrast the acceptability of features that are characteristic for the individual informant's variety to the acceptability of features of other varieties. Combining structures and features associated with several different varieties of English is the attempt to identify some of the most prominently shared norms and expectations. These norms could then become part of a lingua franca core.

iStE as an ELF core is not to be confused with an attempt to codify a particular variety of English and thus describe a new Standard English as a universal target variety for using, learning, and teaching EIL. The question rather is whether there already is a virtual (Widdowson 1997: 138) standard for the English language that is used by speakers with different language backgrounds to assess language correctness in international communication. iStE is to be understood as a guideline for optimizing international communication and ELT by raising awareness for the shared norms of English as a global language. If ENL norms prevail in all three circles to assess language correctness in formal written English, written ELF would be closer to the native varieties than spoken non-native and nativized Englishes. There would be no difference between the norms applied to assess language correctness between Expanding or Outer Circle countries and the norm-providing Inner Circle countries, except for those between the native varieties. However this refers to the de-jure standard. Gramley (2012) described how General English is constituted of Standard English and General Non-Standard English (GenNSE). Both constituents describe native usage, and GenNSE is explicitly distinguished from EFL and ESL usage (Gramley 2012: 211). GenNSE contains non-standard forms that are frequent in native varieties and the result of similar processes of language evolution as StE. Standard English, as described by Gramley (2012), is used in "published writing and more formal types of public discourse" (p. 212).

This study is concerned with de-facto standards, i.e. which norms are actually applied by speakers from different language and professional backgrounds. The application of de-facto standards in ENL communication can be found wherever native speakers accept variation from Standard English norms in their interlocutors' language and especially if the native speakers themselves have forms in their language that deviate from the written standard valid in their respective speech community, i.e. in Gramley's terms, if they use GenNSE. De-facto standards for acceptable language as described by iStE might vary from both Standard English and GenNSE as used within ENL countries, but codified de-jure standards, often adopted from ENL varieties, would still be used in formal communication. Hence, formal iStE would be very similar to Stan-

dard English in its application but not in its association with native usage or codification. It has remained open so far whether de-facto standards play a larger role in international communication than in ENL communication. This might be the case due to the reduced awareness of differences between common usage and codified standards or due to differences in attitude towards non-standard, i.e. non-de-jure, forms in EIL.

While there are these structural similarities between iStE and Standard English, as defined primarily by standard native English, the status of de-facto standards in international communication is something that iStE shares with what Gramley (2012) described as GenNSE, namely that of a "*de-facto* supra-regional norm" (italics in original, p. 214). Here the major difference is that iStE would not be restricted to spoken English (ibid.) but also include written communication. This agrees with Locher and Strässler's (2008: 3) definition, which describes Standard English as being rooted in grammar and explicitly not in phonology.

ELF research so far has focused predominantly on spoken English. Two reasons are repeatedly given for this. On the one hand, records of oral communication also include the interlocutors' reactions towards a particular message, which is often presumed to be primarily supportive (Seidlhofer 2001: 143). On the other hand, a standardizing influence of writing on language production is mentioned (Seidlhofer 2004: 215). The former point is certainly true. In general, a single written message does not reveal any information about the reader's reactions. This restriction could only be avoided by establishing and analyzing a substantial corpus of email or written correspondence and analyzing the responses to passages, which include non-standard forms, i.e. forms that are non-standard in the reader's language community. Due to the necessary representation of a larger number of different varieties on the senders' as well as the recipients' side, this is far beyond the scope of the present research project. Describing the acceptability of language variation, on the other hand, can only work if the reader's reaction is available and as plain and explicit as possible. For this reason, this study is not primarily based on the production of written text samples, but on eliciting reactions to non-standard variants in written ELF.

Next to pragmatic factors, structural differences in morphology and syntax might also account for the focus on spoken ELF. Written English in international settings is often connected to a certain domain. If it is English for Specific Purposes, the writer may only have acquired proficiency in that specific area without spending much effort on acquiring proficiency in EGP (Widdowson 1997). Scholars for example might be able to write articles in their respective fields, while chatting with a stranger in the subway may pose a true challenge. This probably has to do with the amount of exposure an individual has to the different domains of English. Once a

language, English, has acquired the status of an accepted lingua franca in a certain domain, a great amount of literature will be available in this language. People involved in this domain will read English texts and also take pains to write in English since it is the most economic possibility for global distribution. A more expensive way would be professional translation – which would slow down publication and communication processes. Reports, discussions, and negotiations within a certain field will similarly motivate the use of English. In the case of oral as in the case of written communication within a specific domain, the language will be restricted and have characteristic features. The question is whether phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon are affected to the same degree or if phonology is more stable across the different instances of ELF communication than grammar and lexicon.

Even though it is the need for global communication in specific domains that initially fostered the international use of English as a lingua franca, it seems likely that the use of English for Specific Purposes also facilitates more general uses of English as an International Language. Once contact between speakers is established, this contact, at least in some cases, will not stay restricted to professional or expert contact within one domain, but also to informal exchange – at least unless the interlocutors share other languages. As soon as there is a personal relation between speakers using English as a lingua franca that goes further than professional exchange, their language use will shift from ESP to EGP.

The purposes of ESP can be expected to correlate with the domains in which English has become the leading lingua franca: commerce, diplomacy, academia, etc. A study of written English in international settings should thus use texts from these domains. It is obvious that thermodynamics and trade treaties require different lexicons, but how does the fact that international English usually is ESP affect syntax? There is no use in surveying the acceptability of the vocabulary of a specific domain by readers who are unfamiliar with this domain. The word *Englishes*, for example, has a relatively high frequency in applied (English) linguistics but will raise eyebrows among uninformed speakers, native and non-native alike. It is the distinctive meaning that triggers or allows the morphological plural marking of the otherwise non-count word *English.* Unless a text from within a specific domain was written for the broad public it is most likely unintelligible and thus either not assessable or even unacceptable to the lay reader. If the text is written for the broad public, the text, depending on the writer's success of reaching a general audience, can be considered to be on the edge of EGP. In this case intelligibility and acceptability would depend to a much higher degree on the reader's general proficiency in English. There are two possible answers to the problem of specific language, its assessability, and acceptability. One would be to use a sample of ESP from a particular field and to have it

analyzed by informants from the same field. The informants ought to come from different national and linguistic backgrounds to allow a statement on the international acceptability of the features included in the text sample. Still, this would limit any results to a description of ELF usage within the specific field. Another option would be to use a text that is general enough to be understood by speakers of different varieties and backgrounds in various (professional) domains. In this case, individual structures may be evaluated differently, depending on if and how they are used in different domains, but the result may still represent a general tendency in attitude towards these structures.

Differences between specific domains and registers probably first and foremost concern the lexicon. The distribution of morphological and syntactic structures may be different in the various domains, and individual structures may be entirely missing or unique to some contexts. Still, the same syntactic features can be found in most domains and thus syntax depends far less on the specific purposes of different domains than does the lexicon. A grammatical ELF core, focusing on morphology and syntax, is likely to share this quality with a phonological core. What this study will be looking at is therefore the acceptability of variation in syntax and morphology. Lexicon, however, cannot be completely ignored, as in some cases, especially in morphology, grammatical processes and the words they are applied to are directly connected. There are four branches of grammatical variation that have to be considered for international ELF communication:

- Differences between and within the norm-providing native varieties. Variation within the ENL varieties describes the discrepancies between the standard variety and one or more different dialects.
- Differences between the norm-developing L2 varieties in the Outer Circle and the native varieties in the Inner Circle
- Differences between the varieties of L2 English as used by different speakers from the Expanding and Outer Circle. This would represent ELF according to the narrow definitions by House (1999) and Firth (1996), i.e. communication of non-native speakers of different first languages.
- Differences between English as used by speakers of various language backgrounds in the Expanding Circle and Inner Circle varieties, i.e. EFL for the purpose of non-native speaker – native speaker communication.

Before discussing the relation of variation in communication across speech communities as outlined above, it should be mentioned that there is a possible overlap between the four branches of variation. The same feature can occur on all levels of EIL. Negative concord, for example, can typically be found in Inner and Outer Circle varieties of English as well as in the language of

some Expanding Circle speakers, for example that of Italians (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 154; Duguid 2001: 79).[6]

The differences between the major native varieties may due to their positions as target varieties of language teaching be responsible for possible variation from the standards of the national varieties in the Outer and Expanding Circles. Even in a study following older and narrow definitions of ELF and including only non-native speakers in the informant group, it would thus make sense to include differences between the standard varieties of the Inner Circle and frequent non-standard structures from the native varieties. Although native varieties, in the rare cases where they do vary, may vary in lexicon rather than in syntax and even if syntactic variation is a question of distribution rather than correctness, there may be an effect on non-native learners of these varieties. The subjunctive, for example, is used more often in American than in British English, but this does not mean that British grammar books mark it as wrong (Gramley/ Pätzold 2004: 285). Learners of American English might thus be familiar with the frequent use of the structure while learners of British English are not and in consequence might regard it as odd in certain contexts.

The varieties of the Outer Circle function as additional languages for their speakers who develop new norms that distinguish these varieties from those from the native varieties of the Inner Circle (Kachru 2001). Sailaja (2009), for example, describes features of Indian English that are different from British English. Even though these new features may not always be established as de-jure standards, they are widespread among speakers of Indian English (ibid.: p.40). Due to the number of speakers of Indian English and India's role as one of the fastest growing economies world-wide, it thus makes sense to have a look at their international acceptability, even if their intranational acceptability is not yet confirmed by codification.

Kachru's description of the Outer Circle varieties as norm-developing implies that these varieties bring new features to EIL that are not part of the established native varieties. In the case of English in the Expanding Circle, the situation is different. Kachru, at least in his earlier publications, thus denounced or at least ignored the idea of granting the English used by Expanding Circle speech communities the status of *varieties* (Kachru 1991: 6). This view can also be found in later papers that argue that ELF is unstable (Canagarajah 2007; House 2003). One possible answer to this view is to follow an EFL-oriented approach and to describe English in the Expanding Circle as approximations to the ENL varieties. In this case English in the Expanding

[6] In eWAFE features are rated as "A – pervasive or obligatory," "B – neither pervasive nor extremely rare," "C – feature exists, but is rare," "D – attested absence of feature," "X - feature is not applicable (given the structural make-up of the variety/P[idgin]/C[reole]," "? – no information on feature is available" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013). References to relatively or fairly frequent features in this study are to structures of the B category.

Circle cannot form new varieties in their own right, because norms and structures are entirely borrowed from the norm-providing native varieties. Wherever variation from the native varieties occurs, it could be described as deviation, i.e. as erroneous.

At this point it is necessary to reflect on the nature of errors and distinguish different types. Errors generally are part of the learners' interlanguage and result of incomplete or unsuccessful language acquisition processes. They can be distinguished into systematic and performance errors (Corder 1982). Systematic errors are the result of insufficient proficiency. Where they occur, learners are not aware of the correct form and unable to correct themselves. Performance errors are just incidental variation from norms that have been successfully acquired by the individual speaker. As a consequence, self-correction is possible only in the case of performance errors, while systematic errors are structurally prone to becoming part of the characteristic language use of speakers with a shared linguistic background. Both error types can, in principle, occur in the language output of speakers of all three circles. This will be discussed in the following chapter. At this point it has to be pointed out that errors, systematic as well as performance, can mark unacceptable language and deviation from the norms as valid in the norm-providing Inner as well as the norm-developing Outer, and norm-depending Expanding Circle variety.

It is not possible to exclude the occurrence of new features in the Expanding Circle either, i.e. similar to the Outer Circle varieties. If the same systematic error can be found in the written language output of the majority of speakers from one Expanding Circle speech community, the systematic error could be described as a feature of this community's variety. The error would still be marked wrong according to ENL norms, but how would a) speakers of English from the same speech community who have not mastered the ENL norms used as a standard of language teaching and b) speakers of other speech communities and from the various circles of English react? In the former case, following the hypothesis that the majority of speakers from this community show this variation from the native standard, most speakers would probably not even notice that there is an error (given that it is a systematic and no performance error) and thus could not mark it wrong. In the latter case, the speakers' reaction would depend on whether the same structure, or communal systematic error, is also part of their variety, whether the structure affects intelligibility, and on the recipients' language attitude in general.

Communal systematic errors as structures of Expanding Circle varieties require some more consideration. If a form of variation is accepted within the Expanding Circle speech community, it can be considered a feature of this community's (national) variety of English. It is not clear though if this variety is accepted by speakers of other varieties. Since English does not serve an important intranational function in communities of the Expanding Circle, it might prove

even more difficult for the Englishes spoken (and written) in the Expanding Circle to establish themselves as new varieties than it did for the varieties in the Outer Circle. The absence of intranational functions of English does certainly not foster the establishment of new varieties as an expression of linguistic identity that was one of the incentives for the establishment of World Englishes in the speech communities as well as in academic discourse (Kachru 1990). While British speakers will most certainly refer to themselves as speakers of British English and Indian speakers quite possibly as speakers of Indian English (depending on the speakers' emancipatory attitude), probably only few Germans would say that they are speakers of German English. Linguistic identity probably requires extensive use of a language, distinctions from other varieties, and consciousness about both factors.

Regional varieties like Euro-English and Asian-English (Mollin 2006; Yano 2009) are instances of international language use. Due to the different linguistic backgrounds, the native languages of the speakers from the five regions suggested by Yano even belong to different language families, it is also rather likely that these regional varieties contain a significant degree of internal variation. Even if the national varieties that are a subset of one of the regional Englishes have more features in common with their regional neighbors than they have with Englishes from other regions, all of the three branches of variation described above may occur within each of the regional varieties. The question of stability of a grammatical core of these varieties could thus be questioned along the same lines as a potential ELF core in general (Canagarajah 2007; House 2003).

Finding and describing norms of the English spoken or rather written in the communities involved is not within the scope of this study, as its aim is not to establish a set of synthetic norms that form a monolithic international variety. From a polycentric point of view (Kachru 2001) the description of a plethora of national varieties that form Standard Englishes in their own right and speech communities could be done. Even an inclusion of Expanding Circle varieties where individual variants are treated as features rather than systematic communal errors would be possible. Being concerned with ELF as a communicational setting and potentially involving all these varieties, the establishment of a common core based on shared attitudes towards language correctness seems more important. Criticism could arise from the notion of ELF as an international variety being established as a new monomodel (cf. chapter 2.1, p. 9) and thus as a danger to the establishment of new national and other communal varieties in their own right, may they be from the Outer or Expanding Circle. As the existence of different varieties within the communicational setting of ELF is postulated, however, an ELF core cannot be criticized as being monocentric.

2.5 The Nature of the iStE Core

Similar to Jenkins' (2000) quest for a phonological core of ELF, this study is the attempt to describe some structures of a morphosyntactic core of ELF which could eventually contribute to something that amounts to an international Standard English (iStE), which is based on the language use of a pluricentric, global speech community. But that is already the point at which similarities end. While Jenkins' phonological core is based on observation of speech production in ELF communication, the iStE morphosyntactic core investigates the acceptability of variants and different speakers' reactions to written ELF. The varieties include regional dialects and sociolects, national varieties from the Inner and Outer Circle, as well as EFL and ELF. Variants from English as it is used in various Expanding Circle settings are included in form of typical ELF structures taken from corpus based studies and what has been described as typical learner errors. The iStE core is a survey of attitudes towards English language variants in general rather than of features of ELF as a variety. The possible origins of the variants investigated have been described above (p. 22) as the four branches of variation, features that issue from these sources can be found in the existing literature and will be discussed in chapter 4 in more detail.

Garrett (2010: 20) points out that language attitude is, as a psychological construct, difficult to assess. He therefore suggests that a core definition has to be used and then supplement it depending on the aspects of attitudes on which there is "reasonable consensus." His core definition is that "an attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language, or a new government policy, etc. And, as a 'disposition', an attitude can be seen as having a degree of stability that allows it to be identified." (ibid.)

As for the first part of the definition this means that whoever holds an attitude, i.e. is not utterly indifferent, will evaluate social objects, here language use. The second part of the definition refers to the stability of attitudes, on the individual level this means that evaluations based on attitudes are not attributed haphazardly. On an intrapersonal level, this is postulated. It is assumed that informants consider a particular structure in the same way wherever it occurs in a certain context. An exception to this may only be performance errors in reception, i.e. instances where structures that otherwise evoke a specific reaction are overlooked. This, however, is a question of awareness, not of evaluation – and thus not primarily a question of attitude. On an interpersonal and social level, the stability mentioned by Garrett refers to the existence of a system of rules or attributes that determine attitude. This is not some concept of grammaticality or a

set of language rules, as prescribed in usage guides. Rather, it refers to the existence of commonly shared reactions towards language structures. This explains discrepancies between what is described and prescribed as Standard English and speakers' reactions to structures which comply with these norms – structures that are grammatical according to StE rules may evoke common rejection by a speech community based on their language attitude and structures that are ungrammatical may be accepted based on language attitude.

Also important with regard to attitudes are situational constraints. While the existence of stable attitude systems is postulated on the individual as well as social level, these systems are also depending on situational context (Garrett 2010: 24ff.). With regard to language attitudes this becomes most apparent with the use of different registers and styles depending on situation. If a study aims at investigating language attitude, the situational context must thus be controlled. In the present study, the informants were asked to evaluate the language presented in the sample text based on the given situation, i.e. an instance of email communication between a student and a professor but not in the context of institutional language learning (the student was not a student of English).

While it would be possible to further refine the aspects of attitude towards individual structures, e.g. with regard to politeness, style, register, and social attribution, this would have had to happen on the expense of the number of structures investigated. To moderate the already substantial workload for the participants and maintain feasibility (reading and marking the sample text did take many informants up to and over an hour), attitude as investigated in this study remained on a basic, binary level. Structures were either considered acceptable or unacceptable in the given communicational context.

The acceptability of morphological and syntactic features in writing was investigated by asking readers of various linguistic and professional backgrounds to mark what they considered errors or non-standard structures in a sample text. This text included prominent syntactic features and different forms of variation from several varieties of English representing the four branches outlined above (p. 22). The readers marked these features and identified them by color-coding them as either acceptable or unacceptable. Their reactions were evaluated and used as the basis for the stratification of the variants in the text according to which appear acceptable and which unacceptable in international communication. The standards based on which the marking took place were the readers' own personal standards, the same they would apply to evaluate language correctness in international contexts similar to that outlined in the sample text.

Seidlhofer (2004) observed that frequent lingua franca features, although often considered "typical 'errors' […], appear to be unproblematic and no obstacle to communicative

success" (p. 220). From this point of view most features included in the study could be expected to be identified as acceptable forms of variation, complying with an "anything-goes" philosophy in ELF communication that would set intelligibility and lack of ambiguity as the only relevant criteria for successful communication. From this point of view only structures that caused confusion would have led to "unacceptable" markings by the readers. However, unacceptable deviation from the language norms applied by the readers apparently included more than impeded communication. Some errors did not affect meaning or the transmission of meaning but were marked unacceptable nevertheless and may have changed the reader's attitude towards the written and in consequence the writer. In other words, there is a danger of losing one's face by using structures or making errors that violate the norms applied by the reader. Once the writer's intellectual ability or the willingness to put effort in the communication has suffered in the eyes of the reader, this will have an impact on their future relation. There is a social dimension to the problem that exceeds the exchange of denotative meaning between the interlocutors. Considering the vital importance of some domains in which English is used as an international lingua franca, serious consequences could arise from the negative connotation the use of unacceptable structures has. Professional aspirations, for example, would be significantly hampered by dissent on English language norms between employees and employers. References to register and style in the readers' markings and comments also underlined the role of social convention and individual attitude.

Pervasively marked language variants and structures that received a high share of "unacceptable" markings would obviously be problematic in international communication. The more often a structure is marked, the more cautious ELF users should be to avoid it in written communication. By excluding pervasively and frequently marked structures, the iStE core would identify variants that can be considered generally unproblematic or acceptable in international communication. iStE does thus not introduce new structures but highlights problematic variants which should be avoided in usage and focused on in language learning and teaching. Here iStE varies from suggestions for simplified Englishes, as for example Quirk's (1982) Nuclear English, as well as Jenkins' (2009) conclusion that ELF can be described as a common ground combined of ENL varieties, new (ELF) features and local variation. iStE is neither simplified English nor is it a simple combination of features from different varieties. It is the attempt to collect acceptable and unacceptable structures to which the individual should pay attention in their respective variety of English when involved in international communication.

iStE allows learners to employ those features of their personal varieties of English that only have a low potential of violating readers' expectations towards language correctness and to

avoid those structures that bear a high risk of causing communication problems. iStE does not replace the national standard varieties as ideals in TEFL classrooms, but it recommends putting emphasis on proficiency in the use of some structures while asking for tolerance towards variation in other areas. iStE provides English teachers with the opportunity to contrast their own attitudes towards language correctness with those of other speakers of English from different language backgrounds and professions. If this is successful, iStE could enable teachers to prepare students more efficiently for the use of English in international communication.

3 Error Analysis

In his seminal article on "The Significance of Learner's [sic!] Errors" Corder (1967: 167) mentioned three purposes errors and error analysis can serve: (1) identifying and describing the learners' progress in the acquisition of the target language, (2) identification and description of the strategies and procedures applied by the learner in this process, and (3) testing the learners' hypotheses about the target language.

Although all three points refer to second language acquisition in the first place, Corder (1967: 167) himself includes an example taken from a text on first language acquisition. James (1998: 26ff.) also includes a chapter on errors and error analysis in first language acquisition in his overview of *Errors in Language Learning and Use*. Errors as indicators for a subject's "transitional competence" (Corder 1967: 166) in a language acquisition process seem to occur in first and second language acquisition in similar form. In order to describe the status a deviant structure has in the individual's language acquisition process Corder (1967) distinguishes between "errors of competence" (or "errors") and "errors of performance" (or "mistakes") (p. 166f.). Errors are an indicator for a subject's present command of a language, while mistakes are only incidental occurrences. Errors occur wherever a learner's representation of the target language differs from the latter. If a learner has misunderstood or not yet acquired a structure of the target language, the learner will substitute it with an alternative structure. This alternative structure is what is commonly called an error. Learners are not able to replace the error with the appropriate structure from the target language, as the standard (or commonly used) structure had not been available to them in the first place. Only after learners have incorporated the standard structure into their transitional knowledge of the target language, will they be able to "correct" their utterances.

Still, further restrictions should be made to the use of the term "error." Incidences of deviation from the native Standard Englishes are usually described as errors, or at least as structures that do no not fall into the category of General English (Gramley 2012: 211). The learner's target language, or variety of the target language, on the other hand is not necessarily one of the native standard varieties. An Indian learner of English may aim at proficiency in Indian English, a Polish sailor on a Scottish vessel may be perfectly happy with the acquisition of the crew's Glaswegian, and covert prestige might lead to the prioritization of the acquisition of some regional, social, or ethnic dialect by any speaker of English, native or non-native. Thus errors as phenomena of language acquisition should be described as deviation from the speaker's target language rather than deviation from native standard varieties. In settings where the aim of lan-

guage learning and teaching is the acquisition of a native variety of Standard English, a distinction between the target variety of language learning and teaching and the native variety that takes this role is not possible. However, due to insufficiencies in the curriculum, the learning conditions, and the teacher's proficiency in the target variety, learners' chances of becoming proficient in their target variety differ. Especially the teacher's proficiency may be a major obstacle for second language learners to successfully acquire a native or in fact any variety but the one presented by the teacher. Otherwise, schools would produce balanced bilinguals all along, which they unfortunately do not. Language transfer from the shared L1 accounts for some of the differences between the target language and that of learners from the same linguistic background. This variation from the officially determined target language could be described by the term *error*, as it refers to systematic deviation from the target variety. Alternatively, it may as well be seen as a feature of an emerging variety of English. It is characteristic of a particular speaker group and does not affect intelligibility within this group.

Error analysis is usually used in language teaching and to describe language acquisition processes, but this is not the subject of this study. Even under the assumption that language acquisition among non-native speakers who aim at gaining native-like proficiency is rarely achieved. The use of English as a lingua franca is usually a communicative act between speakers of more or less stable varieties of English. I deliberately do not use the term "fossilized" (Selinker 1972: 215) here, since fossilization would imply failure and deviation from (native) standards. Variation from the native standards, however, can be acceptable in international communication. A number of studies (Jenkins 2007; Ranta 2009; Seidlhofer 2004) identify sets of structures that are not acceptable in terms of ENL norms, but frequently and successfully applied in lingua franca communication among non-native speakers. Ranta (2009: 93ff.), by comparison of data from the ELFA and MICASE corpora, even shows that these structures also occur in native speaker language of comparable domains (academic English). Although they are rare phenomena there and could be described as mistakes, it would not be surprising if native speakers showed tolerance towards these structures in the language of non-native speakers and international communication. So how can error analysis be used to gain relevant results?

Although this study is concerned with variation rather than deviation and error, every speaker of English has an idiolect that provides norms and references for correct language usage. Whether idiolects are rooted in native varieties, nativized postcolonial ESL varieties, or EFL is irrelevant in this case as long as speakers can be described as competent and confident. Competence means that speakers have reached a level of proficiency that allows them to take part in international communication. They do not need the guidance and help of a teacher or a benevo-

lent interlocutor. Confidence refers to the speakers' attitude towards their own command of the language. Confident speakers will consider deviation from the language norms they have acquired as errors of their interlocutors rather than their own. This, obviously, requires speakers to be able to distinguish between norms they have acquired and structures with which they are not familiar. Competent and confident speakers will analyze their interlocutors' language output based on their individual knowledge of the particular language. If an unfamiliar form occurs, speakers will categorize them as errors, i.e. as deviant from their own representation of correct English. Transferring Kachru's terminology (2001) from the societal to the individual level, the learners must have developed an endonormative working representation of the English language and no longer rely on exonormative sources like grammars, textbooks, or teachers. Language norms may have had an external origin in that they have been learned rather than naturally acquired, but the point is that they have been internalized when the communication in question takes place (cf. Corder 1967: 165). These internalized rules may vary from the generally accepted standards. As a consequence, error analysis is an inevitable part of the communication between two speakers of the same language. When an individual comes across a deviant form in their interlocutors' language output, they will analyze it. Not only is the assumed error identified, the recipient will also analyze the utterance in order to obtain the intended meaning. The application of communication strategies is the explicit and observable consequence of these internal processes. In ELF communication the most prominent strategies in this context seem to be "comments on common ground" and backchanneling (Björkman 2011: 953f.), which indicate the interlocutors' attempt to establish common understanding or the ability to follow, and thus understand, the conversation.

The internal process of language evaluation can be used to determine the acceptability of syntactic structures in international communication. In comparison to lexicon and pronunciation, syntax and morphology are probably less obvious markers of register, i.e. the social acceptability of a syntactic structure. Some forms, however, will evoke disapproval in their readers. This may be either because these forms are considered socially marked and inappropriate, or because they simply deviate from the reader's expectations of correct grammar. In the worst case, reader and writer are speakers of mutually unintelligible varieties of a language. In less extreme cases the communication could be inhibited, a greater risk of misunderstandings could arise, or the social relation between the communicators could be negatively affected. The reactions to language are used in this study in order to assess the acceptability of selected non-standard structures in written ELF communication and thus suggest guidelines for usage in EIL. This requires a further

distinction of dimensions in which language may deviate from speakers' expectations. James (1998: 64ff.) introduces four categories that may be used:

1) *Grammaticality* is the quality of well-formed utterances. An utterance is ungrammatical, if there is no context in which it is correct. Ungrammatical sentences and clauses can nevertheless be acceptable. Grammaticality could also be described as the quality of being codified, in commonly accepted works of reference, as Standard English.
2) *Acceptability* depends on the language user, on the receptive side of written communication on the reader. The focus is on the avoidance or absence of ambiguity. An acceptable sentence or clause is not necessarily grammatically correct. James (1998: 67) refers to "de-facto use and unproblematicity" as tests and thus determiners for acceptability.
3) *Correctness* describes congruity with the reader's metalinguistic knowledge. The metalinguistic knowledge could be described as the accumulated *intake* of syntactic structures. Correctness is distinguished from grammaticality by taking the reader's knowledge about the language for reference. Even acceptable and grammatical utterances may be considered incorrect if they violate what the reader believes to be language norms.
4) *Strangeness* refers to infelicity in a message. Where unidiomatic and generally unacceptable language is employed, this usually happens on purpose. Strange language can only be accepted, if the reader is able to decode the language in the particular context.

The distinction between *grammaticality* and *correctness* is only useful under the premise that there is a uniform standard variety of English. Following a polycentric approach allows for more than one standard variety of English. Even the most conservative scholars usually accept two varieties, Standard British (or English) English and General American (e.g. Quirk 1990). Hence, an utterance can be grammatical in one variety and ungrammatical in another. For error analyses, the distinction is effectively of theoretical importance as every corrector is only able to assess language based on their individual metalinguistic knowledge of that language, correctness.

Strangeness is an interesting point but poses the problem of eliciting the reader's understanding. Readers who come across a strange passage may misinterpret it but still be able to construct a meaning and find their misinterpretation acceptable. Although the interpretation deviates from what the writer intended to convey, they will mark that passage neither as ungrammatical/incorrect nor as unacceptable in this case. On the other hand, it can be assumed that strange language is not common in formal international communication but rather in private encounters where both interlocutors are informed about the special meaning of the structure or in literature (James 1998: 75f.).

Acceptability is the most important point in the context of international communication. As there are a large number of varieties, there are also a large number of grammars and thus

grammatical utterances. The individual metalinguistic knowledge about a language and its grammar depend on the individual's linguistic socialization. Thus, the form of the acquisition process and the varieties of English the individual has been exposed to influence the metalinguistic knowledge. This leads to an even greater range of *correct* utterances, as not only the various acknowledged varieties, but also the interlocutors' metalinguistic knowledge of these varieties has to be considered. The result is basically that it is impossible to define de-facto language norms that are effective in actual communication based on grammaticality and correctness alone. Grammaticality and, as a result of the learning process, correctness are important as they determine the speaker's development and language, most likely also their attitude towards language. The central point for international communication is acceptability. Acceptability describes how language attitude and attitude towards variation in language affect the assessment of messages. An individual can identify derivation from what for them is correct English, but nevertheless accept it as long as it is not infelicitous or ambiguous and thus intelligible. Acceptability therefore allows describing language usage independently of language norms and the metalinguistic knowledge of the speakers' involved. The latter is essential for international communication if the number of varieties and learners' different progresses in language acquisition processes are considered. For this reason, practicable norms for English as an international lingua franca should be based on acceptability. Syntactic, morphological, lexical, and phonological structures that are frequently considered unacceptable should be avoided. In order to identify generally acceptable structures, they have to be taken from various varieties and the informants who judge the acceptability of these structures also have to be speakers of different varieties of English. Rules inferred from acceptability can only indicate the risk that is attached to their violation. The identification of international norms can thus only take place by exclusion of unacceptable structures, not by prescription of selected or constructed norms.

If an ungrammatical, i.e. not codified as StE, structure is not perceived as incorrect by a speaker of EIL, it has to be assumed that the structure is acceptable to the speaker in question; it complies with the speaker's knowledge of norms of the English language. These structures also have a high potential to be used by the speaker, limited only by the possibility of a performance error either in perception or production. Greenbaum (1996: 33f.) also used the distinction between grammaticality and acceptability. He, however, states that "a sentence is said to be grammatical when it conforms to what are thought to be the norms of the language" (p. 33). If grammaticality refers to thoughts of individuals or communities, this sense of grammaticality is more similar to James' understanding of correctness than his understanding of grammaticality, which is based on personal metalinguistic knowledge. Also, Greenbaum points out that

"Judgments on whether sentences are well-formed or not are judgments on their acceptability" (Greenbaum 1996: 33). This shows that from his point of view there is no universal and endonormative grammar, but that grammatical or correct language usage arises from speaker attitudes and acceptability judgments. This is all the more remarkable as this point of view is represented in *The Oxford English Grammar* (Greenbaum 1996), one of the works of references that could be considered a standard reference for codified British Standard English. In the *Grammar of Contemporary English*, Quirk et al. refer to the "distinction [which] refers to grammar not as the observed patterns in the use of French but to a codification of rules […]" (Quirk et al. 1972: 9) and contrast this to the grammar of English for which there is no comparable prescriptive grammar (a status which, de-facto, the *Grammar of Contemporary English* itself has acquired). References to StE refer to national varieties, foremost British, American, and Canadian Standard English, with the notion that there is a great deal of uniformity among these varieties (Quirk et al. 1972: 16f.). Although there is no explicit statement on what exactly defines StE grammar or grammars, with reference to the minor differences between the national varieties, the existence of a universal, endonormative grammar is assumed. This would allow for a distinction of grammaticality and correctness as suggested by James (1998: 65ff.).

The corpus based *Collins COBUILD English Grammar* (Sinclair 2005) is definitely based on usage. In the blurb on the book's jacket it says that it "is an authoritative reference tool for advanced students and teachers of English" (ibid.). This combines two things, first, language usage as found in the *Bank of English* corpus on which the grammar is based, and second, an "authoritative" (ibid.) that is prescriptive approach. The latter is also underlined by addressing learners and teachers of English. Restrictions, however, are made to whose and what kind of English is included in the Bank of English as "[i]t contains 650 million words from a carefully chosen selection of sources, to give a balanced and accurate reflection of English as it is used everyday" (Collins 2012). A restrictive attitude to whose English is selected for the establishment of a usage based international standard would be counterproductive as this would necessarily impose the grammar of the varieties represented in the selection on those forgone. On the other hand, care must be taken to include only stable and systematic structures and no performance errors. The latter, of course, could also be found in the language of proficient speakers of stable ESL and EFL varieties as well as in native speaker language. To minimize the impact of performance errors, the use of written language seems indicated as this, generally, better represents the standard of usage applied by the author.

Although primarily concerned with the lexicon, Peters' (2004) *Cambridge Guide to English Usage* also ought to be mentioned. Like the *COBUILD Grammar*, the *Cambridge Guide*

is corpus-based, using the *British National Corpus* and the American section of the *Cambridge International Corpus*. Additionally, Peters distributed questionnaires to elicit feedback on the usage of certain structures (2004: viii). Standardness was determined by actual usage, as documented in the corpora, rather than prescriptive guidelines in works of reference (such as authoritative grammars and dictionaries). References are then made to formality. Formality is used as a binary, with forms either "l[ying] above and below the broad band of everyday written communication" (Peters 2004: vii). Forms could thus be standard *and* formal or informal. The latter distinction in terms of "[t]he relative acceptability of a given usage" (ibid.: viii) was additionally elicited by means of questionnaires sent to users world-wide (however, the distribution via *English Today* means that answers probably do not represent the attitudes of average speakers of English). This second part of Peters' approach is interesting for the assessment of structures in EIL as it opens the definition of what is successful communication and is not restricted to what is marked by communication break-downs (cf. Jenkins 2000: 84) but determined by speaker attitude. A similar approach will be taken in this study, albeit with certain restrictions and modifications made. First, no attempt to represent the full range of structures of EIL is made. Second, structures are not taken from corpora of British and American English but from descriptions of different varieties, native and non-native, and so-called "typical learner errors." Third, the elicitation of language attitudes focuses not only on language experts (which presumably applies to the majority of readers of *English Today*) but includes common speakers as well as experts.

This study adopts the following perspectives in order to investigate attitude towards variation in international written English:

- Systematic errors that are pervasive in the English of EFL speakers, either on a global or regional level, are considered variants of international ELF.
- The same applies to features of ESL or World English varieties and regional and social varieties of ENL.
- iStE is defined by what is generally, that is by speakers of various language backgrounds, considered acceptable in international usage and by exclusion of what is generally considered unacceptable.
- It can be assumed that structures which are not identified as deviations, i.e. not marked as either acceptable or unacceptable, are perceived as correct (in James' (1998: 74) terms) by speakers of EIL. Speakers are not aware of these structures being ungrammatical and non-standard.
- British and American Standard English will be used in order to contrast variants to standard native usage. This is done because of the present status of ENL varieties as target varieties of language teaching as well as their codification. This does not imply non-standardness of variants that are acceptable in international usage.

4 Dimensions of Variation

Morphology and syntax of English can vary in numerous dimensions: along the regional, social, and ethnic borders that distinguish the different speaker groups, according to the different domains and purposes that are served by different registers of English, and according to the different structures that constitute the grammar of the English language. In this chapter different varieties of English and their representation in this study are discussed; in chapter 5 categories for the different types of variants represented and observed in the sample text and the informants' markings are introduced.

As it is hardly possible to represent all varieties of English in a study of this scope, some relevant and representative varieties had to be chosen. Following Kachru's (2001) circular model of World Englishes these are British, American, South African, and Indian English. British and American English represent the Inner Circle and most commonly used target varieties of EFL language teaching. South Africa with its several varieties represents intranational lingua franca usage with a co-existence of native and non-native varieties in a setting that relies on extensive English usage in many domains. Indian English represents the World English and non-native variety with the greatest number of speakers (Crystal 2003: 63) as well as an Anglophone ESL community of growing econopolitical importance. To represent the Expanding Circle and non-native usage in international rather than intranational contexts, ELF is included as far as publications of characteristic features were available. Additionally, typical learner errors are included as these, if they are systematic (cf. chapter 3), potentially also represent non-native and ELF usage.

Although several non-standard structures co-exist in varieties of English as well as in English lexified pidgins and creoles, the latter were not included in this study. The reason for their exclusion is probably more of a typological nature rather than their intelligibility to other speakers of English – a case that could hardly be established if structures occur in both, contact languages and varieties of English. However, Gramley (2012: 211) excludes creoles from what he considers GenNSE on the basis of a "lack[s] of general comprehensibility" (ibid.). His reference to a rather clear-cut distinction between creoles and ENL varieties is based on data from eWAFE. It remains to be examined if the distinction really is that clear-cut because no comprehensive comparison of the occurrence of individual structures in L1 and L2 varieties as well as in pidgins and creoles is available. Although some structures, e.g. "[i]nvariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 170) and "[r]elativizer what or a form derived from what" (ibid.: feat. 190), may indeed almost

exclusively occur in pidgins and creoles, others, e.g. "[d]ifferent count/mass noun distinctions resulting in the use of plural for StE singular" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 55), occur in L1 and L2 varieties of English as well as in (indigenized) pidgins and creoles. What makes the case of pidgins and creoles more difficult is that they often form a continuum with English. While speakers of creoles may employ features characteristic of creoles, they may use them along with a variety of English. These English structures may be part of standard or non-standard English (Gramley 2012). Critics may, on the level of typology, argue that any non-standard forms belong to the pidgin or creole substrate languages rather than to English as the superstrate and lexifier language. The question is how this affects the individual speaker's actual language in international communication. The association with varieties of English and pidgins and creoles mentioned above is based on their classification as "pervasive or obligatory" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013; cf. footnote 2, p. 17). It does not seem necessary for structures to have this status in order to occur in international communication: assuming that a speaker of both a pidgin or creole and English will tend to use English in formal and thus in international communication, pidgin and creole structures may still occur as more or less frequent performance errors (as English is the target variety in this context). This might explain why typical pidgin and creole features, such as the lack of morphological marking of the third person singular, are often classified as "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 170) for many indigenized L2 and high-contact L1 varieties; in this case including Cape Flats and Indian South African English as well as Rural African American Vernacular English (ibid.).[7] Although some features may be associated with pidgins and creoles rather than varieties of English, their occurrence in ELF communication thus seems rather probable.

As non-standard features co-occur in varieties of English and pidgins and creoles, it is no surprise that non-standard structures also co-occur in several varieties of English. The co-occurrence in L1 and L2 varieties, at least on the level of "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013) features, does leave some room for doubt if they necessarily are of "different nature than those of GenNSE" (Gramley 2012: 211). Other structures, such as "[m]e instead of I in coordinate subjects" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 7), even are "pervasive or obligatory" (ibid.) in L1 and L2 varieties as well as in pidgins and creoles. For the occurrence of non-standard structures in international communication this probably is of minor importance as speakers of all varieties as well as pidgins and creoles probably strive for Standard

[7] In eWAFE (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013; Mesthrie 2013b), Indian South African English (ISAE) is classified as a "Indiginized L2 variety." However, according to the South African Census, 86.1% of the Indian or Asian population of South Africa have English as their first language. ISAE should thus be considered a native (high-contact) L1 rather than a L2 variety. For comparison, only 39.9% of the white and 2.9% of the black population gave English as their first language (Statistics South Africa 2012: 26).

English when engaging in international communication. Nevertheless, the occurrence of these structures in international communication cannot be excluded, either because speakers are not aware that these are systematic features of their non-standard variety, or because they occur as performance errors in the attempt to produce StE. At the same time the individual speaker's language is not influenced by one variety of English exclusively. Domain of usage and exposure to different varieties of English influence the individual speaker's language. The different registers in individual language thus depend on the situation and the linguistic socialization of the speaker. An individual is often exposed to a particular regional or local dialect, as well as the sociolect of their family, friends and acquaintances, possibly an ethnolect, and the ESPs of the fields in which the individual participates. All these different varieties can contribute features to the idiolect that are non-standard from the point of view of other varieties, especially the varieties of native StE. Whether non-standard structures are employed or not certainly depends on the situation. Students, for example, are more likely to use colloquial, regional, and non-standard language in conversations with their friends than in essays at school, but occasional slips may occur. The same applies to formal communication: although speakers generally strive for StE, non-standard structures may be employed, either systematically or on the level of performance slips.

Moving from the general level on which the inclusion and exclusion of individual varieties have been discussed, the varieties that contributed structures or features to the sample text for this study will be introduced now. From the Inner Circle varieties, British and American English were chosen. These native varieties are thought to be norm-providing in the context of EFL teaching and learning and have, as the language of the colonizers, also influenced the development of World Englishes, that is indigenized and additional varieties of English in former colonies (Schneider 2007: 32ff.). As the provision of norms indicates, the Inner Circle varieties are of special importance to English education on a global scale and thus inevitably for international communication.

The most prominent varieties of the Inner Circle are British and American English, which were chosen over Canadian, Irish, Australian, and New Zealand English (Crystal 2003: 60). In contrast to the other Inner Circle varieties, American and British English are not only associated with the spread of English around the world, but also with language learning, a role which the other varieties only have on a national (Irish, Canadian, New Zealand) or at best regional (Australian English in Australasia) level. EFL classrooms, which seek to enable students to carry out meaningful communication with native speakers or at least proficiency in a particular native variety, usually use either British or American English varieties as the ideal which the

students strive for. While some more recent curricula may emphasize the role of English as an international lingua franca (Ministerium 2014: 12), much of the teaching material available still uses and promotes the use of one of these two varieties. Publishing houses like Oxford University Press with oxforddictionaries.com, Collins with collinsdictionary.com, which both provide far more than dictionary functions, including advice on grammar and usage, language learning, and learner oriented games, and the British Council with a huge amount of online teaching material and publications still exert a dominating influence on language learning and teaching worldwide. Differences between American and British English may thus not only elicit disapproval among speakers of the other variety, but also among learners and speakers of varieties that were influenced by them. In the case of learner rejection of structures deviating from their target varieties, the Inner Circle target varieties exported not only the language with its norms and structures, but also attitudes towards language correctness.

The grammatical differences between British and American Standard English are commonly stated to be minor if not negligible. Often the differences are also not a question of non-existence of a feature in the other variety, but rather a question of preference. Where there is more than one structure to express something, American English may have other preferences than British English and vice versa, a common example is the use of the subjunctive. Apart from the differences between Standard American and Standard British English, prominent non-standard features of regional and social varieties of British and American English were also included. One social and ethnic variety of American English was explicitly included. African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is an ethnolect as well as a sociolect as it is generally associated with working class speakers (Edwards 2008: 181). On the other hand, AAVE has a considerable impact on hip-hop and rap music as well as the related youth cultures. Guy and Cutler (2011) showed that although not all participants in their study matched the distribution of phonological patterns in the AAVE influenced language of selected Hip Hop artists, their language was markedly different from General American English. In fact, the language of "[t]hose who do show evidence of shifting, often substantially, toward higher [coronal stop] deletion rates all aspire to or affirm a hip-hop identity that is in some respects at odds with their race or class background" (Guy/Cutler 2011: 157). The reference to "race and class background" (ibid.) refers to white and middle class informants. While the use of AAVE structures may not correspond with that of working class African Americans, these structures occur in the language of Hip Hop aficionados of other social and ethnic backgrounds. As Hip Hop is a global phenomenon that, promoted by the media and modern information technologies, influences the language of young speakers around the world, these structures may well be found in the language of

speakers of English that differ in their regional as well as in social and ethnical background from AAVE. The key to a global spread via the medium of Hip Hop subculture is "extended exposure to AAVE" (Guy/Cutler 2011: 144). Considering the often very limited time available for formal language teaching, the exposure to Hip Hop and thus AAVE structures may reach the same level for non-native learners of the language.

While the distinction between, for example, AAVE as a non-standard dialect and General American is well established, the same does not necessarily apply to other national varieties of English. South African English sometimes is somewhat undifferentiatedly considered a native variety and associated with the Inner Circle although Kachru already stated in 1990 that "South Africa […] and Jamaica […] are not listed [in a figure depicting the three circles]. The reason is the sociolinguistic complexity of these two countries in terms of their English-using populations and the functions of English" (Kachru 1990: 3). When speaking of Standard South African English the reference often is to White South African English (WSAE), which Bowerman (2013) characterizes as a "high contact L1 variet[y]." Descendent from British English, its broad registers were mainly influenced by the Afrikaans spoken by the Boers, while the cultivated registers remained close to British English and RP pronunciation (Bowerman 2008: 164). African languages, partly indirectly via Afrikaans, also had a minor impact on White South African English. While White South African has retained its status as the standard variety of South African English (Bowerman 2008: 168), two other ethnic varieties of South African English from South Africa are included in this study. Black South African English (BSAE) and Indian South African English (ISAE). Both are categorized by Mesthrie (2013a/b) as second language varieties. This marks them as typical Outer Circle varieties and "additional" languages to their users. However, Kachru's (1990) concerns that the distinction between additional and native languages in a multilingual society like South Africa is this clear cut seem to remain valid as more recent statistical data from the South African census show.

While Black South Africans form the largest ethnic group by far, 3.8 times as big the other four groups combined, the share of native speakers of English within this group is very small. Only due to the total size of the group, native Black South African speakers of English come second in number after White South African speakers of English. Although the share of native speakers of English among White South Africans is more than ten times that of Black South Africans, the absolute number of native speakers of English among the White South Africans is just about 1.4 times bigger than that of the Black South African native speakers of English. An influence on norms of usage and standardization can thus not be established on the basis of number of speakers of one of these ethnic groups.

Ethnic groups and English as a first language in South Africa (2011)

	English L1	Percent of Total	Total
Black	1,167,913	2.9%	40,413,408
Colored	945,847	20.8%	4,541,358
Indian or Asian	1,094,317	86.1%	1,271,158
White	1,603,575	35.9%	4,461,409
Other	80,971	29.5%	274,111
TOTAL	4,892,623	9.6%	50,961,444

Table 4.1; adapted from Statistics South Africa (2012: 26).

Roughly one third of all White South Africans are native speakers of English. While WSAE is a first language variety to its native speakers (Bowerman 2013), the ethnic group of White South Africans as a whole cannot be considered an ENL community. The only ethnic group that could claim English as a first language is that of Indian and Asian South Africans, where 86.1% have English as a first language. Based on these figures Mesthrie's (2013a/b) categorization of both Black and Indian South African English in the same category as "indigenized L2 varieties" is not supported by the South African census. Another question is whether all Black South Africans are speakers of BSAE, all Indian and Asian South Africans of ISAE, and all White South Africans of WSAE. If as Bowerman (2008: 168) claims WSAE remains the standard variety of South African English, it can be assumed that middle and upper class speakers of all ethnic backgrounds strive towards using this variety. This probably reduces the number of native speakers of Black South African and Indian South African English further, especially in the case of middle-class Black South Africans (ibid.). So the conclusion must be that WSAE is the L2 variety with the greatest number of speakers, both as a L2 and possibly also as a L1. Unfortunately, there is no statistical evidence as for how many native speakers the South African varieties of English as described in, for example, eWAFE (Kortmann/ Lunkenheimer 2013), actually have. It seems unlikely that this would change the fact that ISAE seems to be a L1 variety while BSAE and WSAE are L2 varieties. In South Africa, which was included in this study because of the co-existence of different varieties and the intranational lingua franca function of English, WSAE as a L2 variety remains the standard (Bowerman 2008: 168) although ISAE is the only variety that may potentially be the majority L1 of one of the ethnic groups.

As shown above, non-standard structures usually occur in more than one variety. In the case of South African Englishes, "[l]oosening of sequence of tense rules" (Kortmann/ Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 113) can, for example, be found as a "pervasive or obligatory" (ibid.) feature of WSAE and ISAE and as a "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" (ibid.) feature in

BSAE. The same structure can also be found in several Asian, African, and Caribbean varieties of English and Creoles. On the level of non-standard structures, eWAFE gives another hint towards the status of WSAE as the standard variety. Only six structures are rated as "pervasive or obligatory" (Bowerman 2013) for WSAE, while there are 14 for BSAE, and 34 for ISAE (Mesthrie 2013a/b).

In contrast to South Africa the status of English as a second and additional language in India is beyond doubt. Crystal (2003: 63) estimates that there are 350,000 native speakers of English and 200,000,000 non-native speakers in a population of 1,029,991,000. The Indian Census of 2001 counts 226,449 native speakers of English (Census India 2001).[8] The share of native speakers in the total population of India would thus be something between 0.02% (Census India) and 0.03% (Crystal 2003: 63) compared to 9.6% in South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2012: 26). Indian English is probably the most prominent example of an Outer Circle variety as well as the variety with the greatest number of speakers (Crystal 2003: 46f.; Gargesh 2009: 90). With the advances of telecommunication and information technology, distance has become a less important factor and companies are able to move production and, interesting in terms of communication, their call centers to India (Graddol 2006: 42). This and the generally growing economic and political role India plays in the world will in the long term lead to an increase in contact between Indian speakers of English and speakers of English from all over the world. Most of the communication will be formal and on the side of the Indian speakers most probably oriented towards British English as the acrolect variety of a continuum of English in India (Sailaja 2009: 14). The potential exposure to non-standard or rather non-British forms of Indian English will nevertheless increase either in terms of typically Indian structures becoming acceptable in Indian Standard English or in terms of performance errors.

Linguistic emancipation from the norm-providing Inner Circle Varieties in the Outer Circle first takes place in colloquial language and informal settings. At later stages of the developmental process of New or World Englishes these may be codified and develop Standard English varieties (Schneider 2007: 52). Sailaja (2009: 39) underlines that the morphology and syntax of formal and Standard Indian English are either American or British with a preference for the latter. Other specifically Indian structures are mostly non-standard and associated with lower proficiency in non-native speakers. The result is a language continuum that has– as far as morphology and syntax are concerned –a largely informal Indian English basilect and an acrolect formed by imported native standards. Depending on the proficiency and linguistic socialization of the speaker, they will mix basilectal and acrolectal forms. How much these mesolects

[8] References to languages and language families in the 2011 census refer back to 2001 data. http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-documents/lsi/ling_survey_india.html, accessed 9/14/15.

are influenced by either of the two poles of the language continuum depends on the situation and interlocutors, but it can be assumed that non-standard features from the basilect appear at least occasionally in formal, high register communication. Written communication tends to be closer to the high register standard forms and thus to the established standard varieties of American and especially British English. However, Widdowson (1997: 143) argued that writing itself exerts a standardizing influence and due to the mostly written character of many international registers, they undergo an endonormative process of stabilization that does not require "native-speaker custodians" (ibid: 144). If non-standard features occur in public and formal writing more than just occasionally, this in turn would be an indicator for these features gaining or having gained the status of standard structures. Reactions towards non-standard features thus reveal how established these structures have become.

Both India and South Africa are multilingual societies. English serves as an intranational lingua franca within these communities. From a sociolinguistic point of view this is interesting because English is the language of the colonial power, or one of the colonial powers. In India English remains to be used for administrative and various other purposes (Department of Official Language 2015). Nowadays the tradition of English as a second language is an important factor for the economic growth and development in India. In South Africa the status of English has been promoted with the abolishment of the apartheid regime, which was associated with Afrikaans (Bowerman 2008: 168). English thus could take a comparatively neutral position and serve as a lingua franca for all groups of the population, without being identified as the language of oppression. The intranational use of English as a lingua franca means that there are a great number of speakers who are used to forms of language variation connected to variety contact. Speakers from multilingual societies can thus be considered experts on lingua franca usage. International lingua franca usage probably adds to the number of features that distinguish ELF from the standardized native varieties, but the application of communication strategies and a number of widespread ELF and L2 variety features should be familiar to these multilingual experts. While the amount of intranational ELF communication might suggest evolution and stabilization of a uniform variety independently of external influences (Schneider 2007: 48ff.), South Africa shows that these processes are not necessarily effective. More than two decades after the abolition of apartheid, which would probably be an "Event X" and the onset of endonormative stabilization processes of a new uniform variety (ibid.), there are no studies supporting a merging of the existing major varieties or their imminent death. With Black, Indian, White South African English, and also Cape Flats English South Africa harbors four major ethnic and regional varieties. The number of distinctive varieties may be seen as an indicator for the need to

maintain linguistic identity in L2 settings. Extended exposure to other than one's own variety does not seem to lead to a merging of a common ELF variety. This underlines the point of describing ELF as a communicative setting rather than a variety. Considerable amount of variation in international English seems inevitable if diversity defies koinéization tendencies even in national ELF situations despite a possible need for a new national identity after the abolition of apartheid.

Moving from English in postcolonial settings and the Outer Circle to the Expanding Circle means moving from intranational to international lingua franca usage. Whether English is learned as a foreign language, traditionally aiming at communication with native speakers and proficiency in a native variety (Ministerium 1999), or as an international lingua franca, aiming at international communication with speakers of other first languages in general (Ministerium 2014), English always serves as a second language and does not fulfill intranational functions in countries of the Expanding Circle. Also, English is usually learned in formal settings, school, rather than acquired naturally, which may apply to some speakers of ESL from the Outer Circle. Interference with the native languages as well as the character of the different curricula for English instruction have an impact on the language of speakers of English from the Expanding Circle. Quirk (1990) used the term "*performance varieties*" (italics in original, p. 5) for Expanding Circle (Russian, French, Japanese English) varieties at the beginning of the Quirk – Kachru debate. This term acknowledges that there are EFL varieties which show distinctive structures, but at the same time excludes them from the range of "proper" varieties of English. These include non-native postcolonial and native varieties – and only two of the latter should, according to Quirk, be referred to for reference in language learning: British and American Standard English (1990: 6). While the Quirk – Kachru controversy is now long over and history, more recent dynamic models (Schneider 2007: 48ff.) have shown that postcolonial varieties from the Outer Circle tend to standardize. The question remains as to how "inherently unstable" (Quirk 1990: 5) performance varieties of the Expanding Circle and thus the features and grammatical constituents of ELF are. What seems to be certain is that English in the Expanding Circle is not uniform and presumably cannot as readily be described as native varieties or non-native varieties of the Outer Circle.

Unfortunately, no comprehensive collection of ELF features from either corpus has been published so far. Publications listing features either give a rough overview of the most prominent features, or focus on a certain morphosyntactic phenomenon (Mauranen 2010; Ranta 2006, 2009; Seidlhofer 2004). Another source for possible features of English in the Expanding Circle are collections of "typical" learner errors. Based on the assumption that learner errors become a

permanent part of the learner's language if they are not invalidated in the further process of language learning (Selinker 1972), they can also be treated as features that occur in a number of second or foreign language varieties of English. These features of learner language are from the perspective of the native variety oriented language teacher errors. As with other non-standard structures, some features of learner language can be found in other varieties too. These not only include second language varieties from the Outer Circle, but also non-standard varieties from the Inner Circle.

It is unclear how the co-occurrence of features in ELF as well as in other varieties affects the acceptability of these features. Either the feature will be recognized as familiar, intelligible, appropriate, and part of proficient language use, or it will be recognized as ungrammatical and therefore unacceptable. In the latter case, the familiarity would lead to a raised awareness of the non-standard character of the feature in question. It is also possible that the same feature is evaluated differently depending on the communicative setting in which it is found. For example, "ain't" as the negated form of "BE" is widespread and occurs in many non-standard varieties and colloquial speech. However, the same feature could be considered inappropriate in international and often more formal communication. Here the interlocutors' knowledge of the non-standard nature of this feature might be a disadvantage for a speaker who uses "ain't" as a *regular* element of their language (see Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 155, 156).

As discussed above, describing ELF as *the* variety of English used by speakers from the Expanding Circle is problematic, even without accounting for volatile language change and a possible lack of stability of individual national varieties. Still, as there are, in contrast to descriptions of World Englishes, hardly any systematic descriptions of national varieties of Expanding Circle English, alternative sources for language features of Expanding Circle speakers must be used to elicit their acceptability in international communication. One alternative comes in form of descriptions of ELF performances based on communication between speakers of different first language backgrounds. The other comes in form of descriptions of learner language and typical learner errors which are to some extent available with references to individual ESL and EFL speech communities (Swan/Smith 2001).

Structures taken from ELF studies focusing on communicative settings with speakers of different L1s also have the advantage that those features that actually find their way into international communication are highlighted. Possible problems resulting from the differences between the individuals' idiolects are also emphasized. The ELF features used for this study come from publications based on the VOICE and the ELFA corpora. Both corpora include English communications among speakers of different first languages. The Vienna based VOICE corpus includes

various domains, while the ELFA corpus focuses on English as an international lingua franca in academia. Elina Ranta, whose publications (2006, 2009) are based on the ELFA corpus, contrasted her findings with data from the MICASE corpus of academic English in Michigan. This allows for a direct comparison of individual features and their occurrence in ELF and American English (in the domain of academia). Establishing whether variants from native StE are indeed features of either ELF communication or national EFL varieties is only possible to a limited extent. To find out whether variants are systematic and could thus be described as features of second language or learner varieties or whether they are performance errors would require comprehensive case studies of individual speakers' production. Even frequent occurrence in a corpus is only a necessary but not a sufficient condition as some performance errors are more frequent than others. This variance in occurrence of individual structures in a particular variety also applies to features in ESL varieties as the rating of pervasiveness and frequency in, for example, eWAFE shows (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013). This again suggests that the systematic difference between ESL and EFL varieties might indeed be smaller than the different functions of English in the Outer and Expanding Circle would suggest.

If the ELF structures taken from the studies mentioned above did not occur in Inner and Outer Circle varieties at all, a structural difference between ELF and EFL usage on the one hand and ESL and ENL usage on the other would be obvious. In this case, it would not be surprising if speakers of ENL and ESL varieties evaluated them as unacceptable errors. A comparison of the ELF structures and eWAFE shows, however, that eleven of the seventeen ELF structures can also be found in Outer and Inner Circle varieties (see Appendix 1). The eleven ELF features also listed in eWAFE are "pervasive or obligatory" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013) in an average of 12.3 varieties and "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" (ibid.) in 15.5 varieties. Among these varieties were L1 as well as L2 varieties, pidgins, and creoles. Two structures that were neither represented in eWAFE nor used in the present study, unidiomatic phraseology and overrepresentation of semantically general verbs, did not fit as such in the focus of eWAFE. Another feature not represented in eWAFE but listed as frequent in ELF and used in this study was alternative derivation resulting in the coining of doublets. Here the lexical component of this form of variation may have prevented inclusion in eWAFE. Like other non-standard structures, ELF structures generally seem to occur in other varieties and there is no restriction to a certain type of variety either. Thus, there is no reason to exclude EFL varieties and ELF performances from GenNSE as the sum of all frequently employed and generally understood non-standard structures (cf. Gramley 2012: 211).

5 Feature Categorization

Because of their diversity and number, it was not possible to test all variants of English grammar in this study. Hence, a selection had to be made to represent at least structures from a greater number of different categories, representing dimensions of grammatical variation. These categories are introduced in this chapter and examples for variants belonging to the categories are given. The occurrence of these variants in different varieties and contexts (see chapter 4), shows how varieties of English are at the same time distinct in terms of the combination and frequency of variants they include, and at the same time connected as structures rarely are exclusive features of one variety or context of usage. In order to find out whether some areas of the English grammar are more crucial to successful and acceptable international communication, grammatical structures need to be categorized. Most structures or features are usually described as variants of and from Standard English, which generally is a synonym for the codified, highly prestigious variety of either British or American English. As deviant forms these variants are usually treated as errors, undesirable, or socially marked, at least in the context of ELT. But there are also variants from those standard structures that occur in different varieties which – if they are systematic – can be used to distinguish these varieties from others. These variants are numerous and by no means restricted to L2 usage. Their existence can be used to denounce communications as erroneous, but they hardly justify claims that a communication is not English at all (cf. Gramley's 2012 notion of GenNSE for native non-standard usage). A number of features that have been attested for part of the varieties mentioned in chapter 4 will be put into fourteen categories. The first eleven of these categories were introduced in the *Varieties of English* series (Kortmann 2008a: xxv ff.) and are also used in eWAFE (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013). Three further categories were added in order to describe certain fields separately. Several features could be described in more than one category. Therefore, the added categories do not introduce formerly unattested features, but emphasize a shared attribute or morphosyntactic function. The categories are:

1) Pronoun, pronoun exchange, and pronominal gender*
2) Noun phrase*
3) Verb phrase: tense, aspect, and voice*
4) Verb phrase: modal verbs and auxiliaries*
5) Verb phrase: verb morphology*
6) Adverbs*

7) Negation*
8) Agreement*
9) Relativization*
10) Complementation*
11) Discourse organization and word order*
12) Prepositions
13) Comparison
14) Orthography
15) Style

*Categories taken from Kortmann 2008a: xxv ff.

Apart from the supplementation of the last four categories, "Voice" has been added to category three "[v]erb phrase: tense and aspect" (Kortmann 2008a: xxvi). Category four explicitly includes auxiliary verbs in general and is not restricted to modal auxiliaries now (ibid.: xxvi f.). Often the use of individual structures depends on the formality of the communication as much as the speaker's variety. The choice of an inappropriate register is a possible source of confusion and irritation and should therefore not be underestimated. Where choice depends on personal preference rather than on formality and register, the structures were put into category 15) Style. In order to represent the different varieties introduced in chapter 4 (p. 36), the features are arranged in the following subcategories:

I) ELF: features that have been attested in ELF communication
II) American (AmE) versus British English (BrE): features and structures in which the two major native varieties differ
III) Multiple Varieties: features that occur in at least three varieties, especially those mentioned in chapter 4 (p. 36)
IV) Learner Language: features that have been described as typical learner "errors"

The following introduction provides an overview of features or types of features in the fourteen categories. These features do neither form comprehensive descriptions of the varieties involved nor do they represent all forms of variation identified by the informants. They rather serve as a selection of characteristic features and structures that mark distinctive or common features of the different varieties of English. A collection of non-standard structures and variants of StE was used as the basis of this chapter. It was compiled by taking non-standard structures from several World Englishes (with a focus on varieties of English in India and South Africa), ELF structures

taken from corpus based studies, typical learner errors, social and regional dialects from North America and the British Isles, and differences between Standard British and American English. A subset of these structures was then incorporated in a sample text for the study (see chapter 6.1, p. 71ff.). The overview in this chapter is also an attempt to illustrate the great extent in quality and quantity to which varieties of English, L1 and L2, differ – while, at the same time, it shows how widespread many non-standard forms are and how unpredictable the spread is in terms of regional and formal (L1/L2) relation of the varieties.

5.1 Pronouns, Pronoun Exchange, and Pronominal Gender

This category includes forms of pronoun exchange such as "[t]hem instead of demonstrative those" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 68). Naturally, pronoun related features also occur in noun phrases (category 2), this explains why the example given above occurs in the NP category in Kortmann's (2008a: xxv) description of structures found in the British Isles and in the pronoun category in eWAFE (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 68). Similarly, the exchange of the relative pronouns *which* or *what* for *who* could go into the pronoun category, but are listed in category 9) Relativization.

Unclear references of pronouns played only a minor role in this study. Apparently, individual non-native speakers among the informants were not familiar with the possessive pronoun *its*.[9] Incidences of rejection of individual pronominal forms of this kind, i.e. where otherwise grammatical forms are identified as non-standard, are not based on descriptions of variants of ENL or ESL varieties, observations of learner language, or the analysis of ELF corpora. Furthermore, the choice of prepositions is in most cases at least as much a lexical as it is a grammatical issue. As the references were only unclear to individual informants, usually non-native speakers, this does not seem to be a structural problem. In the case of non-native speakers, one explanation for these phenomena are lexical gaps. Another explanation may be speakers concerns regarding the pronominal gender. In the sample text, *its* refers to a dog and, possibly due to language transfer and agreement with grammatical gender in their L1, some informants may have expected either a female or male pronoun. In any case, there obviously is the potential for misunderstanding, especially in communication with less proficient speakers. For this reason it

[9] *Its* (line 9 of the sample text, see Appendix 2) was marked four times (three times as acceptable, once as unacceptable), all markings coming from non-native speakers. One informant (L2P44) suggested "his" thus adding gender to the dog to which the possessive pronoun refers.

might be sensible to consider the use of pronouns instead of NPs as a structure in future studies of international communication in English.

5.2 Noun Phrase

Noun phrase related features cover several areas, most prominent among them are features that relate to the use of plural and singular nouns and noun phrases and their verb agreement. Different mass, collective, and count noun distinctions are a further field of variation as is determiner usage. Noun phrase related features could be found in corpus based descriptions of ELF and occur in different varieties as will be shown by the examples given below. All three types of features mentioned so far have also been described as common learner errors. The first type of feature belongs to the area of determiner usage and is the unidiomatic use of articles. Articles, both definite and indefinite, are either used in learner language where they are not in StE, or they are omitted where they are required. Kortmann (2010: 408) states that the omission or addition of determiners occurs in more than 75% of all L2 varieties, but Scots English and non-standard varieties of British English also vary from the StE norms for determiner use (Kortmann 2008b: 488). Variation from the ENL norms is also observed in Black and Indian South African English, where they are neither pervasive nor rare, as well as in Indian English, where basically every variation of non-standard usage and omission of articles can be seen as pervasive (Mesthrie 2013a/b; Sailaja 2009: 52; Sharma 2013).

Three features related to number are the pluralization of non-count or mass nouns, the singularization of plural nouns, and the inflection of irregular plurals. The latter, e.g. "childrens, oxens, sheeps" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 48), is pervasive in Indian English and ISAE, as well as in AAVE (Mesthrie 2013b; Sharma 2013; Wolfram 2013a/b). In BSAE and Colloquial American English it is still reported to be "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" (Mesthrie 2013a; Simon 2013). In the British Isles, however, this form of deviation from StE norms is at best extremely rare (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 48). Singularization of plural nouns has been described as a typical learner error (Turton 1995: no. 529, 603)[10], in ELF (Mauranen 2010: 18), and in Cape Flats English. In her description of Cape Flats English, McCormick (2008) states that the singularization of plural nouns is met with determiner noun agreement, e.g. "*a jean* or *a pant*" (italics in original, p. 526) and thus connecting the number related feature directly to determiner usage. Unfortunately, eWAFE does not include this explic-

[10] Turton's (1995) collection of learner errors does not give page numbers, instead errors are enumerated.

itly as a feature (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013). What can be found are "[d]ifferent count/mass noun distinctions resulting in the use of plural for StE singular" (ibid.: feat. 55), i.e. practically speaking the opposite. Forms like "woods […] staffs […] advices" (ibid.) are pervasive in BSAE, ISAE, and Indian English but absent in WSAE (Bowerman 2013, Mesthrie 2013a/b, Sharma 2013). It is, however, absent in British English as well as in most regional varieties of American English (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 55); it is attested, although not as pervasive, in AAVE (Wolfram 2013a/b). Interestingly, considering the structure's pervasiveness in BSAE and ISAE, the formation of plurals due to non-standard count/mass noun distinctions is attested absent for Cape Flats English (Mesthrie/Bowerman/Toefy 2013). The singularization of plural nouns like *jeans* and *pants* and the agreement of the resulting countable nouns with determiners in Cape Flats English (McCormick 2008: 526), i.e. the English of the Colored population of the Cape Town area, shows how deviation from the native norms is nevertheless integrated in a consistent grammatical system and that structural similarity and similarity in the semantic effect are no indicator for the co-occurrence of particular non-standard structures in the same variety.

British and American English also vary in their count and mass noun distinction. This applies to the use of "[s]ingular count noun for plural" (Algeo 2006: 79ff.), "[p]lural for mass noun" (ibid.: 81f.), and "[m]ass noun for plural" (ibid.: 82f.). In most cases, however, this is a question of preference rather than exclusive usage. In the Cambridge International Corpus "accommodation" in singular form, for example, can be found 511.0 times in ten million words in British English and only 48.8 times in American English. The plural form "accommodations" occurs only 8.5 times per ten million words in British English, but 88.1 times in American English (Algeo 2006: 79). This is not where number related differences between the two major varieties of StE end. British English prefers plural modifiers, while American English prefers singular modifiers in compounds that are orthographically represented as separate words, e.g. *communications technology* vs. *communication technology* (Gramley/Pätzold 2004: 286f.). This point is also discussed with regard to learner language below. Collective nouns agree with singular verbs in American (as well as in Australian, and New Zealand English), "The class plays hockey," while they take plural verbs in British English, "*The class play hockey"* (Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 25, 31, 73). Turton (1995) uses the example sentence *"Examinations results are very important"* (no. 533.1) to illustrate the erroneous use of plural modifiers by language learners. He otherwise uses Standard British English as the reference to which he compares typical learner errors. This example shows that the use of plural modifiers is not a general feature of British English and that the use of singular or plural determiners also depends on the

individual word – "always use plural/singular modifiers" can thus not become a general rule, even if one of the major varieties of StE is used as a target of language learning (Gramley/ Pätzold 2004: 286f.). Turton (1995) underlines that "[a] collective noun (e.g. *crowd, family, team*) may often be used with either a singular verb or a plural verb" (italics in original, no. 147.1) depending on whether the noun refers to the group as a closed entity or to the individuals within the group. This refers to British English and Turton adds that "in American English, the verb after a collective noun is usually singular" (ibid.). A restrictive attitude, if assumed by teachers of English, may then also influence L2 learners' views on language correctness. Teachers and learners of British English might in some cases consider the use of plural verbs with collective nouns as wrong if they are influenced by American English, or, if influenced by British English, they might consider the use of singular verbs with collective nouns as non-standard.

As with other grammatical structures, standard or not, many occur in several varieties. In the context of this study, a preference was put on the inclusion of non-standard structures that are part of at least three varieties. This primarily applied to structures from the postcolonial varieties from South Africa and India, but occurrences in other World Englishes as well as varieties of British and American English have also been taken into account. Among the structures occurring in several varieties of English were the three ELF features and the different verb – collective noun relations in the Inner Circle varieties. The field of pluralization, plural and collective nouns, and alternative plural marking (inflectional and periphrastic) determines noun phrase variation with regard to number.

A notable difference between typical learner errors and frequently employed structure in ELF would indicate a remarkable shift from learner performance in the classroom, and later L2 usage by EFL speakers in ELF contexts. It is all the more surprising that among the twenty grammatical structures that are considered typical for learner language and were selected for this study, only six features have also been attested as frequent in ELF communication.[11] It must be said though that neither list, that of typical learner errors and that of frequent ELF structures, is comprehensive. Nevertheless, even if in reality there is a greater overlap of what is frequently considered a learner "error" and a "feature" of ELF, the two are most probably not identical. This is not least due to convention of and proficiency in the (technical) registers in which ELF communication takes place. Two features in which British and American English vary also occur in learner language, and eleven features occur exclusively in learner language. The latter is a sharp contrast to non-standard structures occurring in World Englishes and ENL dialects as the latter usually share non-standard structures with other varieties. The stand-alone use of nouns

[11] The originally compiled list of typical learner errors and features of learner English included 103 elements, including the six ELF structures that were also selected as primary structures for the sample text.

that only occur as part of partitive phrases in British English was attested for Indian English (Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 134), e.g. "*I'd like two toasts, please*" (italics in original, ibid.) instead of "pieces/slices of toast" (ibid.). According to Swan's (2001: 46) and my own observation, this phenomenon also occurs in the language of German learners of English, probably where the German equivalents are countable, as in the case of *Toast – Toasts* (defined as several slices of toasted white bread in Duden 2013, s.v. *Toast*). Variation in count and mass noun distinction is also often considered a learner error, although the apparently deviant form might be perfectly acceptable in one of the major native varieties (Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 73ff.; Turton 1995: no. 147.1). An example is *government*, which takes a plural verb in British and a singular verb in American English: "*The government have cut"* vs. "*The government has cut"* (italics in original, Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 75). Some nouns like *police*, however, agree with plural nouns in British as well as American English, e.g. "The police are […]." Trudgill and Hannah's (2008) explanation that the agreement depends on whether "[…] the group referred to by the noun is seen as acting as individuals or as a single unit" (p. 73) is certainly helpful, but the differences between the native varieties still pose a source of added difficulty for learners of English. Using collective or other uncountable nouns like *police* may also be difficult for language learners as it is possible to form sentences with determiners indicating plural, as in "*Several police were injured during the rioting"* (LDOCE 2014). The use of determiners indicating singular, however, is considered incorrect as the usage comment in the LDOCE (2014, s.v. *police*) shows: "!**Police** is a plural noun. Do not say 'a police'. Say a **police officer**" (emphasis in the original). This is different from nouns that have the same plural and singular forms, for example *sheep* and *fish*, which can take either form of determiner. "Several sheep escaped the pen" and "A sheep escaped the pen" are both grammatical. On the other hand, *police* is not an uncountable mass noun, as these do not take either form of determiner. *"Several salt fell on the floor" is not grammatical, while "Several police fell on the floor" is. The differences in the count/mass noun distinction between the target varieties of ELT can also have an impact on the learners' attitudes towards language correctness. Learners of British English might find the American collective noun - singular verb agreement unacceptable and vice versa.

5.3 Verb Phrase: Tense, Aspect, and Voice

Twenty-nine to thirty-one different features related to tense, aspect, and voice could be found in studies on ELF, learner language, and the other varieties included in this study. Aspect seems to be the grammatical concept that varies most between the varieties, especially compared to tense and voice. The leveling of the distinction between perfect aspect and simple forms that are unmarked for aspect is a non-standard feature of a range of varieties, as is the distinction between progressive and simple forms (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 88, 89, 99, 100). Descriptions of ELF show that the progressive aspect is used where StE would have either the simple form or the perfect aspect. Wider uses of the progressive have been observed in ELF (Mauranen 2010: 180; Ranta 2006) and also in non-standard varieties of British English (Kortmann 2008b: 479; Gachelin 1997: 34ff., 43f.) and Outer Circle ESL varieties of English (Kortmann 2010: 408). The more general observation of non-standard uses of the progressive aspect can be further specified. Ranta (2006) used ELFA data to describe a couple of uses of the progressive form in ELF that differ from those in the standard ENL varieties. In ELF the progressive might, for example, be used to refer to "points in time"(ibid.: 109), thus taking the function of simple past or simple present. This use of the progressive could not be found in other ESL or ENL varieties included in this study.

The use of the progressive with habitual action and with state verbs (Ranta 2006: 106ff.), on the other hand, can be found in a great number of varieties. Especially the combination of progressive aspect and state verbs is a widespread pervasive features of several ESL and ENL varieties, including for example BSAE, Indian English, and several varieties in the British Isles (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 88; Mesthrie 2013; Sailaja 2009: 49). Among other forms of non-standard usage, which may differ depending on the learners' first languages, the use of the progressive with habituals and state verbs has also been observed in learner language (Shepherd 2001: 119; Turton 1995: no. 627; Walter 2001: 59), but also a larger number of ENL and ESL varieties (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 89).

A comparison of her ELFA data to the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE) allowed Ranta (2006: 107) to show that although rare, the use of the progressive with state verbs could also be found in academic American English. In American English these uses of the progressive form are rare, but not altogether unknown. Use of the progressive with habituals was even rarer (Ranta 2006: 108). Simon (2013) found the use of progressive forms with statives to be "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" and the combination of progressives and habitual actions absent in Colloquial American English. This corroborates Ranta's (2006) find-

ings, especially if a more formal register is expected in the context of academia. The use of the progressive with state verbs is likely to be a familiar non-standard language feature, or (performance) error, for speakers of American English. In the British Isles the use of the progressive with state verbs is also attested as relatively frequent or even pervasive in more varieties than the combination of progressive aspect and habitual action (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 88, 89). These non-standard uses of the progressive aspect can thus not be considered distinctive or exclusive features of learner language or ELF.

Future time, tense, and passive voice seem to be less affected by variational differences than aspect. American English, at least in its more colloquial forms, allows for the use of the past tense in some cases in which British English only admits the present perfect, for example with recently completed events and the adverbs *still* and *yet* (Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 72, 78; Turton 1995: no. 583.1, 583.2). A leveling of the past tense - present perfect distinction has also been described for Scottish and varieties from the south-west of Britain (Kortmann 2008b: 479). While the use of past tense instead of StE present perfect is pervasive in ISAE and a frequent though not pervasive feature of BSAE, the use of present perfect instead of StE past tense is rare in both BSAE and ISAE (Mesthrie 2013a/b, Bowerman 2013). WSAE, allegedly the most prestigious of the three major South African varieties at least in its more elaborated registers, however has both forms of leveling, present perfect for past tense and vice versa, as features that are rated "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" (Bowerman 2013). It may be assumed that non-standard usage is primarily associated with broader registers, while it is rare in the BrE oriented elaborated registers. In Indian English the situation is reversed. Here the use of present perfect instead of StE past tense is considered pervasive, while the use of past tense instead of present perfect is attested absent (Sharma 2013; Sailaja 2009: 50). Both forms of leveling are considered common grammatical learner errors (Turton 1995: no. 583, 617). Swan (2001: 42) mentions the use of simple present tense instead of present perfect as common in German learner language. The reason given for this, however, is language transfer rather than the deletion of the auxiliary. Similar observations could be found in the learner language of speakers of other first languages; e.g. Italian, Spanish, and French (Duguid 2001: 80; Coe 2001: 102; Walter 2001: 58f.).

5.4 Verb Phrase: Modal Verbs and Auxiliaries

The use of auxiliaries and the English tense and aspect system are not independent of each other. One example would be that language learners often do not shift tense in reported speech (Duguid 2001: 82; Smith 2001: 202; Swan 2001: 42; Turton 1995: no. 391). Tense shifts are not only obligatory in reported speech in Standard English, but also in unreal conditional sentences. In several varieties tense shift in unreal conditionals is replaced by constructions employing the modal *would*, e.g. "If the government would do something about it, NGOs would not have to take over" (my example). This structure also occurs in ELF (Mauranen 2010: 18; Ranta 2009: 94f.) as well as in several other varieties and, perhaps most importantly due to its role as a target variety in second language learning, also in American English (Ranta 2009: 94f.; Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 63; Gramley/Pätzold 2004: 282).[12] Interestingly, the number of ESL and ENL varieties in which the use of *would* in if-clauses instead of tense shift is attested as pervasive or at least relatively frequent is small with only two indigenized L2 varieties but also in two high-contact L1 varieties and two traditional L1 varieties (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: 120). Still, tense shift as opposed to the non-standard use of *would* in if-clauses seems to bear a comparatively high probability for variation, especially due to its attestation in ELF as well as learner language (Monk/Burak 2001: 153; Swan 2001: 42; Turton 1995: no. 163.6). Other fields of variation in which the use of modal verbs and auxiliaries play a role are the inflection of main verbs after modals (Turton 1995: no. 495.1), e.g. "An elephant can washes itself with its trunk" (ibid.). Coe (2001: 101) and Duguid (2001: 81) also report the inflection of the modal verb before the main verb in the English of Spanish and Italian learners, "**She musts come soon*" (Duguid 2001: 81).

Turton (1995: no. 234.3) further mentions one regular feature of learner language that is related to auxiliary use. Second language learners of English not only use *don't* for negations, but use *do* also in positive clauses without the intention of creating additional emphasis, e.g. "Some of my friends do say that I spoil my children" (ibid.). This structure could be seen as related to use of *do* as a habitual marker in some native varieties (Kortmann 2008b: 480), as in "I do believe it's true" (my example).

[12] Simon (2013) does not provide information on the occurrence of this feature in Colloquial American English.

5.5 Verb Phrase: Verb Morphology

The major question concerning verb morphology in a study involving non-native speakers and learners of English is whether irregular verb forms are to be included or not. They are obviously part of the field of morphology, but they pose exceptions from the grammatical rule. As an effect they have to be learned as lexical items rather than an abstract and transferable grammatical structure. Overextension of morphological processes, especially past tense formation, does not reflect the learner's understanding of the morphological processes themselves. Instances of inflecting strong verbs may be performance errors or a lack of familiarity with the individual verb and could be considered a special type of lexical gap. As for this study, a focus on the structural constituents of acceptable international English use seems more sensible. This includes irregular past tense and participle forms indirectly, since there is a tendency towards regularization in ELF (Mauranen 2010: 18). Apart from this tendency, verb morphology seems to be astonishingly unexceptional, probably due to the restricted number of inflections left in Modern English.

A possible problem here could be that ELF corpora so far have consisted of examples of spoken ELF. For instance, the learner language phenomenon of non-standard apostrophes in combination with the possessive {S} morpheme, e.g. *"The Jone's dog" or *"The Jones's dog" instead of "The Jones' dog" (my example), could not be attested in ELF based studies coming from corpora of spoken ELF, such as VOICE and ELFA. Similar problems could arise from the use of the third person singular -s, where also some forms of deviation from the ENL norms are attested for learner language. Some of these forms of variation can only be observed in writing, since their phonological representation might be indistinguishable from the ENL standard; e.g. a student may say /ti:tʃɪz/, but write <teachs> dropping the <e> between the homorganic fricatives. If this is the case, it could be explained by the phonetic difficulty to realize the final consonant cluster [ti:tʃz]. These forms of non-standard usage would, however, belong in category 14) Orthography rather than that of VP morphology.

Among others, two morphological structures distinguish ELF usage from the ENL standard varieties. Both of them also occur, except from ELF, in at least two other varieties and these varieties are in both cases the established standard varieties of British and American English. The first feature is regularization of irregular past tense forms (Mauranen 2010: 18), a phenomenon that also affects the two dominating ENL varieties. Trudgill/Hannah (2008: 60) and Gramley/Pätzold (2004: 283f.) describe some cases in which American English tends to have

regular past tense forms of verbs that are irregular in British English.[13] One is the voicing of the final alveolar plosive, as in <burnt> /bərnt/ (BrE) vs. <burned> /bərnd/ (AmE) (Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 60). The other area where American English tends to use regular rather than irregular past tense forms are verbs which have past tense forms that have an unstressed /ə/ instead of the long /i:/, e.g. <dreamed> /dri:md/ (AmE) vs. <dreamt> /drəmt/ (BrE) (ibid.). However, there are also examples for verbs that are irregular in American English but regular in British English, e.g. <dove> (AmE) vs. <dived> (BrE) (ibid.). The conclusion can only be that the different varieties of English have their own sets of regular and irregular verbs. In ELF this set assumingly is highly unstable, since the different L1s and speaker biographies influence the individual lexicon of irregular verb forms. There might thus be a general tendency that ELF has fewer irregular verb forms than Inner and Outer Circle varieties of English. In other words, there might be a general tendency towards regularization in ELF as observed for past tense forms by Mauranen (2010: 18).

A second feature in which ELF, British, and American verb morphology vary is derivation. Certain morphemes are more productive in either of the major varieties, e.g. <candidature> (BrE) vs. <candidacy> (AmE) (Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 73). ELF also uses some morphemes to create forms that are uncommon in either of the native varieties, e.g. <youngness> or <maximalise> (Mauranen 2010: 18). Interesting about these examples is that the former seems to be the product of overextension of the productivity of the suffix <-ness>, while the latter might be influenced by the speaker's L1. The question is whether the differences between the different lexicons of the StE varieties lead to a greater tolerance towards unestablished forms in international communication or if speakers and learners of these varieties regard the forms associated with the other variety as forms of deviation from correct English usage. Mauranen (2010: 18) observed alternative forms as the result of derivational processes in ELF, these forms varied from both major varieties of StE.

Finally, the third person singular -s has to be mentioned. Although arguably the most prominent non-standard structure related to verbal morphology, its deletion will be included in category 8) Agreement. Its omission is considered a classic learner error (Turton 1995: no. 620.1) and also a feature of ELF (Seidlhofer 2004: 220; Breiteneder 2009; Mauranen 2010: 18). In fact, several informants mentioned that they were explicitly looking for this one structure when reading the sample text. However, invariant present tense forms and the deletion of the third person singular -s are not restricted to ELF communication and learner errors. It is perva-

[13] Trudgill and Hannah (2008) use the term English English, which seems sensible due to the distinctiveness of Scottish and Welsh English. However, since British English is the more widespread term and as there is vast variation within England as well, I will stick to British English.

sive, for example, in East Anglian English (Trudgill 2013), fairly frequent in ISAE (Mesthrie 2013b), and frequent or pervasive in AAVE (Wolfram 2013a/b) as well as in a range of other varieties (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 170). Variation in the use of the third person singular -s is not restricted to deletion, there are also other forms of non-standard usage connected to the {S} morpheme in verbs. Some learners add the third person singular -s invariably to the verb's root or simple form, as in **"He teachs"* and **"She trys"* (Turton 1995: no. 620.2). This could also go into the orthography category (14).

5.6 Adverbs

The use of adverbs, similar to the use of other morphosyntactic features mentioned here, is best described as determined by different preferences in the individual varieties of English. One relevant form of variation in this category concerns the distinction of adverbs and adjectives, or rather lack of distinction between the two. In learner language, especially where adjective and adverb forms are homoform with at least some adverbs, this may lead to the use of the adjective as adverbs. This is, for example, the case with German learners and adverbs of manner, e.g. *good*, *terrible* (Swan 2001: 46). Distinctive uses of adverbs in ELF have not been documented as general and exclusive phenomena in ELF so far. The absence of adverb - adjective distinction as a structure, performance, or systematic error occurs in all three varieties of South African English, learner language, and in Non-Standard British as well as Non-Standard American English (Bowerman 2013; Gramley/Pätzold 2004: 289; Kortmann 2008b: 489; Mesthrie 2013a/b; Simon 2013; Turton 1995: no. 18).

5.7 Negation

Although variation in the area of negation is manifold, corpus based ELF research has not identified features that are prominent due to their increased frequency. Among the non-standard features associated with ENL and ESL varieties, multiple negation or negative concord is probably one of the more frequently discussed ones. Negative concord occurs in regional and social varieties of English worldwide, including the British Isles and Northern America (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 154). It is fairly frequent in Colloquial American English (Simon 2013) and pervasive in AAVE (Gramley/ Pätzold 2004: 264; Wolfram 2013a/b). On the

other side of the Atlantic, in the British Isles, negative concord can be found as a pervasive feature of dialects in the Southwest and East Anglian English as well as on the Isle of Man (Draskau 2013; Trudgill 2013; Wagner 2013) In BSAE and ISAE it is fairly frequent (Mesthrie 2013a/b) while it is rare in Indian English (Sharma 2013) and absent in WSAE (Bowerman 2013). Negative concord can also be found in learner language (Turton 1995: no. 512.7, 512.8) where it can be traced to L1 transfer in some cases (Duguid 2001: 79). Double negatives can either be observed as obligatory (Coe 2001: 100) or as absent in descriptions of the learner English of a group of speakers sharing the same L1 (e.g. German, cf. Swan 2001: 41). Thus, double and multiple negation can be expected to occur in international communication although not necessarily in the language of speakers from every language background, whether they are ENL, ESL, or EFL speakers. Other forms of non-standard negation, such as *ain't* (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feats. 155-157) or *never* as a past tense negator (ibid.: feat 159), are not primarily associated with learner language and ESL varieties. Rather, they occur as pervasive features in traditional and high-contact varieties of ENL as well as in creoles. Learner errors, for example splitting to-infinitives with *not* (Turton 1995: no. 512.4), on the other hand, rather belong to the word order category (11).

5.8 Agreement

Agreement or the lack thereof affects noun as well as verb phrases. An example of lack of tense agreement in learner language is the switching between present perfect and simple past in the same text and with reference to the same time as a result of leveled distinction (cf. chapter 5.3, p. 56). In the description of the different varieties, however, tense dis-/agreement is not mentioned as a category of its own. Other forms are subject-verb agreement, which are primarily represented by the omission of the third person singular -s in English. The latter obviously also affects verbal morphology (and has thus been mentioned in chapter 5.5, p. 59f.), but will be included in this category – as it is in eWAFE (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 170). The reason for treating the omission of the 3rd person singular -s as part of the agreement category is that possible effects on intelligibility are to be expected with regard to the interlocutors' ability to identify the verb's subject – especially since the morpheme does not carry further grammatical or lexical information.

Several features relate to question and answer tags. Their relevance for formal written communication is limited since they are usually a feature of spoken language. Thus it might be

their existence rather than deviation in form (from ENL standards) that affects the perception of written texts in EIL. Non-standard question tags are widespread in ENL as well as ESL (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feats. 164-167). In the standard ENL varieties question tags are marked by reversed polarity to the sentence they complement. This results in a quasi inverse agreement between tag and main clause. The tag has to have a different polarity to agree with the main clause. Another possibility is the use of invariant tags such as *isn't it?* in Indian English (Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 138) or *huh?* in American English (Algeo 2006: 208f.) and alternative forms such as *"isn't it?* or *no?* instead of *shouldn't they?*" (Seidlhofer 2004: 200), which are also mentioned as ELF features (ibid.). The exact form of variation is twofold: either there is no reversed polarity, or a particular question tag is used invariantly. The wide range of tags used in the different varieties further multiplies the possible realizations of this feature.

Three agreement structures were identified that are typical for ELF communication. All of them also occur in several other varieties of English. The first feature is the use of presentational "*There's"* as in "*There is no columns."* This feature also occurs in Non-Standard British English as well as in American English (Kortmann 2010: 417; Ranta 2009: 97ff.). Ranta (ibid.) in her comparison of ELFA and MICASE data even found that this is more common in the *Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English* than in the corpus of *English as a Lingua Franca in Academia.* Since these corpora describe the use of English in academic settings, this feature, although non-standard, can hardly be described as carrying low social prestige. Presentational "there's" can also be found in Black and Indian South African English, as well as African American Vernacular English (Mesthrie 2013a/b; Wolfram 2013a/b).

Number disagreement between verb and subject or pronoun and antecedent occur in learner language, but is also part of other varieties, as for example Philippine English (Bautista/Gonzalez 2009: 136). Different count - non-count, collective, and mass noun distinctions across the varieties of English have been mentioned in the noun-phrase section above. This has an immediate effect on verb agreement since some of the nouns take plural verbs in one variety and singular verbs in another. In some sentences this also affects pronoun agreement: *"The jewelry was given to Mary, who sold them for $6,000"* (Turton 1995: no. 42.2).Here the plural pronoun is used although the verb in the main clause is singular. This structure is only reported as a feature of learner language. The question is whether such inconsistency is systematic or, which appears more likely, this is a typical case of performance error.

5.9 Relativization

Seidlhofer (2004: 220) mentioned the use of *which* instead of native StE *who* as a form of non-standard relativization in ELF. As *who* is primarily used for personal reference, this, hypothetically, could be perceived as a leveling of the distinction between persons and objects and thus elicit negative reactions. Disagreement, rejection, and unacceptability could be the result. Coe (2001: 107) and Shepherd (2001: 121) point out that language transfer is the reason for the occurrence of this structure in the English of speakers of Spanish and Portuguese as the latter languages do not distinguish "between personal and non-personal relative pronouns" (ibid.). This structure was neither found in descriptions of ENL and ESL varieties primarily used as sources of non-standard variants for this study nor in the descriptions of typical learner errors. Neither is the use of "[w]hich for 'who'" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 186) attested as a pervasive structure of any of the varieties included in eWAFE. It is, however, described as "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" (ibid.) for four varieties, including Colloquial American English (Simon 2013). In the British Isles the structure is attested "extremely rare" or absent (Kortmann/ Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 186). The same applies to the Outer Circle varieties included in this study. *Which* for *who* is absent in Indian English (Sharma 2013) and WSAE (Bowerman 2013), and rare in both BSAE and ISAE (Mesthrie 2013a/b).

As for the structure's frequency in Colloquial American, it should be noted that although international communication probably is formal in most cases, the possibility that informal, colloquial forms find their way into international written English cannot be excluded. This applies to native speakers of American English as well as to learners who could either acquire the forms from inattentive or inconsiderate teacher usage, from watching American movies or reading texts containing colloquial forms of American English such as novels, blogs, etc. British and American English pronoun usage is usually characterized by different preferences, rather than ungrammaticality.

Analog to the exchange of *which* for *who*, the use of *what* could be found. Contrary to *which* for *who*, this is reported to be "much preferred over the use of relative (*wh*-) pronouns […] everywhere in the British Isles except in the northern varieties […]" (italics in original, Kortmann 2008b: 484). Assessments in eWAFE provide a differentiated account of the structure's use in the British Isles. It is identified as pervasive only in East Anglian English (Trudgill 2013) and as "neither pervasive nor rare" in Welsh English and dialects in the North as well as the Southeast (Anderwald 2013; Penhallurick 2013; Trousdale 2013). In four other varieties of British English the structure is rare, otherwise absent (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 190).

In contrast to *which* for *who* the non-standard use of *what* occurs in varieties of American as well as British English. Simon (2013) reports that the use of *what* as a pronoun in relative clauses is also fairly frequent in Colloquial American English. As for learner language, Swan (2001: 47) reports the use of *what* instead of *that* and *which* as a transfer error in the English of German learners. Walter (2001: 67f.) found the same in the English of French learners of English. Russian speakers may use *what* for *that* and also *which* for *who* (Monk/Burak 2001: 157).

Finally, and although this mainly affects punctuation as a subcategory of orthography, the distinction of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses should also be mentioned here. Some learners, e.g. German learners of English (Swan 2001: 40), might put restrictive relative clauses in commas as a result of language transfer.

5.10 Complementation

Variation in the field of complementation affects transitive and ditransitive verbs, object word order, object dropping, verb complementation with gerunds and to-infinitives, and copula dropping. Seidlhofer (2004: 220) found that in ELF *that*-clauses are preferred to complementation with to-infinitives, as in, for example, "I want that I finish school this year" instead of "I want to finish school this year" (my example). The same preference is reported for Indian English (Sailaja 2009: 46). Indian English also shares another feature belonging to this category with ELF, the insertion of additional prepositional complements (Mukherjee 2010: 176; Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 135) as in "*We have to study about*..." (italics in original, Seidlhofer 2004: 220). The use of what could be called "intrusive" additional prepositional complements is also considered a common learner error (Turton 1995: no. 841.1) and could not be found in descriptions of the native varieties, although differences in lexicon may mean that some verbs take prepositional complements in individual varieties but not in others.

Two further structures affect transitive and ditransitive verbs, the first being pro-drop. While subject pronouns may be dropped as well, the focus in this study will be on the dropping of object pronouns. Object pro-drop forms sentences that are characterized by the detransitivization of a transitive verb as much as by the zero realization of the pronoun. Object pronoun dropping is pervasive in Indian English (Bhatt 2008: 556ff.; Sharma 2013) and fairly frequent in WSAE (Bowerman 2013). In BSAE and ISAE it is rare (Mesthrie 2013a/b) and in Britain and North America attested as largely absent (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 42). Object

pro-drop can also be found in learner language, for example in the English of Italian and Portuguese learners (Duguid 2001: 82; Shepherd 2001: 124). Bowerman (2008: 472) reports that the dropping of verbal complements is a feature of WSAE, detransitivization may thus not be restricted to pro-drop but also include noun phrases and nominals. It is to be assumed, however, that the complements are implicit and understood from context, whether they are pronouns or nouns. Otherwise there would have to be a difference in lexicon with the verb having a different meaning and being intransitive, possibly in homonymy with the transitive verb (i.e. the transitive verb may not be replaced in the learner's mental lexicon, but the intransitive verb added).

The second feature related to transitivity affects ditransitive verbs and is the inversion of direct and indirect objects. Usually, sentences with a ditransitive verb have an SVO_iO_D order with the indirect object placed between verb and direct object. It is generally possible to paraphrase indirect objects with a prepositional phrase, usually with the prepositions *to* and *for* (Greenbaum 1996: 64f.). In the following example *Sarah* is the indirect object and *the toy* the direct object, "My nephew showed Sarah the toy" (my example). If the sentence is paraphrased and the indirect object is introduced with *to*, it becomes "My nephew showed the toy to Sarah." Thus, the indirect object can, in principle, also appear after the direct object if it is introduced by a preposition. Placing an indirect object that is introduced by a preposition between verb and direct object, however, is ungrammatical in StE, "*My nephew showed to Sarah the toy." Inversion of direct and indirect object thus depends on using an intrusive preposition or the zero realization of a preposition, "*My nephew showed **to** Sarah the toy" or "*My nephew showed the toy **Ø** Sarah." Inversion of direct and indirect object or "[e]ither order of objects in double object constructions" (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 232) occurs in ESL as well as ENL varieties, although it seems to be most prevalent in the British Isles (ibid.). The exact form, however may vary and may be subject to certain restrictions. For its occurrences in northern dialects of British English both objects have to be pronominal (Kortmann 2008b: 489f.). Sentences can be realized as "*He couldn't give him it; I tan* ['took'] *it her back*" (italics in original, ibid.). In cases where only one object is a pronoun, the pronoun precedes the other (NP) object, "*Open me t'door*" (ibid.). The latter example, however, represents the structure also codified for StE (cf. Greenbaum 1996: 64f.). McCormick (2008) states the following about Cape Flats English:

> The direct object may follow the indirect object if the latter consists of a preposition and a pronoun. This is the normal word order in Afrikaans:
>
> (52) *I was speaking **to her** English.*
>
> (53) *He explained **to me** a lot of things.*
>
> (italics and emphasis in original, McCormick 2008: 527f.)

These are examples of moving the direct object between verb and indirect object despite its being introduced by a preposition. The difference is the restriction to pronouns. Another relevant aspect of McCormick's observation is the reference to Afrikaans word order. This is a reference to language transfer and the structure might thus also occur in the learner language of speakers of other languages that have a similar structure for ditransitive verbs as Afrikaans. This is, for example, possible in Spanish and Catalan, where it may also occur with nominal, instead of pronominal, objects (Coe 2001: 99). Forms of inversion of direct and indirect objects after ditransitive verbs occur in ENL, ESL, and EFL and should thus also be expected in international communication in English although they have not been attested as a characteristic feature of ELF communication so far.

5.11 Discourse Organization and Word Order

The previously discussed order of direct and indirect objects of ditransitive verbs could obviously go into this category as well and Kortmann (2008b: 489f.) and McCormick (2008: 527f.) actually put it here. As the structure affects the complementation of the ditransitive verb, it is put into the complementation category in this study. On the sentential level the use of direct question word order in indirect speech is another structure that affects word order, e.g. "Henry asked **said she** ten a.m." (my example). Inverted subject verb order in embedded or reported questions is regarded as a common learner error (Turton 1995: no. 389.1) and occurs in ESL, for example Indian English (Bhatt 2008: 551; Sailaja 2009: 57) as well as ENL varieties, for example in Britain, where it is fairly frequent in Welsh English as well as in dialects in the North and Southwest (Penhallurick 2013; Trousdale 2013; Wagner 2013). It is, however, only categorized as "pervasive or obligatory" for Irish English (Filppula 2013) but for none of the varieties spoken in Great Britain (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 227). It thus seems questionable whether this form of variation is one of "the two most pervasive features in the British Isles" (Kortmann 2008b: 485). However, it is pervasive in Colloquial American English (Simon 2013) and frequent to pervasive in AAVE depending on rural or urban usage (Wolfram 2013a/b). The structure has also been attested in ELF communication involving non-native speakers (Ranta 2009: 99ff.). Ranta's comparison between ELFA and MICASE data showed that this also occurs in identical form in academic American English, but is rare there. This supports the assumption that structures which are generally associated with informal registers, in this case

Colloquial American English (Simon 2013), occasionally slip into more formal communication, here academic English as recorded in MICASE.

The second form of variation in conditional clauses is, due to language transfer, frequent in German learner English (Swan 2001: 42). It has been mentioned in chapter 5.4 (p. 57) and is considered a non-standard phenomenon of modal auxiliary usage, although discourse organization and word order are also affected. Instead of tense shift, *would* is used after *if* in unreal conditionals, e.g. "If I would have a lot of money, I would buy my parents a house"(Turton 1995: no. 163.4). Related forms of variation involve using structures other than modal verb + bare infinitive in the main clause after unreal conditionals (ibid.: no. 163.5). German learners, for example, might use different tenses due to the (phonological) similarity of German subjunctive and English past tense forms, e.g.

> **If she had more time, she came more often.*
> *If I had known, I had told you.*
>
> (italics in original, Swan 2001: 43)

5.12 Prepositions

This category has been added to Kortmann's (2008a) list. Many forms of variation involving prepositions have been mentioned above in the context of complementation of ditransitive verbs. Especially in the domain of typical learner errors in the English (Swan/Smith 2001), some structures are described explicitly with respect to the use of prepositions and thus it seemed sensible to regard them separately. Inclusion into one of the other categories would also have been possible.

Two non-standard usages of prepositions could be identified in ELF corpora. Additional (intrusive) and alternative prepositions have been attested by Seidlhofer (2004: 220) and Mauranen (2010: 18). The adding of prepositions turns simple into phrasal verbs, e.g. *"We have to study about […]"* (italics in original, Seidlhofer 2004: 220). Using alternative prepositions, i.e. prepositions other than those commonly used in StE, after phrasal verbs could be regarded as a lexical variation or variation in complementation. Prepositions seem to be affected to a greater extent though, especially where collocations between verb and preposition are different from that in learners' first languages (Swan 2001: 47; Walter 2001: 68f.) or where their meaning is opaque for learners of English as a second language (Duguid 2001: 87).

5.13 Comparison, Intensification, and Emphasis

Corpus based ELF research so far has not focused on characteristic forms of comparison. Neither have different comparative structures been observed in Standard American and British English. In learner language (Turton 1995: no. 15) as well as in a number of varieties non-standard forms of comparison can be found though. Double comparatives and superlatives formed by combining periphrastic and inflectional comparison occur in learner language as well as ENL and ESL varieties a e.g. "*That's the most easiest course I've ever done*" (italics in original, Bowerman 2008: 480). This form of variation is pervasive in East Anglian English as well as AAVE and fairly frequent in numerous varieties of British English as well as Colloquial American English, Indian English, and all three major varieties of South African English (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 78).

5.14 Orthography

Orthography can be divided into spelling and punctuation. Both have been included although variation in spelling is in most cases a matter of lexical rather than morphological variation. The points mentioned here might affect correctness and acceptability of orthographical variation in written lingua franca communication. Three features come from Kretschmar's (2010) comparison of American and British orthography and could also affect the perception and attitude in terms of perceived correctness of learners and speakers of those and other varieties. Two characteristic features of learner language are confusion of homophones in writing and the use of commas with all subordinate clauses, explicitly restrictive relative clauses (Swan 2001: 40; Turton 1995: no. 786.1; own observation in German learner English). In all cases, the use or omission of commas may be considered correct or incorrect, depending on the reader's internal representation of the English grammar. Possible variation in comma usage may, for example, occur in defining and non-defining relative clauses, the use of serial commas, dependent subordinate clauses, coordinate independent clauses, and with sentence adverbials and adjuncts (Greenbaum 1996: 529ff.). Descriptions of specific comma usages in regional or social varieties in English are rare, because this only affects written language, which is usually StE and as such close to the two major standard varieties (Standard American and Standard British English).

Kretschmar's three central points can be summed up briefly. Polysyllabic nouns that end in <-our> in British English end in <-or> in American English, e.g. *neighbour* vs. *neighbor*.

Nouns ending in <-re> in British English end in <-er> in American English, e.g. *centre* vs. *center*, and nouns ending in <-que> in British English take the ending <-k> or <-ck>, e.g. *cheque* vs. *check* (Kretschmar 2010: 106). Further differences include the double consonants before some suffixes and in nouns derived from verbs, e.g. *levels, leveled, leveling* (AmE) vs. *levels, levelled, levelling* (BrE).[14]Another feature is the use of homophones as homonyms in writing, e.g. *there* for *their or they're*, *two* for *too*, etc. This feature could be observed in German learner language, as a performance error even on very high proficiency levels (own observation), and is also described in Turton's description of typical learner errors (Turton 1995: no. 784, 786.1). However, the same structure seems to be relatively frequent in, for examples, online comments (Facebook, Youtube, etc.) and discussion board contributions written by people who apparently are native speakers. Whether this can be explained in terms of distinctive features of this domain of communication, performance errors, or systematic errors in the speakers' language, cannot be analyzed here.

5.15 Style

The category of style was introduced to account for forms that appear unacceptable to the participants in international communication but cannot be connected to a particular form or structure of grammatical variation. On the side of lexical variation, there is an overlap with register and degrees of formality, but style also accounts for word choices that may be unidiomatic or peculiar – or at least appear so to the reader. With reference to James' (1998: 64ff.) categories, this affects acceptability and possibly correctness. Correctness is only affected if the reader actually considers the structure or form as incorrect in terms of grammar rather than "just" peculiar in terms of language use.

Forms like "*The milk turned *rotten* or *A *flock of elephants*" (James 1998: 66) would be, although rare and extraordinary in terms of collocation, primarily be instances of potentially unacceptable language. Whether or not the forms are perceived as unacceptable also depends on context and the pragmatics of the conversation (ibid.). What is acceptable in ELF communication may also be different from communication within individual speech communities of English, which could be referred to as *monovariational communication*. Björkman's (2011) study of "Pragmatic strategies in English as an academic lingua franca" suggests that ELF communication may indeed tolerate variation in lexical choice. The low number of explicit com-

[14] "Nouns derived from verbs" refers mainly to lexicalized gerunds that appear in dictionaries as headwords and are thus codified, *levelling*, for example, appears as an inflected form of the verb *level* and as a noun in the OED.

ments on terms and concepts suggests that the need to clarify individual expressions in order to establish understanding is limited in academic ELF (Björkman 2011: 953f.). Nevertheless, it is possible that forms are tolerated if they do not impede understanding but still considered unacceptable. Differences between spoken and written communication may also play a role. Björkman's study is based on spoken ELF communication in academia (which possibly increases the likelihood of unidiomatic use of lexical items due to their complexity) and it is possible that forms tolerated in oral communication, e.g. in study groups or lectures, may be rejected as unacceptable in written form, e.g. in papers and articles.

6 Research Instrument

In order to investigate what ELF users considered correct and acceptable in written communication, a combined grammaticality elicitation and attitude assessment task was used. The research instrument used for this purpose was a text containing selected non-standard structures from the categories introduced in chapters 4 and 5. The informants read this text and marked what they considered non-standard English or errors. At the same time, by color-coding, they indicated whether they considered the passages which they had marked acceptable or unacceptable. Thus marking structures in the aforementioned text combined grammatical judgment and language attitude assessment. The data thus elicited were complemented by a short questionnaire eliciting biographical information necessary for a description of the participant group. Here, the emphasis was put on the informants' language and professional background and the frequency with which they used English.

6.1 Sample Text – Grammaticality and Language Attitude

Before the actual study was launched, a pilot study had been conducted. As in the later, more comprehensive study, native and non-native speakers, teachers and common speakers – that is speakers without a background in English language teaching – of English participated in the pilot. However, some modifications of the approach taken in the pilot proved to be necessary. In the pilot, the modified beginning of the novel *The Private Patient* by P.D. James (2009) had been used. For two reasons it became obvious that a different type of text would be more appropriate. On the one hand, novels and other works of fiction are heavily marked by the author's idiosyncratic style and potentially aesthetically modified language. This idiosyncratic style seemed to interfere with the study's aim. Some of the stylistic devices used by the author were or could be perceived as non-standard due to their low frequency in non-literary contexts. In some cases the choice of expression seemed to have been guided by aesthetic and expressive considerations rather than language norms. In these cases the author's language may indeed be generally ungrammatical and non-standard. Unfortunately, the field of idiosyncratic language in prose fiction and its effect on grammaticality as a general phenomenon has been neglected so far and no further elaboration on the subject is possible here. If prose fiction is considered a register, although a largely inhomogeneous one, structures that are rare and even non-standard in General

English can be understood as acceptable within this register.[15] However, these structures remain non-standard in General English, including learner varieties, and thus do not fulfill the criteria used for the selection of features for this study, which was guided by frequency in learner language, attestation in corpus-based ELF research, and occurrence in a number of native and non-native varieties of English.

The beginning of a novel, although often internationally perceived, is not one of the primary types of written international communication. While the reader's reaction to a novel may be described in terms of a communicational process, it rarely involves the exchange of arguments or, on the author's side, the explicit elicitation of action by the reader that directly affects the author, as for example in contracts and other forms of business communication. The novel itself sets a very specific context in which non-standard language usage due to idiosyncratic, artistic, or poetic aspects may be tolerated or even be expected. In international, often formal or professional, communication the opposite is the case. Here adherence to language norms may be important in terms of accuracy, the avoidance of ambiguity, and in terms of face saving.

For these reasons it seemed sensible to use a more common form of international communication and use a text characterized by this communicational context and typical registers. The choice fell on an email written by a student addressing a professor with whom the student had taken a class. This seemed convenient as a considerable number of informants were expected to be found in the context of academia and could thus be assumed to be familiar with this kind of communication. The fictional name and the composition of text, including various non-standard forms from native but also non-native varieties and learner language, marked the author as a non-native speaker partaking in international communication. Although an English name was given to the professor in the address, the informants were told that they should consider themselves the addressee of the email. This was done to encourage the informants to rely on their own language attitudes rather than assume what they expected to be the fictional professor's attitude. Also, there were no restrictions as to how much time the informants could take reading the text. Multiple reading was also possible, as it generally is in written communication.

The fictive author of the email is not a student of English. This information was also given to the informants, since this could potentially have an impact on their evaluation of the language used in the email. Had the student been a student of the English language, focus on form would be of greater importance and the reader could be assumed to take on the role of a language teacher together with that of the professor. As the conversation does not take place in

[15] An extreme example would be Booker Prize winner Cormac McCarthy, who employs non-standard structures to represent colloquial language use and slang in the American West and largely forgoes punctuation (e.g. *Blood Meridian* (1992), *No Country for Old Men* (2006)).

the context of English language studies, the communication between student and professor is marked by the exchange of information, the attempt to gain permission to repeat an exam, and not the improvement of English language skills. Due to the communicational rather than educational context, the informants were allowed more freedom to decide to what extent they expected adherence to language norms on the side of the fictional author. These expectations then guided the informants' decision on what would be marked as acceptable and unacceptable.

The text had a length of about one page, 457 words (see Appendix 2). British English orthography and lexicon were used in general. In some cases, however, the association of individual lexical items or structures with one of the two varieties may be argued. An example is *store* (line 11 of the sample text, Appendix 2)[16]. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of British and World English Online*, the meaning of the word that refers to "[a] shop of any size or kind" is "chiefly North American" usage (Oxforddictionaries, s.v. *store*). *Collins Dictionary Online* does not make this restriction in its entry for *store* in the entry of the British English dictionary, "an establishment for the retail sale of goods and services" (Collins, s.v. *store*). In the American English section of the dictionary, the Collins online dictionary describes *store* as "(US) a retail establishment where goods are regularly offered for sale" (ibid.). The LDOCE also suggests that a *store* in British English "is large and sells many different things, but in American English, a store can be large or small, and sell many things or only one type of thing" (LDOCE, s.v. *store*). The OED also refers to the originally American usage of this sense of *store*, but states that it is "[n]ow, equivalent to the British use of SHOP n. 2" and notes that "[t]he use of the word in this sense has not become common in the U.K. except in Comb[ination], […] in which it still refers to a large shop" (OED, s.v. *store*). In the sample text *store* is used in combination, "grocery store" (line 11), and no reference is made to the size of the store. The use of *store* in this context is thus presented as predominantly American by major works of reference. Dictionaries and grammars, as prescriptive, authoritative references for language users and learners were deliberately chosen over corpus analyses. The latter would be interesting in terms of representing actual usage in particular varieties, but this would have been a different study. In this context deviation from assumed, suggested, and imposed language norms, as presented in codified references, and discrepancies in the individual informants' perception were relevant. What this example shows is that guidelines for language usage as presented in works of reference, even for the same variety, do not necessarily agree and that a word or structure status in a particular variety may not be undisputed.

[16] All otherwise unspecified references giving a line refer to the sample text, Appendix 2.

However, even authoritative references for language usage do not always provide completely unambiguous information on what forms to use in a certain variety, e.g. British or American English. The slight differences in the dictionary entries suggest that the use of *store* for *shop* in this context may, in fact, also occur in British English. As variation between American and British English was one of the dimensions of language variation investigated in this study, some features included in the sample text are associated with either American or British English. Had the objective of the study been to assess language attitude towards either American or British English, the text would have had to follow the language norms of one of the varieties and be consistent in that no structures from other varieties had been included. Also, as exposure to different varieties of English is part of many modern curricula (e.g. Ministerium 2014: 12) and although inconsistency in learner language with regard to the varieties used is not an aim of language teaching, occasional code-mixing between the varieties might be a side-effect of the exposure to different varieties. Exposure to other varieties outside the language classroom should have a similar effect, for example in American novels and movies consumed by students who are taught in British English. The sample text therefore featured a certain degree of inconsistency in terms of what could be called "variational identity." This was necessary to investigate the heterogeneity within individual texts in international communication.

Three informants explicitly remarked on the general informality and personal character of the sample text (L1P18, L2P43, L2P56), several more informants referred to individual structures as being informal. The text being perceived as informal could have two sources. First, the number of non-standard structures itself was taken as an indicator of carelessness, which was associated with intimacy between author and addressee. Second, the violation of the cooperative principle, in particular the maxim of quantity, made the message infelicitous. The author's objective in writing the, fictional, email to a professor was to ask for permission to take an exam he had missed at a later point of time. The amount of personal information as well as anecdotal references to, for example, the author's grandmother (line 19f.) might have been perceived as redundant as well as offensive. As two informants (L1P18, L2P43) referred to the personality of the letter as being inadequate in student - teacher communication, the quantity and quality of information in relation to the objective of the communication seemed to be problematic. Despite these concerns regarding the general level of formality, all informants were able to carry out the required task of reading the text, marking the non-standard structures and assessing their acceptability.

Some informants also remarked upon the range of quality of the non-standard structures or errors. One informant remarked that the author almost made the impression of having, lan-

guage-wise, a "split personality." As a reason the informant gave the mixture of basic learner errors and complex structures within the same text. This combination of complex structures and basic forms of deviation could not be avoided due to the range of backgrounds from which the sample structures were taken. Additionally and as Corder (1967) outlined in his seminal paper on error analysis in learner language, a distinction has to be made between *performance* errors or mistakes on the one hand and *systematic* errors on the other hand. This may indeed affect non-native speakers to a greater extent than native speakers, but whether or not that is the case, both types of error will be encountered in ELF communication. Performance errors also explain, to a certain extent, the co-existence of basic mistakes or slips, possibly also in form of typos, and complex structures in the same text. While the standardizing influence of writing (Widdowson 1997: 143) may increase the writer's attention and thus reduce the number of performance errors, their occurrence even in formal writing cannot be excluded. Reliance on spell and grammar checkers may even counteract the standardizing influence of writing in some cases as the latter, for example, often do not detect the omission of the third person singular -s morpheme and have problems with number agreement in complex sentences. For this reason, while the amount of non-standard structures in the sample text most probably exceeds what is typical in this form of communication and formality level, the form of variation in complexity of errors or non-standard structures is a likely phenomenon of ELF, non-native, or generally written communication in English.

Error quantity and the distinction between system and performance errors directly lead to another point peculiar to the sample text used. System errors would occur in every instance of usage of the affected structure. In the sample text the vast majority of structures only occurred once, only some were used several times with slight variation (e.g. alternative / intrusive prepositions, cf. chapter 9.6, p. 164ff., chapter 9.8, p. 174ff.). Using individual structures several times in the sample text would reduce the chance of overlooking them, which would basically be a performance error on the receptive side of the communication processes. Including individual structures several times would come at the cost of a lower number of different non-standard structures in the sample text; there would be more tokens of every type but the number of types would be reduced. As one of the aims of the present study was an attempt to provide an overview of areas that may be particularly critical in international communication, such a reduction did not seem desirable. Additional research would thus be necessary to investigate a) individual informants' consistency in marking the same structure, and b) structures that had been expected to be more problematic than the number and kind of markings suggest. Studies focusing on these aspects should use several tokens of the individual type of structure. Also, restriction to struc-

tures associated with a certain variety of English would be necessary to assess attitude towards that variety rather than variation as a general phenomenon. The latter was represented by the structures from different varieties that were used in the sample text. Varieties in this context have to include EFL varieties from the Expanding Circle, which could be defined by the typical systematic "errors" made by speakers from individual language backgrounds.

The overlap between lexicon and grammar also caused minor, yet unavoidable, problems. In most cases it could be established whether informants had marked something because of lexical gaps, unidiomatic choice of expression, or because of possibly deviant grammatical structures within the marked piece of text. An example is the use of "desperate" (line 10), which had been marked by twelve informants and onto which two of them reacted with suggestions for alternative words (L1P11 "sad;" L1P19 "distraught"). In some cases though, it was not possible to exclude the possibility that at least some informants had marked a structure because of gaps in their lexicon rather than deviation from assumed language norms. This could be found, for example, in the case of "the two of us will be on the car" (line 26). Twelve informants, all non-native speakers, had marked or apparently focused on the first phrase ("the two of us") while ninety identified the unidiomatic "**on** the car" (emphasis not in sample). While nine of the twelve informants who focused on "the two of us" marked "(the) two of us," three informants (L2P9, L2P34, L2P35) also included the preposition *on* in the same marking. In this case, it was not possible to decide whether it was the lexical item "two of us" or the non-standard preposition that triggered the marking (the use of *on* in this instance is discussed in chapter 9.6, p. 165in more detail).

6.2 Questionnaire

A questionnaire (see Appendix 3) was used to elicit information about the informant group. In the first part of the questionnaire age, sex, nationality, and country of residence were elicited. The combination of nationality, country of residence, and frequency of English usage could be used to identify informants who were more likely to use ELF or EFL than others. Non-Native speakers who live in non-English speaking countries, for example, are more likely to use ELF than non-native speakers who live in an English speaking country and might speak or aim at proficiency in the native variety of their environment. Also, native speakers of English living in non-English speaking countries are more likely to partake in ELF communication than native speakers living in English speaking countries. To what extent speakers of English who live in a

country where another variety is spoken partake in ELF communication depends on the proximity of the varieties. The differentiation between varieties and languages and their varieties often is a political as much as a typological one, e.g. Dutch vs. Low German vs. Bavarian. But the proximity of the (native) varieties of StE is not a strong indicator for describing L1 - L1 communication between speakers of BrE and AmE in the same terms as L1 - L2 communication between speakers of AmE and, for example, French (English). Nevertheless, speakers would encounter idiomatic expressions in the other's variety that are unidiomatic and possibly non-standard in their own.

The questions regarding the informants' professional backgrounds included four items. First, asking for the informants' profession should give a rough idea of their socio-economic status and their expected educational background. The second question applied to college and university students only. They were asked to state their subjects. This was important in order to exclude informants who could be put neither in the category of the common speaker nor in the teacher category. For example, students of English literature, ELT, or (English) linguistics might have had metalinguistic knowledge exceeding that of the common speaker, but did not possess the practical teaching experience that may have affected the attitude of the informants in the teacher groups. Two yes or no questions were used to elicit whether informants had graduated in English studies or ELT and whether or not they had taught English classes before. This clearly identified those informants who would then be put into the teacher groups. The first question, regarding graduation, was necessary to identify informants who may also have greater metalinguistic knowledge due to their studies but did not work in the field of English language teaching. By asking for formal teacher qualification in terms of college/university degrees and practical experience in two separate items, informants who had teaching experience but had not graduated in English could also be identified. Although there is no information on the pedagogical capabilities of these teachers, they lack formal qualification in two ways. First, as they do not have a degree as a warrant of their expertise, second, as they (most probably) did not receive extensive training in the English language and its structures, which should have an effect on their metalinguistic knowledge.

Seven, or rather six plus one, items were used to assess the informants' language background. The first item asked for the informant's home language during childhood. Based on this question the distinction between native and non-native speakers was made. Informants who gave more than one language were registered as bilinguals; no multilinguals with more than two languages took part in the study. The second question elicited the age at which the informants started to *learn* English. Most native speakers actually stated when they assumed to have started

to *acquire* the language, answers like "from birth" or "one / 1" were most frequent, but this question was actually more relevant for the non-native speakers. Here it served as an indicator for the age at which they had started learning a second language; learning in the sense of structured institutional language learning as well as that of (natural) acquisition, second in terms of sequence of language acquisition, not in the ESL vs. EFL sense. Question number three explicitly asked the informants when they had started to have English lessons at school. This point marked the beginning of formal education and exposure to teacher attitudes towards language correctness. By contrasting questions two and three, speakers who had started to learn English before the language was introduced as a subject at school could be identified. In ESL or Outer Circle settings where English has an important national function, this figure would be expected to be higher than in EFL or Expanding Circle settings. The last question regarding language learning and acquisition asked for the duration of the informants' formal education in English.

The next two questions asked how often the informants spoke and wrote English. Five options from "daily" to "I haven't spoken/written English in years" were given. Although the informants' task in reading the text was based on receptive rather than productive language skills, language production was chosen over reception, as it could be assumed that most informants would be exposed to English in one way or another on a very frequent basis, e.g. music, movies, international news programs, the Internet, but to very different degrees. The last question asked the informants to assess their proficiency in English by placing themselves on a Likert scale from one to five. This is, of course, not an assessment of the informants' actual proficiency in English. Testing the informants' proficiency in English would have required different, production based research instruments next to the grammaticality judgment test incorporated in marking the sample text. Still, the self-assessment, although very broad, offered insight as to whether different groups of informants varied greatly of their confidence in their own proficiency. A possible hypothesis would be that speakers who scored lower in the self-assessment would be more lenient in their evaluation of detected non-standard structures partially due to their hesitance to expose themselves by stating something about which they are not certain.

6.3 Procedure

In the context of academia, contact to the informants was established via international exchange programs which communicated the need for participants in a study on English as an international

language, workshops and talks, inquiry among fellow researchers from various academic fields, by chance (meeting visiting scholars at the cafeteria), and, not least importantly, through the help of participants who invited or recommended further participants. Informants outside academia were met during a research stay in the UK in public houses, at bed and breakfasts and hostels, museums, and public transport. Contacting schools, companies, and acquaintances from various professional fields yielded the remainder of the informant population.

The informants were met at the informants' convenience at their places, the researcher's office, or public places depending on whether there an appointment had been made or whether the data elicitation took place spontaneously. After scope and use of data had been explained, the informants were given, first, the sample text with the instruction that they were to take the addressee's position, and mark everything in the text that they considered "non-standard or an error." This phrase was used in case informants, especially those who had no background in linguistics or language teaching, could not relate to the term "non-standard." They were then asked to use different colors depending on whether they considered what they marked acceptable or unacceptable. Afterwards the informants read and marked the text, which took approximately between 20 and 60 min. During the process some of the informants commented extensively on their decisions and considerations ("thinking aloud") while others preferred to work silently. The informants were not influenced to do either the one or the other in order to reduce interference with the informants' text processing. When the informants had finished reading, they were handed the questionnaire eliciting biographical information. Finally, informants were given the chance to reflect on both the study and their experience with the international use of English. These remarks and comments were added to the individual data sets and where this provided helpful information either on the interpretation of the informants' markings, their self-assessed proficiency, etc. are represented in this study where the data provided by the respective informant is discussed. As these concluding remarks were elicited in an unstructured way, as opposed to (semi-) structured interviews, and as only a minority of the informants provided these comments they have not been considered in an extra chapter.

7 Informants

A total of 142 informants took part in the study. They can be divided into four groups along two dichotomies determined by first language (L1 vs. L2) and ELT experience (P vs. T).

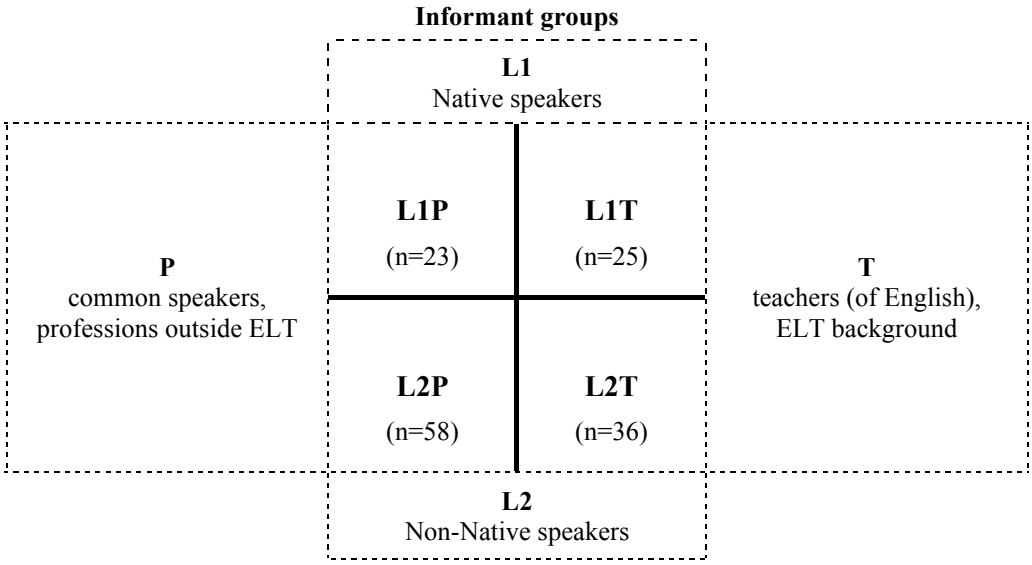


Fig. 7.1

The first group consisted of native speakers of English with no background in ELT (L1P, n=23), the second group of native speakers with a background ELT (L1T, n=25). In analogy, there were two non-native speaker groups, one with no background in ELT (L2P, n=58) and one with a background in ELT (L2T, n=36). As the field of ELF research and variational linguistics in general is highly political, it should be pointed out that the order of the groups does not imply a greater importance of native speakers and varieties for international communication. The groups are presented in alphabetical order.

Teachers were included as a separate group due to their function in institutional language teaching and as multipliers of language norms. As non-native as well as native speakers of the language were included, a distinction between teaching English as a second or foreign language and ELT in native speaking settings has not been made. Although a study of this size and scope naturally cannot be representative of the world's population of speakers of English and its varieties. Nevertheless, the attempt was made to include informants from various language backgrounds, first and second language varieties alike. The fairly balanced representation of sex and age in the respective subgroups suggests that the results should present a realistic picture of native and non-native speakers' attitudes towards variation in written English. On a larger scope,

a distinction between ESL and EFL speakers would also have to be added in order to assess the effect of the different status of English in the Outer and Expanding Circle.

7.1 Native and Non-Native Speakers

The distinction between native and non-native speakers was made based on their home language during childhood ("What language did you use at home when you were a child?" cf. questionnaire, Appendix 3). Forty-eight informants were native speakers of English, with twenty-three belonging to the L1P group and twenty-five belonging to the L1T group. Together 33.8% of all 142 participants were native speakers of English. Among the forty-eight native speakers there were five English bilinguals (3.5%). The bilinguals other first languages included German (2), Spanish (1), a Caribbean Creole (1), and Welsh Gaelic (1). Informants who gave two varieties of English (Canadian and British English) were not counted as bilinguals.

The remaining ninety-four informants were non-native speakers of English with twenty-two different first languages being represented in the study. The largest minority within this group were sixty-five German speakers of English (45.8% of all informants, 77.4% of all non-native speakers). Of the five bilinguals who had German as one of their childhood languages, three had a second first language other than English (i.e. Arabic, Dutch, and Italian); the other two were English-German bilinguals. The English-German bilinguals both had a background in ELT and were included in the L1T group. Fifty-eight of the non-native speakers did not have an ELT background and thus formed the L2P group. Despite the deliberate inclusion of native speakers, the study's focus was on the L2P group, i.e. those non-native speakers who did not have a background in ELT. This group represents typical ELF usage by non-native speakers. The remaining thirty-six non-native speakers formed the L2T group.

7.2 Teaching Experience and Formal Qualification

English teachers were included in their role as language experts and multipliers of language norms. This role is generally connected to training and education resulting in deeper metalinguistic knowledge and greater awareness of (non-standard) language use than among common speakers. This quality could, theoretically, be found in native as well as non-native speaker teachers of English. The latter, however, received predominantly (or exclusively) formal and

institutional education in English, while the native speakers, in addition to the training they received in the context of their studies and teacher training acquired the language naturally as a first language. Practically, the teacher groups are more heterogeneous than that. Not all teachers had received tertiary education and training in ELT and not all informants who had received such training and education worked as language teachers. Profession and teaching experience were included as two different items in the questionnaire as not all teachers were teachers of English and not all informants who had a background in ELT were English language teachers. All in all sixty-one informants (43% of all informants) stated that they "teach or have […] taught English language classes" (questionnaire, Appendix 3). Forty-three informants gave teaching as their profession. Among the informants with an ELT background were university professors and lecturers, teachers from primary and secondary schools as well as private institutes, and one teaching assistant. Thirty-six of the forty-three informants who gave teaching as their profession had a background in ELT and can thus be considered to be first and foremost English language teachers. The other teachers without a background in ELT – and thus belonging into the P-groups – worked in other subjects and fields at schools and in academia. Informants who stated that they had experience in ELT but who did not give teaching as their profession were employed in various fields, seven of them were researchers and PhD students. There were another eighteen informants who had ELT experience but did not give teaching (as a school/ language teacher, college/university professor, or lecturer) as their profession. These informants worked in various fields, for example as translators or in administration, some were students (of subjects other than English or ELT), and several did not indicate their profession. The latter actually often were (secondary) school teachers.

While there were, as pointed out above, several informants who had worked as English teachers but did not give teaching as their profession, there were also English teachers who had not graduated in English or English Language Teaching. Of the 142 informants sixty-one had taught English language classes before, but only fifty-three informants (37.3%) stated that they had "graduated in English or English language teaching" (questionnaire, Appendix 3). Therefore, some English language teachers lacked formal qualification in form of a corresponding university degree. This applies to thirteen informants, plus possibly two informants who did not indicate any information on whether they graduated in English or not (9.2% - 10.6% of all informants, 21.3% - 24.6% of all "T" informants). Eight of the teachers who did not hold a degree were native speakers, five non-native speakers. One of the two teachers who did not indicate any information on whether they graduated or not was a native, the other a non-native speaker of English. The opposite case, informants who graduated in English or ELT but did not

work as language teachers, was less frequent. Only seven informants had graduated in these subjects but not worked as teachers (4.9% of all informants, 8.6% of all "P" informants). One informant who had graduated did not state whether they had any teaching experience. All of these eight informants were non-native speakers of English.

The relatively high number of English language teachers who do not hold a degree in ELT may have various reasons. One of them might be that some native speakers work as language teachers in an Expanding Circle setting, capitalizing their native speakers expertise. This applied to eight native speakers, four of whom were teachers, four of whom had other professions. A second case are non-native speaker teachers who do not hold a degree in English or ELT but have teaching experience. Only one of the five informants falling into this category worked as a teacher, the other four were graduate students and post-docs with experience in tutoring and as teachers in private language institutes. Considering that the latter work in settings where English is taught as a foreign language, Germany and the Netherlands, rather than as teachers of English as a native language, means that perpetuation of language norms is not restricted to formally qualified teachers and institutional settings, even in the Expanding Circle.

7.3 Nationality and Residence

Informants of twenty-seven different nationalities were represented in this study.[17] They came from eighteen nations from the Expanding Circle, three from the Outer Circle, and six from the Inner Circle. This includes four informants who had dual citizenship. Forty-seven of all informants came from the Inner Circle (33.1%). Among them were two of the informants who had dual citizenship. Inner Circle nationalities included Australian (1), Canadian (4), Irish (2), New Zealand (1), US (16), and British (20). The dual citizens were British/South African and British/German. With only three informants from the Outer Circle, speakers of ESL varieties or World Englishes were the smallest minority in the overall informant group (2.1%). The speakers from the Outer Circle came from West Africa, South Asia, and the Caribbean. It might be discussed whether Afghanistan and Iraq, where another three informants came from, could be considered Outer Circle varieties due to recent military campaigns leading to the presence of American, British, and other armed forces, which in turn must have resulted in higher frequency of intra-national use of English at least in administration. However, the age and period of exposure and contact to English and the development of distinctive varieties in these countries does

[17] Twenty-eight nationalities if the second nationality of one informant with dual citizenship is included.

not make this a necessary postulation; especially if compared to the situation in Germany and Japan after WWII, which led to more extended language contact. The remaining ninety-four informants came from the Expanding Circle (64.8%). Among these are two dual citizens, one of them Italian/German, the other Dutch/German. A third, British/German, dual citizen has been mentioned above. As this informant (L1T18) grew up with English as his home language, he was included in the L1 group. The other dual citizen with British nationality also had South African citizenship (L2P13). This informant grew up with Afrikaans as his home language and would thus be considered a non-native speaker and included in the L2 group. The biggest group of informants in terms of citizenship consisted of sixty-one Germans (43%). The constellation of informants in this study, with the vast majority of non-native speakers coming from the Expanding Circle, was motivated by the study‘s focus is on ELF communication in EFL, which based on the number of speakers should be the most common form of EIL usage, and a comparison to native speaker norms.

7.4 Age, Sex, and Profession

The average age of all informants was 38.6 years (s.d. 13.4 years). A great majority of 102 (84.5%) informants was between 20 and 49 years old, and more than every second informant was between 20 and 39 years old (52.1%). Six informants were younger than 19 years old, thirty-nine in their twenties, thirty five in their thirties, twenty-eight in their forties, eighteen in their fifties, eleven in their sixties, and two in their seventies. The oldest informant was seventy-one, the youngest sixteen years old. Two informants did not indicate their age, one informant stated that she was older than fifty years.

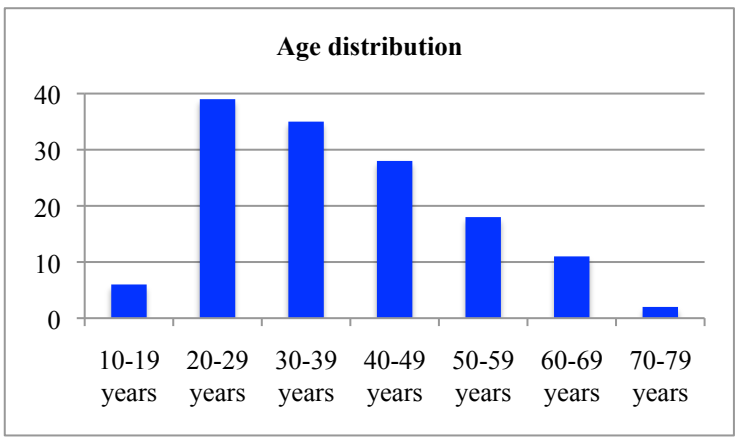


Fig. 7.2

The distribution of different age groups suggests that the informant group should correspond to that of participants typically involved in international ELF communication. With a standard deviation of 4.4 years, the average age is relatively stable across all subgroups. While the native speaker teachers (L1T) constitute the group with the highest average age, 44.2 years, (s.d. 13.5), the common non-native speakers (L2P) are the group with the lowest average age, 34.3 years, (s.d. 10.4). The average age of the non-native speaker teachers (L2T) was 42.1 years (s.d. 14.3) and for the common native speakers (L1P) 38.6 years (s.d. 15.5).[18]

Informant groups: age and sex

	Age avg.	Age max.	Age min.	Female	Female %	Male	male %
All[1)]	38.6	71	16	73	51.4%	68	47.9%
L1[2)]	41.4	70	16	24	50.0%	24	50.0%
L1P	38.6	70	16	11	47.8%	12	52.2%
L1T[2)]	44.3	66	17	13	52.0%	12	48.0%
L2[3)]	37.2	71	18	49	52.1%	44	46.8%
L2P	34.3	52	19	26	44.8%	32	55.2%
L2T[3)]	42.1	71	20	23	63.9%	12	33.3%

Table 7.1

[1)] Two informants did not give their age. One informant stated that she was older than 50 years old. One informant did not give their sex.
[2)] One informant did not state their age, one stated they were older than 50 years old.
[3)] One informant did not give their age, one did not give their sex.

Female and male informants were almost equally represented in the study: 51.4% of all informants were female, 47.9% male. One informant did not give their sex (0.7%). The average age and share of female and male informants in all subgroups, native and non-native speakers, teachers and other professionals, can be found in Table 7.1 above. While the difference in distribution was similar in the two native speaker groups (L1P, L1T), there was a difference for the non-native speaker groups (L2P, L2T). The non-native speaker teacher group (L2T) stood out in that only 33.3% of the informants were male, while more than 63.9% of the informants were female. Providing only the binary choice of male and female is problematic as neither biological sex nor socially constructed gender are restricted to two types. The simplification was made for the sake of processability and as the focus of this study is on language and professional background. Further distinctions and analysis of the data with regard to gender or sex would not have been sensible considering the size and constitution of the informant group. An analysis of the

[18] A diagram illustrating the age group distribution in the several subgroups can be found in Appendix 6.

marking patterns of the two sexes included in this study will hopefully reveal whether sex has an impact on the attitude towards variation in written English in international communication. Should there be notable differences among the female and male participants, a detailed survey of differences in the attitude towards non-standard structures in written ELF among speakers of different sex or gender would then have to be subject of subsequent investigation.

The informants' profession was elicited as it can be assumed that some professions are more frequently involved in international communication than others. Also and although such information should be considered carefully, profession can be used as an indicator for educational background and socio-economic status. Twenty-six different professions or professional groups were represented in the study. Eight of these professions or professional groups represented in the study necessarily require an academic degree.[19] The eighty-three informants in these eight groups make up for 64.3% of all participants. Most other professions represented in the study also require extensive professional training and possibly academic education. Thus, it seems safe to assume that the educational background of the informants is above that of the general population. In the L1P group, i.e. native speakers without a background in ELT, 33.3% worked in a profession that commonly requires an academic degree, among the native speaker teachers with ELT experience 70.8% worked in a profession typically associated or requiring academic education. The missing 29.2% in the L1T group result from a number of native speakers who did not give "teacher" as their primary occupation. Among the non-native speakers the share of academics in the entire informant group was also lower among the professionals than among the teachers, 58.5% vs. 90.3%. This is linked to the tendency that the non-native teachers in this study were more often formally qualified than the native speakers (see chapter 7.2, p. 81f.).

Although the question explicitly and exclusively addressed college and university students, "If you are a college/university student: What are your subjects?" (see questionnaire, Appendix 3), fifty-one informants (35.9%) answered the question regarding the subject they studied despite the fact that only thirty students participated in the study (including PhD students). For comparison, based on the professions at least eighty-three informants should have graduated. Informants who indicated a subject but did not give "student" as their profession either misunderstood the question or tried to provide additional information. Of the fifty-one informants who gave a subject, six (11.8%) indicated that they studied or had studied either English or English linguistics. Another six (11.8%) studied linguistics but did not state whether

[19] The professional groups referred to are engineers, lecturers and university teachers, medical doctors, PhD students, psychologists, public defenders/legal counselors, scientists and researchers, teachers. See Appendix 5 for a complete list of the professions given by the informants.

they focused on English. Studies in English or linguistics might be relevant as these informants' metalinguistic knowledge should be more profound than that of the general population. Two of the native speakers, both of them teachers, stated that they (had) studied English or linguistics. Among the non-native speakers who answered the question and indicated what they (had) studied were two teachers, four PhD students, one researcher, one student, and two informants who did not give a profession. In cases where informants did not give a profession, some apparently did not consider being a (PhD) student a profession. The most frequent subjects studied by the informants were computer science and science, the latter including biology, chemistry, and physics.

7.5 Language Acquisition

The age at which someone starts to acquire a language and the duration of the acquisition process are critical factors for a speaker's proficiency. Also, the question whether the language was primarily learned formally in an institutional setting, usually at school, or acquired naturally may have an effect on the speakers' command of the language.[20] This applies to native speakers but even more so to non-native speakers for whom formal education may be the only contact with the target language. Three questions were used to elicit (1) when the informants started acquiring the English language, (2) at what age they started to have English lessons at school, and (3) for how many years they had had English lessons at school. The first question, naturally, was less relevant for the native speakers. Nevertheless, twenty-nine native speakers answered the question. The average age given by them was 0.2 years, the maximum age 1.5, and the minimum age 0 years. Nineteen native speaker informants did not give an age or stated "birth," "first year," "first language," etc. More relevant in the case of native-speakers was the onset of formal education in the English language, which began at an average age of five years. The oldest age given was twelve, the youngest three years. Fourteen informants did not give any age, comments included "throughout school," "always," and "no EFL." The last comment may be interesting as it reveals that (formal) language learning may only be connected to the learning of foreign languages by some native speakers.

[20] Not least due to the co-existence of the two especially in countries where English is a national language (the Inner and Outer Circle), institutional language learning and natural language acquisition are best described as a continuum ranging from exclusively natural language acquisition to exclusively formal language learning. Exclusively natural language acquisition occurs where speakers do not attend any English classes at all, i.e. where English is not part of a general curriculum or who do not attend school, and exclusively formal language learning where speakers do not have any contact with the language outside the language classroom. Speakers who have contact to the language outside the language classroom but also attend English classes form strata between the two extremes.

The average native speaker had English lessons for 11.5 years at school, the maximum given was 18, and the minimum 2 years. Seventeen informants, all of them native speakers, did not state for how many years they had had English lessons at school. As metalinguistic knowledge and language attitude (the notion of "error") are shaped in institutional language learning, it seems questionable if the age and time span for which English is learned at school is indeed irrelevant for native speakers. Language attitude in particular may be thoroughly transformed by negative feedback on the use of non-standard language at school. If a speaker is taught that certain forms are "errors" and not acceptable in writing, they will probably also reject them when they encounter them later in life. A great number of these "errors" exist as non-standard structures in dialects of Inner Circle English, World Englishes of the Outer Circle, and Expanding Circle EFL and learner language. Thus, learners may even reject structures that are widespread and commonly accepted in some varieties, at least in colloquial use, because of their deficit status in formal education. This applies to native speakers to the same extent as it applies to non-native speakers. The question of acceptability of non-standard structures in international communication is therefore a question of "standardness," formality, and register, not of nativeness.

The average non-native speaker who participated in this study started to learn or acquire English when they were 10.4 years old (s.d. 2.1). The earliest age was four years, the oldest age eighteen years and a majority (63.7%)[21] of non-native speakers began to learn English between the ages of ten and eleven. This corresponds in many countries with an introduction of English as a subject between grade three of primary school or at the beginning of secondary school in grade five or six. Other than in the case of the native speakers, the age at the beginning of the acquisition process and at the beginning of formal English teaching and learning at school was very similar for the non-native speakers. An average age of 10.7 (s.d. 2.0) at the beginning of formal education in English supports this and can be explained with the fact that most non-natives speakers have come from Expanding Circle. In comparison to the Outer Circle, where English holds intranational functions, there is probably less need and opportunity to learn English before the onset of formal language learning in the Expanding Circle. The earliest age at which a non-native speaker started to have English lessons at school was four, the oldest 18. A majority of 67.4%[22] stated that they had English lessons at school from the ages of ten or eleven years on. The two informants who were eighteen years old at the beginning of formal English language teaching came from Iraq and Afghanistan. This would question the intranational function and relevance of English in these countries, especially since the age at the begin-

[21] 63.7% of the 91 non-native speakers who indicated when they had begun to learn English.
[22] 67.4% of the 92 non-native speakers who gave the age from which they had had English lessons at school.

ning of natural language acquisition was only shortly before the onset of formal education (17 vs. 18 years, L2P50) or even after the informant started to have English lessons (18 vs. 14 years, L2T20). In the latter case, the informant stated that he only started to actively learn the language when deciding to go abroad. For comparison, the oldest age given by a German learner of English was fifteen. The learner who gave the youngest age, four, came from Cameroon (L2T29). Although Cameroon can, despite the fact that it came under British administration only after WWI, be considered a more typical example of an Outer Circle country, the beginning of language acquisition and formal language education coincide in the case of this informant (both at 4 years old). However, the informant also stated that he grew up with Cameroon Pidgin English as one of his home languages; the other language being Mmen. The differentiation between English and the pidgin as a nativized variety seems noteworthy, especially for a structural comparison of formal language learning and teaching in the Outer and Expanding Circle. The youngest age at the onset of natural language acquisition given by an informant from the Expanding Circle came from a Dutch informant who stated that he started learning English at the age of eleven, but had already started watching English TV at the age of five. This situation may also apply to other Expanding Circle speakers of English who live in a country where the TV program is not necessarily dubbed into the majority's first language or where there is access to English language media.

For how many years did you have English lessons at school?

	All informants	**L1**	**L2**
avg.	9.4	11.5	8.7
<6 years	5 (4.0%)[1)]	2 (6.5%)	3 (3.2%)
6-7 years	23 (18.5%)	0 (0.0%)	23 (24.7%)
8-9 years	54 (43.5%)	3 (9.7%)	51 (54.8%)
10-11 years	16 (12.9%)	9 (29.0%)	7 (7.5%)
12-13 years	19 (15.3%)	12 (38.7%)	7 (7.5%)
> 13 years	7 (5.6%)	5 (16.1%)	2 (2.2%)

Table 7.2

[1)] Percent of the total number of informants of the respective groups indicating for how long they had had English lessons at school.

"For how many years did you have English classes at school?" (questionnaire, Appendix 3) was the last question regarding the informants' language acquisition. The average duration of formal English language teaching was 8.7 years, the minimum three years, and the maximum twenty-five years. The latter was the Cameroonian (L2T29) who had had formal instruction in the English language from age four and throughout the course of his studies, which he finished with a degree in English linguistics and language studies.

A standard deviation of 2.5 for the number of years the informants had English classes at school may not sound much, but the average duration of formal English learning of only 8.7 years contradicts this first impression. Temporal differences of two and a half years certainly will have an effect on learning processes, especially if these are restricted to formal / institutional language learning and learning at a higher age. A standard deviation that is 28.7% of the mean shows that there is a great deal of variation as Table 7.2 (p. 88) shows. The largest group (38.7%) of native speakers had English lessons for 12-13 years and thus four more years than the majority of non-native speakers who had English lessons for only 8-9 years (54.8%). The introduction of English lessons from grade one in primary school is likely to change this, but currently native speakers not only have the advantage of natural acquisition of English as a first language but also of more extensive formal language learning at school.

7.6 Frequency of Usage

In order to assess the informants' use of the English language, the frequency with which they speak and write English was elicited. Assessing receptive skills would have been much more complicated because of the presence of English in computer games, movies (where they are not dubbed), new media, and music. Exposure to English in these domains seems to have a positive effect on the listeners' reception of spoken and written English (Sylvén/Sundquist 2012; Kuppens 2010). It is also unclear how much of the written English informants encounter in the World Wide Web, e.g. in form of advertisements, is actively processed. For these reasons, only the active production of the language was elicited.

The graphic representation of the frequency of speaking English (Fig. 7.3, p. 93) illustrates that both native speaker groups, teachers (L1T) and common speakers (L1P), speak English on a daily basis. The vast majority, 88.9%, of non-native teachers of English (L2T) also speak English on a daily basis, the graphs for these groups are almost identical and congruent. The frequency of speaking English among the non-native speakers who are not teachers of English (L2P) is much lower. Only 37.1% speak it on a daily basis with an almost linear decline to seldom (rarer than once a month) usage (8.6%). A small number of informants from the latter group have not spoken English in years (5.6%). This figure is slightly higher than the share of informants who have not written English in years (3.4%, cf. Fig. 7.4, p. 93). Considering the relatively small number of participants, the difference between the two figures underlines the

importance of written communication in ELF: speakers who only occasionally use ELF may tend to write rather than speak it.

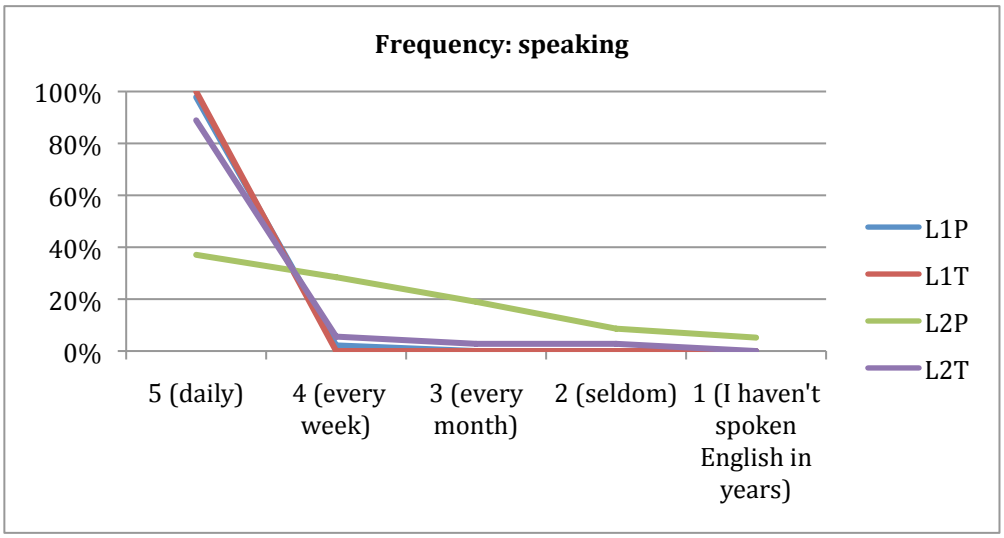


Fig. 7.3

Generally, the results for the frequency of written production of English are more heterogeneous than those for spoken production. Similar to the frequency of speaking English, the two native speaker groups show almost congruent graphs with the vast majority of all members of this group writing English on a daily basis. While the non-native speaker teachers of English spoke English almost as frequently as the native speakers from both groups, teachers and other professionals, they wrote English less frequently. This comes as a surprise considering the necessity of written input and comments on their learners' assignments.

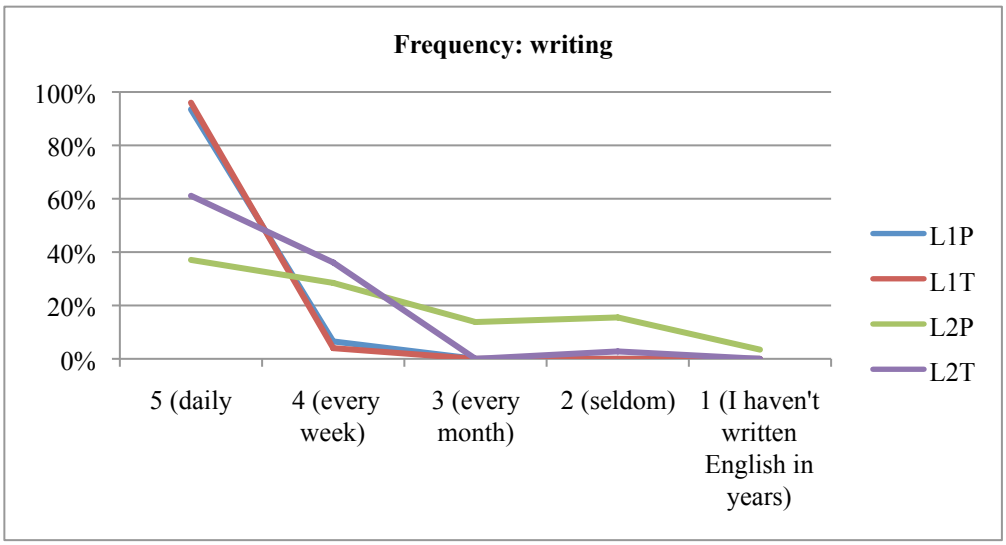


Fig. 7.4

Only 61.1% of the non-native speaker teachers of English (L2T) wrote English on a daily basis, 36.1% wrote English weekly. The remaining 2.8% wrote English seldom. This might be explained by the fact that informants were asked for experience in English teaching and it is possible that they did not teach English classes when the study was conducted. Nevertheless, as most teachers taught English classes at secondary or tertiary level when the data were elicited, it seems surprising that teachers apparently did not necessarily needed to write English on a daily basis. A possible explanation might be that the informants did not consider writing example sentences on a blackboard and only regarded the writing of longer, coherent texts.

Similar to the results for speaking, the non-native speakers who were no teachers of English (L2P) wrote English least often. 37.1% of them wrote on a daily basis, which was far less frequent than the other three groups, but considering the fact that only one member of this group lived in an English speaking country when the study was conducted, the figure still is remarkably high. The share of (graduate) students and researchers (60.4% of L2P) and the role of English as the leading lingua franca in academia are possible explanations for this. Other than for the native speaker and teacher groups, more than a fourth of the informants from the L2P group wrote English on a monthly basis (13.8%) or seldom (15.5%). The rare active use of English is thus primarily to be associated with non-native speakers without a background in ELT, i.e. common non-native speakers (L2P) who represent ELF use in the narrower sense.

7.7 Proficiency

Only one item on the questionnaire addressed the informants' proficiency in English. As such it was insufficient to assess the informants' proficiency on a reliable level that would allow, for example, for comparison with other standardized language tests. Assessing language proficiency is complex because productive and receptive skills, familiarity with various registers, and possibly target varieties are only some of the factors to be considered. Using standardized language tests in order to address all relevant aspects would have drawn exceedingly on the informants' time and might thus have interfered with their willingness to cooperate. Assessing one's own proficiency is even more difficult, especially, if no precise parameters are given. On the other hand, a relatively high degree of freedom in how proficiency is to be self-assessed may reveal something about the individual's confidence in their language skills. For this reason, one item asked the informants to rate their proficiency on a five-point scale from one, low proficiency, to

five, high proficiency.[23] The results, although not suitable for an exact assessment of the informants' command of English, show interesting similarities and differences between the four informant groups.

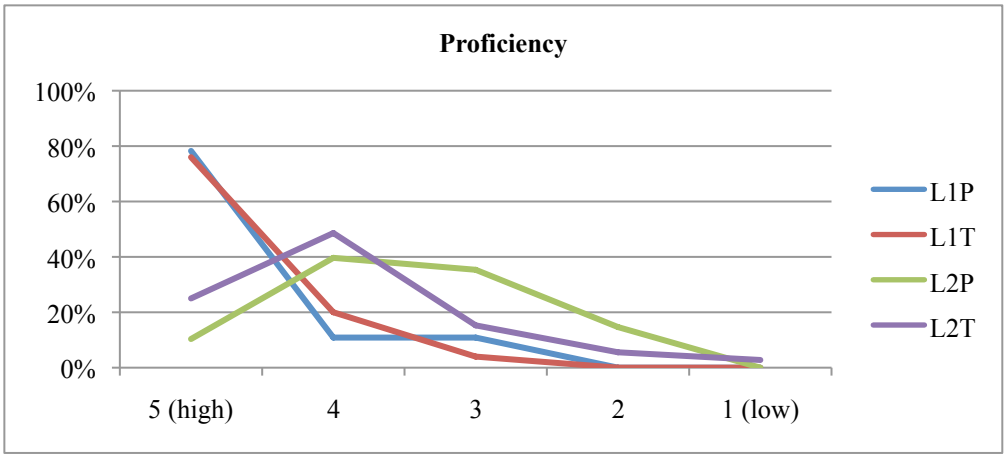


Fig. 7.5

Figure 7.5 shows that, as could be assumed, high confidence in their proficiency in English was more frequent among native (L1P, L1T) than among non-native (L2P, L2T) speakers. 76.0% of the common native speakers (L1P) and 78.3% of the native speaker teachers rated their proficiency as high, choosing the highest possible value (5) to describe their own language competence. The share of teachers who chose the second highest rating to describe their proficiency is about twice as high as that of the other professionals (20.0% vs. 10.9%). While the professionals' number remains stable between the second highest (4) and the intermediate rating (3), the share of teachers who assessed their proficiency in English as intermediate dropped to 4.0%. This suggests that native speakers who have a background in ELT seem to have a slightly higher confidence in their proficiency in English than those who do not. Also, while having English as a first language obviously has an impact on self-assessment, as the difference between the L1 and L2 groups shows, experience in ELT apparently increases confidence in one's own proficiency as well. The average self-assessed proficiency of both native speaker groups was 4.7 and all in all there was only limited variation in the informants' self-assessed proficiency (standard deviation L1T 0.54 vs. L1P 0.67).

A majority of 87.2% (82 out 94 informants) of the non-native speakers considered their proficiency to be intermediate (3) or above; the average value for the self-assessment of the non-native speakers was 3.6.Informants from both non-native speaker groups (L2T, L2P) were more reluctant in considering themselves highly proficient in English then the informants from the

[23] Individual informants put a check mark between two of the points indicated, these were also included (e.g. a check mark between 3 and 4 translated into a value of 3.5).

native speaker groups (L1P, L1T). Only 25.0% of the teachers (L2T) and 10.3% of the other professionals (L2P) rated their proficiency in English as high (5), which means that high confidence in one's own language skills is drastically lower among non-native speakers than among native speakers (L1T 78.3%, L1P 76.0%). The most frequent rating among the non-native speakers was 4. Here, both non-native speaker groups showed much higher values than the native speakers, the teachers (L2T) 48.6% and the other professionals (L2P) 39.7% (L1T 20.0%, L1P 10.9%). While the graph for the non-native teachers (L2T) falls towards the intermediate rating (15.3%), the value for the non-native professionals (L2P) remains stable at about 35.3%. There is a parallel to the native-speakers where the professionals' self-evaluation was also stable for the relatively high (4) and intermediate (3) values – although the majority of the L1P group had regarded their proficiency as high (5).

Low (1) and relatively low (2) proficiency was absent among the native-speakers and comparatively rare among the non-native speakers. Even among the non-native speaker professionals (L2P) only 14.7% considered their proficiency relatively low (2) and no member of this group considered their proficiency low (1). The non-native speakers with a background in ELT showed higher confidence in their proficiency and only two informants (5.6%) of this group considered their proficiency relatively low (2) and one as low (2.8%). At least in one of these three cases (L2T10) the scale may have been misread by the informant, who actually had a very high proficiency in English, unless there was a strong contrast between the informant's self-perception and his actual proficiency. The comparison of the non-native speakers' self-assessed proficiency shows that the average value for the teachers is slightly higher, 3.9, than the one for the other professionals, 3.5. For comparison, the average self-assessed proficiency for both L1 groups was 4.7. The standard deviation suggests that variation within both groups is higher than among the native speaker groups; L2T 0.95 vs. L1T 0.54, L2P 0.86 vs. L1P 0.67.

Concluding, the following observations can be made: first, the average confidence in one's own proficiency is higher among native-speakers than among non-native speakers. Second, non-native speakers tend not to rate their proficiency with the highest possible level, which is frequent among native-speakers. Third, most informants, native and non-native, teachers and other professionals, consider their proficiency at least intermediate. Lower scores, although rare, primarily occur among non-native professionals. Fourth, while the teacher groups' (L1T, L2T) values drop after the respective peaks at high or relatively high proficiency, the professional groups (L1P, L2P) remain relatively stable for the intermediate values. No informant group seems to have a general lack of confidence in their proficiency in English. Non-native speaker professionals are hesitant to assess their proficiency as high, but most seem to consider

it as at least solid. This has to be kept in mind when comparing the number of non-standard structures identified by informants from the four groups.

8 Results

As almost every word of the sample text was marked by at least one informant, it is not possible to represent all structures and passages marked by the informants. A total of 302 structures were identified in the sometimes slightly different markings. A structure is to be understood as a marked passage that refers to one grammatical or lexico-grammatical variant. What was marked could vary in terms of the words, gaps, and letters marked, e.g. in the case of alternative / unidiomatic prepositions, some informants marked "on the car" while others only marked "on" (cf. chapter 9.6, p. 165). The 302 structures were marked 3,764 times by 142 informants, which means an average of 26.5 structures per informant.[24] Of the 3,764 marked passages 1,525 or 40.5% were marked as acceptable and 2,240 or 59.5% were marked as unacceptable.

Total numbers of markings according to subgroups

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total	Markings per informant
L1P (n=23)	191 (29.8%)	451 (70.2%)	642	27.9 (s.d. 9.3)
L1T (n=25)	239 (31.4%)	522 (68.6%)	761	30.4 (s.d. 7.5)
L2P (n=58)	704 (49.1%)	729 (50.9%)	1,433	24.7 (s.d. 8.3)
L2T (n=36)	391 (42.1%)	538 (57.9%)	929	25.8 (s.d. 6.9)
All (n=142)	1,525 (40.5%)	2,240 (59.5%)	3,764	26.5 (s.d. 8.2)

Table 8.1

Table 8.1 shows the absolute number of structures marked by the individual subgroups and the share of acceptable and unacceptable structures of the total number of structures marked. The markings per informant indicate how many structures the informants from the individual groups considered non-standard. This was also used as an indicator of the informants' general awareness of non-standard variation. Some markings identified structures that were neither non-standard by the definition of current authoritative works of reference nor based on the frequency with which they were marked (i.e. rarely marked structures). However, these were also included in the average markings per informant as their exclusion would imply that either there is a reliable permanent standard that is independent of English users' perception (if StE structures were

[24] The mean obviously does not represent the degree of variation in the number of structures marked by the individual informants. Thus, the standard deviation was given subsequently, e.g. in Table 8.1.

taken from present works of reference) or that perception does not change depending on test population and over time (if structures that were rarely marked by this informant group at this point of time were excluded).

While the average numbers of structures for the four groups were relatively similar, the amount of individual variation within the four groups needs to be mentioned (cf. standard deviation). Generally, the two teacher groups showed a smaller amount of individual variation (L1T s.d. 24.6% of avg. markings per informant, L2T 26.8%) than the common speaker groups (L1P 33.2%, L2P 33.4%). Individual variation accounts for a great share of structures that were marked only by individual informants from all four groups; this is discussed in detail in chapter 8.3 - 8.5.While the share of unacceptable structures was much higher than that of the acceptable structures for the two native-speaker groups, the reaction to structures identified was more balanced among the non-native speakers, especially those without a background in ELT. This could be translated into a generally more lenient attitude towards language variation among non-native speakers. The absolute number of markings that identified a structure as unacceptable was bigger than the corresponding number of acceptable markings for all four groups. All but one group marked significantly more structures as unacceptable than acceptable. The only exception is the group of non-native speakers of English who do not have a background in English language teaching (L2P). This group, prototypically associated with ELF communication, showed a balanced distribution of acceptable (49.1%) and unacceptable (50.9%) markings; the equal distribution of acceptable and unacceptable markings for the L2P group is statistically highly significant (χ^2=0.185, df=1, p=0.668).[25]

Considering all groups, if a structure was identified as non-standard, the informants tended to consider it as unacceptable in 59.5% of all cases. This would contradict any assumption that a laissez-faire policy in international English usage can be successful without a fundamental shift in language attitude. Even if this assumption were restricted to lingua franca communication among non-native speakers as represented by the L2P group, a 50% chance of failing the interlocutors' expectations regarding acceptable language usage would be problematic. Furthermore, if native speakers of English are included in the group of lingua franca speakers when they engage in ELF communication with native speakers of other languages, which is perfectly sensible considering the combined economic and political power of those countries where English is the native language of the majority of the population (i.e. Kachru's Inner Circle: USA, UK, Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand; Crystal 2003: 60ff.), rejection of structures that deviate from what these speakers consider StE becomes even more likely. Yet it

[25] For all significance tests, Pearson's Chi-Squared test with Yates' continuity correction was calculated using R for Mac 3.1.3 (R Core Team 2015).

should be taken into account that not all structures identified as non-standard were actually non-standard and that there is a great deal of variation in what speakers of English consider standard and non-standard language. Even within the individual subgroups the share of structures that were considered non-standard by a great majority of informants was very restricted. This will be discussed in detail and with reference to the individual groups below. But before individual structures are discussed in detail, the effect of group size has to be taken into consideration. In order to make statements about the language attitudes in certain groups, it would be sensible to work with equally sized group. Equal group size allows for a direct comparison of how restrictive or permissive speakers from a certain background are. Relevant backgrounds for this study were determined by the informants' first language and ELT experience. Having groups of the same size would allow for a comparison of the absolute number of structures identified as non-standard by the individual groups and of the distribution of acceptable and unacceptable structures.

However, as there is no even distribution of speakers for whom English is a native, additional, or foreign language, another approach would be to represent this distribution in a study of English as an International Language. In his 2003 representation of Kachru's Three Circles, David Crystal estimated that there are about 320-380 million speakers of English in the Inner Circle, 300-500 million in the Outer Circle, and 500-1,000 million in the Expanding Circle (Crystal 2003: 61). These numbers are of course debatable especially because of the varying proficiency of non-native speakers from the Outer and Expanding Circle. Depending on factors such as social status and educational background, the proficiency in StE will even vary among native speakers as it does among non-native speakers. Frequency of usage can be used to establish who is a speaker of English, but what degree of proficiency is necessary to be considered a speaker of (Standard) English? What language competences have to be present in a speaker and what does the speaker have to be able to do in the language? Is, for example, participation in simple everyday conversation sufficient or are speakers of English expected to be able to partake in professional communication of their respective trades and general communication in a wide range of topics such as sports, politics, etc.? The great majority of non-native speakers over native speakers of English on a global scale cannot be contested if proficiency levels (as expressed by the use of commonly accepted StE structures) below that of native speakers are accepted. Based on the mean values of Crystal's (2003: 61) estimation, about 76.7% of all speakers of English come from the Outer and Expanding Circle while only 23.3% come from the Inner Circle. This roughly represents the proportion of non-native to native speakers of English. A share of three quarters of non-native speakers of English in a study of EIL or ELF – if native

speakers are included as actors in international communication – would thus be an appropriate representation of the actual population. In this study, the proportion of non-native and native speakers is closer to the three to one ratio mentioned above than to an equal distribution of native and non-native speakers. Forty-eight native speakers (33.8%) of English and ninety-four non-native speakers (66.2%) participated in this study.

With twenty-five (L1T) and twenty-three (L1P) informants in the two native speaker groups, teachers (L1T) and other professionals (L1P) were almost equally represented. The biggest group was comprised of non-native speakers of English who did not have a background in ELT (58 out of 142 informants). This group is most representative of and relevant for lingua franca communication and fulfills the criterion of a narrow definition that requires ELF to take place in communication between speakers who do not have English as their native language. The basis of the primary research instrument was a sample text (Appendix 2) that contained structures from several native and non-native varieties of English as well as learner errors. While and after reading the text the informants marked what they considered "non-standard structures" or "errors" as either acceptable or unacceptable using different colors. Where non-native speakers read the text, this procedure comes very close to written communication among non-native speakers of English. In the case of native speakers reading the text, this, in analogy, resembles written communication between native and non-native speakers with a fictional non-native speaker acting as sender and the native speaker as the recipient of the email. The fourth group consisted of thirty-six non-native speakers of English with an ELT background. If group sizes are normalized, i.e. calculated for a fixed group size of 30, the absolute numbers of the marked structures given in Table 8.1 (p. 95) change as shown in Table 8.2.

Total number of markings for normalized subgroups

Normalized, n=30	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P	249.1	588.3	837.4
L1T	286.8	626.4	913.2
L2P	364.1	377.1	741.2
L2T	325.8	448.3	774.2
All normalized (n=120)	1,288.7	1,893.0	3,181.7

Table 8.2

As the proportion of acceptable to unacceptable structures for the individual groups remains the same, no additional statements about language attitude (restrictiveness) of the members of the individual groups can be made. The absolute figures illustrate that both native speaker groups

identify more non-standard structures than the non-native speaker groups. As all groups have been calculated to have the same size now, the numbers for native vs. non-native speakers and teachers vs. other professionals can now also be calculated without disregarding the influence of group size on the overall result.

Comparison of language and professional background

Normalized, n=60	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1	535.9 (30.6%)	1,214.7 (69.4%)	1,750.6
L2	690.0 (45.5%)	825.4 (54.5%)	1,515.4
P	613.3 (38.8%)	965.3 (61.2%)	1,578.6
T	612.6 (36.3%)	1,074.7 (63.7%)	1,687.4

Table 8.3

The figures presented in Table 8.3, which combines the groups identified by a shared language or professional background (identified by native / non-native speaker (L1/L2) and teacher / other professional (T/P) status), clearly show that native speakers were more restrictive than non-native speakers. While the native speakers regarded 69.4% of the identified structures as unacceptable, the non-native speakers regarded only 54.5% as unacceptable. In comparison, professional background seems to have a smaller influence on a speaker's attitude towards non-standard structures in international written English than language background. While it may be assumed that teachers of English are more restrictive than other professionals, the difference between these groups is actually very small. The speakers of English without a background in English language teaching regarded 61.2% of the identified non-standard structures unacceptable, whereas the teachers regarded 63.7% unacceptable.

When looking at the two dichotomies used to define the four informant groups, native speakers and teachers both identified more non-standard structures than the corresponding contrast groups (non-native speakers and common speakers / other professionals). Native speakers marked 13.4% more structures as non-standard than non-native speakers and teachers identified 6.4% more structures than other professionals. Language attitude was more restrictive among native speakers than among non-native speakers. Here, language background makes a difference, while professional background did not have a notable effect on attitude. For a further analysis it is necessary to have a look at the actual structures marked by the individual informant groups. The central question is if the structures marked by the groups' majorities are the same or if different structures were marked by the individual groups' majorities.

8.1 Most Frequently Marked Structures

In order to identify those structures that were most often marked as non-standard by the informants, the structures were ordered according to the number of markings they received and then divided into quintiles. The first quintile, which was formed of those structures that were marked by at least 80% of the informants, represents those structures that will be considered to have been marked pervasively. Table 8.4 presents the twenty-three different structures that formed the first quintile for each of the four subgroups, i.e. those structures that were marked by more than 80% of the informants of at least one subgroup. A total of twenty-one structures means that only 7.0% of all 302 structures were marked pervasively by the informants.

Structures marked by ≥80% of the informants

No.		L1P	L1T	L2P	L2T
I	Relative pronoun exchange: who/what (9)[1]	x	x	x	x
II	Mass noun pluralization (2)	x	x	x	x
III	State verb and progressive (3)	x	x	x	x
IV	Relative pronoun exchange: who/which (9)	x	x	x	x
V	Negative concord (7)	x	x	x	x
VI	Monosyllabic adjective and periphrastic comparison (13)	x	x	x	x
VII	Omission of determiner (article) (2)	x	x		x
VIII	Verbal inflection after modal (4)	x	x		x
IX	Regularized past tense (5)	x	x		x
X	Invariant present tense verb form / omission of 3rd person sg. -s (8)	x	x		x
XI	Object pro-drop / detransitivization(10)	x	x		x
XII	Singularization of plural noun (2)	x	x		
XIII	Alternative prepositions (12)	x	x		
XIV	Combined inflectional and periphrastic comparison (superlative) (13)		x		x
XV	Intrusive determiner (article) (2)		x		
XVI	Perfective punctual past and progressive (3)		x		
XVII	Adverbial use of adjective (6)		x		
XVIII	Intrusive prepositional complement (10)		x		
XIX	Homophone exchange (14)		x		
XX	Invariant question tag / no reversed polarity (15)		x		
XXI	Inversion of direct and indirect object (10)	x			

Table 8.4

[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the structure categories introduced in chapter 5, p. 48ff.

Only six structures were marked by more than 80% of the informants of all subgroups, another five by more than 80% of three subgroups (L1P, L1T, L2T). The table highlights a consistent pattern in the subgroups' markings. The same groups, the two native speaker groups (L1P, L1T) and the non-native speaker teachers of English (L2T), marked all those structures that were marked by three of the four informant groups. The native speaker teachers of English (L1T) marked six of the seven structures marked by only one group, while the common non-native speakers with a profession outside ELT (L2P), marked only those structures pervasively that were marked as non-standard by all groups.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the number of structures identified by the great majority of informants from this group is that the native speaker teachers are the most consistent of the four groups when it comes to identifying non-standard structures. Consistency here refers to a large number of structures that were marked pervasively (i.e. by more than 80% of the informants of a group) and thus express greater agreement in what was considered non-standard. A share of 16% of all structures marked by this group were marked by more than 80% of its members. However, a share of 70.4% of structures that were marked by less than 20% of the informants from this group shows that the consistency, although high in comparison to the other subgroups, is still on a very low level.

Quintile distribution of marked structures

	L1P	L1T	L2P	L2T
≥80%	14 (11.3%)	20 (16.0%)	6 (2.7%)	12 (7.9%)
60-80%[26]	8 (6.5%)	3 (2.4%)	8 (3.6%)	9 (5.9%)
40-60%	1 (10.8%)	3 (2.4%)	7 (3.1%)	3 (2.0%)
20-40%	9 (7.3%)	11 (8.8%)	8 (3.6%)	4 (2.6%)
<20%	92 (74.2%)	88 (70.4%)	194 (87.0%)	124 (81.3%)

Table 8.5

Table 8.5. shows that in all four informant groups the share of structures marked by less than 20% of the respective informants was the largest by far. Although there seems to be a correlation between the number of speakers who marked a structure and its unacceptability, the latter still is relatively high as will be discussed in the following chapters. While the consistency within the group of native speakers with an ELT background (L1T) was already low, consistency in the other three groups was even lower, with considerable difference between native speakers and non-native speakers, who generally showed lower consistency. The difference between the two

[26] The second quintile included structures marked by 60 to 79.999… percent of the informants of the respective group; quintiles three to five accordingly.

native speaker groups is leveled if the structures marked by more than 60% of the informants are also taken into account (L1P 17.7%, L1T 18.4%). The non-native speaker professionals (L2P) were the group with the most inconsistent marking. In this group, 87.0% of all structures were marked by less than 20% of the informants and only 2.7% by more than 80% of the informants. This shows a very low degree of agreement on what is to be considered non-standard. In an alternative reading, these figures could also suggest that for ELF communication between non-native speakers the establishment of a concise grammatical common core of generally unacceptable structures would indeed be possible as the vast majority of structures is not received as non-standard by a greater share of the informants. Even if those structures that were marked by 60-80% of the informants (3.6%) were added, the share of structures marked by more than 60% of all common non-native speakers (L2P) would still be as low as 6.3%; 7.6% for 50% of the group's informants. Agreement on what is non-standard English is therefore extremely restricted among non-native speakers. Practically, this means that if two non-native speakers engage in ELF communication, there seems to be almost no common ground in what either of them thinks is correct English. This emphasizes the importance of negotiation of meaning and other communicative strategies.

If the large share of structures marked consistently by only small proportions of the individual groups is taken into account, the high degree of inconsistency across and within the four groups suggests that a grammatical common core, in analogy to Jenkins' (2000: 123ff.) phonological common core, would be very restricted. Command of the rules of this common core would also be insufficient for successful international communication, as the set of norms whose violation is perceived as unacceptable by the interlocutors exceeds the number of core rules by far. For example, six out of 223 structures (2.7%) marked by the L2P group were marked pervasively, i.e. showing a shared awareness of this structure's status as non-standard, but at the same time 50.9% of all markings identified structures as unacceptable (73.0% of the pervasively marked structures). With this degree of inconsistency in what speakers perceive as non-standard and unacceptable, it will not be possible to develop a curriculum that prepares speakers of English for successful communication with other speakers without knowing their respective repertoire.

8.2 Feature Areas

Different areas of morphosyntactic (and other) forms of variation can be used to categorize language structures (see chapter 5, p. 48ff.). The feature areas of those structures that were marked by at least 80% of the individual informant groups can be found in Table 8.6. Structures related to noun phrases were most prominent among the pervasively marked structures. For eight of the thirteen feature areas, there was only one structure that was marked pervasively.

Feature areas marked by ≥80%

	L1P	L1T	L2P	L2T
2 - NP	3	4	1	2
13 - Comparison	1	2	1	2
1 - Pronouns	2	2	2	2
3 - VP: tense, aspect, voice	1	2	1	1
10 - Complementation	2	2	0	1
7 - Negation	1	1	1	1
4 - VP: modals, auxiliaries	1	1	0	1
5 - VP: morphology	1	1	0	1
8 - Agreement	1	1	0	1
12 - Prepositions	1	1	0	0
6 - Adverbs	0	1	0	0
14 - Orthography	0	1	0	0
15 - Style	0	1	0	0

Table 8.6

The one feature area that was not marked by more than 80% of the native speaker teachers (L1T), who otherwise marked at least one feature from every area, was that of discourse and word order (no. 11). Direct question word order (VSO) in reported speech is one structure that belongs into this category and was used in the sample text. Interestingly, this structure was not among the pervasively marked structures of any of the four subgroups despite the fact that reported speech is taught at German schools – and most probably also in other settings where English is a foreign or second language – at length. Direct question word order was in the second quintile of both native and non-native teacher groups (L1T, L2T), i.e. the structure was marked by 60-80% of the informants from these groups. Only five of the native speaker professionals (L1P) marked the use of direct question word order as non-standard (21.7% of informant group; for a more detailed discussion see chapter 9.10, p. 178ff.).

Although not marked pervasively by the L2P group, using direct question word order in reported speech seems to be hardly an option in ELF communication where communication among non-native speakers is frequent (or the norm according to a narrow definition of ELF communication). In this group, seventeen or 44.7% of the thirty-eight informants who marked the direct question in reported speech considered it unacceptable. As the structure was marked by 38 or 65.5% of the members of this subgroup, there would still be a chance of 29.3% to communicate with an interlocutor who considers the structure unacceptable. This, of course, is a hypothetical assumption as the limited scope and sample size of this study do not allow for a representative assessment of the language attitudes of all ELF users. What the figures illustrate nevertheless is the tendency towards a restrictive attitude among non-native ELF speakers even if structures are not marked pervasively. The following chapters will show that this tendency is all the more true for structures marked pervasively and applies to L1 as well as L2 speakers and teachers as well as common speakers of English.

8.3 Common Native Speaker of English (L1P)

The twenty-three native speakers without a background in ELT marked a total of 124 structures. These 124 structures were marked 642 times by the 23 informants. This equals 27.9 markings per informant. Of course, the markings were not equally distributed but the number of markings per structure varied.

Quintiles L1P

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	14	11.3%	*60 (20.2%)*	*237 (79.8%)*	*297*	*46.3%*
60-80%	8	6.5%	*41 (30.6%)*	*93 (69.4%)*	*134*	*20.9%*
40-60%	1	0.8%	*3 (23.1%)*	*10 (76.9%)*	*13*	*2.0%*
20-40%	9	7.3%	*22 (40.0%)*	*33 (60.0%)*	*55*	*8.6%*
<20%	92	74.2%	*65 (45.5%)*	*78 (54.5%)*	*143*	*22.3%*
Total	**124**	**100.0%**	***191 (29.8%)***	***440 (70.2%)***	***642***	***100.0%***

Table 8.7

As can be seen in Table 8.7 (p. 104), the fourteen structures forming the first quintile represented 11.3% of the 124 different structures marked by this group. As these structures were marked by a great majority (≥80%) of the informants, they were marked 297 times. Thus, 46.3% of all 642 markings fell in the first quintile. The overwhelming majority of structures, 92 out of 124 (74.2%), were marked by less than 20% of the informants. As they were marked mostly by individual informants, in any case fewer than 20% of the informant group, the number of markings for this quintile is not even half of that of the first quintile (the pervasively marked structures) despite the much larger number of structures in it. The 92 structures of the fifth quintile were marked 143 times that is 22.3% of the total number of 642 markings (first quintile: 297 markings, 46.3% of total).

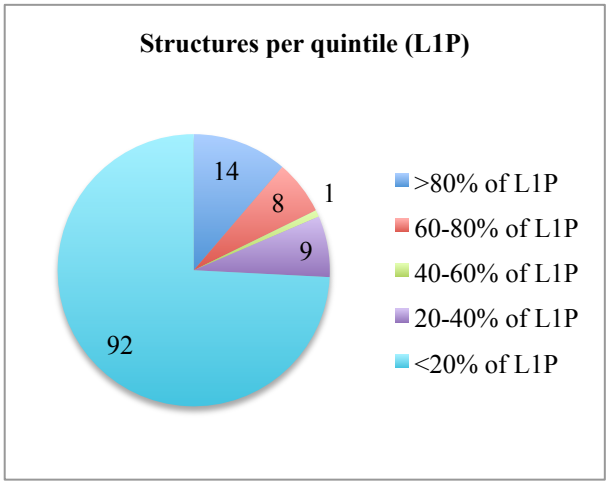


Fig. 8.1

Considering the professional and often high educational background of the informants in this group, this leads to the question how fixed the rules of Standard English are in the Anglophone world. Apparently, agreement on which structures are to be considered non-standard is low as the small number of structures marked by more than 80% of the informants of this group shows. Being identified as non-standard is a necessary condition for a structure to be considered acceptable or unacceptable for international communication. Identification alone, however, is not sufficient for an assessment of the informants' attitude towards this structure in international communication.

Acceptability (L1P)

Overall, 70.2% of all markings identified non-standard structures as being unacceptable in international communication. The remaining 29.8% were considered acceptable. Figure 8.2 (p. 106)

shows that while the majority of non-standard structures in all quintiles was considered unacceptable, there is a clear tendency that structures that were identified by a great number of informants were considered unacceptable more often. Among the markings of those structures that were identified by more than 80% of the informant group, 79.8% were unacceptable and 20.2% acceptable. In the second quintile, consisting of structures that were marked by 60-80% of the informant group, 69.4% of the markings classified the structures as unacceptable, 30.6% as acceptable.

Among those structures that were marked by less than 20% of the informant group, 54.5% of the markings were unacceptable and 45.5% acceptable. The group of common native speaker users without a background in English language teaching (L1P) showed the most restrictive attitude towards the rarely marked structures. All other groups marked the majority of structures from the fifth quintile as acceptable (cf. Figures 8.2; 8.4, p. 111; 8.6, p. 115; 8.8,p. 119).

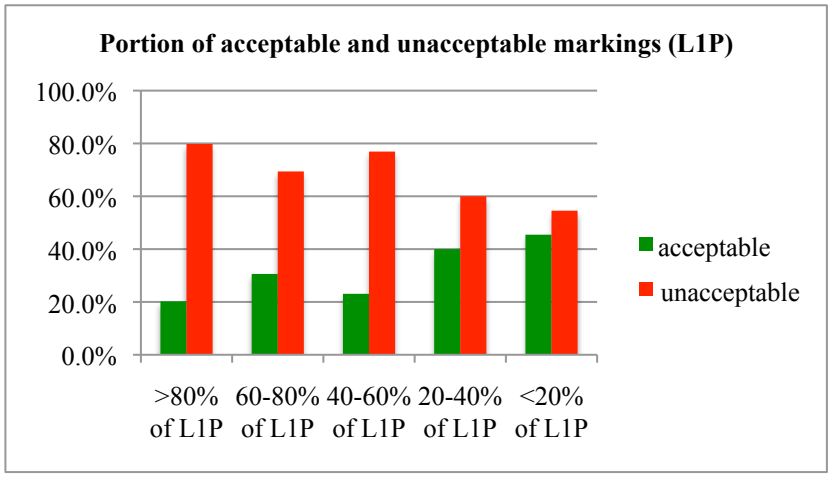


Fig. 8.2

Even though the share of unacceptable structures in the fifth quintile is very high in comparison to the other three informant groups, the difference to the share of acceptable non-standard structures is much smaller than in the first quintile. It follows that if a structure is identified by a great number of speakers as non-standard, it is also very likely to be considered unacceptable. On the other hand, if a structure is only rarely identified as non-standard, its chances of passing as acceptable are considerably higher. The latter should be seen under the restriction that there is a general tendency in this group to consider all identified non-standard structures as unacceptable no matter how often they were marked: the majority of all markings of all quintiles indicated unacceptability. From this perspective, the overall attitude of native speakers who are not teachers of English generally is rather restrictive to deviation from Standard English in international

written English. At this point, a closer look at the actual structures that were marked pervasively has to be taken.

Pervasively Marked Structures (L1P)

The fourteen pervasively marked structures of the first quintile were marked 297 times. Four structures were marked by all twenty-three informants, which alone makes up for 92 markings. Of these 92 markings 80 identified the structures as unacceptable and 12 as acceptable (87% vs. 13%). This difference on the one hand supports the tendency that the frequency of identification correlates with rejection of a structure as unacceptable, but it also shows that a small number of native speakers even will accept even those structures that are generally considered non-standard.

The four structures that were identified by all native speakers without ELT experience belong to different grammatical categories (cf. chapter 5 Feature Categorization, p. 40ff.). One of the structures marked by all members of this group is the use of *what* instead of the relative pronoun *who*, this structure belongs into category 1) Pronouns. The second structure is the pluralization of the mass noun *money* from category 2) Noun Phrase. Number three was the use of an unidiomatic preposition, which belongs to category 12) Prepositions. The fourth and last structure marked by all twenty-three informants was the use of the progressive with the state verb *know*. This form of variation belongs to category 3) Verb Phrase: Tense, Aspect, and Voice. The most unacceptable of the four structures was the use of *what* instead of *who*, which was considered acceptable by only one informant but unacceptable by the other twenty-two. The use of the relative particles *what* and *that* is a feature that can primarily be found in several regional varieties of non-standard British English (Kortmann 2008b: 485) and Caribbean creoles (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 190). Hence, this structure is an example of a form of variation that can be found, although not exclusively, in non-standard native varieties of English.

The next most unacceptable structure was the use of the state verb *know* in the progressive form. This was marked as unacceptable by twenty informants, three informants considered the use of the progressive form acceptable. In contrast to the use of the relative particle *what*, the combination of progressive and state verbs is mainly associated with non-native varieties and communication. It is an attested feature of World Englishes like Indian English (Bhatt 2008: 559; Sailaja 2009: 49), Pakistani English (Mahboob 2008: 579), Black and Indian South African English (Mesthrie 2008a: 489; Mesthrie 2008b: 502). The structure has also been described as a

typical feature of learner language (Turton 1995: no. 439.1) and of academic ELF communication (Ranta 2006: 106f.).

The two remaining structures, the inversion of direct and indirect object after a ditransitive verb (cf. chapter 5.10, p. 65) and inflection of the lexical verb after an auxiliary, were marked as unacceptable by nineteen of the twenty-three informants. Four informants marked either structure as acceptable. One of the two was the pluralization of the mass noun *money*, the other the use of an allegedly unidiomatic preposition. Different count and mass noun-distinctions exist in several varieties of English. The *electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* lists them as pervasive features of nine indigenized L2 varieties and one high-contact L1 variety of English (Kortmann/ Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 55).[27] Also, Mauranen (2010: 18) identified the pluralization of mass nouns as a common ELF feature and Turton (1995: no. 529.2) as a typical learner error. Only examples for nouns are given that are uncountable mass nouns in the established varieties of StE but counted in the varieties mentioned above or in ELF communication. For this reason, it had to be assumed that a different set of nouns may occur in the plural form in each variety. *Money* was picked because a pluralization for typological reasons is rather unlikely. In contrast to, for example, *flours* or *Englishes*, denoting different types of flour or varieties of English, a typological distinction of different ***moneys* would in all feasible contexts refer to *currencies* and the latter are countable. A plural use of *money* in StE is therefore more unlikely than the pluralization of, for example, *flour* or *English.*

The choice of unidiomatic prepositions is also associated with World Englishes, e.g. Southeast Asian, explicitly Philippine (Bautista/Gonzalez 2009: 134f.), and Pakistani English (Mahboob 2008: 586), and also occurs in ELF communication (Mauranen 2010: 18). Which alternative preposition is used probably depends on a number of factors including interference with the speakers' L1 as well as the set of prepositions that occur in non-native varieties and communication but not in the codified varieties of Standard English. The preposition chosen, *on the car* instead of *in the car* (cf. sample text, Appendix 2), should not be seen as a particular feature of a certain particular variety, but rather as an example of possible deviation from an expected standard.

[27] The structure is also attested pervasive in four Pidgins and Creoles in eWAVE.

8.4 Native Speaker Teachers of English (L1T)

For the native speaker teacher group the share of structures that was marked by less than 20% of the informant group is smaller than that of the native speaker group without an ELT background. Individual disagreement on what is StE can thus also be found in this group, which represents experts in a language that is also their mother tongue. The share of structures that was marked by more than 80% of the informant group is the largest of all four subgroups. So, while there is individual disagreement, the number of structures considered non-standard by the vast majority of informants from this group was relatively large.

Comparison I. and V. quintile L1P vs. L1T

	L1P	L1T
I. Quintile (marked by ≥80% of informant group)	14 structures (11.3% of all structures marked)	20 structures (16.0% of all structures marked)
V. Quintile (marked by <20% of informant group)	92 structures (74.2% of all structures marked)	88 structures (70.4% of all structures marked)

Table 8.8

Twenty (16.0%) marked by the native speaker teachers who participated in the study were marked pervasively, i.e. by more than 80% of this subgroup. The number of structures that were marked by 60 to 80 percent of the native speaker teachers was lower than the corresponding value for the native speakers with other professions, i.e. without ELT experience. Hence, the number of structures marked by a majority of at least 60% of each of the native speaker groups is almost identical (L1P 22 structures, L1T 23 structures).

Quintiles L1T

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	20	16.0%	*85 (18.2%)*	*381 (81.8%)*	*466*	*61.2%*
60-80%	3	2.4%	*14 (28.0%)*	*36 (72.0%)*	*50*	*6.6%*
40-60%	3	2.4%	*14 (35.9%)*	*25 (64.1%)*	*39*	*5.1%*
20-40%	11	8.8%	*35 (53.8%)*	*30 (46.2%)*	*65*	*8.5%*
<20%	88	70.4%	*91 (64.5%)*	*50 (35.5%)*	*141*	*18.5%*
Total	**125**	**100.0%**	***239 (31.4%)***	***522 (68.6%)***	***761***	***100.0%***

Table 8.9

Despite the restricted number of informants, it seems safe to assume that native speakers with a background in ELT show greater conformity in what they considered non-standard. This can be gathered from the greater number of structures in the first quintile (see Table 8.4, p. 100). A share of 70.4% for those structures marked by fewer than 20% of the informants from this group, on the other hand, also shows that even among speakers who should be considered experts on the correct use of StE, disagreement is surprisingly high. The native speaker teachers of English marked a total of 125 structures 761 times. This equals 30.4 structures per informant.

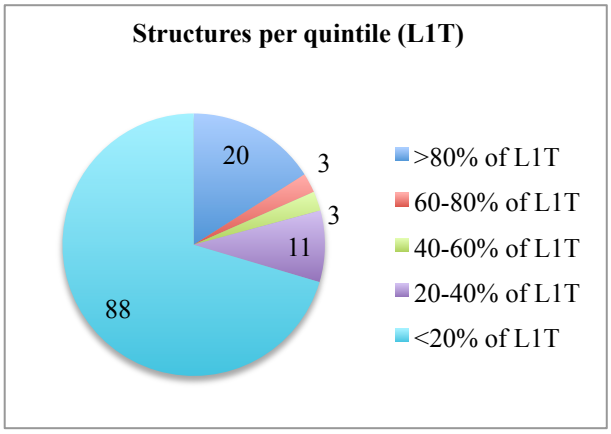


Fig. 8.3

Acceptability (L1T)

As for the other native speaker group (L1P), there is a negative correlation between the number of informants who identified a structure as non-standard and the acceptability of the structure. In contrast to the native speakers without a background in ELT (i.e. the L1P group) who showed an overall restrictive attitude even towards the rarely marked structures, a majority of 64.5% of those structures marked by less than 20% of the L1T group was considered acceptable forms of variation. Even those structures marked by 20-40% were considered acceptable more often than unacceptable if by a small margin (7.7%) only.

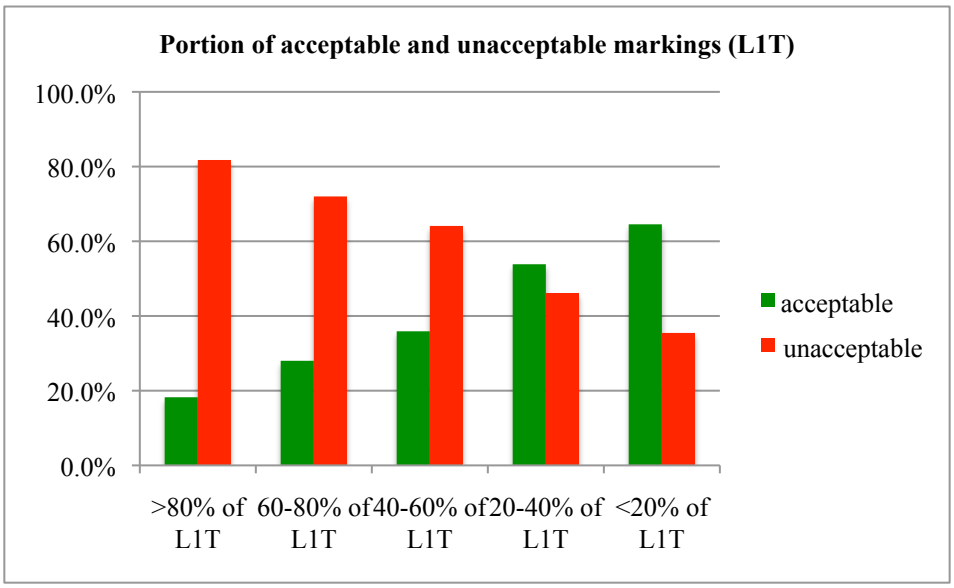


Fig. 8.4

Overall, i.e. if all markings are combined, both native speaker groups were similarly restrictive in their reaction to non-standard structures. 70.2% (L1P) and 68.6% (L1T) of the structures found were considered unacceptable (cf. Tables 8.7, p. 104; 8.9 p. 109). Higher permissiveness can only be observed for those structures that were marked only by a few of the native speaker teachers, which might suggest that they were, consciously or unconsciously, aware of the fact that the structures might not be considered non-standard by everyone. Or they were not sure if the structure was non-standard in the first place and used the acceptable marking to indicate a tendency rather than committing themselves to a clear position. The latter was neither encouraged by the instructions nor supported by comments made by the informants though. While there was similarity in the attitude towards non-standard structures, as represented by the share of acceptable and unacceptable markings, awareness for deviation from (assumed) StE norms was higher among the teachers. The native speaker teachers found a greater overall number of structures (L1P 27.9 markings/informant, L1T 30.4 markings/informant).

Pervasively Marked Structures (L1T)

Twenty structures or 16.0% of all structures marked by native speaker teachers of English were marked pervasively, i.e. by more than 80% (20 out of 25 informants) of the informants. For comparison, the common native speakers (L1P) had marked 14 structures (11.5%) pervasively. Thirteen of the twenty structures marked pervasively by the native speakers with ELT experience were also marked by the common native speakers who had not taught English classes

before (L1P; cf. Table 8.4, p. 100). Even although all but one structure that were marked by the L1P group were also marked by the L1T group, there are some differences observable.

Of the four structures that were marked by all members of the L1P group, only three were marked by all native speaker teachers of English (I, II, III; cf. Table 8.4, p. 100). The inversion of the direct and indirect object of a ditransitive verb (XXI) was not marked by the L1T group. On the other hand, all members of the L1T group marked three features that were not marked by the complete L1P group: exchange of the relative pronouns who and which (IV), negative concord (V), and the omission of a determiner (VII). All three structures were, however, also marked by more than 80% or at least 19 of the native speaker professionals.[28]

While the native speaker teachers (L1T) marked all structures pervasively that were also marked by more than 80% of any other informant group, one structure was not marked pervasively by them (see Table 8.4, p. 100):the inversion of direct and indirect object (XXI), which was marked by 19 informants or 82.6% of the L1P group, was marked by only seventeen (68%) native speaker teachers (L1T). It is remarkable that in the only instance of deviation from the rule that the native speaker teachers marked everything pervasively that was marked by any other group should be between the two native speaker groups. Considering that the differences in quantity of marked structures were bigger between the two groups with different language backgrounds, native vs. non-native speakers. This seems to be an effect of the professional background.

A great deal of individual variation in what is identified as non-standard and a relatively small shared common core of what is identified as non-standard by almost all informants could also be found in the group of native speaker teachers of English. However, the ratio of the first and fifth quintile, i.e. those structures marked by more than 80% and less than 20% of the informant group, as well as the greater awareness for (potentially) non-standard structures, expressed in markings per informant, justify the reference to native speaker teachers as language experts. They are far from infallible though.

8.5 Non-Native Speakers without an ELT Background (L2P)

Due to the number of speakers in Kachru's three circles of English, this is the most interesting group as far as international communication is concerned. Made up of non-native speakers of

[28] 80% of 23 informants (L1P) is 18.4. A structure marked by 18 informants thus belongs to the second quintile while a structure marked by 19 informants belongs to the first quintile.

English, this group represents ELF use and users according to the narrow definition of ELF, which suggests that

> [ELF] is understood in the strict sense of the word, i.e. an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages, or a language by means of which the members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either […].
>
> (Seidlhofer 2001: 146)

Furthermore, the L2P group excludes non-native speakers with experience in ELT as the latter is generally associated with teacher training and studies in the English language, especially among non-native speakers. Extensive studies of the English language, teacher training, and teaching experience may, on the one hand, influence the teachers' attitude towards variation in language and, on the other hand, their metalinguistic knowledge of the English language. Teaching English classes for a prolonged period of time also might raise the teachers' awareness for certain structures, which may vary depending on the students' language background and which, from the teachers' perspective, are frequent learner errors.

With fifty-eight informants this is the largest group. Thirty-two or 55.2% of the informants were German nationals. All but one informant had a nationality associated with the Expanding Circle, two of them had dual citizenship (Italian/German and Dutch/German). The one informant who did not have an Expanding but an Outer Circle nationality was a South African/British national whose first language was Afrikaans. In contrast to the native speaker groups, the group of structures marked by more than 80% of the L2P group was not the second largest group after that of structures marked by less than 20% of the informants.

Quintiles L2P

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	6	2.7%	*84 (27.0%)*	*227 (73.0%)*	*311*	*21.7%*
60-80%	8	3.6%	*146 (47.1%)*	*164 (52.9%)*	*310*	*21.6%*
40-60%	7	3.1%	*91 (45.5%)*	*109 (54.5%)*	*200*	*14.0%*
20-40%	8	3.6%	*83 (51.9%)*	*77 (48.1%)*	*160*	*11.2%*
<20%	194	87.0%	*300 (66.4%)*	*152 (33.6%)*	*452*	*31.5%*
Total	**223**	**100.0%**	***704 (49.1%)***	***729 (50.9%)***	***1433***	***100.0%***

Table 8.10

All three middle quintiles, second, third, and fourth, were about the same small size as the first quintile. Also, the fifth quintile, i.e. the group of structures marked by less than 20% of the group, is even bigger than for the native speaker groups. With 194 out of 223 structures 87.0% of the structures were marked by less than 20% of the common non-native speakers (L2P). In comparison, for the common native speakers (L1P) the fifth quintile made up 73.8% of all structures marked by this group, for the native speaker teachers the fifth quintile included 70.4% of all structures marked. Heterogeneity in what is considered non-standard is thus notably higher among non-native speakers, as typical representatives of ELF usage, than among the native speakers. All in all, a total of 223 structures were marked 1,433 times by the informants of this group, which equals 24.7 structures marked per informant (L1P: 27.9; L1T: 30.4). Awareness was thus lower among typical ELF users than between both native speakers with and without ELT experience.

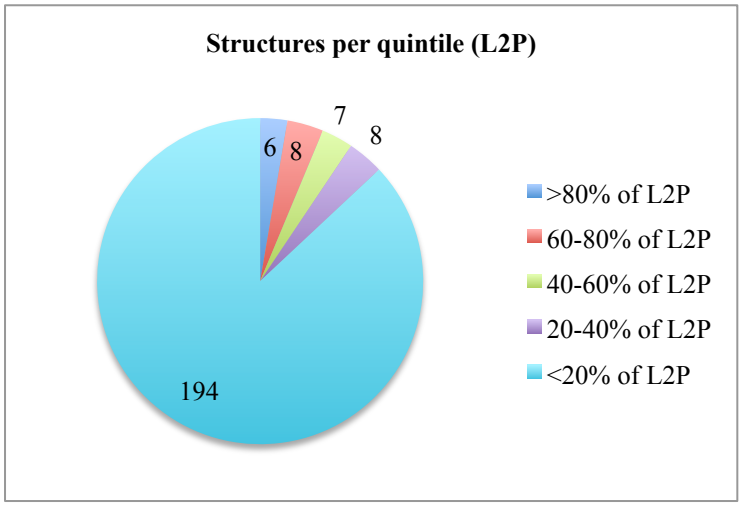


Fig. 8.5

Acceptability (L2P)

The tendency towards a negative correlation of the frequency with which a structure was identified as non-standard and its acceptability can also be observed for the L2P group. A minor deviation from this trend can only be found in the third quintile (structures marked by 40-60% of the informants), where the share of unacceptable markings is higher than in the second quintile (structures marked by 60-80% of the informants). In contrast to the native speaker groups, the three middle quintiles are relatively balanced in terms of acceptable and unacceptable markings.

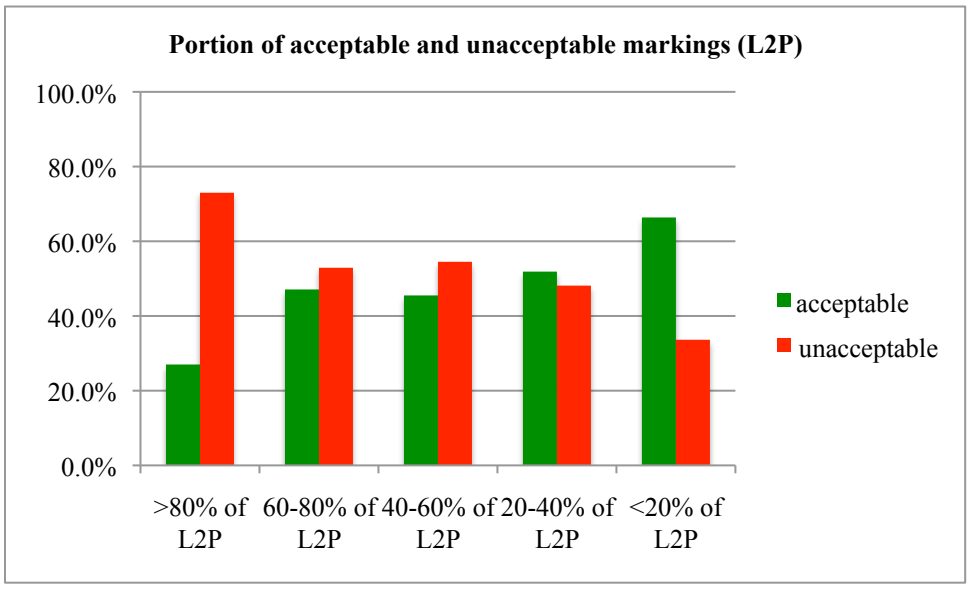


Fig. 8.6

Overall, 50.9% of all marked structures were considered unacceptable whilst 49.1% were marked as acceptable. This is the most balanced proportion of unacceptable and acceptable markings of any of the four informant groups (cf. Table 8.1, p. 95). Identified non-standard structures were not considered unacceptable significantly more often than acceptable (cf. chapter 8, p. 96).

While the overall number suggests that common non-native speakers without an ELT background are more permissive than both native speakers with and without ELT experience, a closer look at the difference between the acceptable and unacceptable structures that were marked by less than 20% of the L2P informants is necessary. When it comes to the rarely marked structures of the fifth quintile, the common native speakers (L1P, 54.5% of all markings in the fifth quintile indicating unacceptability) were more restrictive than their non-native speaker counterparts (L2P, 33.6%). In both cases, that of the native and that of the non-native speakers, the informants with ELT experience were more lenient in their evaluation of the rarely marked structures of the respective fifth quintiles than the common speakers (share of unacceptable markings in fifth quintile: L1T 35.5%; L2T 31.0%). The common native speakers (L1P) were unique in their restrictive attitude towards rarely marked structures. They were the only group considering slightly more than half the markings (54.5%) of the fifth quintile as unacceptable, while in all other groups it was only about a third. From the present data it can only be concluded that although the average number of structures identified by the individual on-native speaker is lower than that of all other groups, the tendency in what is considered acceptable is very similar for all four groups. If a structure was frequently identified as non-standard, it most probably was also considered unacceptable.

All structures marked by more than 80% of the informants of the L2P group were also marked by more than 80% of the informants of all other groups. Therefore, the pervasively marked structures of the L2P group (no. I-VI; cf. Table 8.4, p. 100) should definitely be avoided in international ELF communication regardless of the interlocutors' language or professional background.[29]

Pervasively Marked Structures (L2P)

For both native speaker groups there were a limited number of structures (L1P 4; L1T 6) that were marked by all informants from the respective group. This does not apply to the group of common non-native speakers with a professional background outside ELT (L2P). The exchange of the relative pronoun *who* for *what* (no. I; cf. Table 8.4, p. 100) was marked by 55 out of 58 informants from this group (94.8%), which is the greatest number of informants in this group agreeing on a structure being non-standard. Also, only seven of the 55 markings (12.7%) identified the structure as acceptable, which underlines the negative correlation of acceptability and frequency of marking. The second most frequently marked structure was the pluralization of *money* (II), which was marked by fifty-four informants (93.1%). The use of state verb *know* in the progressive (III) and the exchange of the relative pronouns *who* and *which* (IV) were both marked by 52 informants (89.7%). The remaining two structures of the first quintile were negative concord (V) and the use of periphrastic comparison with a monosyllabic adjective (VI). Both were marked by 49 informants (84.5%). As has been mentioned before, the six pervasively marked structures were also marked by more than 80% of the informants of the other three groups.

With only six structures marked by more than 80% of the informant group, the common non-native speakers marked only half as many structures as non-native speaker teachers. The latter was the group with the second lowest number of structures in the first quintile, which shows that language background seems to play a decisive role when it comes to awareness of non-standard structures and agreement on what actually is non-standard. The native speaker teachers showed the most homogeneous result with twenty structures having been marked pervasively. The common native speakers (L1P) also marked more structures pervasively (14 structures in first quintile) than both non-native speaker groups (L2P 6; L2T 12). The size of the first

[29] I explicitly acknowledge the fact that native speakers from the Inner Circle can also participate in ELF communication, as do teachers of English. The latter may only have special status in a language attitude study due to their profession and probably increased metalinguistic knowledge.

and fifth quintile underline that awareness of what is non-standard English is highest among native speaker teachers of English and lowest among non-native speaker users.

Comparison I. and V. quintile L1T vs. L2P

	L1T	L2P
I. Quintile (marked by ≥80% of informant group)	20 structures (16.0% of all structures marked)	6 structures (2.7% of all structures marked
V. Quintile (marked by <20% of informant group)	88 structures (70.4% of all structures marked)	194 structures (87.0% of all structures marked)

Table 8.11

8.6 Non-Native Speaker Teachers of English (L2T)

While most non-native speaker teachers had a degree in English or ELT, they did not acquire English naturally but learned it formally at school. This can be derived from the average age at which the participants from the L2T group had started to learn English (10.3 years) and started to have English lessons at school (10.4 years, see Appendix 4). Thus, they are a valuable source for both the effect of deeper metalinguistic knowledge and the impact of natural and formal language acquisition on language attitude. Thirty-six non-native speaker teachers of English participated in the study. Twenty-nine (80.6%) of them had studied English or ELT, which is higher than the share of native speaker teachers with a degree (L1T 52.0%). Formal metalinguistic knowledge might thus be on an even higher average level than among the corresponding native speaker group (L1T).

Quintiles L2T

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	12	7.9%	*93 (24.0%)*	*295 (76.0%)*	*388*	*41.8%*
60-80%	9	6.0%	*97 (43.5%)*	*126 (56.5%)*	*223*	*24.0%*
40-60%	3	2.0%	*28 (56.0%)*	*22 (44.0%)*	*50*	*5.4%*
20-40%	4	2.6%	*12 (34.3%)*	*23 (65.7%)*	*35*	*3.8%*
<20%	124	81.6%	*160 (69.0%)*	*72 (31.0%)*	*232*	*25.0%*
Total	**152**	**100.0%**	***390 (42.0%)***	***538 (58.0%)***	***928***	***100.0%***

Table 8.12

The non-native speaker teachers marked a total of 152 structures 928 times. This equals 25.8 markings per informant, which ranks the non-native speaker teachers third after native speaker teachers (L1T 30.4 markings/informants) and common native speakers (L1P 28.0) but before non-native speakers without ELT experience (L2P 24.7). The average number of markings per informant is also reflected in the total number of markings for the normalized informant groups (cf. Table 8.2, p. 98). This is an indicator that being a first or second language speaker has a greater impact on the individual's ability to identify non-standard structures than experience and training in ELT. However, ELT experience also seems to raise awareness for non-standard structures. When comparing the total number of markings per group, the difference between the two native speaker groups, however, is bigger (75.8 markings, for normalized groups of 30) than that between the non-native speaker groups (32.1, normalized groups).[30]Thus, the effect of teaching experience seems to be stronger among native speakers than among non-native speakers. A possible explanation for this is that both non-native speaker groups may be characterized in terms of their formal learning in contrast to natural acquisition of English. Also, both non-native speaker groups have experience as recipients of ELT while formal education in the English language is potentially different for the L1P and L1T group in that the language was acquired and subsequently taught as a first language.

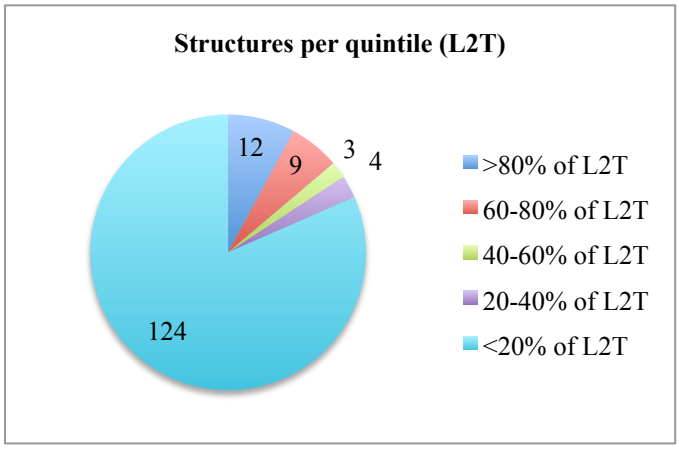


Fig. 8.7

Returning to the absolute number of structures marked by the non-native speaker teachers of English, we see that, similar to the other groups, the vast majority of structures were marked by less than 20% of the informant group (87.0% of all structures). With only twelve structures (7.9%) the share of pervasively marked structures is, in analogy to the total number of structures, smaller than that of the native speaker groups (L1P 11.3%; L1T 16.0%) but bigger than the share

[30] If the group sizes are not normalized, the absolute number of markings is the highest for the L2P group (1,433; L2P n=58). For normalized groups of thirty, the absolute number of markings is the lowest in comparison (741.2; L2P*normal* n=30).

marked by the non-native speaker users (L2P 2.7%). Correspondingly, the fifth quintile, i.e. those structures that were marked by less than 20% of the informant group, is bigger than that of the native speaker groups (L1P 74.2%; L1T 70.4%) but smaller than that of the non-native speaker users (L2P 87.0%).

Acceptability (L2T)

Four of the five quintiles show the negative correlation between acceptability and frequency of marking observed before. The twelve pervasively marked structures in the first quintile were marked 388 times. Of these 338 markings, 295 (76.0%) indicated unacceptability. In contrast, 160 or 69.0% of the markings of the 124 structures in the fifth quintile indicated that these structures were acceptable.

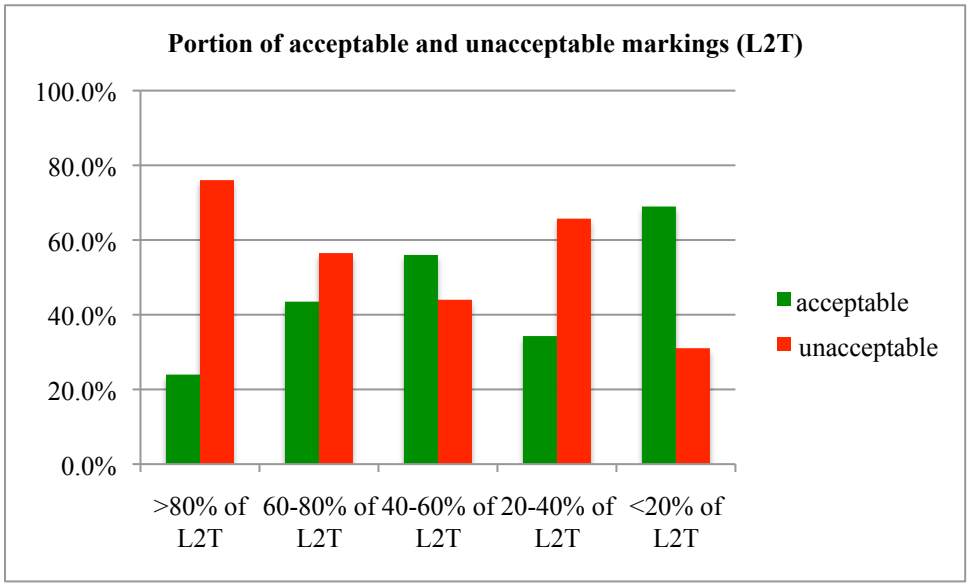


Fig. 8.8

Similar to the common non-native speakers (L2P) and native speaker teachers (L1T), only about a third of the rarely marked structures of the fifth quintile were marked unacceptable (31.0%). This tendency could also be observed for the second (56.5% unacceptable) and third quintile (56.0% acceptable), basically an inversion of the share of acceptable and unacceptable markings. However, the fourth quintile, i.e. those structures marked by 20-40% of the informant group, does not fit into the general pattern. Here the number of markings indicating unacceptability was higher than that of acceptable markings: 34.3% acceptable vs. 65.7% unacceptable. As there were only four structures (out of 152) in the fourth quintile, the deviation from the general

tendency should not be overestimated. It also shows that it is possible that a structure that is not identified as non-standard often may nevertheless be considered unacceptable.

Overall, the 152 structures marked by the 36 informants were marked 928 times, 538 times of which they were marked as unacceptable (58.0%). The remaining 390 markings (42.0%) indicated acceptability. While there are great differences between the first and fifth quintile, the overall result is that non-standard forms are almost as often considered acceptable as unacceptable. This is similar to the result for the common non-native speakers of English although the difference between acceptable and unacceptable markings is significant for the L2T group (χ^2=11.558, df=1, p<0.001) but not for the L2P group (χ^2=0.185, df=1, p=0.668).[31] The difference in number between acceptable and unacceptable markings is even bigger for the two non-native speaker groups, which indicates that the overall attitude was more restrictive among native speakers than among non-native speakers.

Pervasively Marked Structures (L2T)

There were twelve pervasively marked structures in the first quintile for this group. These were marked by at least 29 of the 36 informants. Every individual structure was marked unacceptable more often than acceptable. If ordered according to the share of unacceptable markings, the structures in the first quintile for the L2T group can be divided into three subgroups according to the share of unacceptable markings they received. First, the structures rated unacceptable by more than 90% of the informants. These included the two most frequently marked structures, the exchange of *who* and *what* (I), and the pluralization of *money* (II). These structures were marked by 35 of the 36 informants. Also marked by more than 90% of the members of this group was the exchange of *which* for *who* (marked by 32 informants).

The inflection of the verb after an auxiliary (VIII) and the use of the progressive with the state verb *know* (III), which, although marked by 34 informants (94.4% of group), received fewer unacceptable markings and belong to a second group, consisting of structures that were marked as unacceptable by 70-80% of the informants. The other structures in this group were regularized past (IX, marked 29 times), the combination of periphrastic and inflectional comparison (XIV, marked 34 times), and the omission of a determiner (VII, marked 30 times). The remaining four structures, which form the third group, were the combination of periphrastic comparison with a monosyllabic adjective (VI, marked 33 times), the omission of the third

[31] The hypothesis tested was that there was no equal distribution of acceptable and unacceptable markings for the group.

person singular -s (X, marked 32 times), object pro-drop (XI, marked 29 times), and negative concord (V, marked 31 times). They were all rated unacceptable by fewer than 70% of the informants. Negative concord received 13 acceptable and 18 unacceptable markings and was thus treated most leniently of the pervasively marked structures (58.1% unacceptable). It seems remarkable that within the limitations of the quintile there actually is such a degree of variation in the structures' acceptability, ranging from a share of 58.1% for the unacceptable markings in case of negative concord to 97.2% for exchange of *who* and *what* and mass noun pluralization. Despite the negative correlation of frequency of marking and acceptability, individual structures may well pass as acceptable despite being identified as a deviation by almost all speakers of English as represented by the four informant groups in this study.

8.7 The Influence of Sex

Only the simplistic binary option of female/male was given to the informants in the questionnaire that accompanied the text. The option is simplistic as neither biological sex nor socially constructed gender are restricted to these two categories. Nevertheless, 141 of the 142 informants (99.3%) identified themselves as either female of male in the questionnaire, one informant did not provide any information on their sex.

Quintiles female

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	11	5.4%	*123 (17.2%)*	*591 (82.8%)*	*714*	*36.3%*
60-80%	12	5.9%	*207 (35.0%)*	*385 (65.0%)*	*592*	*30.1%*
40-60%	1	0.5%	*19 (51.4%)*	*18 (48.6%)*	*37*	*1.9%*
20-40%	7	3.4%	*66 (48.5%)*	*70 (51.5%)*	*136*	*6.9%*
<20%	174	84.9%	*322 (66.3%)*	*164 (33.7%)*	*486*	*24.7%*
Total	**205**	**100.0%**	***737 (37.5%)***	***1228 (62.5%)***	***1965***	***100.0%***

Table 8.13

Quintiles male

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	8	3.2%	*151 (30.9%)*	*337 (69.1%)*	*488*	*27.4%*
60-80%	7	2.8%	*134 (40.0%)*	*201 (60.0%)*	*335*	*18.8%*
40-60%	9	3.6%	*151 (47.8%)*	*165 (52.2%)*	*316*	*17.7%*
20-40%	5	2.0%	*34 (33.3%)*	*68 (66.7%)*	*102*	*5.7%*
<20%	219	88.3%	*317 (58.6%)*	*224 (41.4%)*	*541*	*30.4%*
Total	**248**	**100.0%**	***787 (44.2%)***	***995 (55.8%)***	***1782***	***100.0%***

Table 8.14

Seventy-three of the 142 informants identified themselves as female, 68 as male. The female informants marked 205 structures, the male informants 248. Based on the absolute number of structures as well as markings in the first quintile, there is greater agreement on grammaticality among self-identified female speakers than among self-identified male speakers. However, for both groups the number of structures in the first quintile is extremely low in comparison to the number of structures marked, namely less than 20% of the respective group. The fifth quintile made up 84.9% of all structures for the female informants and 88.3% for the male informants. As for the groups defined by shared professional or language background, the first quintiles were small with 5.4% for the female and 3.2% for the male informants. Similar to the main informant groups (L1P, L1T, L2P, L2T), the number of structures that were marked pervasively by either female or male informants is very restricted. A common grammatical core of what is considered non-standard would be very small for both sexes.

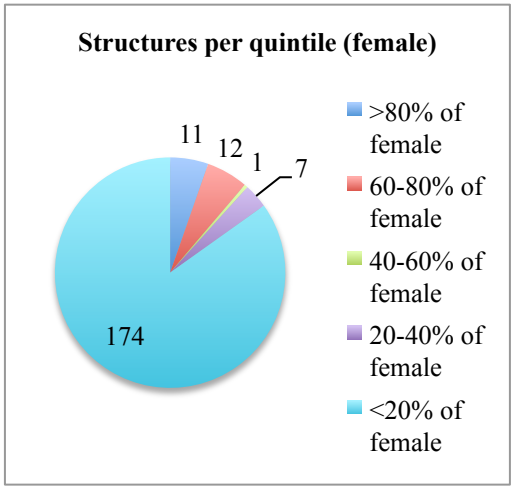


Fig. 8.9

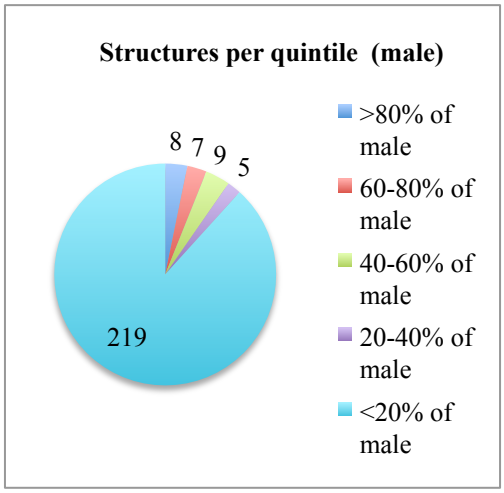


Fig. 8.10

Acceptability (Sex)

Both groups, female and male, show the typical negative correlation of frequency of marking and acceptability. For both groups a deviation from this pattern can be found in the fourth quintile, i.e. for those structures marked by 20-40% of the informants of the respective group, where the share of unacceptable markings is higher than would be suspected based on the relatively linear developments over the other four quintiles. While the number of acceptable and unacceptable markings in the fourth quintile is relatively balanced (48.5% acceptable vs. 51.5% unacceptable) for the female informants, the share of unacceptable markings is much higher than the share of acceptable markings for male informants (66.7% acceptable vs. 33.3% unacceptable). However, because the fourth quintiles for both groups are very small (female 7 structures, male 4 structures), the relative figures should not be overestimated. On the contrary, it is remarkable that despite the generally small size of the first four and especially the middle quintiles (2-4) the negative correlation could be shown for almost all quintiles and all groups of informants.

Overall, the female informants marked 205 structures 1,965 times. 62.5% of these markings identified the structures as unacceptable, the remaining 37.5% as acceptable. The male informants, who marked 248 structures 1,782 times, considered 55.8% of all structures unacceptable and 44.2% acceptable. For comparison, all informants together marked 302 structures 3,764 times. Of these 3,764 markings, 40.5% indicated acceptability and 59.5% unacceptability.

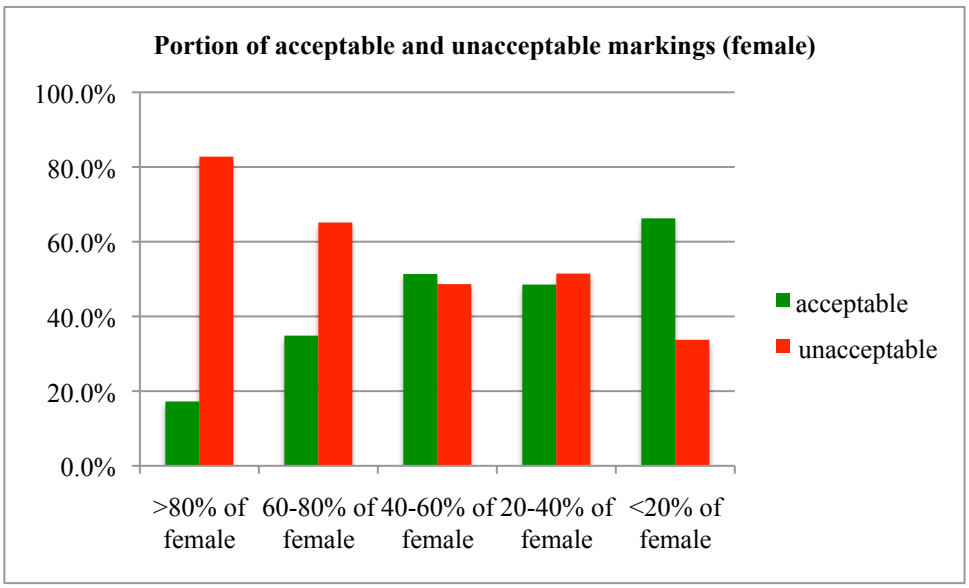


Fig. 8.11

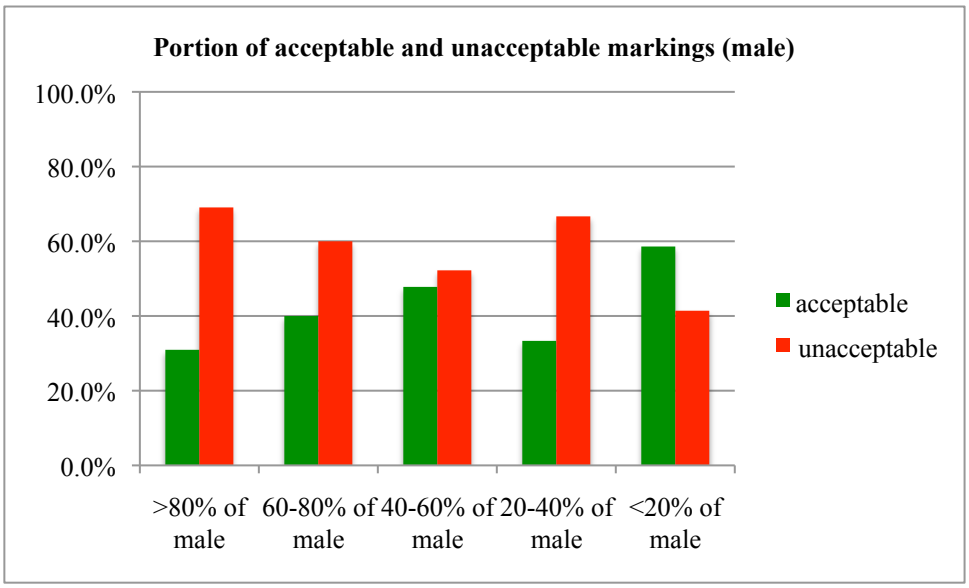


Fig. 8.12

The share of unacceptable markings in the first quintile (male 69.1%, female 82.9%) support the impression that male readers of English might be more permissive when identifying non-standard structures in written English. On the other hand, the share of unacceptable structures in the fifth quintile, making up the greatest number of structures marked although only by a small faction of the informant groups, is bigger among the male informants (male 41.4%, female 33.8%). Thus, male informants were generally more restrictive towards structures that would not qualify as part of a common core of non-standard structures.

Pervasively Marked Structures (Sex)

The first quintile included eight structures for the male informants and eleven structures for the female informants. All eight structures marked by the male informants were also marked by the female informants although only the first two, exchange of *who* and *what* and mass noun pluralization, were in the same position if ranked according to the number of markings.

The three structures marked by the female but not by the male informants were object pro-drop (XI), omission of a determiner (definite article; VII), and the combination of inflectional and periphrastic comparison (XIV). The latter two came from feature areas (2: NP, 13: Comparison) that also included other structures that were actually marked pervasively by both groups (mass noun pluralization (II) and periphrastic comparison of monosyllabic adjectives (VI)). All three structures could be found in the second quintile of the male informant group, i.e. they were marked by more than 60% of the male informants. With fifty-four out of sixty-eight (79.4%) male informants marking the omitted determiner, however, this was a near miss in

terms of being included in the first quintile. For comparison, 80.8% (59 of 73) of the female informants marked the omitted determiner.

Pervasively marked structures: sex

No.[1]		**Female**	**Male**
I	Relative pronoun exchange: who/what (1)	x	x
II	Mass noun pluralization (2)	x	x
III	State verb and progressive (3)	x	x
IV	Relative pronoun exchange: who/which (1)	x	x
V	Negative concord (7)	x	x
VI	Monosyllabic adjective and periphrastic comparison (13)	x	x
VIII	Verbal inflection after modal (4)	x	x
X	Invariant present tense verb form (8)	x	x
XI	Object pro-drop (10)	x	
VII	Omission of determiner (article) (2)	x	
XIV	Combined inflectional and periphrastic comparison (superlative) (13)	x	

Table 8.15

[1] Please refer to Table 8.4(p. 100) for full structure enumeration.

The second feature that was marked pervasively by the female but not the male informants was the combination of inflectional and periphrastic comparison (XIV; "most oldest," line 16). Periphrastic comparison with a monosyllabic adjective (VI) was another structure from category 13 that was pervasively marked by both female and male informants. As the same adjective, *old*, was used for both structures, they were quite similar to each other. The combination of the two forms of comparison was marked by 62 female informants (84.9%) and 50 (73.5%) male informants. The third structure marked pervasively by the female informants but not by the male informants was the detransitivization of a verb by dropping the object pronoun (XI). This structure belongs to feature area 10, complementation. While the structure was marked by 59 (80.8%) female informants, it was marked by only 49 (72.1%) male informants.

The comparison of the two sexes shows the same characteristic results as the investigation of the other groups, i.e. a negative correlation of awareness (frequency of marking) and acceptability (share of acceptable markings in the respective quintiles). Second, the pervasively marked structures were also marked pervasively by the four main groups (cf. Tables 8.4, p. 100, and Table 8.15 above). A difference could only be found with regard to the higher share of acceptable markings in the first and unacceptable markings in the fifth quintile for the male in

comparison to the female informants. The male informants who participated in this study thus seemed a bit more lenient when encountering structures generally considered non-standard, while more restrictive when it came to structures marked by smaller numbers of informants or individuals. However, the difference between the two sexes did not affect the negative correlation of awareness and acceptability, which was observed in both groups.

Sex and First Language

Seventy-three of the 142 informants identified themselves as female (51.4%). Twenty-four of these seventy-three were native speakers (32.9%) and forty-nine non-native speakers (67.1%). This leaves sixty-eight self-identified male informants (47.9% of 142 informants), twenty-four of them native speakers (35.3% of the 68 male informants) and forty-four non-native speakers (64.7%). The twenty-four female native speakers marked a total of 132 structures 743 times (31.0 markings / informant) and regarded 68.0% of the marked structures unacceptable. The male native speakers showed a slightly lower degree of awareness (27.5 markings /informant) but were more restrictive at the same time (75.6% of all markings indicating unacceptability).

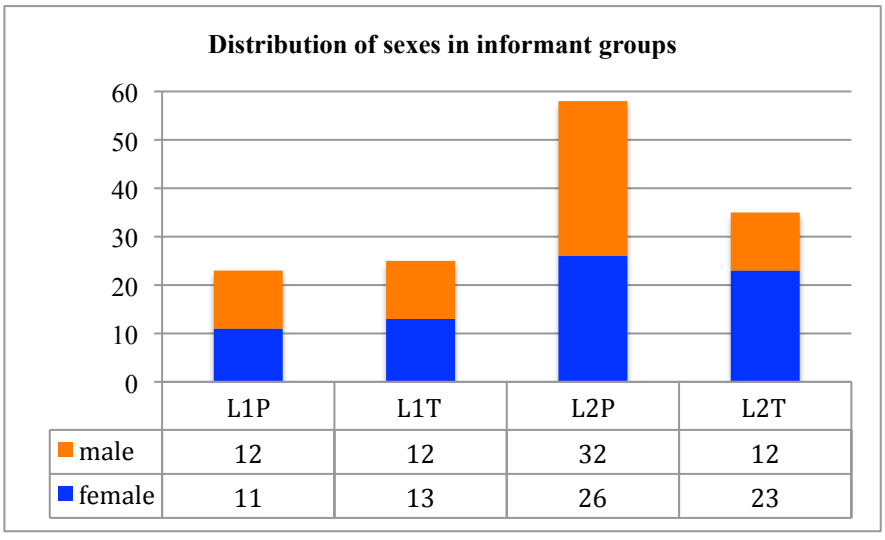
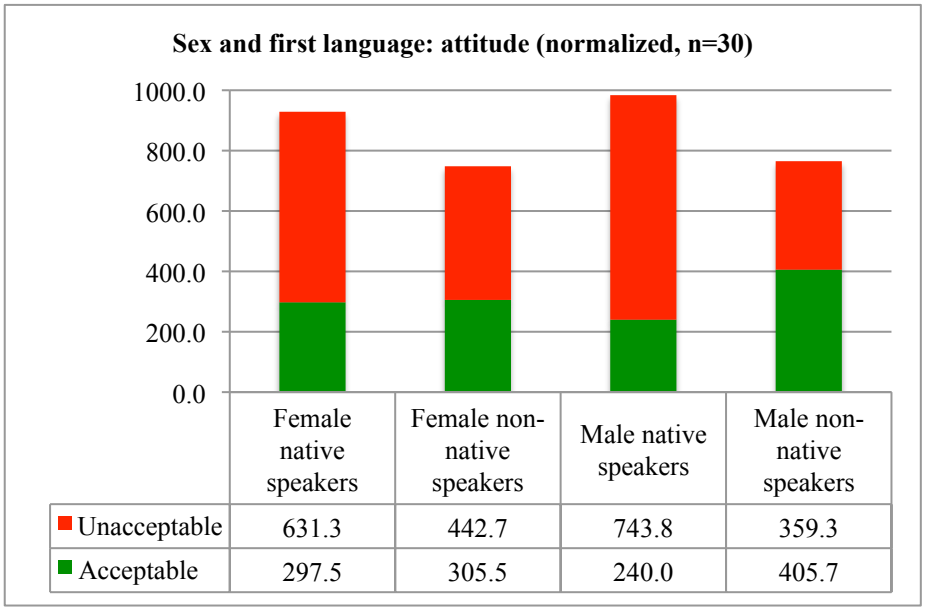


Fig. 8.13

Analogous to the results from the other groups or informant constellations, the non-native informants showed both a smaller relative number of markings per person and more leniency towards structures identified as non-standard, still, the differences seem relatively small. The 49 female non-native speakers marked 163 structures 1,240 times (25.3 structures per informant) and considered 59.7% of the structures marked unacceptable. Figure 8.13 illustrates the distribution of female and male informants in the four groups. While there is a fairly even distribution

of the two sexes in the native speaker groups (L1P, L1T), there are more male than female informants in the group of common non-native speakers (L2P: 26 female, 32 male) and more female than male informant among the non-native speaker teachers of English (L2T: 23 female, 12 male).

The 73 self-identified male informants marked a total of 248 structures 1,782 times (24.4 markings per informant) and considered 55.8% of these unacceptable. The twenty-five native speakers among the male informants marked 124 structures 660 times (26.4 markings / informant) and considered 70.9% of them unacceptable. The 44 male informants among the non-native speakers were more lenient, as only 47.0% of the markings indicated unacceptability. The male non-native speakers' awareness was similar to that of the male native speakers, they marked 219 structures 1,122 times (25.5 markings / informant). Figure 8.14shows the share of acceptable and unacceptable markings provided by native and non-native speakers of the two sexes. The height of the columns also illustrates the difference in awareness between the informants (the groups were normalized to a size of thirty each in order to compensate difference in group size).[32]



	Female native speakers	Female non-native speakers	Male native speakers	Male non-native speakers
Unacceptable	631.3	442.7	743.8	359.3
Acceptable	297.5	305.5	240.0	405.7

Fig. 8.14

So, while the male native speakers were slightly more restrictive than the female native speakers, the male non-native speakers were more lenient than the female non-native speakers with regard to the acceptability of structures deviating from what the informants considered StE. Awareness, as measured by the average number of structures identified by each informant, was

[32] The more restrictive attitude of the female non-native speakers in comparison to the native non-native speakers could possibly be explained by the greater share of teachers among the former (cf. Fig. 8.13, p. 126).

higher among native speakers, both male and female, than among non-native speakers. However, while awareness was similar among female and male non-native speakers, it was slightly higher among female than among male native speakers.

Sex and Professional Background

Among the common speakers of English who did not have a background in ELT (L1P, n=23; L2P, n=58), there were thirty-seven self-identified female informants (45.7%) and forty-four self-identified male informants (52.1%). Eleven of these female informants were native speakers (47.8% of L1P) and twenty-six non-native speakers (44.8% of L2P). Among the forty-four male informants there were twelve native speakers (52.1% of L1P) and thirty-two non-native speakers (55.2% of L2P). In the two teacher groups, L1T (n=25) and L2T (n=36), the majority of informants in either group identified themselves as female; L1T: 13f, 12m (52.9% vs. 48.0%); L2T: 23f, 12m (63.9% vs. 33.3%).

The thirteen female native speaker teachers marked 100 structures 414 times, which means that each informant marked an average of 31.8 structures. Of these 414 markings, 64.3% expressed unacceptability. The male members of the same group (L1T) marked 88 structures 347 times (28.9 markings per informant), with 73.8% of these markings identifying the marked structure as unacceptable. So, while awareness was slightly lower among the male native speaker teachers, they were generally more restrictive than the female native speaker teachers. With thirteen female and twelve male informants the native speaker teacher group (L1T) was well balanced in terms of representation of the sexes. In contrast, the non-native speaker teachers were the group with the biggest difference in the number of female and male informants.

In the non-native speaker teacher group (L2T) there also were twelve male informants, but with twenty-three informants a greater share of female informants.[33] The male non-native teachers of English marked ninety-seven structures, nine more than the male native speaker teachers. These ninety-seven structures were marked 291 times (24.3 markings per informant). In terms of awareness, the male non-native speaker teachers stood back behind their native speaker colleagues, especially, since the 291 markings were distributed over a larger number of structures. For the male native speaker teachers the average number of markings per informant was 28.9, for the male non-native speaker teachers 24.3. Thus, awareness was higher among the male native speaker teachers than among the male non-native speaker teachers. The male native speaker teachers were also more restrictive (73.8% of the markings indicated unacceptability)

[33] One member of the L2T group did not identify as either female or male (L2T9).

than the male non-native speaker teachers (52.2% of the 291 markings indicated unacceptability).

The 23 female non-native speaker teachers of English marked 113 structures 620 times (27.0 markings per informant). Awareness as expressed in markings per informant was thus higher than among the male non-native speaker teachers of English but lower than among both female and male native speaker teachers. Similarly, with 59.5% of the markings by the female non-native speaker teachers indicating unacceptability, they were also more restrictive than the male informants from this group (L2T, 52.2%) but less restrictive than female and male informants from the L1T group (L1T male 73.8%; L1T female 64.3%).

All female informants without an ELT background (i.e. the female informants from L1P and L2P combined) marked 164 structures 931 times (25.2 markings per informant). 63.7% of the structures marked were considered unacceptable. The male informants in the L1P and L2P group marked 212 structures 1,144 times (26.0 markings per informant), with 51.3% of these markings denoting unacceptability. This means that although the male informants found slightly more structures than the female informants, they were, overall, more lenient toward deviation from what they considered standard or correct English. However, the differences seem very small. A comparison of the data for the female and male informants among the common native speakers (L1P) who participated in this study shows that sex did not seem to have as great an effect on awareness and attitude. The eleven female native speaker professionals marked 94 structures 329 times (29.9 markings per informant) and considered 72.6% of these structures unacceptable. The thirteen male informants from this group marked 86 structures 313 times (26.1 markings per informant). They considered 67.7% of the structures unacceptable. The differences between these groups are smaller than those between all male and female professionals including both native and non-native speakers. Awareness, as indicated by the number of markings per informant, was slightly higher among the female informants, who also considered a higher share of structures unacceptable.

Looking at the non-native speakers without a background in English language teaching, the results are similar. There were thirty-two male informants in the L2P group (55.2%). They marked 189 structures 831 times. This means that there was an average of 26.0 structures marked per informant, which is similar to the values for the native speakers. The share of structures that were considered unacceptable was notably lower in comparison to that of the male native speaker professionals (L2P male: 45.1%; L1P male: 67.7%). The twenty-six female informants in the L2P group marked 126 structures 602 times, which translates into 23.2 markings per informant. 58.8% of these markings identified the structure in question as unacceptable.

Hence, the female professionals found slightly fewer structures than the corresponding male group but were more restrictive when encountering something they considered non-standard English. In comparison to the female professionals with an L1 background in English, the non-native female professionals found fewer structures (23.2 vs. 29.9 per informant) and were more lenient towards deviation from what they considered Standard English (58.8% vs. 72.6% of the marked structures considered unacceptable).

Awareness and attitude: overview according to sex

	Markings / informant	Share of unacceptable markings		Markings / informant	Share of unacceptable markings
L1P female	29.9	72.6%	L2P female	23.2	58.8%
L1P male	26.1	67.7%	L2P male	26.0	45.1%
L1T female	31.8	64.3%	L2T female	27.0	59.5%
L1T male	28.9	73.8%	L2T male	24.3	52.2%
L1 female	31.0	68.0%	L2 female	24.9	59.2%
L1 male	27.5	70.9%	L2 male	25.5	53.0%

Table 8.16

Generally, the comparison of male and female professional users of English suggests that self-identified sex seems to have a smaller impact on awareness and especially attitude towards non-standard variation of non-standard structures than native speaker status. For both teachers and common speakers awareness was higher among native speakers, although there was almost no difference in the case of male speakers without ELT experience. Native speakers were also more restrictive than non-native speakers in all cases. Hence, the general tendencies in the four main groups are supported, i.e., first, the negative correlation of frequency of marking and acceptability and, second, the observation that first language background seems to have a greater influence on awareness and attitude than teaching experience. On the other hand, there are notable differences between the two sexes and subsequent studies with larger numbers of informants might reveal whether these small differences are in fact significant.

8.8 Teacher Qualification

Whether or not an informant was considered a teacher and included in the L1T or L2T group depended on their language teaching experience, not formal qualification and graduation in ELT. This was a deliberate decision as teachers may be qualified by their native speaker status rather than formal qualification in form of a university degree in many ELT settings, such as private language institutes. There also was a small number of non-native speakers who had taught English language classes without having graduated in ELT. Forty-seven of the sixty-one teachers (77.0%) who participated in this study had a college or university degree in English or ELT (21.3%). Sixteen of the native speaker teachers (64% of L1T) and thirty-one of the non-native speaker teachers (86.1% of 36 informants) held a degree. Thirteen teachers did not have a degree, eight of these thirteen were native speakers (32.0% of L1T) and five non-native speakers (15.6% of L2T). One native speaker (L1T5) with ELT experience did not state if they had graduated in English or ELT. It should be noted that reference is made to the teachers' graduation rather than qualification in general. If general qualification were to be elicited, possible training programs of the language schools at which the teachers may have worked would have had to be evaluated as well as the teachers' metalinguistic knowledge and, depending on the research question, their didactic competence.

The English language teachers with a college or university degree marked a total of 168 structures while those without a degree marked 104. Deriving from this that the formally qualified language teachers found more non-standard structures may be misleading and the number of structures marked per informant shows that if there is a difference between those teachers holding a degree and those who do not. The number is relatively small: teachers with a degree marked an average of 28.1 structures/informant, while teachers without a degree marked 26.3. Also, the great share of structures in the fifth quintile, which were marked by few (<20%) or only individual informants, indicates that deviation from a shared grammatical core of StE was higher rather than lower among teachers who had held a degree than among those teachers who did not.

Quintiles teachers with a degree in English or ELT

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	14	8.3%	*129 (21.2%)*	*479 (78.8%)*	*608*	*46.0%*
60-80%	8	4.8%	*110 (39.1%)*	*171 (60.9%)*	*281*	*21.3%*
40-60%	2	1.2%	*27 (48.2%)*	*29 (51.8%)*	*56*	*4.2%*
20-40%	5	3.0%	*33 (50.0%)*	*33 (50.0%)*	*66*	*5.0%*
<20%	139	82.7%	*213 (68.5%)*	*98 (31.5%)*	*311*	*23.5%*
Total	**168**	**100.0%**	***512 (38.7%)***	***810 (61.3%)***	***1,322***	***100.0%***

Table 8.17

Quintiles teachers without a degree in English or ELT

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	8	7.7%	*17 (17.5%)*	*80 (82.5%)*	*97*	*28.4%*
60-80%	10	9.6%	*28 (30.8%)*	*63 (69.2%)*	*91*	*26.6%*
40-60%	5	4.8%	*9 (27.3%)*	*24 (72.7%)*	*33*	*9.6%*
20-40%	9	8.7%	*13 (39.4%)*	*20 (60.6%)*	*33*	*9.6%*
<20%	72	69.2%	*49 (55.7%)*	*39 (44.3%)*	*88*	*25.7%*
Total	**104**	**100.0%**	***116 (33.9%)***	***228 (66.1%)***	***342***	***100.0%***

Table 8.18

More insight can be gained from a comparison of the number of structures forming the first quintile for the two groups. Fourteen structures (8.3%) were marked by more than 80% of the graduated teachers and eight structures (7.7%) by the teachers without a degree. Compared to the structures of the fifth quintiles that were marked by only few, less than 20%, or only individual informants, the number of structures on which there was agreement still was very small. The fifth quintile consisted of 72 structures (69.2%) for the teachers without a degree and 139 structures (82.7%) for the teachers with a degree in English language teaching. Hence, the slightly higher number of structures in the first quintile can hardly be taken as proof for greater agreement on what is (not) StE among the teachers holding a degree.

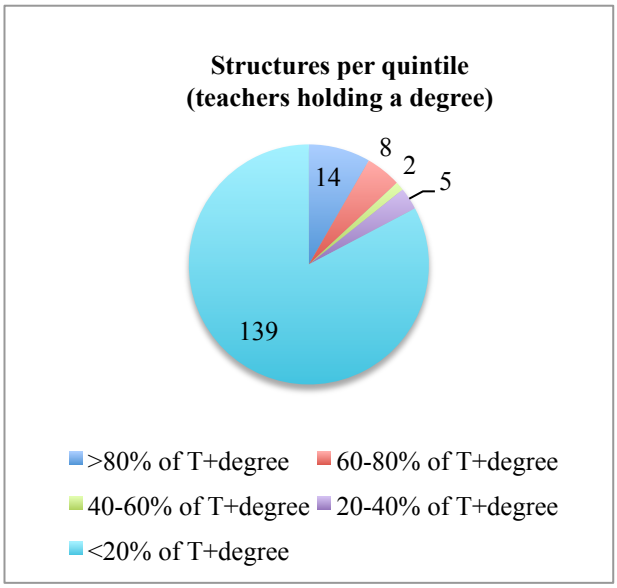


Fig. 8.15

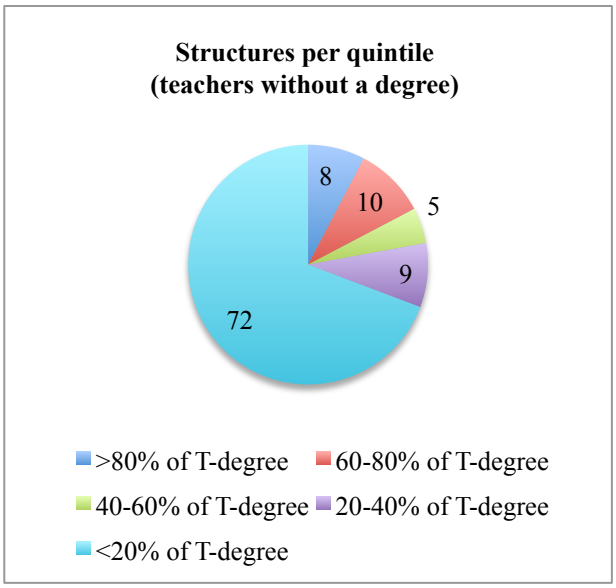


Fig. 8.16

The eight native speakers who had experience in English language teaching but no degree marked a total of eighty structures. These eighty structures were marked 226 times, which is an average of 28.3 markings per informant. For comparison, the five non-native speaker teachers without a degree marked sixty-three structures 116 times, hence the average number of markings per informant was 23.2. Awareness was, as in the other groups discussed above, higher among native speakers than among non-native speakers. Graduation in English or ELT did not change this, although the average number of markings per informant was higher for native and non-native speakers with a degree. The sixteen native speaker teachers with a degree marked 102 structures 509 times, i.e. 31.8 per informant, while the thirty-one non-native speaker teachers with a degree marked 136 structures 813 times, i.e. 26.2 per informant. The restricted number of teachers without a degree in ELT does not allow for any general and reliable statements. It is beyond the scope of this study to establish what effect being a native speaker has on an individual's ability of teaching their mother tongue (in this case English). Based on the present data, however, a research hypothesis for a study on this particular question would be that native speaker teachers without a degree show greater agreement on what is StE than non-native speaker teachers who are formally qualified by a college or university degree in English or ELT. Looking at the differences between native speaker teachers with and without a degree, it becomes apparent that although the native speakers who held a degree found more structures and seemed to show greater agreement in which structures they regarded non-standard; the differences are relatively small. The low number of markings per informant suggests that the combination of L2 background and lack of formal qualification is problematic in language teachers

when it comes to the identification of non-standard structures. As the number of informants to whom this applies (L2T without a degree) is very small, conclusive and representative statements require more specific research on a larger scale. Generally, awareness was higher among native speaker teachers than among non-native speaker teachers. This was the case for native speaker teachers who held a degree and those who did not. Nevertheless, teachers with a degree in English or ELT showed greater awareness than teachers without a degree from the same language background (L1 or L2).

Acceptability (Teacher Qualification)

Table 8.19 shows the share of markings indicating unacceptability for both native and non-native speakers within the groups of teachers who hold a degree and those who do not. In both groups the native speakers found more of the identified structures unacceptable. This supports the assumption that being a L1 speaker has the greatest impact on attitude towards deviation from the perceived norms of StE. However, the comparison of native speaker teachers with and without a degree in English or ELT shows that the teachers *without* a degree were more restrictive. Among the non-native speakers the teachers holding a degree were stricter than those non-native speaker teachers not holding a degree. Hence, while academic training in the English language may make non-native speakers more restrictive, it may make native speakers more lenient towards deviation from StE (or what the individual considers StE). These findings, however, should also be seen in the context of the low number of teachers without a degree who were represented in this study.

Share of markings indicating unacceptability (teacher qualification)

Degree		No degree	
Native speakers	Non-Native speakers	Native speakers	Non-Native speakers
65.8%	58.4%	72.1%	54.3%

Table 8.19

As shown in Table8.17 (p. 132), only two structures were marked by 40-60% (third quintile) of the teachers with a degree in English or ELT. The fourth quintile is similarly small with five structures. These five structures were marked 33 times as acceptable and 33 times as unacceptable by the forty-seven teachers holding a degree (see Fig. 8.17). The small size of the first four and especially the three quintiles in the middle (2nd, 3rd, and 4th) follows from the fact that the fifth quintile made up for 82.7% of all structures. Still, the negative correlation between perva-

sive marking and acceptability can be found in the results for the teachers who had graduated in English or ELT: structures that were marked often, i.e. those in the first two quintiles were considered unacceptable more often than acceptable while those marked by a smaller number of informants (5th quintile) were more readily accepted.

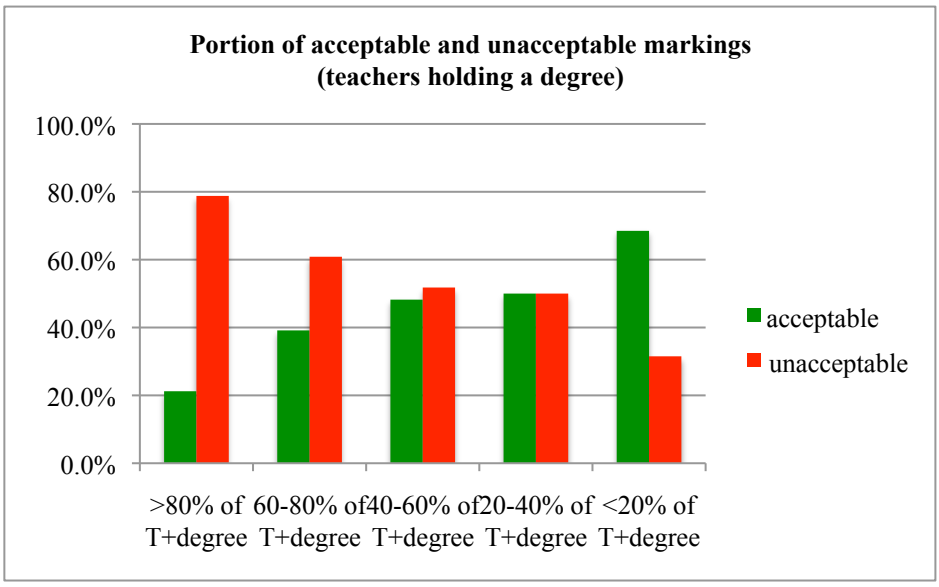


Fig. 8.17

The graph for the teachers who do not hold a degree would be another good example for negative correlation if the third quintile, the structures marked by 40-60% of the informants, did not show a higher share of "unacceptable" markings than the second quintile. Although the fifth quintile was smaller (72 structures / 69.2%) for the informants with ELT experience but without a degree, the first four quintiles were relatively small with the second being the largest (ten structures) and the third quintile the smallest with only five structures. The fact that the negative correlation between acceptability and frequency of marking could be found so consistently for the different constellations of informants and despite the small number of structures in quintiles one to four rather supports the assumption that the negative correlation is indeed a general tendency.

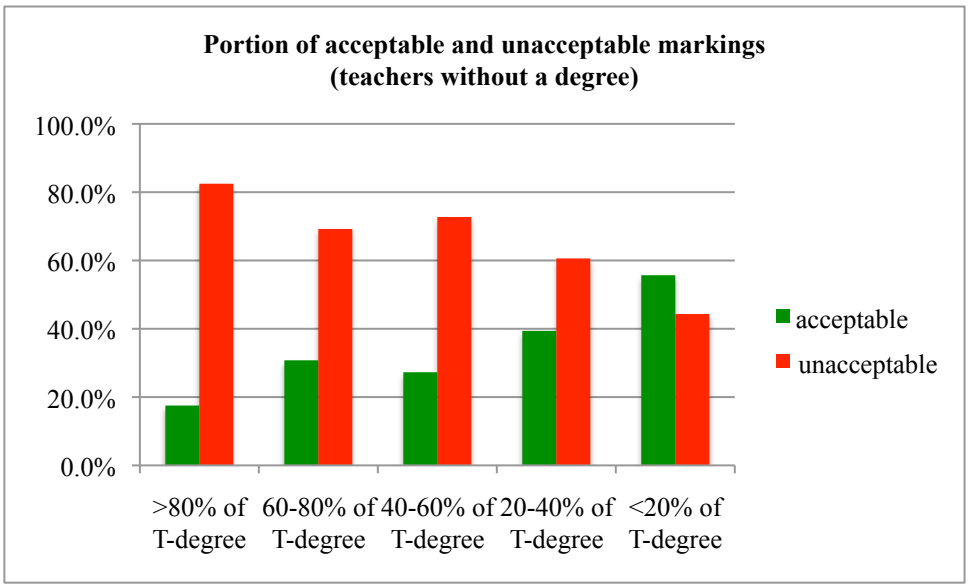


Fig. 8.18

According to this tendency, it may be claimed that the more informants identify a structure as non-standard, the more likely the same structure is to be considered unacceptable by these informants. This not only holds true for the four main informant groups (L1P, L1T, L2P, L2T) but also for teachers with and without a degree in ELT. A notable difference between the two groups might be in the fifth quintiles, for all groups the largest by far, as in the case of the rarely marked structures, the teachers holding a degree were more lenient towards variation than the teachers without a degree (68.5% vs. 55.7% of the structures considered acceptable).

Pervasively Marked Structures (Teacher Qualification)

All eight structures marked by more than 80% of the thirteen teachers without a degree in English or English language teaching were also marked by the forty-seven teachers with a degree. The use of periphrastic comparison with the monosyllabic adjective *old* (structure VI) was marked by only ten of the thirteen (76.9%) teachers without a degree and was thus not considered as marked pervasively. Otherwise, both groups marked all structures (I-V) that were also marked pervasively by all four main informant subgroups (cf. Table 8.4, p. 100). Apart from structure VI, more than 80% of the teachers with and without degree as well as the main teacher groups (L1T, L2T) marked structures VII, VIII, and IX. While both native and non-native speaker teachers of English (L1T and L2T) also marked structures X, XI, and XIV pervasively, they were only part of the first quintile of the structures marked by the teachers holding a degree but not by those without a degree. Two structures, numbers XV and XIX (cf. Table 8.20, p. 137), were marked pervasively by the native speaker teachers (L1T) and teachers holding a

degree (L1 and L2) but not by the non-native speaker teachers (L2T) and informants with ELT experience but without a degree. This comes a bit as a surprise as the share of teachers without a degree was higher among the native speaker teachers (L1T) than among the non-native speaker teachers (L2T). It could thus have been expected that the pervasive marking by teachers with a degree would coincide with pervasive marking by the L2T rather than the L1T group.

Pervasively marked structures: teacher qualification

No.		**Teachers holding a degree**	**Teachers without a degree**
I	Relative pronoun exchange: who/what (1)	X	X
II	Mass noun pluralization (2)	X	X
III	State verb and progressive (3)	X	X
IV	Relative pronoun exchange: who/which (1)	X	X
V	Negative concord (7)	X	X
VII	Omission of determiner (article) (2)	X	X
VIII	Verbal inflection after modal (4)	X	X
IX	Regularized past tense (5)	X	X
VI	Monosyllabic adjective and periphrastic comparison (13)	X	
X	Invariant present tense verb form (8)	X	
XI	Object pro-drop (10)	X	
XIV	Combined inflectional and periphrastic comparison (superlative) (13)	X	
XV	Intrusive def. article (2)	X	
XIX	Homophone exchange (14)	X	

Table 8.20

As the different groups mentioned before (L1T, L2T, teachers with / without a degree) represent different constellations of the same group of informants, similarities had to be expected. Still, it should be noted that there is a greater overlap of the structures marked pervasively by the teachers holding a degree and the main teacher groups (structures I, II, III, V, VII, XI, XIV) than among the main teacher groups and the teachers without a degree (I, II, III, V). This is similar to the gradual overlap between the structures marked pervasively by the four main groups

(cf. chapter 8.1, p. 100ff.) where the L1P, L1T, and L2T group shared pervasively marked structures that were not marked by more than 80% of the L2P group.

Awareness and attitude:
overview teacher qualification

	Markings per informant	Share of unacceptable markings
L1T + degree	31.8	65.8%
L1T - degree	28.3	72.1%
L2T + degree	26.2	58.4%
L2T - degree	23.2	54.3%

Table 8.21

The structures in the first quintile for the sixteen native speaker teachers holding a degree in English or ELT and the first quintile of the entire L1T group were identical, although almost a third of the L1T group (8 informants, 32%) had ELT experience but no degree in English. The differences in the marking patterns of native speaker teachers with and without a degree were thus not strong enough to alter the results for the whole group. Language background had a greater influence on awareness and attitude than graduation in English or ELT. Within the groups determined by language background, those informants with ELT experience and a degree showed greater awareness than those without a degree. The only exception is language attitude among native speaker teachers. Here, those informants without a degree were actually more restrictive in what they considered acceptable rather than unacceptable variation. Among the non-native speaker teachers those with a degree were more restrictive. While graduation seems to make native speaker teachers more lenient towards language variation, the effect on non-native speaker teachers seems to be the opposite. All structures marked by more than 80% of the L2T group were also marked pervasively by the graduated informants within this group. In contrast to the L1T group, this was expected as only five of the thirty-six informants in the L2T group did not hold a degree.

8.9 German and Other Non-Native Speakers of English

Despite the heterogeneous constitution of the informant group (cf. chapter 7), speakers of German were by far the largest group among the L2 speakers of English who participated in this study. There were 59 native speakers of German and 29 speakers who did not have English or

German as one of their first languages among the participants of this study. For the comparison of non-native speakers of various language backgrounds in this chapter, the three bilinguals who grew up with German and a second language other than English as their home languages were excluded. In the following paragraphs the marking patterns of the native speakers of German are contrasted with the corresponding patterns of all other L2 speakers. This will show that although a shared native language apparently has some influence on what structures are commonly identified as non-standard, the differences between individual non-native speaker groups and non-native speaker groups of various linguistic backgrounds seem to be limited.

A reason for the differences between homogeneous and heterogeneous L2 groups may be the shared background in an educational system and also crosslinguistic interference. These two points might directly influence each other: as German *Perfekt* has a structure similar to the English *present perfect*, it might receive more emphasis in language teaching than other structures. In German, *Perfekt* has gained ground on the *Imperfekt,* which could lead to a tendency among German learners to use the present perfect instead of *past tense* (Swan 2001: 42).[34]For other L2 speakers there may be similar tendencies with different structures.

Tables 8.22 and 8.23 (p. 140) show that the share of structures as well as the absolute number of structures marked by more than 80% of the informants of both groups differs. The German speakers' first quintile is twice the size of that of various L2 speakers of English. Although the difference is small and may partly be explained with the larger number of German informants, the greater share of markings in the first quintile should be taken into consideration. While more than a third (34.2%, 565 of 1654 markings) of the German informants' markings would fall on structures of the first quintile, only about a fifth (19.5%, 125 of 640 markings) of the various L2 speakers' markings fell on the first quintile. This shows that the agreement on the non-standardness of the pervasively marked structures was greater in the homogeneous L2 group of German speakers of English than in the heterogeneous group of L2 speakers of various first languages. If the first two quintiles are combined, the difference in the absolute number of structures in the first two quintiles grows slightly, but the difference between the share of markings in the first two quintiles is smaller than between the first quintile alone. Sixty percent of the German informants agreed on 19 structures being non-standard, i.e. 9.0% of all 210 structures marked by this informant group. The remaining non-native speakers agreed on 12 structures, i.e. 7.9% of all 152 structures marked by this group. While this difference is small and possibly due to the larger number of German speaking informants, the share of markings for the first two quintiles is also bigger: The first two quintiles made up for 57.6% (953 of 1654 markings) of all

[34] "German learners" and "German informants" in this context refers to native speakers of German, i.e. informants who grew up with German as their home language, not German nationals.

markings by the German speakers of English and 39.5% (253 of 640 markings) of the various L2 speakers' markings. Thus while the majority of markings (57.5%) fell on structures that were marked by a clear majority of the homogeneous non-native speaker group (structures marked by more than 60% of the German informants), not even half the markings (39.5%) fell on structures that were marked by the majority of the heterogeneous group (more than 60% of the various L2 speakers of English). This directly connected to the smaller share of markings falling on the structures marked by fewer than 40% of the German speaking informants (33.0%, 546 of 1654 markings) in comparison to the L2 speakers of various first languages (46.6%, 298 of 640 markings). Agreement was clearly higher among the homogeneous, in this case German, group of L2 speakers of English.

Quintiles German speakers of English

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	10	4.8%	*132 (23.4%)*	*433 (76.6%)*	*565*	*34.2%*
60-80%	9	4.3%	*153 (39.4%)*	*235 (60.6%)*	*388*	*23.5%*
40-60%	5	2.4%	*71 (45.8%)*	*84 (54.2%)*	*155*	*9.4%*
20-40%	6	2.9%	*47 (42.3%)*	*64 (57.7%)*	*111*	*6.7%*
<20%	180	85.7%	*286 (65.7%)*	*149 (34.3%)*	*435*	*26.3%*
Total	**210**	**100.0%**	***689 (41.7%)***	***965 (58.3%)***	***1654***	***100.0%***

Table 8.22

Various L2 speakers of English

Marked by	Number of structures in quintile	Quintile structures (share of total)	*Acceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Unacceptable markings (share of quintile markings)*	*Number of markings in quintile*	*Quintile markings (share of total)*
≥80%	5	3.3%	*28 (22.4%)*	*97 (77.6%)*	*125*	*19.5%*
60-80%	7	4.6%	*72 (56.3%)*	*56 (43.8%)*	*128*	*20.0%*
40-60%	6	3.9%	*54 (60.7%)*	*35 (39.3%)*	*89*	*13.9%*
20-40%	10	6.6%	*56 (65.1%)*	*30 (34.9%)*	*86*	*13.4%*
<20%	124	81.6%	*150 (70.8%)*	*62 (29.2%)*	*212*	*33.1%*
Total	**152**	**100.0%**	***360 (56.3%)***	***280 (43.8%)***	***640***	***100.0%***

Table 8.23

The share of markings that fell on the structures of the fifth quintile, i.e. those structures marked by less than 20% of the informant group and often only individual informants, was relatively similar for the German and other L2 speakers of English. While 26.3% of the German informants' markings fell on the fifth quintile, it was 33.1% for the other L2 speakers of English. In comparison, 34.2% of the German informants' markings fell on the first quintile while only 19.5% of the other L2 speakers' markings fell on the pervasively marked structures. The German speakers of English had marked 210 structures, 86 of which (49.7%) were marked by only one informant. The non-native speakers with various first language backgrounds had marked 152 structures, 70 of which (46.1%) were marked by only one informant. While a shared language background thus seems to increase agreement on what is commonly considered non-standard, as shown by the comparison of the first two quintiles, a shared native language does not seem to have a relevant effect on individual deviation from shared language conventions.

It may be assumed that the different number of informants in the groups of German and various L2 speakers affects the distribution of structures into quintiles and the distribution of markings. However, the comparison of the native speaker groups, L1P and L1T, with the non-native speaker groups, L2P and L2T, suggests that the share of informants agreeing on non-standard structures does not seem to be directly proportional to group size and the absolute number of markings. On the other hand, the comparison of non-native speakers with and without an ELT background, L2T and L2P, showed that agreement was higher among the teachers than among the other professionals. As 28 of the 36 informants (77.8%) in the L2T group were native speakers of German, greater agreement in this group may partly result from the shared native language of a majority of informants in this group. If it is assumed that language teachers have a greater metalinguistic knowledge of English and a greater awareness of common errors than other (common) speakers of a language, the smaller share of teachers in the heterogeneous L2 group (8 out of 29, 27.6%) may at the same time affect the agreement in this group negatively. So the agreement might in this case also be higher between the German informants because of the greater number of teachers. An isolated comparison of the structures in the first quintile and share of markings that fell on these structures suggests, however, that the agreement is still higher among the 28 German teachers of English (1. quintile 15 structures, 382 markings / 50.5% of all markings) than among the eight non-native speaker teachers of English who came from various linguistic backgrounds (1. quintile 5 structures, 36 markings / 20.8% of all markings; see Appendix 7). Although this cannot be representative due to the small number of non-native speaker teachers with first languages other than German, the findings fit in the greater

picture indicating that language background has a bigger impact on language awareness than professional background in form of teaching experience.

Although differences could be observed, Figures 8.19 and 8.20 illustrate that a common native language other than English has only a very limited effect on what is non-standard; the agreement is not much higher among the native speakers of German than among the group of non-native speakers of English with various first languages. The first quintile included 4.8% of all 210 structures for the German informants and 3.3% of all 152 structures for the mixed L2 group. A structurally different distribution of the five quintiles cannot be observed, the fifth quintile dominates in both cases (81.6% of all structures marked for the mixed L2 and 85.7% for the German informant group).

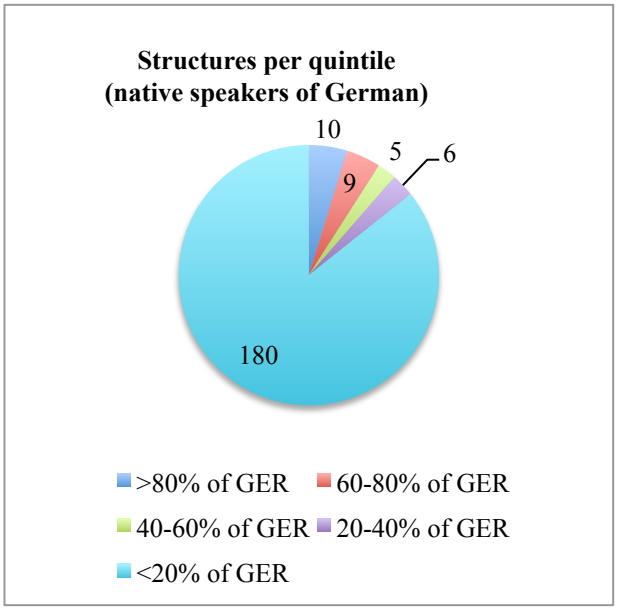


Fig. 8.19

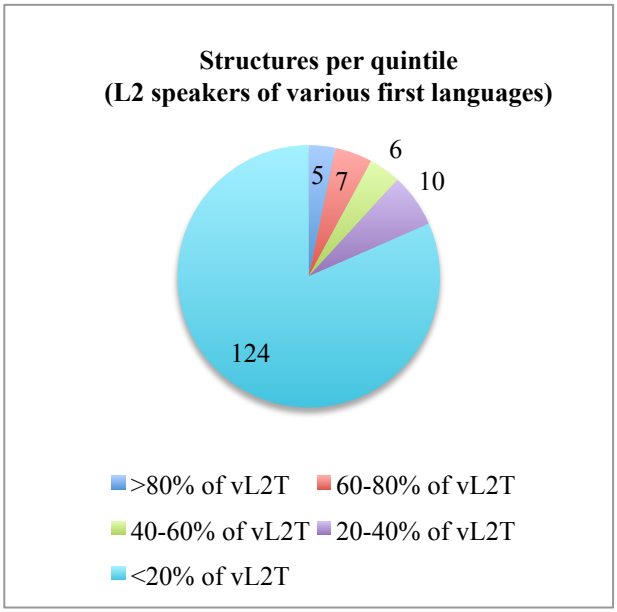


Fig. 8.20

The 62 German informants marked 210 structures 1,654 times, which is an average of 26.7 structures per informant. With 152 structures and 640 markings the non-native speakers with different first languages marked slightly fewer structures, 22.1 per informant. This, too, can hardly be explained with the greater number of teachers in the German informant group alone. The difference in markings per structure between the two groups is bigger than that between the L2P and L2T groups, 24.7 vs. 25.8. Agreement seems to be bigger among non-native speakers of the same language background. This is primarily supported by the larger first quintile of structures marked pervasively by the German informants as compared to the first quintile marked by informants of various first languages.

Acceptability (Various Non-Native Speakers)

The distribution of acceptable and unacceptable structures is similar for the homogeneous and heterogeneous L2 speaker groups. Although the typical negative correlation between frequency of marking and acceptability of a structure can be found in the data from the German speakers of English, there is a slight deviation for the fourth quintile, i.e. those structures marked by 20 to 40% of the informant group. Here a greater share of unacceptable structures than in the third quintile can be found.

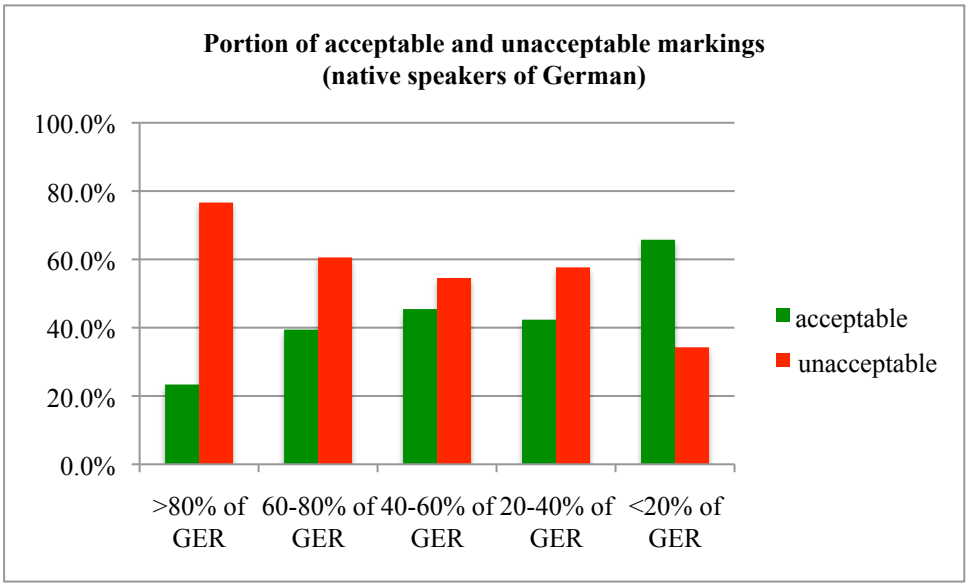


Fig. 8.21

The data from the mixed L2 group show a steady development of the share of acceptable and unacceptable structures and a similarly restrictive attitude towards the pervasively marked structures of the first quintile. As for the German speakers of English, a negative correlation between the frequency of marking and the acceptability of the structures could be found. In comparison to the group of German speakers of English, however, the other L2 speakers were slightly more lenient when they encountered structures they considered non-standard. Already those structures in the second quintile, which were marked by 60-80% of the informants, were marked acceptable more often than unacceptable. For the German informants this was only the case for those structures marked by fewer than 20% of the informant group.

A comparison of the first and fifth quintile for both groups shows that the overall difference in language attitude is very small. For the group consisting of German speakers of English only, the ten structures of the first quintile were marked 132 times as acceptable and 433 times as unacceptable, i.e. 23.4% vs. 76.6%. For the group consisting of non-native speakers of

English with various first languages, the five structures of the first quintile were marked acceptable 28 times and unacceptable 97 times, i.e. 22.4% vs. 77.6%. Overall, 58.3% of the German informants' markings identified structures as unacceptable, for the other non-native speakers the share of unacceptable markings was 43.8%.

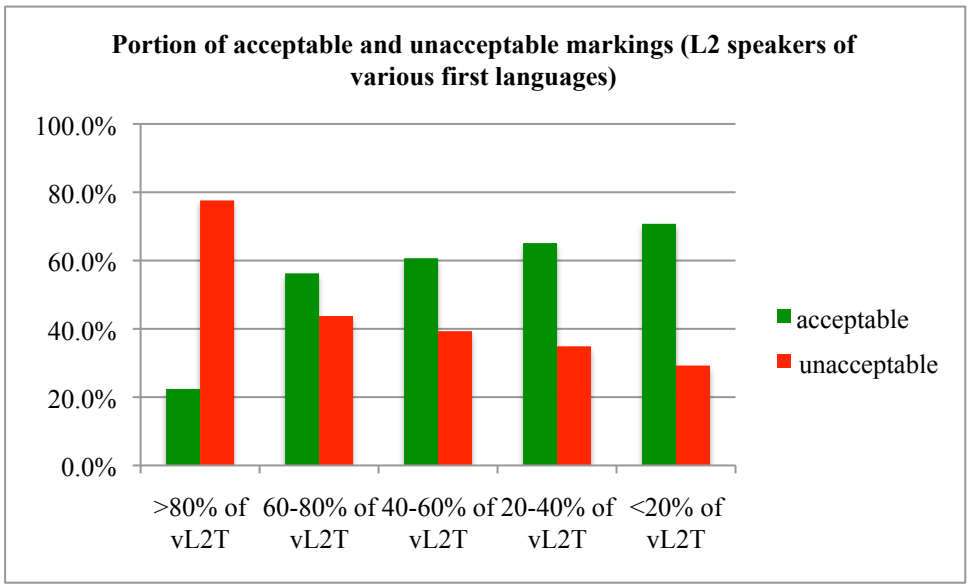


Fig.8.22

Either German speakers of English are more restrictive than other non-native speakers or the greater share of English language teachers among the native speakers of German led to greater restrictiveness in this group. A comparison of the data of those non-native speakers without ELT experience, however, rather suggests that German speakers are indeed more restrictive and that the reason is not the greater share of teachers among the German informants. The latter seems to have increased the overall restrictive attitude though. 55.3% of the markings by the 34 native speakers of German without ELT experience identified structures as unacceptable, for the other 21 non-native speakers without ELT experience the share was 45.0%, the majority of structures were thus considered acceptable. Attitude towards structures in the first quintile, however, was similarly restrictive; 74.7% of the markings by the German speakers and 75.8% of the other non-native speakers identified the structures as unacceptable (cf. Appendix 7). Not only was awareness (cf. average number of markings per informant, p. 142) higher among the German speakers of English, also their attitude towards identified non-standard structures was more restrictive. It could not be established whether the restrictive attitude is something that is particular to German speakers of English, but based on the findings for the other constellations of informants (e.g. according to professional background, sex, etc.) it may be assumed that this is an effect of the higher awareness and its negative correlation with acceptability rather than a cultural trait.

Frequently Marked Structures (Various Non-Native Speakers)

As shown above, the number of pervasively marked structures is slightly higher for the group of native speakers of German than for the group of non-native speakers of English with various language backgrounds. Table 8.24 lists the ten structures marked pervasively by the native speakers of German and the five structures marked by the group representing various L2 speakers. The native speakers of German marked all five structures marked by the heterogeneous L2 group. Also, the German speakers of English marked all six structures (I-VI) marked by all four main groups (L1P, L1T, L2P, L2T; cf. Table 8.4, p. 100), while the mixed group of non-native speakers did not mark the use of a monosyllabic adjective with periphrastic comparison (VI) pervasively (marked by 72% of the heterogeneous L2 group).

Pervasively marked structures (various L2)

No.		German speakers of English	Various L2 speakers of English
I	**Relative pronoun exchange: who/what (1)**	**x**	**x**
II	**Mass noun pluralization (2)**	**x**	**x**
III	**State verb and progressive (3)**	**x**	**x**
IV	**Relative pronoun exchange: who/which (1)**	**x**	**x**
V	**Negative concord (7)**	**x**	**x**
VI	**Monosyllabic adjective and periphrastic comparison (13)**	**x**	
VII	Omission of determiner (article) (2)	x	
VIII	**Verbal inflection after modal (4)**	**x**	
X	Invariant present tense verb form (8)	x	
XIV	Combined inflection and periphrastic comparison (superlative) (13)	x	

Bold face: structures marked pervasively by common speakers without ELT background.

Table 8.24

One explanation for the mixed L2 group showing a lower degree of agreement could be the smaller share of teachers in this group. A definite statement on the extent to which the share of teachers in the two groups affected the result is not possible, especially since four of the eight teachers with various first languages had not graduated in English or ELT. In contrast, only one of the 28 German teachers of English did not have a degree and another one did not state whether he had graduated in a relevant subject or not.

A look at the structures marked by informants without an ELT background from both groups is worthwhile. If the teachers are excluded, the native speakers of German marked seven

structures pervasively. The omission of determiners (VII), use of an invariant present tense verb form (X), and combination of inflectional and periphrastic comparison to form a superlative (XIV) were not marked pervasively by the German informants if the teachers were excluded from their group. For the non-native speakers with various first languages there is no change in the structures that were marked pervasively. Considering the low number of teachers in this group, this could be expected. The smaller number of structures marked by the German informants after the exclusion of teachers from this group supports the observation that agreement and awareness are higher among teachers than among common language users, especially among non-native speakers.

8.10 General Result Summary

Table 8.25 (p. 148) provides an overview of the different numbers of structures, markings, markings per informant, and the share of acceptable and unacceptable features marked by the four main groups defined by language and professional background. Table 8.26(p. 154) includes the same information for all informants, the different sexes, and teachers with and without a degree in English or English language teaching.

All informants together, without differentiation in language or professional background, marked 302 structures. Parallel to the findings for the different constellations of informants discussed in this chapter, 271 or 89.7% of these structures were marked by fewer than 20% of the 142 informants. All in all, the 3,764 markings meant that each informant marked an average of 26.5 structures. 1,146 of these markings (30.4% of all markings) fell upon only nine structures that were marked pervasively, i.e. by more than 80% of all informants. This means that there seems to be a very restricted core of what is commonly considered non-standard or erroneous (or rather incorrect; cf. chapter 3, p. 32) in international written English.

However, this core would be almost negligible compared to the plethora of structures marked only by few or individual informants. Bearing in mind that these individual informants still considered the structures non-standard, it is at the same time remarkable that the negative correlation between frequency of marking and acceptability could be found so persistently across all groups; although there are, as in the case of the entire informant group, individual quintiles that do not fit into the scheme. These odd quintiles are usually very small in terms of the number of structures they include and also in terms of the markings these structures received.

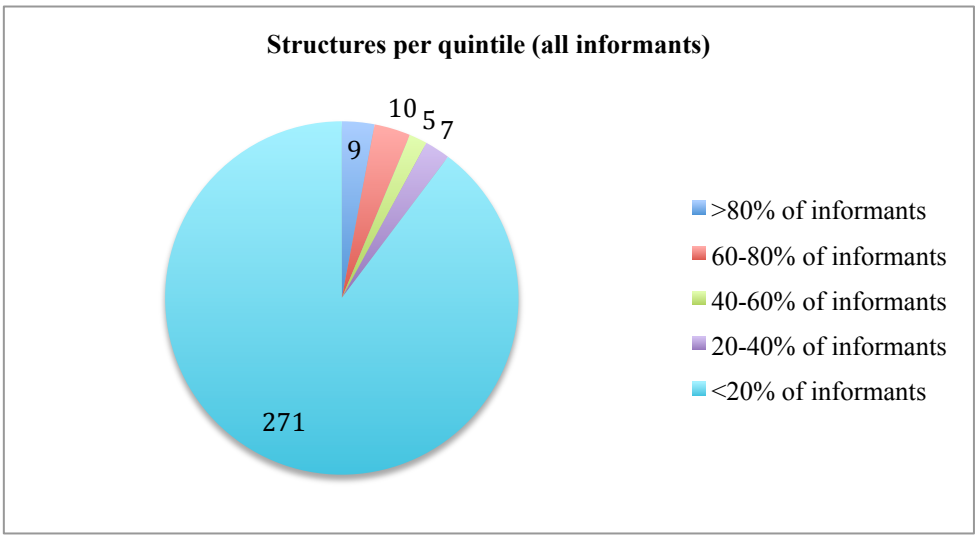


Fig. 8.23

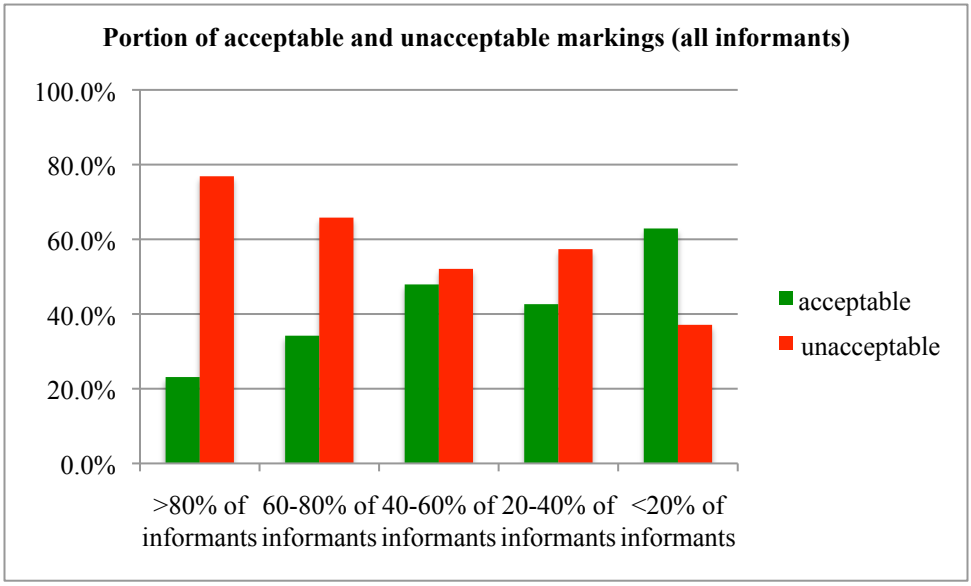


Fig. 8.24

As discussed before, the differences between the four main groups seem to be greater along the dichotomy of native and non-native speakers than along the dichotomy of teachers and other professionals. Both the number of markings per informant as an indicator of the informants' awareness for non-standard structures and the share of acceptable or unacceptable structures as an indicator of the informants' attitude towards non-standard variation are more similar between speakers of the same language background than between speakers of the same professional background.

Structures, markings, and acceptability: main groups

	L1P (n=23)	L1T (n=25)	L2P (n=58)	L2T (n=36)
Structures	124 [161.7][1]	125 [150.6]	223 [100.3]	152 [126.7]
Markings	642 [837.4]	761 [913.2]	1,433 [741.2]	928 [773.3]
Markings per informant	27.9	30.4	24.7	25.8
Unacceptable	70.2%	68.6%	50.9%	58.0%
Acceptable	29.8%	31.4%	49.1%	42.0%

Table 8.25

[1] Values in square brackets refer to normalized groups of 30.

For international communication this means that whenever native speakers are involved, the deviation from Standard English norms is more likely to be sanctioned than in communication that takes place between non-native speakers exclusively. Taking this into consideration, a typological distinction between ELF as communication between non-native speakers of English and EFL as communication between non-native speakers and native speakers (or at least as communication oriented towards the latter's language norms) would be justified. Considering ELF as the phenomenon of global communication still provides good (economic, political, and demographic) reasons for not excluding any speaker group. No matter if the participants in international ELF communication are native or non-native speakers of English, it seems almost impossible to predict all structures that will be perceived as non-standard and unacceptable by the individual interlocutor. Although the number of structures that were marked pervasively, i.e. by more than 80%, by the native speaker groups is bigger than those marked pervasively by the non-native speakers, they make up for only a very small fraction of all structures marked (L1P 14 out of 122, L1T 20 out of 125, L2P 6 out of 223, L2T 12 out of 122; cf. Figures 8.1, p. 105; 8.3,p. 110;8.5, p. 114; 8.7, p. 118). Even though the share of markings that is concentrated on those few structures in the first quintile is relatively big (e.g. 30.4% for the entire informant group) – a consequence of the great majority of informants marking those structures –, it is still the majority of structures that is not marked pervasively and would thus not be accounted for in a morphosyntactic core of international written English.

Not much surprising is the fact that the native speaker teachers (L1T) were the group that showed the greatest awareness of non-standard features in international written English (30.4 markings/informant), and the group of the common non-native speakers without ELT background (L2P) was the group with the lowest awareness (24.7 markings/informant). In ana-

logy, the L2P's group attitude was the least restrictive with only 50.9% of all markings denoting unacceptability, while the L1T group was the most restrictive with 76.1% of all markings indicating unacceptability. The non-native speaker teachers of English (L2T) and the common native speakers of English (L1P) were in between these two poles with the native speakers showing both greater awareness (27.9 vs. 25.8 markings per informant) and greater restrictiveness towards non-standard variation (70.7 vs. 57.9% of all markings indicating unacceptability). The proximity of the values for the groups with the same language background, native vs. non-native speakers, is truly remarkable considering the very limited influence ELT experience and even a college or university degree in English or ELT seems to have (cf. chapter 8.8, p. 131ff.). These more quantitative aspects neglect, however, the overlap in which structures are pervasively marked as non-standard by the various informant groups. Here, the overlap between the markings of the native speakers, especially the common native speakers without ELT experience, and the non-native speaker teachers of English stands out. Together with the native speaker teachers they share a core of 10 structures that were marked pervasively, twice the size of the core for all four groups including the common non-native speakers (cf. Table 8.4, p. 100). These cores are, of course, only valid on the basis of the forms of non-standard variation included in the sample text. Applications in language assessment and ELT would have to be based on representative assessments of non-standard structures in international ELF communication and their acceptability, which are as yet not available.

The biggest difference in awareness and attitude could be found between native and non-native speakers. Native speakers marked 4.1 structures per informant more than non-native speakers (29.2 vs. 25.1). This does not imply that the native speakers necessarily agreed on what is to be considered non-standard as the share of structures marked by fewer than 20% of the native speakers shows. Although the fifth quintile was smaller (136 of 169 structures identified, 80.5%) than the fifth quintile for the non-native speakers (233 of 262 structures, 88.9%), the share of structures marked by less than 20% of native as well as non-native speakers shows that if there is a shared core of what is not considered standard English, it is extremely restricted in comparison to individual rejection of particular structures. This applies to native speakers almost to the same extent as it does to non-native speakers. Also, over 70% of the structures were marked by less than 20% of both native speaker groups, teachers (70.4%) and other professionals (74.2%), respectively. The fifth quintile being larger for all native speakers (L1, 136 structures) than for the native speaker teachers (L1T, 88 structures) and other processionals (L1P, 92 structures) respectively is due to individual informants from either group marking structures that were not marked by anyone else. The non-native speakers showed even greater disagree-

ment than the native speakers. For all non-native speakers combined the share of structures marked by fewer than 20% of the informants was 88.9% and for both non-native speaker groups the fifth quintile made up for more than 80% of all structures marked (L2P 87.0%, L2T 81.5%). Although this shows that individual deviation from shared standards is greater among non-native than among native speakers, this does not inspire confidence in *the* native speaker as a generally reliable source for grammatically standard and acceptable English.

The difference in the number of markings per informant between teachers (T) and common speakers of English (P) is 2.1 (T: 27.7 markings/informant; P: 25.6 markings/informant) and thus only half as big as the difference between native and non-native speakers (4.1, see above). Teaching experience does not seem to have as big an influence on a reader's awareness of non-standard structures as language background. Similarly, language background also had a bigger impact on the share of non-standard structures. 69.4% of all markings by native speakers indicated unacceptability, while only 53.6% of all markings by non-native speakers indicated unacceptability (difference 15.8%). In comparison, the difference between teachers (62.7%) and common speakers of English (56.9%) was only 5.8%. So, not only awareness but also attitude was influenced by language background rather than teaching experience, which could be associated with greater sensitivity towards non-standard language and learner errors. What effect does studying English or English language teaching have then? Usually, one would expect teachers to show larger metalinguistic and grammatical knowledge than other professionals. A relatively small difference of 1.8 structures/informants between teachers who hold a degree in English or ELT and teachers who do not suggests that greater awareness and a more restrictive attitude are an effect of teaching experience rather than language studies. The fact that this difference is smaller than that between native and non-native speakers also puts the effect of tertiary education and teacher training into perspective. Native speakers without a degree in English or ELT (L1P) generally seemed to have greater expertise in terms of awareness of non-standard usage than non-native speakers who were formally better qualified (L2T). I will not make a judgment on whether the native speakers' more restrictive attitude is in any way advantageous for learners of English as a second or foreign language. It might be due to the generally restrictive attitude among the majority of informants, but then didactic and motivational aspects will also have to be taken into consideration – which would require extensive qualitative analyses of classroom communication. The effects of native speaker status, ELT experience, and studies in English and ELT obviously only affect the teachers' language awareness and attitude, not their didactical competence.

Most remarkable is the fact that there is indeed an overlap of those structures pervasively considered non-standard. Although this core is extremely restricted, it could be shown that structures formed groups: six structures were considered non-standard by all four informant groups and another five by native speakers and non-native speakers who had ELT experience (and usually a degree in English or ELT). Of the remaining ten structures, three were marked by at least two groups, one of which always were the native speaker teachers, and seven by only one native speaker group, which was with one exception the teacher group (see Table 8.4, p. 100). Awareness and agreement may thus be used as arguments for maintaining the native speaker ideal and relying on native speaker teachers where possible. However, even this obviously is no guarantee for international communication that is acceptable to all speakers involved. For this the share of individual variation, represented by the size of the fifth quintiles, variation in what was considered non-standard was too great even among the assumed language experts – no matter if native speakers or teachers or both.

If the pervasively marked structures could be graded with regard to the individual informant groups, how could the set or sets of pervasively marked structures be described? What do they represent? With the phonological common core of ELF features Jennifer Jenkins (2000: 159) provided teachers and researchers with a selection of structures that seemed not to impede successful communication despite deviating from what is generally considered Standard British English. The distinction between British English and other varieties is important because, for example, the exchange of the dental fricatives for alveolar plosives (ibid.: 137f.) could be considered standard in national varieties such as Irish English (Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 106; Hickey 2008: 85). Speakers of other varieties of English could, of course, react differently to this variant and not regard it as a form of deviation.

This study followed a different approach by eliciting not ELF production but reception. The structures included in the sample text came from various varieties and the informants themselves were speakers of various native and non-natives varieties of English. Thus, the result is not a collection of frequently used non-standard structures that do not seem to impede successful communication between speakers of different varieties but a set of structures that is rejected by ELF speakers of different language backgrounds. Due to the surprisingly low degree of agreement between and within the different informant groups, the set of structures that was generally and pervasively considered non-standard was extremely restricted. It included only nine out of 302 structures identified by the informants (see Fig. 8.23, p. 147). If the four groups defined by the informants' language and professional background are looked at individually, the set of structures that was pervasively marked by the members of all individual groups shrinks to

six. Table 8.26 (p. 154) supplements the overview of the pervasively marked structures given in Table 8.4 (p. 100) by columns indicating those structures marked pervasively by the entire informant group without regard to language and professional background and, based on normalized subgroup sizes, which structures would probably have been marked if all informant groups had been the same size.

The fact that the different informant groups were of different size only had little impact on which structures were pervasively considered non-standard. The set of pervasively marked structures would be the same as for the entire informant group, only the combination of periphrastic and inflectional comparison (no. XIV) would have to be added if all informant groups had been the same size. This structure had been marked pervasively by the native and non-native teacher groups, so it would not have been the structures pervasively marked by both L1 groups that would have been added despite native speakers being in the minority in the total test population. Despite the overlap between the structures marked pervasively by all informants and the four subgroups, it is remarkable that regularized past tense (IX) and object pro-drop (XI), both marked by more than 80% of the L1P, L1T, and L2T group, drop out of the set of pervasively marked structures. That they are not even included for all informants if the subgroups are normalized, which increases the share of the native speakers relative to that of the non-native speakers, shows how established these structures are – at least in L2 ELF usage. Object pro-drop (XI) was marked by 63.8% of the L2P group, regularized past tense (IX) by 55.2%. Awareness for these forms of variation from StE norms was thus very low among common non-native speakers despite the fact that a highly frequent irregular verb was chosen.

The structures and their representation in the sample text are, of course, only examples and the same structures could be constructed using different words. Non-standard usage of state verbs with the progressive could for example also be formed using *assume* instead of *know*, e.g. “I’m knowing this is wrong.” and “I’m assuming this is wrong.” A reader’s or interlocutor’s reaction may depend on whether a particular word can actually be used in the context of the structure in the reader’s own variety of English. The use of *what* to introduce a relative clause, for example, is common in several non-standard varieties (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 185). Even if the structure is commonly considered non-standard, this does not guarantee that the individual speaker does not assume that the structure is in fact *correct* (cf. chapter 3, p. 32) English. This is one of the reasons why not marking a particular structure, especially those commonly marked by other informants or informant groups, may indicate that a speaker, or a group of speakers with a common language background, may in fact consider the structure standard. Other possibilities are lack of attention and a difference between active usage and passive

perception and acceptance. A structure not actively used may not only be perceived as acceptable variation from correct or grammatical language usage but even as standard usage, something that could also be claimed for the perception of AmE by British speakers and vice versa.

In the following chapter, structures taken from ELF studies are focused on and investigated with regard to the frequency with which they were marked, there acceptability, and whether the individual informant groups reacted differently.

Pervasively marked structures: overview

No.		All informants	All informants normalized subgroups	L1P	L1T	L2P	L2T
I	Relative pronoun exchange: who/what (9)	x	x	x	x	x	x
II	Mass noun pluralization (2)	x	x	x	x	x	x
III	State verb and progressive (3)	x	x	x	x	x	x
IV	Relative pronoun exchange: who/which (9)	x	x	x	x	x	x
V	Negative concord (7)	x	x	x	x	x	x
VI	Monosyllabic adjective and periphrastic comparison (13)	x	x	x	x	x	x
VII	Omission of determiner (article) (2)	x	x	x	x		x
VIII	Verbal inflection after modal (4)	x	x	x	x		x
IX	Regularized past tense (5)			x	x		x
X	Invariant present tense verb form; omission of 3rd person sg. -s (8)	x	x	x	x		x
XI	Object pro-drop; detransitivization (10)			x	x		x
XII	Singularization of plural noun (2)			x	x		
XIII	Alternative prepositions (12)			x	x		
XIV	Combined inflectional and periphrastic comparison (superlative) (13)		x		x		x
XV	Intrusive determiner (article) (2)				x		
XVI	Perfective punctual past and progressive (3)				x		
XVII	Adverbial use of adjective (6)				x		
XVIII	Intrusive prepositional complement (10)				x		
XIX	Homophone exchange (14)				x		
XX	Question tag in formal letter (15; cf. chapter 9.9, p. 176ff.)				x		
XXI	Inversion of direct and indirect object (10)			x			

Table 8.26

9 ELF Structures in Focus

In this chapter, the structures that have been attested as typical features of ELF communication in previous studies are discussed. As corpus analyses and other larger scale ELF studies have not provided any empirical information on the frequency of these structures in ELF yet, it cannot be said for sure how pervasive these structures are in ELF and whether there are differences between speakers of various first languages. Seventeen allegedly typical ELF structures were taken from studies based on the VOICE and ELFA corpora. Thirteen of these structures were then included in this study. Two of the four structures that were disregarded are characterized by lexicosemantic rather than morphosyntactic forms of variation from native StE; unidiomatic phraseology (Mauranen 2010: 19) and overrepresentation of semantically general verbs (Seidlhofer 2004: 220). The other two were excluded in favor of other structures that were attested as typical learner errors or characteristic of several varieties of English. These forms were the use of *that* clauses instead of *to*-complements (ibid.) and presentational *there is* + plural (Ranta 2009: 97). Nine of the seventeen structures were marked by more than 80% of the informants of at least one subgroup. Hence, more than two thirds of the thirteen ELF structures included in the sample text were identified as non-standard. Due to the negative correlation of frequency of marking and acceptability, these nine structures were also considered largely unacceptable by at least one speaker group and three of these nine structures (mass noun pluralization (II), state verb and progressive (III), and exchange of *who* and *which* (IV)) were considered non-standard by more than 80% of all four subgroups (L1P, L1T, L2P, L2T). This is remarkable as the consensus in ELF research so far has been that typical non-standard forms do not affect ELF communication.

> In particular, typical "errors" that most English teachers would consider in urgent need of correction and remediation, and that consequently often get allotted a great deal of time and effort in English lessons, appear to be generally unproblematic and no obstacle to communicative success.
>
> (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)

It seems questionable that structures that are rejected as unacceptable by all informant groups, including typical ELF users as represented by non-native speakers without teaching experience, are really "unproblematic."

ELF structures

Structure (source)	Structure no. (cf. Table 8.4)	Marked by[1]	Line	Feature area
Pluralization of mass nouns (Mauranen 2010: 18)	II	137 (96.5%)	13, 15	2
State verb and progressive (Ranta 2006: 106f.)	III	134 (94.4%)	6	3
Pronoun exchange who vs. which (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	IV	131 (92.3%)	3	1
Regularized past tense form of strong verb (Mauranen 2010: 18)	IX	105 (73.9%)	20	5
Invariant present tense verb form, mission of 3rd person singular -s (Breiteneder 2009: 259ff.; Mauranen 2010: 18; Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	X	116 (81.7%)	18	8
Alternative prepositions (Mauranen 2010: 18)	XIII	90 (63.4%)	26	12
Perfective punctual past and progressive (Ranta 2006: 109)	XVI	77 (54.2%)	8	3
Intrusive prepositional complement (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	XVIII	91 (64.1%)	19	10
Invariant question tag / no reversed polarity (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)[2]	XX	5 - 87 (3.5% - 61.3%)	28	15
Direct question word order in reported speech (Ranta 2009: 99ff.)	-	82 (57.7%)	27	11
Progressive aspect and habitual (Ranta 2006: 108)	-	81 (57.0%)	2	3
Hypothetical concord, would in unreal conditional (Mauranen 2010: 18; Ranta 2009: 94f.)	-	90 (63.4%)	7	4
Alternative derivation: Doublets (Mauranen 2010: 18)	-	56 (39.4%)	15	11
That clause instead of *to* – complement (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	-	-	-	9, 10
Presentational / existential *there is* + plural (Ranta 2009: 97)	-	-	-	8
Unidiomatic phraseology (Mauranen 2010: 19)	-	-	-	11
Overrepresentation of semantically general verbs (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	-	-	-	11

Table 9.1

[1]The total number of informants was 142.

[2] For this structure the markings were largely ambiguous. It could not be clearly established whether the majority of markings referred to the use of question tags in formal letters in general, i.e. style, or the tags uninverted polarity, i.e. syntax. Ambiguous and unambiguous markings are listed in parenthesis. See discussion in chapter 9.9, p. 176.

A further two structures (regularized past tense (IX) and omission of 3rd person sg. -s (X)) were marked pervasively by all but the non-native/non-teaching (L2P) group. One structure (an alternative / unidiomatic preposition (XIII)) was marked pervasively only by the two native speaker groups (L1P, L1T). The remaining three structures (progressive and punctual past (XVI), Intrusive prepositional complement (XVIII), question tag in formal letter (XX)) were marked pervasively only by native speaker teachers of English (L1T). While the majority of typical ELF features seems to be problematic in international communication with regard to their identification as non-standard and unacceptable, it seems that many of these structures are only highly problematic in communicational settings that involve native speakers. Table 9.1 (p. 156) provides an overview of the seventeen ELF structures and how often they were marked.

9.1 Pluralization of Mass Nouns

Identified as a typical feature of ELF communication in the ELFA corpus by Anna Mauranen (2010:18), the pluralization of mass nouns is one of three ELF structures that were marked pervasively by all four informant groups. At the same time, the structure is something of a special case as the informants identified it as occurring in two instances in the sample text. "[M]oneys" in line 13 was marked 137 times and the instance of the structure that was marked as non-standard by all groups. The other instance was "profits" in line 15. This instance is somewhat more complex as the word alone or the plural morpheme were marked by only eleven informants, two of them native speakers, nine non-native speakers."[P]rofits" was not pervasively marked by any group. The OED defines *profit* as follows, "3. A material benefit derived from a property, position, etc.; income, revenue. **Freq. in. *pl.***" (my emphasis, s.v. *profit*, noun, meaning 3). The suggested meaning is applicable to the context given in the sample text and the indication that *profits* in fact frequently occurs in plural form means that according to the OED this is not an instance of non-standard language usage at all. While one might argue that the OED follows a more descriptive approach and, at least nowadays, primarily provides etymological information to researchers, the more prescriptive, user oriented *Oxford Dictionary of English* does not have any reference to exclusively collective usage and even gives the plural form in an example "record pre-tax profits" (Oxforddictionaries, s.v. *profit*). Nevertheless, a small number of speakers seem to reject the usage of *profit* as a countable noun. A further two non-native speaker marked "profits seems" in an ambiguous way. They marked only the last (few) letters of "profits," the first few letters of "seems" and the gap. Here, the reference could either be to the

plural morpheme, which would mean that *profits* had been marked for the pluralization of a collective noun, or to a missing comma.[35] The use of a comma at this point would have been non-standard though.

One native speaker teacher (L1T13) marked the two words "profits seems," i.e. the whole words and just the gap or surrounding letters. This marking is ambiguous, as it not only allows for the two possible interpretations given in the last paragraph, but also the possibility that the informant referred to missing number agreement between "profits," plural, and "seems," singular. The latter would belong to feature area 8, agreement, but as the subject of seems is "maximalization" (line 15; cf. chapter 9.13, p. 186), the connection thus established by the informant would also be erroneous.

Mass noun pluralization

"(many) moneys," line 15, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	5.2 (17.4%)[1]	24.8 (82.6%)	30.0 (100.0%)
L1T (n=30)	2.4 (8.0%)	27.6 (92.0%)	30.0 (100.0%)
L2P (n=30)	5.7 (19.0%)	22.2 (74.1%)	27.9 (93.1%)
L2T (n=30)	1.7 (5.6%)	27.5 (91.7%)	29.2 (97.2%)

Table 9.2

[1] The percentages in Tables 9.2-16, except Tables 9.11 and 9.13, give the share of informants from the respective groups marking the structure as either acceptable or unacceptable, **not** the share of all markings of the structure indicating un-/acceptability, cf. chapter 8.

Table 9.2 shows that this structure, as the other structures marked pervasively, was generally considered unacceptable. Both native and non-native speakers without a background in ELT (i.e. L1P and L2P) were slightly more permissive than teachers of either language background (L1T and L2T). However, the share of unacceptable markings for all groups suggests that the pluralization of collective and mass nouns is to be avoided in any communicational setting. A good command of frequent collective and mass nouns must therefore remain a major objective of ELF oriented language teaching and learning.

[35] Marked gaps usually referred to missing commas

9.2 State Verb and Progressive

In her study of the use of the progressive in ELF in academia, Elina Ranta (2006) showed that the progressive is used liberally and in contexts where it is rare or absent in native varieties (American English in her comparison). Two non-idiomatic uses of the progressive aspect were among the nine ELF structures that were marked pervasively by at least one informant group. The use of the progressive with a state verb was considered non-standard by all four informant groups, the use of the progressive with punctual perfective past only by the native speaker teachers (L1T; cf. chapter 9.7, p. 171).

The progressive use of the state verb *know* (line 6) was marked 134 times with 108 (80.6%) of these markings identifying the structure as unacceptable. Awareness for this kind of variation from Standard English was high among all groups. Non-native speakers were more lenient towards the use of the progressive with state verbs, although a clear majority of both non-native speaker groups, L2P and L2T, considered this form of variation unacceptable. The observation that structures that are generally considered non-standard are also generally considered unacceptable holds true for state verbs in the progressive. The difference between state and dynamic verbs with regard to verbal morphology should thus remain, or become, a focal feature in ELF oriented language teaching.

State verb and progressive

"knowing," line 6, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	3.9 (13.0%)	26.1 (87.0%)	30 (100.0%)
L1T (n=30)	3.6 (12.0%)	26.4 (88.0%)	30 (100.0%)
L2P (n=30)	6.7 (22.4%)	20.2 (67.2%)	26.9 (89.7%)
L2T (n=30)	5.8 (19.4%)	22.5 (75.0%)	28.3 (94.4%)

Table 9.3

Despite the markings being rather unambiguous, a look at the informants' comments is worthwhile. Three native speakers (L1P9, L1P10, L1T25) and one non-native speaker (L2P38) suggested the use of the simple form "know" and thus suggested the form required by native StE. Furthermore, L1P9 noted "tense" and L2P29 "T," probably also referring to "tense" (or "time"). This shows that some speakers may not distinguish between aspect and tense as grammatical categories. L1P11 suggested the omission of "I am knowing" altogether, in this case the reason for the informant's objection may have been style rather than grammaticality although this, con-

sidering the native speakers' unanimous marking, seems unlikely. One non-native speaker, L2P42, explicitly referred to *know* being a "state verb" and thus showing metalinguistic knowledge that could be contrasted to the "tense" comments. L2P56 noted that "it [the structure, TM] is too informal." Here, again, the question is whether the informant had stylistic reasons for his choice or whether the perceived ungrammaticality led to the conclusion that the form is not suitable for formal written communication. However, the association of StE with formal registers and the marking of a state verb in the progressive indicate that the informant had not acquired StE rules for the progressive aspect in formal language usage.

9.3 Exchange of Relative Pronouns, *which* vs. *who*

This is the second ELF structure that was marked pervasively by informants from all four groups. Barbara Seidlhofer (2004: 220) identified it based on data from the VOICE corpus as a frequent structure in ELF. Marked by 131 informants this structure was also marked pervasively by all four subgroups and largely considered unacceptable (83.2% of all markings). The markings were unambiguous and clearly identified the alternative relative pronoun as non-standard.

Exchange of relative pronouns

"which," line 3, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	6.5 (21.7%)	22.2 (73.9%)	28.7 (95.7%)
L1T (n=30)	2.4 (8.0%)	27.6 (92.0%)	30.0 (100%)
L2P (n=30)	7.2 (24.1%)	19.7 (65.5%)	26.9 (89.7%)
L2T (n=30)	0.8 (2.8%)	25.8 (86.1%)	26.7 (88.9%)

Table 9.4

As seen previously in the discussion of mass noun pluralization, the attitude towards the usage of relative pronouns was slightly more lenient among speakers of English without language teaching experience. Native speakers identified this structure more often as non-standard than non-native speakers, awareness was thus higher among native speakers. In combination this means that although awareness was higher among native speakers without an ELT background, the share of informants from this group marking the structure as unacceptable was lower (73.9%) than among non-native speakers with ELT experience (86.1%). This might indicate that attitude towards this kind of variation actually is more restrictive in the context of ELT than in

general international usage – even if common native speakers are involved in the latter. Generally, the structure is identified as non-standard and rejected as unacceptable by all four groups. In consequence, the standard usage of relative pronouns needs to remain a core objective of ELF oriented language teaching. The present data, however, suggest that the attitude among teachers is already more restrictive than that of other users. The crucial role of command of pronoun usage is supported by the fact that the exchange of the relative pronoun *who* against *what* was the most frequently marked and most unacceptable structure of all. The latter is described as a non-standard structure found in non-standard British English (Kortmann 2008b: 485); although it is rare, it also exists in Indian South African, and African American English (Bowerman 2013, Mesthrie 2013a/b, Wolfram 2013a/b).

9.4 Regularized Past-tense Forms

Regularized past tense forms of strong verbs have also been described as a frequent feature of academic ELF by Anna Mauranen (2010: 18). In contrast to mass noun pluralization and the exchange of the relative pronoun *who* against *which*, the regularized past tense form *"*teached" (line 20) was not marked pervasively by the non-native speaker user group (L2P). The informants from the other three groups, L1P, L1T, and L2T, marked the structure pervasively. A total of 105 informants marked the structure as non-standard and 78 of them considered it unacceptable (74.3% of all markings). Three informants (L1P13, L2P36, L2P43) marked "(has) already teached me" (line 20). This is slightly ambiguous as another two informants (L1T20, L2P22) had marked "already" and objected to the use of the adverb.[36]

Regularized past tense form

"teached," line 20, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	3.9 (13.0%)	22.2 (73.9%)	26.1 (87.0%)
L1T (n=30)	3.6 (12.0%)	25.2 (84.0%)	28.8 (96.0%)
L2P (n=30)	6.7 (22.4%)	9.8 (32.8%)	16.6 (55.2%)
L2T (n=30)	6.7 (22.2%)	17.5 (58.3%)	24.2 (80.6%)

Table 9.5

[36] L1T20 suggested the omission and at the same time corrected the regularized past tense form. The two markings, that of the regularized past tense form and the adverb, were separate and the markings were subsumed under individual structures rather than the longer and ambiguous "(has) already teached me" (line 20).

In contrast to the pluralization of mass and collective nouns and the exchange of the substitution of *which* for *who*, language background had a stronger influence on language attitude than teaching experience when it comes to the regularization of past tense forms. The native speakers among the informants were more restrictive than the non-native speakers and marked the structure more often as unacceptable. Awareness, as indicated by the absolute number of markings, was also higher among the native speakers. Non-Native speakers without an ELT background were considerably less aware of "teached" being non-standard than all other groups. Only 55.2% of the members of this group (L2P) marked the structure while more than 80% of the members from all other groups did. With only 1.5 times more unacceptable than acceptable markings (13 vs. 19 absolute, 6.7 vs. 9.8 normalized) common non-native speakers (L2P) who represent ELF according to the narrow definition were also the most permissive. The second lowest share of unacceptable markings could be found among the non-native speakers with ELT experience (L2T), but this group marked the regularized past tense form as unacceptable 2.6 times more often than acceptable (8 vs. 21 absolute, 6.7 vs. 17.5 normalized).

When following a conservative approach to ELF and defining it as communication among non-native speakers, it would be possible to regard this structure as less problematic than, for example, mass noun pluralization and relative pronoun exchange. Although only one third (32.8%) of the informants from the L2P group considered the structure unacceptable, this in itself is not a good basis for neglecting this structure altogether in ELF. If native speakers are included, however, it becomes clear that the acquisition of irregular past tense forms must be maintained as a major objective of ELT – even in ELF oriented settings. In this context, a change in attitude among non-native speaker teachers of English who probably share most of the workload in teaching English as a second or foreign language seems to be necessary as their attitude was much more permissive than that of native speakers (teachers and common speakers / other professionals).

9.5 Invariant Present Tense Verb Form

"[T]he 'third person –s' is communicatively redundant" (Breiteneder 2005: 5). Despite this redundancy, several informants explicitly mentioned that they were looking for this structure: the missing third person singular -s. This underlines the function as "a marker of social identity and prestige." (ibid.) the third person singular -s seems to carry not only in ENL, but also in ELF contexts. Considering the limited inflection of the English verb for person, it is almost surprising

that the invariant present tense form was marked pervasively by only three of the four groups. The common non-native speakers without ELT experience (L2P) did not mark the structure pervasively (67.2% or 39 of the 58 L2P informants marked the structure). Although some informants marked the sentence subject as well as the defining relative clause, "A dog that love you" (line 17f.), the markings were considered unambiguous as instances where informants suggested the (non-standard) use of commas could generally be identified. For example, four informants suggested the use of commas in the defining relative clause introduced by *what* in line 11 and one informant, a native speaker with ELT experience (L1T7), even suggested a comma after *you* in line 18, but in these cases the gaps were clearly marked or the commas were suggested explicitly. Therefore, the markings of subject and relative clause were considered as referring to the uninflected verb form in the relative clause.

Awareness for this frequently mentioned non-standard structure and learner error was high among native speakers and non-native speakers with a background in ELT alike. The non-native speaker teachers' awareness may emphasize the role the third person singular -s currently takes in language teaching. Awareness among common non-native speakers who had no background in teaching English classes was considerably lower.

Invariant present tense verb form

"A dog that love you," line 17f., normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	9.1 (30.4%)	18.3 (60.9%)	27.4 (91.3%)
L1T (n=30)	4.8 (16.0%)	24.0 (80.0%)	28.8 (96%)
L2P (n=30)	7.2 (24.1%)	12.9 (43.1%)	20.2 (67.2%)
L2T (n=30)	9.2 (30.6%)	17.5 (58.3%)	26.7 (88.9%)

Table 9.6

The distribution of acceptable and unacceptable markings shows that language attitude was very similar between the L1P and L2T group, while the native speakers teachers of English (L1T) were more restrictive than the two. Attitude among common non-native speakers of English (L2P) was generally similar to that of the non-native teachers (L2T) and native speaker users (L1P). For all three groups there were between 1.8 and 2 times more "unacceptable" than "acceptable" markings. In this case awareness does not seem to have a major effect on language attitude, a finding that deviates from the general tendency of frequently marked structures being generally unacceptable. In the cases of the common native speakers of English (L1P) and the non-native speaker teachers of English (L2T) the share of unacceptable markings does not

reflect the groups' pervasive marking of the structure. In line with the general tendency, the native speaker teachers of English (L1T), who also marked the structure most often, showed a much more restrictive attitude towards the omission of the third person singular –s. For this group there were five times more "unacceptable" than "acceptable" markings. At the same time, the awareness for this kind of variation was only slightly higher (ca. 5%) within this group as compared to native speaker users and non-native speaker teachers (L1P, L2T).

The structure was considered unacceptable by the majority of informants from all groups, including the L2P group representing restricted and conservative ELF usage. Thus, the third person singular -s should remain a focal feature of teaching verbal morphology in the English classroom. However, as the awareness among common non-native users was lower and the attitude of native speaker users is more permissive compared to the previously discussed structures, it might be sensible to put more emphasis on, for example, the use of pronouns and the acquisition of irregular verb forms in an ELF oriented classroom. This does not suggest that present tense morphology is to be neglected, but it probably does not need to take the top position on a priority list.

9.6 Alternative Prepositions

A less coherent marking pattern could be observed for the non-standard prepositions in the text. Principally, a distinction can be made between unidiomatic prepositions, i.e. prepositions deviating from native StE collocations, and intrusive prepositions, i.e. prepositions that are used where StE does not have them. The latter will be discussed in chapter 9.8 (p. 174). Eight instances where prepositions were marked fall into the former category of alternative prepositions:

(1) "the two of us will be **on** the car," line 26, marked 90 times
(2) "will I stay __ home," line 27, marked 11 times
(3) "basket **with** presents," line 12, marked 5 times
(4) "just **like** my father," line 4f., marked 3+1 times
(5) "help him **with** his work.," line 6, marked 4 times
(6) "wanted work **with** them," line 4, marked 2+1 times
(7) "discussed *about this **in** class," line 19, marked trice[37]
(8) "it is important **for** me," line 28, marked once

[37] "[D]iscuss about" falls into the category of intrusive prepositions and will be discussed in chapter 9.8, p. 174.

Number (1) represents the marking of unidiomatic prepositions in Table 9.7. This is the only of the seven instances where alternative prepositional usage was marked pervasively by any of the four informant groups. The use of *on* in "the two of us will be on the car" (line 26) was marked by more than 80% of both native speaker groups, i.e. those with and without ELT experience.

Table 9.7 shows that native speakers were not only more aware of this form of deviation from StE but also reacted strongly towards it. In contrast to most other structures, awareness was slightly higher among common native speakers without a background in ELT (L1P) than among native speaker teachers (L1T). The difference, however, was small in comparison to the difference between the native and non-native speaker groups. The share of non-native speaker teachers (L2T) who identified the structure as non-standard was but two thirds of that of the native speaker teachers (L2T 61.1% vs. L1T 92.0%).

Alternative preposition

"(the two of us will be) *on* (the car)," line 26, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	5.2 (17.4%)	24.8 (82.6%)	30.0 (100.0%)
L1T (n=30)	4.8 (16.0%)	22.8 (76.0%)	27.6 (92.0%)
L2P (n=30)	6.7 (22.4%)	4.7 (15.5%)	11.4 (37.9%)
L2T (n=30)	6.7 (22.2%)	11.7 (38.9%)	18.3 (61.1%)[38]

Table 9.7

As in most other cases, the common non-native speakers showed the lowest degree of awareness and were the most permissive. While the structure was marked by more than half of the L2T group (61.0%), it was marked by only 39.7% of the informants from the L2P group. Differences in language attitude were similar to the differences in awareness. In case of both native speaker groups, the share of informants marking the structure as unacceptable was five times higher than the share marking it as acceptable (L1P 17.4% vs. 82.6%; L1T 16.0% vs. 76.0%). The non-native speakers were much more lenient. In contrast to the similar attitude among native speakers, the difference between common speakers and teachers of English was big among the non-native speakers. Non-native teachers (L2T) marked the structure about two times more often unacceptable than acceptable (22.2% acc. vs. 38.9% unacc.). They also marked the structure more than twice as often unacceptable than common non-native speakers (L2T 11.7 markings, 38.9% of group; L2P 4.7, 15.5%, both groups normalized). While the majority of markings from the other three groups identified the use of *of* in this context as non-standard, the majority of

[38] The sum deviates from the values for the acceptable and unacceptable markings due to rounding (6.669+11.669).

non-native speaker users (L2P) who had marked the structure considered it acceptable (22.4% (6.7) vs. 15.5%(4.7) of group (n=30), 58.8% vs. 41.2% of markings (n= 11.4)). Generally, it can be concluded that this example of an unidiomatic preposition is less problematic in communication among non-native speakers than in communication involving native speakers. A share of only 15.5% of the common non-native speakers (L2P) who identified the preposition as unacceptable almost allows for calling it unproblematic in L2 ELF usage. In this case, the inclusion of native speakers, who showed higher awareness and more disapproval, in ELF determines how this form of variation is to be treated in ELF oriented language teaching.

Informants L2P9, L2P43, and L2P56 marked the whole clause "the two of us will be on the car" (line 26). They could therefore also have referred to "the two of us," which was marked eleven times. As this phrase was marked by no native speaker and only a relatively small number of non-native speakers (11 L2P (19.0%) and 1 L2T (2.8%)), it could be assumed that a lack of familiarity with the expression NUMERAL + of + PRONOUN was the reason for their marking. Thus markings of the entire temporal clause were not included in the figures for the alternative preposition.

Instance (2), "stay __ home" (line 27), of potentially non-standard use of prepositions was marked ten times. First, it should be mentioned that this would be an example for the omission of a preposition or rather a zero-preposition after *stay*. This was the only instance in which the informants suggested adding a preposition and therefore it is discussed here rather than in an extra category. Zero preposition is treated as the use of an alternative preposition in this context. *Stay home* without the preposition *at* is not generally non-standard in the major native varieties. Quirk et al. (1972: 315) state in their *Contemporary Grammar of English* that where the meaning of the verb includes the meaning of the preposition, the latter may be omitted. As the syntactic environment does not allow for any other preposition, excluding the complex preposition *away from*, to be inserted in this sentence, it can be argued that the omission of *at* would be grammatical. The *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* (McIntosh 2009: 805) lists *stay home* as well as *stay at home*, the former being marked as American English. Treating *stay home* as (standard) American usage would also be supported by Merriam Webster's dictionary, which gives the example "stayed *home* all day" (Merriam Webster, s.v. *home*). The OED also gives the following example sentence from the novel *Then Again, Maybe I Won't* by the American writer Judy Blume "Why can't I stay home and loaf around" (OED, s.v. *home,* adv.).

A total of eleven informants (L1P: 4, L1T: 1, L2P: 2, L2T: 4) had marked "stay __ home." One informant, L1P9, who marked the structure as acceptable deviation from StE suggested "stay at home" and at the same time noted that "stay home," as given in the text, would

be acceptable in American English, thus agreeing with the dictionary entries mentioned above. One further native and one non-native speaker suggested the insertion of *at* without reference to American vs. British usage. The only native speaker with experience (but without a degree) in ELT who marked the structure suggested "when I will come home and help him" (L1T19). A similar suggestion comes from L1P11, a native speaker without ELT background. She suggested "[will I] finish my studies [and help him]." These suggestions indicate that some informants, especially native speakers, may have rejected the use of *stay (at) home* in this context altogether and that the, from the point of view of British English, missing preposition may not have been decisive. Instead, this would be a question of style, possibly lexical preference.

Non-standard preposition number (3) was *with* in "basket with presents" (line 12). This one was marked five times, four times by native speakers and once by a non-native speaker. Two of the native speakers (L1P9, L1P19) suggested *of* and one of them (L1P9) stated that the "presents [were] in the basket, not alongside [it]." With three out of twenty-three informants marking the structure (13.0%), the native speakers without ELT background (L1P) marked this structure most often (L1T 4.0%, L2P 0.0%, L2T 2.7%). The OED and *Collins English Dictionary* (s.v. *basket*) both list usages and examples of *basket of* but not *basket with*. The *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* (McIntosh 2009: 59) only lists *of* as a preposition collocating with basket and the example sentence given resembles that in the sample text, "basket of flowers/fruits" (ibid.), *basket* + *of* + NP (content). Hence, *basket with* is indeed no idiomatic collocation in the major codified native varieties and can thus be considered non-standard. This makes the low number of markings, especially from the otherwise most attentive native speaker teachers most remarkable. Generally, the low number of markings shows that the vast majority of informants, native as well as non-native speakers, did not identify the structure as non-standard. The large number of non-standard structures contained in the sample text, the majority of them unidiomatic in terms of both American and British English, may have had an impact on the readers' perception. If the reading process involved a relative evaluation mechanism that filtered the structures and placed them, unconsciously, on a continuum with regard to their obscurity and non-standardness, it is possible that this use of the alternative preposition was not considered severe enough for it to break the "marking-threshold." Otherwise, it seems that this structure, although it is in fact unidiomatic and non-standard, is rarely perceived as such in international written communication. The great difference in the number of markings between case (1), "on the car," and case (3), "basket with presents," suggests that although the use of non-standard prepositions does not necessarily raise major attention and rejection, effects on meaning

might play a role. Change in position, *on* vs. "*in* the car," probably is not a necessary condition, as the comment from (L1P9) shows, *in* vs. *alongside* the basket.

Preposition number (4) was *like* in "just like my father" (line 4f.). This structure was marked four times, all four markings coming from non-native speakers (L2P 1, L2T 3). One of the markings was ambiguous in that the entire prepositional phrase including the modifying adverb was marked. The informant (L2T20), one of the three teachers, could also have referred to the separation of the phrase from the main clause by a comma (clause final parenthesis). In this case, the prepositional phrase would have been interpreted as an incomplete sentence (missing predicate).

In another instance *like* as a conjunction was marked, "grown up like I did" (line 7). This usage of *like* elicited stronger reactions from the informants. *Like* as a conjunction was marked fifteen times, six times by native speakers (12.5% of NS) and nine times by non-native speakers (10.6% of the non-native speakers). Although the number of markings is very low, the reaction especially of L1T18 was very strong, he commented that "'[l]ike' used as a conjunction is unfortunately becoming more acceptable." Three informants suggested *as.* Possibly, without further evidence, some informants had stylistic objections against the use of *like* as a conjunction that were then transferred to the use of *like* as a preposition. On a formal level, no general restrictions are made to the use of *like* as either a preposition or conjunction. The OED as well as Merriam Webster's list *like* for both parts of speech. While there is no general comment on usage in the OED, Merriam Webster's states that "[t]here is no doubt that, after 600 years of use, the conjunctive *like* is firmly established. […] While the present objection to it is perhaps more heated than rational, someone writing in a formal prose style may well prefer to use *as, as if, such as,* or an entirely different construction instead." (Merriam-Webster, s.v. *like*). Oxforddictionaries.com supports the sentiments against the use of *like* as a conjunction in formal written English, "[a]lthough **like** has been used as a conjunction in this way since the 15th century by many respected writers, it is still frowned upon and considered unacceptable in formal English, where **as if** should be used instead" (emphasis in original, Oxforddictionaries, s.v. *like*). While the American Merriam Webster's gives a more neutral, descriptive account of possible resentment against *like*, the British Oxford dictionary is more prescriptive and advises the writer to use *as if* instead. As with *stay at home* vs. *stay home* this difference in usage and attitude may also be explained with differences between the two major native varieties. Merriam Webster's represents AmE, in which *like* as a preposition is more or less accepted although not preferred. The *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxforddictionaries.com) represents BrE, in which *like* is considered generally unacceptable in formal usage. For both structures the low number of markings

suggests that the use of *like* as a preposition as well as a conjunction does not qualify as focal features for ELF oriented language teaching.

Preposition number (5) was also marked four times. *With*, in "help him *with* his work" (line 6), was not marked by any native speaker with an ELT background (L1T), two times by common native speakers (L1P), and once by a non-native speaker teacher (L2T) and non-native speaker user (L1P) each. Two of the four informants, L1P19 and L2T27, suggested *in* instead of *with*. The *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* (McIntosh 2009) does not list *in* as a preposition collocating with the "effort" sense of *work*. *With* is only mentioned as a modifier of the theme of the work, "[s]he's done a lot of work with disadvantaged children" (p. 948). This use is syntactically and semantically different from the use in the sample text. For the "job" sense of *work*, the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* lists, in addition to "at [work]," "in (your) [work]" (ibid.). While the first example sentence given is not transferable to the sample text of this study as *in work* is contrasted to *out of work;* "[w]ith so much unemployment, I'm lucky to be in work" (ibid.). The second example given, however, may explain the suggestion of *in (work)*, "[i]t's important to be happy in your work" (ibid.). So, if *in*, as suggested by the informants, introduces a prepositional phrase and modifies work, this suggestion would agree with what is suggested in popular reference (the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* in this case). However, *with* could also be read as complementing *help*. *With* but not *in* is given as a collocation of the verb *help* in its "do [something] for [somebody]" (p. 390) sense, "[h]e'll need help with his homework" (ibid.). Neither the collocations given for *help* nor those given for *work* present strong evidence for the structure being unidiomatic, which is supported by the low number of markings.

The third case, number (6), in which the preposition *with* was considered non-standard was *"*I have always […] wanted to work with them" (line 4). In this case the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* does not offer a suggestion that explains the marking. *As* and *on* are mentioned as collocations that connect the verb *work* with the theme of the work; "[…] work[ing] at this problem," "[…] work[ing] on plans […]" (McIntosh 2009: 949). Both prepositions seem to be incompatible with animates as the theme of work: **I have been working at animals*, **I have been working on animals.* The latter is possible from an acrobatic and semantic perspective but would change the meaning suggested by the given context. The preposition *with* is mentioned as a collocation, but the example given is not very helpful, as *with* does not refer to the theme of the verb, e.g. "the people you work with" (ibid.). All three informants who marked this structure were non-native speakers, two of them users (L2P) and one teacher (L2T). The overall low number of markings, the fact that no native speaker marked the structure, and the absence of a collocating preposition that would allow for a combination of *to work* and

an animate object suggest that the use of *with* here is grammatically and stylistically, in terms of idiomaticity, unproblematic.

Preposition number (7) is *in*, "[w]e also discussed about this *in* class" (line 19). While *about* as an intrusive definition in the same sentence was marked fairly frequently (91 times, c.f. chapter 9.8), *in* was marked only three times. As with number (6), "work *with* them" (line 4), all three markings came from non-native speakers; two users (L2P) and one teacher (L2T) of English. No alternatives were suggested. The *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* does give *in class* as the only collocating preposition for *class* (McIntosh 2009: 125). Although this structure, too, is grammatical and idiomatic according to authoritative references for English language usage, a possible explanation may be that the informants expected a preposition of time, like *during*, rather than a preposition that also can refer to place. As for acceptability in international English, this seems of relatively low importance when compared to more frequently marked structures – especially since all three informants considered this a form of acceptable variation from the standard.

The last preposition, number (8), was *for* in "[s]o you understand it is important *for* me to be allowed to repeat the exam[…]" (line 27f.). This preposition was only marked once by a non-native speaker of English, L2T27. Possibly, the informant expected *to* instead of *for*. This, however, would change meaning. *Important to* means that the speaker or writer attaches great personal interest to the subject. The LDOCE gives the following advice on usage, "[!] When you mean that you care or think about something a lot, say that it is **important to** you, not that it is "important for' you" (emphasis in original, s.v. *important*).[39] In the context of the sample text, the choice of *for* is appropriate as the writer refers to situational circumstances that require him to repeat the exam. The choice of preposition is therefore not to be considered non-standard in terms of idiomaticity in native varieties.

As the number of markings for alternative prepositions and prepositional complements with the exception of *on the car* (line 26) are all low, it may be argued that variation in complementation is generally unproblematic both in terms of reader awareness as well as attitude, as long as meaning is not affected. The latter is the case with *on the car* (line 26) which explicitly changes the location of the subjects from *in the car* (McIntosh 2009: 101) but, at least potentially, also preposition number (7) *discuss […] in class* and number (3) *basket with.* The similarity in reaction towards the American *stay home* and the generally unidiomatic *basket with* is

[39] Please note that neither *The Oxford English Grammar* (Greenbaum 1996: 341) nor *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (Quirk et al. 1972: 748) exclude the use of the inflected verbs in unreal conditionals from StE, they merely note that "the subjunctive [is] being preferred in formal written English" (ibid.). In TESOL, however, the use of the subjunctive is sometimes presented as the only grammatical form (own observation).

striking. Whether a prepositional complement is generally unidiomatic or part of a major native variety that is not used by the individual speaker does not seem to make a big difference. Considering the small group size and the selection of prepositions, the results should not be understood as being representative. For subsequent studies, a focus on the effect of changes in meaning seems promising.

9.7 Perfective Punctual Past and Progressive

The second instance, cf. chapter 9.2 (p. 158ff.),in which the progressive is used in ELF but not in native varieties of StE could be described as *perfective punctual past*. Here, native StE would use past tense to describe an incident that took place and was completed in the past. The example from the sample text is "I saw how my father **was saving** a puppy" (emphasis not in sample; line 7f.). In Standard English the sentence should have been "I was sure that I wanted to be a veterinarian, when I saw how my father **saved** a puppy." Greenbaum (1996) states that "[t]he progressive is primarily used to focus on the situation as being in progress at a particular time. Accordingly, it is not used to refer to a situation that is represented as a state" (p. 276). If the fictional author of the sample text had wanted to express that he made the decision to become a veterinarian *while* he watched his father save the dog, the use of the progressive would be appropriate according to Greenbaum's definition. As the author states that he "was sure," he emphasizes the stative character of the situation. The ongoing action, the "progress" in Greenbaum's definition, is not relevant for the state nor is the "duration of the situation" (ibid.: p. 254). On the contrary, it seems that the combination of the stative "was sure" and the progressive would only be sensible if the state had been limited to the duration of the ongoing action, i.e. the author did not want to become a veterinary before or after the incident.

Seventy-seven informants marked the use of the progressive with punctual past, thirty-eight of them considered it unacceptable (49.4%). Only the native speakers with ELT experience marked the structure pervasively (22 of 25 informants; 88.0%) – for all other groups the share of informants marking the structure was much lower, although there still is a notable difference between the L2 groups and the common native speakers without ELT experience (L1P).

Perfective punctual past and progressive

"my father was saving," line 8, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	6.5 (21.7%)	11.7 (39.1%)	18.3 (60.9%)[40]
L1T (n=30)	6.0 (20.0%)	20.4 (68.0%)	26.4 (88.0%)
L2P (n=30)	9.8 (32.8%)	3.6 (12.1%)	13.4 (44.8%)
L2T (n=30)	8.3 (27.8%)	4.2 (13.9%)	12.5 (41.7%)

Table 9.8

Awareness of this non-standard use of the progressive aspect was only about half as high among non-native speakers, common speakers and teachers (L2P and L2T), as among native speaker teachers of English (L1T), with the native speaker users (L1P) between these two poles. The great difference in awareness is also reflected in language attitude, as the native speakers, both teachers and users, were more restrictive than the non-native speakers. While only about a fifth of the markings from the native speaker teachers identified the structure as acceptable (5 out of 22 markings; 22.7%), 66.7% of the markings from non-native speaker teachers (L2T; 10 of 15 markings) indicated acceptability. This means that 68.0% or seventeen out of twenty-five native speaker teachers (L1T) but only five out of thirty-six non-native speaker teachers (L2T, 13.9%) marked the structure as unacceptable.

The common non-native speakers (L2P) were even more lenient with only seven out of fifty-eight (12.1% of the group) marking the structure as unacceptable and nineteen as acceptable (32.8% of group). Thus, native speaker teachers did not only show a higher awareness of the fact that this use of the progressive is non-standard, they were also much more restrictive than both non-native speaker groups (L2P, L2T). The native speaker users, again, were somewhere between the two groups with about twice as many unacceptable markings than acceptable markings (9 out of 14 markings; 64.3% of all markings and 39.1% of the 23 members of the L1P group). The common non-native speakers (L2P) showed similar awareness and attitude as the non-native speaker teachers (L2T). Only seven of the twenty-six informants who had marked the structure considered it unacceptable (12.1% of informants, 26.9% of markings).

While the markings show how the structure is perceived by the informants, their comments, suggestions, and patterns in the individuals' markings show that there is additional variation in what they expected – and possibly also in what the informants would have used themselves. Six informants, L1T3, L1T6, L1T20, L2P24, L2P48, and L2T30, marked *how* and

[40] Deviation of the total value is the result of rounding (6.522+11.739).

was, thus suggesting "saw my father saving a puppy." L1P1 marked only *how* and L2P38 suggested "I was watching my father saving." What these markings and suggestions have in common is that the form of the auxiliary *be* is omitted before *saving.* This way the full progressive form is replaced by a non-finite subordinate clause with the –ing participle complementing the transitive verb *saw*. L2P38 retained the progressive aspect by suggesting "was watching" instead of *saw*. As mentioned above, the use of the progressive would comply with StE grammar, as codified in Greenbaum (1996: 254, 276), if the decision were *made* while the dog's saving formed an ongoing background action. In the sample text, however, the author was already in a *state* where he "was sure" (line 7) of his decision. Thus, the conflict between the progressive form and the stative "I was sure" (line 7), which calls for the use of simple aspect, is not solved. Nevertheless, this shows that the informant was uncomfortable with the present formulation.

Four informants, L1P9, L1P10, L1P20, L2T33, suggested "when I saw how my father saved," two more, L1P11, L1P19,"watched/saw my father save." In these cases, the progressive form is replaced by the past tense form, and thus expresses the completed action in the past and avoiding conflict between state verbs and progressive use. L1P11 suggestion of *watched* instead of *saw* can be considered a lexical preference and a question of style rather than grammaticality. L2P31 noted "time." Here it is unclear if the informant referred to the use of the progressive. Shifting the tense of the progressive form to "is saving" would cause a breach in tense agreement with the main clause "I was sure." As the latter had not been marked, it must be assumed that the informant did not actually refer to a possible shift in tense, but rather the non-standard use of aspect. Thus, the informant did not differentiate between tense and aspect. This phenomenon that could be observed in the comments of L1P9 and L2P29 on the use of the progressive state verbs as well (cf. chapter 9.2, p. 159).

The number as well as the ratio of acceptable and unacceptable markings indicates that the use of the progressive with punctual incidents in the past is indeed of lower importance for lingua franca communication among non-native speakers. Although only 12.1% of the L2P group, representing typical non-native ELF usage, marked the structure as unacceptable, a total share of 44.8% of the informants in this group marking the structure shows that in this particular case there is a discrepancy between acceptability and awareness. Where native speakers are involved, however, the structure gains some weight in terms of being perceived as unacceptable by a greater share of native speaker interlocutors. Even if native speakers are included, here this use of the progressive cannot be considered one of the most problematic structures as only 39.1% of the common native speakers (L1P) marked the structure as unacceptable. Considering the use of the progressive with punctual past as non-standard, also seems to depend on context. It could,

for example, be linked to the use of state and dynamic verbs ("*make* a decision" vs. "*be* sure") in combination with the use of the progressive to describe an ongoing and embedding action. At least in direct comparison with the progressive use of state verbs, the use of the progressive with punctual past seems to be relatively unproblematic in written ELF (marked by 54.2% vs. 94.4% of all informants).

9.8 Intrusive Prepositional Complement

In chapter 9.6 (p. 164) it has already been mentioned that not only the use of alternative prepositions has been attested as a feature of ELF but also the insertion of prepositions where native standard varieties do not have them (Seidlhofer 2004: 220). One example for this phenomenon is the intrusive *about* after *to discuss* (cf. line 19 of the sample text). While the transitive verb *discuss* does not require a preposition but is directly followed by a NP object, the intransitive verb *talk* often takes the preposition *about* in order to specify the topic of the conversation in a prepositional phrase. One informant, L1P9, explicitly referred to transitivity in her comment on this non-standard structure. Due to the sense synonymy of the two words, non-native speakers may be tempted to use about with *discuss* in the same way they would with *talk*. Ninety-one informants marked this structure, either *discuss about* or just *about*, 42 of which considered it acceptable (46.2% of all markings). As with most other structures, the native speakers among the informants showed a greater degree of awareness of this structure being non-standard and were more restrictive than the non-native speakers.

Intrusive prepositional complement

"discussed about," line 19, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	10.4 (34.8%)	13.0 (43.5%)	23.5 (78.3%)
L1T (n=30)	7.2 (24.0%)	19.2 (64.0%)	26.4 (88.0%)
L2P (n=30)	8.3 (27.6%)	5.2 (17.2%)	13.4 (44.8%)
L2T (n=30)	10.0 (33.3%)	10.8 (36.1%)	20.8 (69.4%)

Table 9.9

Although the native speaker teachers (L1T) were the only group of which more than 50% of the informants marked the use of the preposition as unacceptable (64.0%), attitude and awareness varied greatly. Native speakers with ELT experience (L1T) form one extreme, here there were

2.7 times more unacceptable than acceptable markings. Common non-native speakers of English (L2P), i.e. typical ELF users, on the other hand marked the structure 1.6 times more acceptable than unacceptable. Interestingly, the ratio of acceptable and unacceptable markings does not indicate a particularly restrictive attitude towards this feature among the native speaker users (L1P) among the informants. This is surprising as the results for alternative prepositions (cf. chapter 9.6, p. 164ff.) show that common native speaker users (L1P) were even more restrictive than native speaker teachers of English (L1T). Generally, awareness was higher among native speakers than among non-native speakers. *(Discuss) about* was marked by 40 out of 48 native speakers (83.3%) and 51 out of 94 non-native speakers (54.3%). The difference between non-native speaker teachers (L2T) and both native speaker groups was, however, smaller than the difference between the non-native speaker teachers and the common non-native users of English (as a lingua franca; L2P). Among L2 ELF users, additional, intrusive prepositions seem to be relatively unproblematic in terms of awareness and especially attitude. Care has to be taken, however, where native speakers are included in ELF communication. Although the common native speakers (L1P) did not mark the structure pervasively (i.e. it was not marked by more than 80% of the informants from this group), awareness is high and attitude considerably more restrictive than among common non-native speakers (L2P). ELT experience led to a more restrictive attitude and higher awareness among both native and non-native speakers.

It is not clear whether the semantic relation of *to talk* and *to discuss* can explain the difference in awareness of this structure compared to the use of alternative prepositions among the native speaker users (L1P 78.3% vs. 100.0%). The awareness among non-native users (L2P) is similar for both structures, the use of alternative prepositions (37.9%) and intrusive preposition (44.8%). If the sense synonymy of *talk* and *discuss* does play a role, the effect is probably not very strong. Rather, the use of idiomatic prepositions did not seem to be of the utmost importance to the non-native speakers among the informants, as the use of alternatives and inserted prepositions were identified by less than half of them. This does not mean that the acquisition of prepositional collocations is irrelevant to this speaker group, but it seems to be of lower importance than, for example, the use of pronouns, the standard use of the progressive, and the avoidance of mass and collective noun pluralization.

Two further prepositions that were marked in the sample text can be subsumed under this category. First, "help **out** at home" (line 3) and second "rushing **out to** emergencies" (line 27). The former was marked fourteen times, thirteen times of which by non-native speakers. Nine markings (64.3%) identified the structure as acceptable, five (35.7%) as unacceptable. Oxforddictionaries.com gives "the teenager **helped out** in the corner shop" (emphasis in origi-

nal, Oxforddictionaries, s.v. *help*) as an example for the intransitive verb *to help* in British as well as American English. The sense in this example is synonymous with that in the sample text, thus the dictionary as an authoritative, prescriptive source suggests that *help out* in this context is idiomatic in both major native varieties. Eight of the thirteen non-native speakers who marked this structure were native speakers of German, one an Arabic/German bilingual. German has the verb *aushelfen,* which has the same meaning and where the preposition in *help out* is used analogically as a prefix of the verb. Lexical reasons can thus hardly account for the reason for the informants' markings.

The second case, "rushing **out to** emergencies" (line 27) was marked by four to five non-native speakers depending on how the markings are interpreted; no native speakers marked this passage. Four informants marked either the entire clause, *rushing out*, or *out*. One further informant marked *to*. As a transitive verb *rush out* refers to the rapid production or publication of a product (cf. LDOCE, Macmillan, and Oxforddictionaries, s.v. *rush*). However, the verb in the sample text is intransitive and combined with adverb of direction, this does not apply; Oxforddictionaries gives "I rushed outside and hailed a taxi" (s.v. *rush*) as an example. The differentiation between adverbs of direction and prepositions, however, might, at least for non-native speakers, be largely opaque. Oxforddictionaries, for example, also gives "he ran out the door" as an example for prepositional usage and "he walked out into the street" for the adverb (s.v. *out*). As *out* is followed by the preposition *to* in the example used for this study, *out* must be an adverb of direction followed by a prepositional phrase, basically of the same structure as the "out into" example from Oxforddictionaries. This is supported by the OED, which lists *out to* in several instances of directional use (OED, s.v. *out*). *Rush out to* therefore cannot be considered a case of intrusion of a non-standard preposition.

9.9 Invariant Question Tag / No Reversed Tag Polarity

In her 2004 paper on "Research Perspectives on Teaching ELF," Barbara Seidlhofer lists "[f]ailing to use correct forms in tag questions (e.g., *isn't it?* Or *no?* instead of *shouldn't they?*)" (p. 220) as one of those ELF features that are generally considered typical learner errors but appear to be unproblematic in ELF communication. Many non-standard varieties of English feature the invariant use of certain question tags, especially *isn't it* or *innit* (cf. Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 165). For this study, based on observations of German learner English, the focus was put on the non-inverted polarity of the tag question. The example used in the sample text was

"So you understand […], do you?" (line 27f.). Here both tag question as well as the main verb are positive, for reversed polarity in StE would have the tag negated. An in-depth investigation of question tags in international English would have to focus on the distinction between the invariant use of idiomatic invariant tags such as *isn't it?*, *innit?*, *huh?*, and *right?* and uninverted polarity as two distinct phenomena. One being a form of lexical the other of syntactic variation. Investigations of *written* English, however, will most probably face another problem: a tendency to reject question tags in writing. One informant went even a step further and stated that "putting a question on the end of an important letter decreases the importance of the letter" (L1P10). The views expressed in this statement may themselves be object of a study of intercultural communication in English but comments on the formality of the tag or suggestions of omission (L1T10, L1T19, L1T20, L2P31, L2P32, L2P41, L2P56) more specifically identified the use of tags in written English as informal. While only five informants explicitly referred to the uninverted polarity, eighty-two markings were ambiguous or referred to style and register. If the ambiguous markings are included, the use of uninverted question tags or question tags in general was marked as non-standard by more than 80% of the native speakers English language teachers (cf. Table 8.4, p. 100).

Of the seven informants who explicitly referred to the uninverted polarity in the tag, five were non-native speakers. Three of these non-native speakers considered the use of the uninverted tag unacceptable, two considered it acceptable. One native speaker, a teacher (L1T16), who marked the tag and referred to its polarity, considered it acceptable, the other, a common speaker (L1P20), as unacceptable. The limited number of informants who explicitly referred to tag polarity indicates that the use of uninverted tag questions itself might be a minor issue in international communication. This would support Seidlhofer's (2004: 220) claim that this form of deviation from StE does not affect the communicational success in ELF – even if acceptability rather than the absence of ambiguity determines successful communication.

Of the 80 ambiguous markings, fifty (62.5%) expressed unacceptability and 30 (37.5%) acceptability. Table 9.10 shows the usual differences in awareness and attitude between native and non-native speakers.

Invariant question tag

"do you?" line 28, normalized **ambiguous** markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	7.8 (26.1%)	14.3 (47.8%)	22.2 (73.9%)
L1T (n=30)	4.8 (16.0%)	19.2 (64.0%)	24.0 (80.0%)
L2P (n=30)	6.7 (22.4%)	5.2 (17.2%)	11.9 (39.7%)
L2T (n=30)	5.8 (19.4%)	10.8 (36.1%)	16.7 (55.6%)

Table 9.10

Although they did not explicitly identify the polarity of the tag, a great majority of both native speaker groups considered either the structure or the use of the question tag non-standard in (international) written English. Whether the unreversed polarity or the use of a question tag in formal written communication was the reason for their marking the structure, could not be established. The informants may have recognized the ungrammaticality of the tag but preferred omission of the tag due to stylistic reasons to correcting the polarity. The markings of another eleven informants were ambiguous in that their references were to the pragmatic aspects, specifically politeness. Comments included "tone rather too forward; English speaker would be more reserved" (L1P9), references to formality (L2P56), appropriateness (L2P38), and suggestions for different formulations that changed the somewhat patronizing address, "So you understand […]" (l. 27f.) into a different construction as well as forwent the tag question, e.g. "I am sure you understand how important it is for me under these circumstances to repeat the exam" (L1T19).

While ambiguity and variation in the informants' comments do not allow for a definite answer to the question whether question tag formality is problematic in international written English – and should thus receive more attendance in ELF oriented language teaching – the data suggest that polarity might actually be of minor concern but that the use of question tags may generally be problematic in written communication, especially when native speakers are involved.

9.10 Direct Question Word Order in Reported Speech

The use of direct question word order in reported speech has been attested as a feature of English as a lingua franca in academia (Mauranen 2010: 18; Ranta 2009: 94f.). In the sample text the following example was used to test the informants' awareness and attitude: "My father also asks

when will I stay home and help him." (line 27; "stay home" cf. chapter 9.6 p. 166). The absolute number of markings is not much lower than for structures such as the regularization of verbal past tense forms (IX) or the use of alternative prepositions (XIII), which were marked pervasively by three and two of the four informant groups respectively. Still, none of the four informant groups marked the use of direct question word order in indirect questions pervasively (cf. Table 9.11, p. 179). There were a couple of informants who marked the entire sentence. Their markings must be considered ambiguous as (1) "also" and (2) "[also] asks" (line 27) were also marked as non-standard if rarely ((1) two times; (2) five times). Markings of the whole sentence could thus have referred to the adverb or the simple present form. The adverb *also* was also rejected in other instances (line 19). The verb *asks* might have to do with the habitual use (non-standard expectation of the progressive, cf. chapter 9.11, p. 182), lexical choice (e.g. "keeps asking" suggested by L2P38), or the use of zero preposition before *home* (cf. chapter 9.6, p. 166). If the ambiguous markings are added to the unambiguous markings, the structure rises within the second quintile for the two non-native speaker groups and comes within five points of the 80% margin set for pervasively marked structures.

Inverted question word order in reported speech I: absolute markings

"will I stay," line 27

	Unambiguous + ambiguous markings	Percent of informants marking this structure
L1P	5 + 4	21.7% ; 39.1%
L1T	16	64.0%
L2P	38 + 6	65.5%; 75.86%
L2T	23 + 4	63.9%; 75.0%
All	82 + 14	57.7%; 67.6%

Table 9.11

Even markings of "will I stay" were not completely unambiguous. They could either refer to the position of *will* in the sentence, i.e. the direct question word order in reported speech, or to the choice of auxiliary. The latter possibility is based on L1P19's suggestion "[my father] asks when can I stay." The informant did not recognize the non-standard word order but replaced the auxiliary. As only three informants, one native and two non-native speakers, had only marked "will" (line 27), the necessity to discuss the choice of auxiliary in detail is limited, especially since the marking of *will* could also refer to the auxiliary's position in the sentence and thus non-standard syntax.

The structure was not marked pervasively by any of the four groups, even if the ambiguous markings are included. Still, more than half of the informants from three groups had marked it. Striking is the fact that awareness for this feature was as high among non-native speakers, both teachers (L2T) and other professionals (L2P), as it was among native speaker teachers (L1T). While the common non-native speakers (L2P) showed the lowest degree of awareness of most non-standard structures tested, in this case the common native speakers (L1P) showed the lowest degree of awareness by far; the structure was marked by 21.7% of the L1P group and about 65% of all other groups (L1T, L2P, L2T). From this point of view, the use of direct question word order in lingua franca communication between non-native speakers might be even more problematic than in communicational settings involving native speakers. Due to size of the informant groups, especially the native speaker groups, and the fact that the structure occurred only once in the sample text, generalization is not possible beyond the observation that with some forms of variation in certain syntactic and semantic environments, non-native speakers may be more restrictive in their language attitude than native speakers. However, the very low awareness for the structure's non-standard status among the native speakers without ELT experience suggests that it might have become common usage although it is not (yet) codified as StE.

In Table 9.12 the distribution of the unambiguous markings is represented. Informant awareness of this structure, as indicated by the share of informants of the individual subgroups marking this structure, was almost identical for both teacher groups, native and non-native. The common non-native speaker users of English, L2P, who otherwise usually showed the lowest levels of awareness for most other structures, marked this structure a lot more often than the native speaker users, L1P, and were, for once, en par with the otherwise most attentive group, the native speaker teachers (L1T).

Inverted word order in reported speech II:
normalized markings

"will I stay," line 27

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	5.2 (17.4%)	1.3 (4.3%)	6.5 (21.7%)
L1T (n=30)	7.2 (24.0%)	12.0 (40.0%)	19.2 (64.0%)
L2P (n=30)	10.9 (36.2%)	8.8 (29.3%)	19.7 (65.5%)
L2T (n=30)	9.2 (30.6%)	10.0 (33.3%)	19.2 (63.9%)

Table 9.12

The native speaker teachers (L1T), who displayed a similar degree of awareness as the two non-native speaker groups (L2P, L2T), were slightly more restrictive than their non-native speaker

counterparts. The typical L2 lingua franca users (L2P), although showing heightened awareness for this form of variation, marked the structure as acceptable rather than unacceptable (55.3% of all markings from this group indicated acceptability, 44.7% unacceptability). Considering that 38 of the 58 informants from the L2P group had marked the structure as nonstandard (65.5%), there would be a 29.3% chance that the use of VSO word order in reported questions is regarded as unacceptable in L2 lingua franca usage. For comparison, only 4.3% of the common native speakers found this structure unacceptable. Despite the higher awareness among non-native speaker users (L2P), they were more lenient than common native speakers (L1P). Although the share of informants marking the VSO word order from the former group (L2P) was bigger, the share of markings indicating unacceptability was lower (17 of 38 markings, 44.7%) than that of the common native speakers (L1P, 1 of 5 markings, 20.0%). While fewer native speakers (without ELT experience) identified the structure as non-standard, more of those who did were more likely to reject it as unacceptable. Due to the relatively high awareness of this structure among non-native speakers and a predominantly restrictive attitude, reported speech question syntax cannot be completely neglected in ELF oriented English classrooms.

9.11 Progressive Aspect and Habitual

The third form of non-standard usage of the progressive aspect in ELF is the use of the progressive with habitual action where Standard English would use the simple form instead (Ranta 2006: 108); number one was the use of progressive aspect with state verbs (chapter 9.2, p. 159ff.), number two the use of the progressive aspect when referring to punctual perfective past (chapter 9.7, p. 171ff.). The combination of habitual action and progressive aspect was not marked pervasively by any of the four informant groups. As for the use of VSO word order in reported speech (chapter 9.10, p. 178ff.), the markings of progressive verbs and habitual action were not completely unambiguous. Three types of markings that included “am going to your seminar” (line 2) could be distinguished. Eighty-one informants marked the structure without leaving a comment or suggestion. These markings were slightly ambiguous as a further six informants clearly identified the non-standard use of the progressive aspect, but another eight informants suggested alternative verbs such as “attending” instead of “going.” In the latter cases, the objection clearly was against the verb chosen, not the non-standard use of progressive aspect, which was maintained. Four of the six informants who explicitly identified the progressive aspect as non-standard also suggested *attend* rather than *go*. One informant noted “[u]nacceptable,

'am attending'. Is there also a tense error here? 'attend'?" (L1T18). This might indicate that variation in lexical choice is often more obvious than grammatical variation. The sixth informant noted "[t]empus + verb" (L2P29), thus underlining that the distinction between tense and aspect is not common metalinguistic knowledge. Four of the six informants who clearly identified the non-standard use of aspect were native speakers, two were non-native speakers. If the 81 ambiguous markings (57.0% of all informants) and the six markings explicitly identifying the non-standard use of the progressive (4.2%) are combined, 61.3% of all informants marked this structure with potential reference to verbal aspect. Awareness was lowest among common native speaker users with 39.1% of the informant group (9 informants) marking the structure, and highest among non-native speaker teachers. The common non-native speakers still marked this structure slightly more often than the native speakers, even those with ELT experience.

Progressive Aspect and habitual I: ambiguous and explicit markings

		Number of informants marking this structure	Percent of informant group markings this structure
L1P	*Ambiguous*	*6*	*26.1%*
	Unambiguous / explicit	*3*	*13.0%*
	Combined	9	39.1%
L1T	*Ambiguous*	*14*	*56.0%*
	Unambiguous / explicit	*1*	*4.0%*
	Combined	14	60.0%
L2P	*Ambiguous*	*37*	*63.8%*
	Unambiguous / explicit	*2*	*3.4%*
	Combined	39	67.2%
L2T	*Ambiguous*	*24*	*66.7%*
	Unambiguous / explicit	*0*	*0.0%*
	Combined	24	66.7%
All	*Ambiguous*	*81*	*57.0%*
	Unambiguous / explicit	*6*	*4.2%*
	Combined	87	61.3%

Table 9.13

Two markings do not fit into the previously mentioned three categories. One came from L2P5, who marked "am" but not "going" (line 2). This is clearly non-standard and not only does not identify the non-standard use of the progressive aspect, it even renders the progressive form defective. More interesting is probably the marking of L1P1. While the informant did not mark the

verb or clause in line 2, he marked "asks" in line 27 ("[m]y father also asks when will I stay home"). This might indicate that the informant actually expected the progressive to express habitual action – unless there is some form of (lexical) variation involved.

Table 9.14 presents the ambiguous markings of the first type, i.e. those without comments or suggestions, and the markings of the six informants who clearly identified the use of the progressive aspect as non-standard. The group sizes were normalized to better illustrate attitude towards this form of variation.

Progressive aspect and habitual II:
normalized markings

"going to your seminar," line 2, ambiguous and explicit markings combined, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	6.5 (21.7%)	5.2 (17.4%)	11.7 (39.1%)
L1T (n=30)	6.0 (20.0%)	12.0 (40.0%)	18.0 (60.0%)
L2P (n=30)	12.4 (41.4%)	7.8 (25.9%)	20.2 (67.2%)
L2T (n=30)	10.0 (33.3%)	10.0 (33.3%)	20.0 (66.7%)

Table 9.14

While none of the four groups showed pervasive awareness of this structure being non-standard, more than half of the informants from three groups, L1T, L2P, and L2T, marked it. Unlike most of the other structures, the number of informants marking the structure was slightly higher among the non-native speakers. This suggests that either the focus on the use of the simple form with habitual action in teaching English as a second or foreign language led to heightened awareness among non-native speakers, or the use of the progressive aspect with habitual action has become common in ENL to such an extent that it lowers readers' awareness. In this case language change may have proceeded faster than ELT could adapt. Obviously, this only applies if the majority of markings was actually motivated by the use of aspect rather than choice of the verb. It is possible that *to attend a seminar* is learned as a lexical item by L2 learners, so the use of *to go to a seminar* is avoided, while, although rejected by some native speakers, this seems not to be perceived as non-standard or pass as acceptable in several varieties of colloquial native English.[41]

As Ranta (2006: 108) found that only 0.5% of the progressives in MICASE referred to habitual action (as compared to 5.6% in ELFA), it seems likely that lexical choice (*go* vs. *at-*

[41] Which contradicts the attestation as extremely rare and absent in most native varieties in eWAFE (Kortmann/ Lunkenheimer 2013: Feat. 89)

tend)rather than grammatical form actually account for a great number of markings, especially among the native speakers. This is also a relevant finding in itself and bears implications for ELT: idiomatic expression and lexical choice might have a greater impact on successful communication than grammaticality. In consequence, this would mean that learning collocations, fixed expressions, and other forms of idiomatic language usage should have priority over learning grammatical rules – even in ELF oriented classrooms.

9.12 Hypothetical Concord, *Would* in Unreal Conditionals

In retrospect, it would have been intriguing to also test inflected finite verb forms vs. subjunctives in unreal conditionals, i.e. "if I was you…" vs. "if I were you…" *The Oxford English Grammar* (Greenbaum 1996: 341) and Quirk's *Grammar of Contemporary English* (Quirk et al. 1972: 748) agree that the use of the inflected verb forms in unreal conditionals does not deviate from StE, they note that "the subjunctive [is] being preferred in formal written English" (ibid.). Where English is taught as a second or foreign language, however, the use of the subjunctive is sometimes presented as the only grammatical form (own observation). In this study, the use of the modal *would* after *if* in unreal conditionals was tested as an example of a non-standard ELF construction of the unreal conditional (cf. Greenbaum 1996: 341), "[…] if you would have grown up like I did, you would feel the same" (line 6f.) was used as an example in the sample text. This structure has been attested as typical in English as a lingua franca in academia by Mauranen (2010: 18) and Ranta (2009: 94f.) and also as occurring in other varieties of English including informal AmE (Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013: feat. 120; Trudgill/Hannah 2008: 63). According to my own observation, it is also frequent in learner language (of German learners), which suggests that the usage is not restricted to ELF in academia but also occurs in EFL and ESL in general. In the case of German learners of English, this is probably due to cross-linguistic interference with the mother tongue (Swan 2001: 42).

As with most forms of syntactic variation, not all informants marked the same passages in the sample text. Ninety informants marked either the entire conditional clause or its verb phrase including *would*. Six informants marked elements of the main clause. In the latter case, either the entire main clause "[…], you would feel the same." (line 7; L1P18, L1T1, L1T20, L2P8), the modal verb, or the modal verb plus main verb only (L2P5, L2P19). The informants' comments and suggestions give two hints what may have motivated different markings. L1T20 marked the entire main clause found it "informal." L2P19 highlighted the gap between *would*

and *feel* and thus indicated a missing element. This was supported by L2T30, who had not marked the structure (so we must assume that he considered it standard / correct English) but suggested adding *also* to form "would also feel." Two informants (L2P8, L2T30) marked the comma after *did*, which separated the conditional from the main clause. Omission of the comma would be non-standard as the subordinate conditional clause precedes the main clause. Two informants (L2P11, L2P54) marked "grown up," L2P11 highlighting the gap between the words which indicates that informant missed an element – presumably a comma or adverb. Finally, L2P58 marked "woul**d have grown up like I d**id" (bold face marked as acceptable). As the modal was not marked completely, reference seems to be made to another element, this could be either an omitted element (see above) or the conjunction *like* (cf. chapter 9.6, p. 168). While three of the six informants who had marked elements of the main clause also marked the conditional (L1P18, L1T20, L2P8), three informants marked only elements of the main clause (L1T1, L2P5, L2P19); all as acceptable. L1T1 marked the entire main clause, L2P5 only *would*, and L2P19 the gap after *would*.[42] In any case, the individual or rare markings of other sentence elements do not seem to interfere with the use of the modal in the unreal conditional and the markings of the conditional clause are largely unambiguous and regard to the use of *would* instead of tense shift. All the more surprising, the use of *would* in the conditional clause was not marked pervasively by any of the four informant groups.

Hypothetical concord: would in unreal conditional

"if you would," line 6f., normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	2.6 (8.7%)	18.3 (60.9%)	20.9 (69.6%)
L1T (n=30)	4.8 (16.0%)	15.6 (52.0%)	20.4 (68.0%)
L2P (n=30)	6.7 (22.4%)	9.3 (31.0%)	16.0 (53.4%)
L2T (n=30)	10.8 (36.1%)	10.8 (36.1%)	21.7 (72.2%)

Table 9.15

The overall awareness for this kind of variation is similar for three of the four informant groups (marked by 69.9 ± 2.3% of the informants from the respective groups), the only exception being the non-native users of the language (L2P, 53.4%). Although the structure was not marked pervasively by any group, awareness among native speakers and non-native teachers is high with about 70%. Among the native speakers, teachers as well as common speakers, the use of *would* in unreal conditionals is generally rejected as unacceptable. Interestingly, while their overall

[42] L2P19 underlined *feel* with a doted line, it is possible that he considered marking feel and then decided for underlining the word, indicating insecurity.

awareness of this structure was on the same level as that of the native speakers, exactly half the non-native teachers of English (L2T) who had marked the structure considered it acceptable. Teachers might generally treat this form of non-standard English more leniently than common speakers as the share of acceptable markings was also higher among the native speaker teachers of English (L1T) than among the common native speakers (L1P 87.6% of all markings of this structure unacceptable / structure marked unacceptable by 60.9% of informant group; L1T 76.5% and 52.0% respectively). Even among the non-native speaker users (L2P), who showed a lower degree of awareness with only about half of the informant group marking the structure, the share of unacceptable markings was higher than that of acceptable markings (58.1% of all markings, 31.0% of informant group). Considering the share of informants from each group who marked the structure and, more specifically, the share of informants who marked it unacceptable, it seems clear that while this structure is not marked pervasively, its avoidance in communication with native speakers certainly is desirable as more than 50% of the latter marked it as unacceptable. In ELF communication among non-native speaker users, however, rejection, represented by unacceptable markings, is reduced to one third, although about every second non-native speaker is able to identify the structure as non-standard. Interestingly, in this case heightened awareness has only a minor effect on the non-native speaker teachers' attitude, teachers and other professionals share a comparable degree of lenience (31.0% of L1P and 36.1% of L1T rejecting the structure). It seems that there is already a most likely unconscious shift among non-native speaker teachers of English to accommodate to the status of this form of variation in ELF communication among non-native speakers.

9.13 Alternative Derivation: Doublets

The last typical ELF feature (cf. Mauranen 2010: 18) to be found in the sample text is the use of alternative derivational processes to form new words. The alternative derivational process used in the sample text led to a doublet involving the adding of a morpheme that is not present in the StE word. In line 15 of the sample text the word **maximalisation* is used. While common dictionaries agree in suggesting that the {AL} morpheme is non-standard, there are differences in whether or not *maximisation*, with an *s*, can be considered standard. Lexicographers suggest the use of *maximize* in both American and British English, *maximise* is merely included as an alternative and not as the headword of the article in authoritative, prescriptive dictionaries of British English.

The *Oxford Dictionary of British and World English Online* only includes *maximize* and the derived form *maximization* although it acknowledges that *maximise* also exists (reference is only made to the verb, not the derived noun though, Oxforddictionaries, s.v. *maximize*). The *Oxford Dictionary of American English* only lists *maximize*, no reference to *maximise* with an *s* is made (ibid.). In contrast to the Oxford dictionaries, *Collins Online Dictionary of British English* gives both forms of the verb and its derivatives, *maximize* and *maximize, maximization* and *maximization* (Collins, s.v. *maximisation / maximization*). Here, too, *maximize* is mentioned first. The *Collins Online Dictionary of American English*, like the Oxford dictionary, only lists *maximize / maximization* (ibid.). The OED, which could be considered more descriptive than the aforementioned dictionaries, includes *maximisation* as an alternative form in the entry for *maximization* (OED, s.v. *maximization*). Two of the six quotes given as examples of usage include *maximisation*, both come from British sources, one is from 1886, the other from 1954. Merriam Webster's, as a reference for Standard American English, only lists *maximization* as a derivative of *maximize* (Merriam Webster, s.v. *maximize*).

This difference in spelling accounts for some ambiguity in marking. Four informants, three native speakers, all teachers (L1T7, L1T20, L1T21), and one non-native speaker (L2P44), marked only the *s* in **maximialisation* without marking the *al*. Fifty-six informants marked the whole word, **maximalisation*, in this case it is, of course, also possible that the informants objected to the letter <s> rather than the morpheme {AL}. As {AL}is clearly non-standard derivation in this case, however, it should be assumed that the great majority identified the intrusive morpheme rather than the spelling variant as deviation from Standard English. Three non-native informants marked larger parts of the sentence. In their cases it was not possible to establish whether rejection referred to the derivation or orthography of **maximalisation* or to the pluralization of *profit* (see chapter 9.1, p. 157ff.).

Alternative derivation: doublets

"maximalisation," line 15, normalized markings

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Total
L1P (n=30)	3.9 (13.0%)	13.0 (43.5%)	17.0 (56.5%)
L1T (n=30)	6.0 (20.0%)	10.8 (36.0%)	16.8 (56.0%)
L2P (n=30)	5.7 (19.0%)	5.7 (19.0%)	11.4 (37.9%)
L2T (n=30)	3.3 (11.1%)	2.5 (8.3%)	5.8 (19.4%)

Table 9.16

Overall, the awareness of this kind of structure was relatively low with only short over 50% of the native speakers marking this structure. Less than half of the informants from both non-native speaker groups marked the structure. The share of informants marking the structure, indicating awareness, was higher among the non-native users (L2P) than the non-native teachers of English (L2T), which was rare as the L2P usually showed the lowest degree of awareness. A possible explanation may be the academic background of the majority of informants in the L2P group. Following Widdowson's (1997) argument that English "has spread as an international language[:] through the development of autonomous registers which guarantee specialized communication within global expert communities" (p. 144), the use of English as an international language is primarily the use of its technical registers (ESPs). In these registers, such as English for Science and Technology, which is likely to be the most relevant one for the scientists and engineers among the informants, *maximization* (or maximisation for that matter) may have a higher frequency than in EGP. EGP, however, is probably closer to what is primarily used by language teachers; additionally to what command they may have in the registers of didactics, linguistics, and literary studies.

While the acceptable and unacceptable markings were relatively balanced among the non-native speakers (L2P 50% of all markings acceptable, 50% unacceptable; L2T 56.9% acceptable, 43.1% unacceptable), unacceptable markings were more common among the native speakers, they could be considered more restrictive in this context (L1P 76.5% of all markings unacceptable; L1T 64.3% unacceptable). As the overall awareness was relatively low, this structure too seems to be less problematic in ELF communication taking place between non-native speakers. If native speakers are included, which makes sense from an economic and political perspective, the situation changes slightly due to the higher awareness in the native speaker groups. However, the share of informants who considered the structure unacceptable was still below 50% for both native speaker groups (L1P 43.5%, L1T 36.0%). In terms of language attitude, this structure is even less problematic than, for example, the non-standard use of relative pronouns or the pluralization of mass and collective nouns (cf. chapters 9.1, p. 157; 9.2, p. 159).

10 Conclusion and Implications

The main objective of this study was to establish whether or not it is possible, in analogy to Jennifer Jenkins' (2000: 159) phonological common core, to establish a grammatical core for English as an international lingua franca. This question can be answered in the affirmative, there are definitely structures that were generally and by all speaker groups considered non-standard and usually also as vastly unacceptable. The latter is the result of a negative correlation of the frequency of marking and acceptability of a particular structure, which could also be found for all informant groups: if a structure was marked often, it was usually considered unacceptable by most speakers while rarely marked structures were, where they were identified as non-standard, more likely to be considered acceptable forms of variation in written international communication. However, while this looks promising and may support the idea that it is possible to implement language policies for the use and learning of English as an international language in a way that is oriented towards real speakers' attitudes rather than abstract norms, restrictions need to be made.

10.1 Reconsidering ELF

A couple of conclusion can be drawn from the observations made in the context of this study which bear implications for future ELF research, usage, and also teaching. Where English is used only occasionally, it is used in written rather than in spoken form (cf. Fig. 7.3 and 7.4, p. 90). Thus, while written ELF may be closer to the native varieties of Standard English due to the standardizing influence of writing, it might be worthwhile to supplement the present focus, i.e., for example, the focus of the VOICE and ELFA corpus with attention towards written communication. Research in this area is already being intensified as the WrELFA project shows.[43] However, the focus should be widened to include more general uses and other registers than that of academic English. As the data of the present study suggest, there is indeed a difference between awareness and attitude and thus usage by native and non-native speakers of English. Does this suggest that the narrow hypothesis of ELF as communication between non-native speakers (Firth 1996: 240; House 1999: 74) should be revived? I believe that, on the one hand, this is the case, especially in the context of raising awareness in certain areas of language teaching (cf. chapter 10.5, p. 196ff.). On the other hand, the primary observation of disagreement

[43] http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/wrelfa.html, accessed 9/14/15.

on norms for (Standard) English could be observed among native as well as non-native speakers. This implies that similar accommodation processes – if to varying extents – have to be at work in native / native, native / non-native, and non-native / non-native speaker communication. Variation in grammar can apparently be found in every variety that is actually used and not a mere ideal – as StE – and every description needs to be limited to an approximation to what is used or, with regard to correctness, believed to be used and correct.

Furthermore, there is a continuum of "standardness" which in this study surfaced in the share of markings the individual structures received. Indisputably standard would be anything not considered non-standard or an error by any member of a certain language background, or, in case of an international standard for ELF, by any speaker from any background. This, obviously, is also an idealization. As proficiency evolves, attitudes change, and the understanding of what is standard and what is not changes for both native and non-native speakers. Performance errors or mistakes in perception are also a factor that needs to be taken into account. A grammatical structure may seem corrupted and erroneous at first glance, but turn out to be correct according to the recipient's linguistic knowledge after closer examination (the use of the subjunctive and inflected verb forms in unreal conditionals are two possible examples that have been mentioned in this study).

Individual structures or language variants are often a matter of preference rather than complete absence in a variety. This applies to standard as well as to non-standard varieties. The occurrence of non-standard structures in several varieties means that there are hardly any true "innovations" (Bamgbose 1998: 1) of individual varieties from a global perspective; although they of course may have developed independently and are thus an innovation to the speakers of the particular variety. An increase in the types of variants is probably a rare phenomenon (the innovation of the same structures as variants in individual varieties would be tokens of the same type from a global perspective). For this reason, specific or exclusive ELF features that cannot be observed in existing varieties should not be expected to be found (cf. chapter 4, p. 36ff.). Although some structures occur more often in certain types, e.g. L1 rather than L2 varieties, these structures are usually not completely absent in other types. This, too, supports the notion that accommodation processes and the negotiation of standardness are constant features of language use that can be found in individual national varieties as well as in international (lingua franca) use.

Thus, it does not surprise that those structures that have been found to be frequently represented in ELF corpora do not show any characteristics that are fundamentally different from the general tendencies. The common non-native speakers for whom the use of English generally

was the use of English as an international lingua franca, as can be inferred from their nationality and residence in Expanding Circle, were generally less aware of these structures' non-standard status. If they identified structures as non-standard, they were in comparison to common native speakers more willing to accept them.[44] It needs to be remarked though that three (II, III, IV) of the six structures that were pervasively marked by all speaker groups were explicitly mentioned as ELF research (cf. chapter 10.2, below). As these structures were also generally considered unacceptable, it is surprising that, for example, the exchange of the relative pronoun *who* for *which* (IV) was considered "generally unproblematic" (Seidlhofer 2004: 220) in ELF contexts. My impression is that ELF structures as all other structures adhere, with exceptions, to the general rule that if something is considered non-standard, it is also most likely unacceptable and thus to be avoided in international communication. This prompts the question whether it is possible and sensible to establish a common grammatical core for ELF.

10.2 A Common Grammatical Core?

In principle, structures could be placed on a continuum that expressed their standardness. Those structures that were rarely marked or not marked at all could be considered standard, those that were marked pervasively clearly non-standard, the rest would be somewhere in between. I write "in principle," because practically the majority of structures was either marked pervasively, i.e. by more than 80% of the informants of a specific group, or only by very small numbers or individual informants. On average, 67.1% of the markings by the individual groups fell on those structures in the first and fifth quintile, i.e. those marked by more than 80% or less than 20%. The distinction between standard and non-standard structures was strongest among the native speaker teachers (L1T) where 79.8% of all markings fell on the structures in the first and fifth quintile (cf. Table 8.9, p. 109). The group whose markings identified the greatest number of structures that could neither be described as generally standard or non-standard were the common non-native speakers (L2P). Here, only slightly more than half, 53.2%, of the markings fell on the two extreme quintiles, while the other half, 46.8%, fell on structures that would be somewhere between clearly standard and non-standard (i.e. the 2nd to 4th quintile; cf. Table 8.10, p. 113). The other two groups were somewhere between these poles with 66.8% (L2T) and 68.5% (L1P) of the markings falling on the first and fifth quintile. It can thus be assumed that while there is a great deal of variation in what is perceived as non-standard and many structures

[44] There were, however, exceptions such as the use of direct question word order in reported speech (chapter 9.10, p. 178ff.).

can neither be considered generally non-standard nor generally standard (as far as their perception is concerned), there are certain structures that are commonly perceived as non-standard in international written English. Those structures that are clearly identified as non-standard may form a common grammatical core for written ELF.

This common core of structures is extremely restricted if it is determined by those structures identified by non-native speakers, who are the majority of English users worldwide and represent second language lingua franca use. These structures were also considered non-standard by all other speaker groups. There were only six structures that were considered by all four informant groups:

I. Relative pronoun exchange: *what* for *who* (line 11)
II. Mass noun pluralization: *many moneys* (line 13)
III. State verb and progressive: *I am knowing* (line 6)
IV. Relative pronoun exchange: *which* for *who* (line 3)
V. Negative concord: *I do not want no* (line 14)
VI. Monosyllabic adjective and periphrastic comparison: *more old* (line 5)

Aside from these six structures that were marked by all four informant groups, a remarkable finding is that despite the huge amount of individual variation, there was a tendency to identify the same structures as non-standard. Individual groups identified more or fewer structures, but not completely different ones (cf. Table 8.4, p. 100). There were only two exceptions to this pattern among the twenty-one structures: First, the combined periphrastic and inflectional comparison (XIV), and second, the inversion of direct and indirect object (XXI).[45] The fact that the extension of the common core depended on first language and teaching experience (the attributes used to distinguish between the informant groups), is probably the strongest argument for maintaining language standards oriented towards (idealized) experienced native speakers. If users are able to express themselves in a way that is acceptable to native speakers (with ELT experience), their language will (generally) also be accepted by other (non-native) speakers.

I explicitly denounce the idea of maintaining a linguistic imperialism that is expressed by non-native speakers' norm-dependency. The reference is rather made to the generally greater expertise of experienced native speakers and their ability to identify what is clearly considered non-standard. As it is neither possible nor desirable to monopolize ELT in the hands (or mouths)

[45] No. XIV was marked pervasively by the L1T and L2T group, while all other structures from this set (XII to XIV) were marked by L1T and L1P. No. XXI was marked by L1P only, while the other structures in this set (XV-XXI) were marked by L1T only; cf. Table 8.4, p. 100.

of native speakers, further research needs to be done to equip non-native speaker teachers with a similar degree of awareness. This seems attainable as the difference between non-native speaker teachers (L2T) and common native speakers (L1P) in what was clearly considered non-standard is already relatively small (four structures: XII-XIV, XXI; cf. Table 8.4, p. 100).

On the level of the individual speaker and structures however, the amount of variation in what can be considered non-standard, i.e. what is at the lower end of the continuum of generally non-standard structures, cannot be predicted. Depending on the individual speaker's language background and proficiency (think of performance and systematic errors in production and reception) anything might be considered non-standard – even "Dear" in the address of a letter or email (L2T22). While the latter is without doubt an example of individual variation from what is generally considered StE, other examples, such as alternative prepositions and the omitted third person singular –s (cf. chapters 9.5, p. 162ff., and 9.13, p. 186ff.), show that even common non-standard uses and errors are not necessarily perceived as such. Hence, it seems equally important to prepare users of English for the amount of variation they are bound to encounter, and raise awareness of what is generally accepted and avoided while promoting tolerance towards alternative structures at the same time.

10.3 Awareness and Attitude

There was a negative correlation of acceptability and awareness, i.e. those structures identified by a great number of informants (of any given group) were usually considered unacceptable. When discussing this with colleagues as well as non-linguists, many uttered that this is what they expected. At first glance this seems a probable assessment of the situation, after all if everybody knows a particular structure as an "error," the structure is more likely to be treated as one. However, this also means that frequently used structures – and it can be assumed that all structures included in the sample text are fairly frequent in at least one, mostly several varieties and speaker groups – seem to have a long way to go before they can be established in standard language use. Language attitude towards variation in written international English therefore could be described as conservative.

Apart from being conservative, overall attitude was also restrictive. Another much mentioned popular assumption was that non-native speaker teachers of English were more restrictive than their native speaker peers. The data of this study show the opposite to be the case though. While 68.8% of the native speaker teachers' (L1T) markings identified structures as unaccept-

able, the same applied to "only" 58.0% of the non-native speaker teachers' (L2T) markings. The common native speakers (L1P) were even more restrictive, with 70.2% of all markings expressing unacceptability. The difference between the two native speaker groups (L1P vs. L1T) was thus smaller than the difference between the teacher groups (L1T vs. L2T). For all of the three groups the share of markings identifying structures as unacceptable was significantly higher than the share of those indicating acceptability. The only group for which there was no significant difference between the shares of acceptable and unacceptable markings were the common non-native speakers (L2P, 50.9% unacceptable markings), who represent ELF communication in English as a second or foreign language. Still, half the markings identified structures as unacceptable, which emphasizes the importance of formal correctness alongside the successful transfer of meaning in international communication.

While the common non-native speakers could be considered the most lenient of the four informant groups, the common native speakers clearly were the most restrictive. This is not only expressed by the greatest share of unacceptable markings but also by the fact that they were the only group for which the share of unacceptable markings in the fifth quintile, i.e. for structures that were mostly marked by single individuals, was higher than the share of acceptable markings. For international communication in ELF this means that wherever communication is not restricted to L2 speakers but also includes L1 speakers, formal correctness and adherence to present native norms would gain importance. The question remains though, whether this effectively makes a difference in the use and learning of English as an international language since the attitude towards non-standard structures is already restrictive among non-native speakers – a fifty percent chance of failing an interlocutor's expectations in terms of language correctness is hardly a promising basis for (L2) ELF communication. Also, the common non-native speakers' leniency may be the result of a lower average proficiency and more proficient non-native speakers may be closer to native speakers with respect to both awareness and attitude. For international communication in general, however, the results of this study suggest that more non-standard structures will pass unnoticed or be accepted in ELF communication involving non-native speakers.

A final remark has to be made with regard to the codified standards, as the data elicited focused solely on the informants' subjective assessment of the presented forms. Examples such as the use of *like* as a conjunction (chapter 9.6, p. 168) show that even widely used authoritative sources disagree whether or not and in what contexts certain forms may be used. This is reflected in English speakers' attitude, some reject them and even feel compelled to express their

regrets on the structures' growing popularity. Hence, even adherence to established norms and widespread uses is no guarantee for a form's acceptance in English usage.

10.4 The Influence of First Language and Teaching Experience

As mentioned above, the influence of language, i.e. being a native or non-native speaker, on attitude towards non-standard structures is bigger than the influence of teaching experience (cf. chapter 8.8, p. 134). When it comes to awareness, as expressed by the average number of structures marked per informant (i.e. markings/informant), however, native speaker teachers of English (L1T) were the group that found the greatest number of structures and could thus be described as having the highest awareness of non-standard structures in written English (30.4 markings/informant, cf. Table 8.1, p. 95) While they showed a similar, even slightly more, restrictive attitude towards the detected structures, common native speakers (L1P, 27.9 markings/informant) were half-way between native and non-native speaker teachers (L2T, 25.8 markings/informant) of English. It could thus be said that teaching experience contributed to a leveling of the difference in awareness between the native and non-native speakers in this study, while it did not have the same effect on language attitude. The lowest awareness was shown by the common non-native speakers (L2P, 24.7 markings/informant).Against the general tendency, attitude towards individual structures seems to be influenced by teaching experience more than by native speaker status, e.g. pluralization of non-count words and exchange of *who* and *which* (cf. chapter 9.1, p. 157ff.; 9.3, p. 160f.).

Despite their lower awareness and although their self-assessed proficiency was not on the highest possible level, the non-native speakers who participated in this study showed great confidence in their English skills (cf. chapter 7.7, p. 91ff.). Confident use of English as an international language could thus be expected from non-native speakers with a similarly high professional and educational background. This would imply that current language teaching is successful in that present users of ELF seem to feel no inhibition with regard to their language use. However, the results, the numbers on awareness and attitude as well as the informants' comments, show that on the receptive side there still is a difference between common non-native users and native speakers as well as non-native language professionals (here: teachers). On the other hand, the amount of disagreement among the native speakers (size of first vs. fifth quintiles), both with and without teaching experience, shows that any reference to native speakers

and even native speaker teachers of English as an infallible reference for correct or grammatical English use is to be rejected.

At this point it is necessary to underline that the data elicited for this study cannot be representative. The present study is the mere attempt to elicit the possibility of establishing rules for international Standard English that are based on the reception of various speakers rather than restricted to the norms of particular (native) varieties. Although the data suggest that this is possible, at least to a certain degree, it should be kept in mind that the research design confined the study to a restricted number of informants, that these informants could not represent all speaker groups and varieties of English, that the informants' markings were not always unambiguous, and that the text used as the main research instrument was constructed for this purpose, i.e. that the data presented here do not represent authentic international communication. However, the background of a majority of the informants in academia, their educational background, the comparison of the German speakers of English to other non-native speakers of English, and the results for the native speaker groups suggest that greater homogeneity may not necessarily lead to greater agreement. Educational and professional background may, on the other hand, be the reason for the informants' relatively high confidence in their English skills. This may be different in a broader informant group including (more) individuals with a generally lower educational background and less formal instruction in English. Still, it seems improbable that the general tendencies, the negative correlation of awareness for and acceptability of a non-standard structure and greater leniency in combination with lower awareness among non-native speakers, will be disproved by larger scale studies.

10.5 Implications for Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

Although common native users (L1P) and both native and non-native teachers (L1T, L2T) identified at least more than twice as many structures as non-standard than the common non-native speakers (L2P), the share of non-standard structures on whose non-standardness any group agreed was always very small in comparison to the share of structures marked by only few or individual informants. Therefore, it must be stated that agreement on what is non-standard and by exclusion what is Standard English is very low. Command of the core structures would be insufficient in order to meet the expectations of any interlocutor. This, of course, is not a good basis for the setting of new standards of teaching. Although disagreement in this group was also extraordinarily high, native speakers of English who taught the language were the group that

found the greatest number of structures (per informant) and agreed on the greatest share of them. Therefore, it might be argued that adherence to native speaker norms and native speaker ideals might be sustained in order to target the highest possible proficiency – albeit with a huge caveat due to the undeniable variation and disagreement even in this group. Those structures that were marked pervasively by native speaker teachers were generally also marked by the informants from all other settings.[46] Command of those structures rejected by native speaker teachers includes command of those structures pervasively considered non-standard by other speakers of English. Furthermore, those structures marked pervasively by native speaker teachers of English but not by the other groups, were often marked relatively frequently although not pervasively (i.e. by less than 80% of the individual groups). This also increases the chance of meeting the expectations of interlocutors of any other language and professional background.

At this point, it seems impossible to design language teaching around a core of structures that ensure successful international communication not only in terms of avoidance of breakdown but also acceptability. The consequence of this is that the aim of language teaching can only be to equip learners with a broad general knowledge of the structures of Standard English – knowing that even perfect command of the rules of English grammar can and will not guarantee agreement among interlocutors. The reasons for this are, on the one hand, the discrepancy between what is grammatical[47] and what is considered correct, and, on the other hand, the varying degrees of proficiency and metalinguistic knowledge as well as different beliefs about language norms among the many speakers of English. Not only inter-speaker variation but also the context of usage underline that the success of both language learning and usage is highly dependent on context. The various *specific* registers in which international English occurs and is used require efforts from the individual speakers that go well beyond what *general* English usage and learning can cater for. For this reason it is mandatory that next to a broad command of general English, awareness for inter-speaker variation, and tolerance towards alternative norms and uses, also skills for the acquisition and negotiation of new registers and uses in various contexts and situations become the focal point of language learning and usage. This applies, of course, to non-native speakers, for whom the acquisition of language norms needs to be maintained as the generally lower awareness in this study shows, but equally to native speakers with

[46] The only exception in the set of tested structures was the inversion of direct and indirect object (no. XXI) which was marked pervasively only by the common native speakers of English (L1P).

[47] It might be argued that, where codification is not based on representative corpus analysis, what is grammatical is only grammatical because those who codified the rules of Standard English considered it correct. I do not believe that there is something like inherently grammatical language, grammaticality is always an ascription and a social construction.

regard to awareness of variation and the limitations of one's own understanding of grammar and correctness.

Among the previously mentioned points, working on attitude towards variation in international English probably is the most problematic one in the context of language learning. While communication centered language learning and teaching already "sacrifices" language correctness in favor of communication skills, the results of this study suggest that it is in fact necessary to go a step further and establish metalinguistic understanding of variation beyond the notion of deviation and error. This is especially problematic where learners are on the one hand encouraged to acquire the rules of StE to the greatest possible extent, are in fact sanctioned if they do not, e.g. in exams, and on the other hand are told that they need to be ready to accept and negotiate English usage that is different from their own. The generally negative attitude towards variation by all groups shows that promotion of tolerance cannot be translated into an anything goes policy, because obviously English users from all language backgrounds expect correct language usage. This also applies to non-native speakers who use English as an international lingua franca as the results for the L2P group show (cf. chapter 8.3, p. 105ff.). Although this group was the most lenient, after all, about 50% of all marked structures were considered unacceptable. This certainly should motivate users to reduce what could be considered unacceptable. Predictions as to which structures are unacceptable for the individual speaker are almost impossible due to the huge amount of individual variation. The great deal of individual variation and the, in comparison, low awareness of non-standard structures in combination with this general attitude towards non-standard structures indeed suggest that the teaching of English to speakers of other languages indeed needs to be different from the teaching of English as a native language. Additionally, to the target of greater understanding of the inevitability of variation in English as an international language, the teaching and learning of grammar needs to receive more emphasis where English is taught to speakers of other languages. This might help to create more similar conditions for language usage for both non-native and native speakers. The inclusion of different varieties in language teaching and testing alone appears unlikely to solve this issue (cf. Fulcher 2015: 58). Even if different varieties are introduced, valued, and accepted, the question is what the teacher, or any other interlocutor for that matter, considers acceptable variation and what as unacceptable deviation or simply an error. I would thus argue in favor of maintaining strict language standards derived from the codified native varieties, show leniency towards what we know is likely to pass relatively unchallenged, e.g. alternative prepositions where meaning is not affected in communication among non-native speakers (cf. chapter 9.6, p. 167), and try to take into consideration the likely communicational settings our learners are about to encounter as far

as that is possible. The latter includes both the introduction of specific registers and the focus on communication with interlocutors of a certain language background (which could be understood as intercultural learning extended by considerations of language form). In most cases this will be difficult as it lies in the nature of international communication that the potential interlocutors cannot be predicted with absolute certainty, maybe except where, for example, personnel of an international corporation or organization is trained in order to "function effectively" (cf. Hülmbauer/Böhringer/Seidlhofer 2008: 28) in a certain market, plant, or institute. Language users as well as teachers need to embrace the perhaps painful contradiction between the desire for correct language usage and the overwhelming variation in what is considered correct in English as a global phenomenon. I would, if I believed in it, suggest extensive corrective feedback delivered without formal correctness determining an individual's chances of progression in a meritocratic system that values tests as gatekeepers to social and economic success (Fulcher 2015: 145ff.). Unfortunately, my impression is that the restrictive attitude displayed in this study's results would put anyone at a disadvantage who did not adhere to language norms, unpredictable as they may be. The question thus is whether a change in teaching policy would act as an effective push factor for a global cultural change in the assessment of language variation.

This does not even take into account that so far language teachers apparently have not been able to impart their superior grammatical knowledge to their learners and future users of English.[48] So, are the prospects for English as an international language or international lingua franca poor after all? No, because despite the huge disagreement (which also affects the ENL varieties), EIL and ELF prosper and expand. Although most international communication probably includes more than a few structures considered unacceptable by some interlocutors, this unacceptability alone apparently has not impeded the spread of English as an international lingua franca and its use in various domains including first and foremost international commerce and politics.

[48] This refers to ESL/EFL contexts where non-native as well as native speaker teachers of English (L2T, L1T) showed greater awareness and agreement than common non-native speakers (L2P). The command of non-native speaker teachers (L2T) was not very different from that of common native speakers (L1P), but this would only be relevant in the presumably rare case of non-native speaker teachers working in teaching English as a native language.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Occurrence of ELF Structures in Outer and Inner Circle Varieties

ELF structures in the Outer and Inner Circle

Structure (source)	**Structure no. (cf. Table 8.4, p. 100)**	**eWAFE[1] feature number**	**Pervasive or obligatory[2]**	**Neither pervasive nor extremely rare[2]**
Mass noun pluralization (Mauranen 2010: 18)	II	55	14	21
State verb and progressive (Ranta 2006: 106f.)	III	88	13	25
Relative pronoun exchange: who/which (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	IV	186	0	4
Regularized past tense (Mauranen 2010: 18)	IX	128	25	14
Invariant present tense verb form / omission of 3rd person sg. -s (Breiteneder 2009: 259ff.; Mauranen 2010: 18; Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	X	170	7	20
Alternative prepositions (Mauranen 2010: 18)	XIII	-	-	-
Perfective punctual past and progressive (Ranta 2006: 109)	XVI	-	-	-
Intrusive prepositional complement (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	XVIII	-	-	-
Invariant question tag / no reversed polarity (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)[3]	XX	165	26	18
Direct question word order in reported speech (Ranta 2009: 99ff.)	-	227	14	23
Progressive aspect and habitual (Ranta 2006: 108)	-	89	7	13
Hypothetical concord, would in unreal conditional (Mauranen 2010: 18; Ranta 2009: 94f.)	-	120	3	5
Alternative derivation: doublets (Mauranen 2010: 18)	-	-	-	-
That clause instead of *to* – complement (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	-	207	0	8
Presentational / existential *there is* + plural (Ranta 2009: 97)	-	172	26	19
Unidiomatic phraseology (Mauranen 2010: 19)	-	-	-	-
Overrepresentation of semantically general verbs (Seidlhofer 2004: 220)	-	-	-	-
Average occurrence where attested			12.3	15.5

[1] Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013

[2] Number of varieties in which the structure is attested as either "[p]ervasive or obligatory" or "[n]either pervasive nor extremely rare."

[3] For this structure the markings were largely ambiguous. It could not be clearly established whether the majority of markings referred to the use of question tags in formal letters in general, i.e. style, or the tags uninverted polarity, i.e. syntax. See discussion under 9.9, p. 176ff.

Appendix 2: Sample Text

Informant No.

Please highlight the grammatical errors in the following text. Use red/blue to mark errors that you consider unacceptable in international communication. Use green/yellow to underline errors that you would let pass in international communication.

Dear Professor Smith,

I am going to your seminar on ethics in veterinarian surgery. Unfortunately, I could not sit the final exam, because I had to help out at home. My father, which needed my assistance, is also a veterinarian. I have always loved the animals and wanted to work with them, just like my father. Since my father is getting more old, he hopes that I can finish my studies soon and help him with his work. I am knowing all this may sound like a cliché, but if you would have grown up like I did, you would feel the same. I was sure that I wanted to be a veterinarian, when I saw how my father was saving a puppy that had been run over by a car. The most touching moment was when we returned the dog to its owners. They had already lost dog's mother and would have been very desperate, had they also lost there little Charlie. Charlie was the dog's name. The people, what own a little grocery store, still send us a little basket with presents every year.

Compared to a broker or manager a veterinarian does not earn many moneys. It is not that I do not want no well paid job, but I think that helping animals and their loving owners is more rewarding. In our modern society maximalisation of profits seems to be more important than caring for those who cannot help themselves. I think even the most oldest dog can contribute to our society more than all these soulless electronic gadgets do. A dog that love you will always be there for you and nothing can ever replace its trust and affection. We also discussed about this in class and whenever I see my old grandmother talk to her beagle I know it is true. As you can see my father has already teached me a lot of things. Working with him showed to me a lot of those things we also discussed in class.

Our practice is very small. Many people have suggested that my father should hires another veterinarian and expand. We even had some applicants but my father did not trust. He often reacts irritated if people suggest hiring a stranger. However, he is not able to handle a cattle on his own anymore, so it is necessary that I join him as soon as possible. I am already looking forward to the day when the two of us will be on the car together, rushing out to emergencies. My father also asks when will I stay home and help him. So you understand it is important for me to be allowed to repeat the exam, do you?

Kind regards,

Paul Meier

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

Informant No.

Written English in International Communication

GENERAL INFORMATION

Age	_____
Sex	male [ ] / female [ ]
Nationality	_____
Country of residence	_____

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

Profession	_____
If you are a college/university student: What are your subjects?	_____
Have you graduated in English or English Language Teaching? (BA or higher)	yes [ ] / no [ ]
Do you teach or have you ever taught English language classes?	yes [ ] / no [ ]

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

What language did you use at home when you were a child?	_____
At what age did you start to learn English?	_____
At what age did you start to have English lessons at school?	_____
For how many years did you have English lessons at school?	_____
How often do you speak English? (underline)	daily – every week – every month – seldom – I haven't spoken English in years
How often do you write in English? (underline)	daily – every week – every month – seldom – I haven't written English in years

SELF-ASSESSMENT

On a scale from 5 (high) to 1 (low) how would you rate your proficiency in English?	(high) 5 – 4 – 3 – 2 – 1 (low)

Optional: Please enter your email-address and name if you would be willing to participate in an additional interview. Interviews will be conducted after the marked texts have been evaluated. Not every informant can be interviewed.

Name: _____ Email: _____

Appendix 4: Questionnaire – Totals and Averages

	All	L1P	L1T	L2P	L2T
Age					
avg.	38.6	38.6	44.3	34.3	42.1
max.	71	70	66	52	71
min.	16	16	17	19	20
Sex					
female	51.1%	43.5%	52.0%	44.8%	65.7%
male	48.9%	56.5%	48.0%	55.2%	34.3%
Have you graduated in English or English Language Teaching? (BA or higher)	37.3%	0.7%	52.0%	7.0%	80.6%
Do you teach or have you ever taught English language classes?	43.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
At what age did you start to learn English					
avg.	8.0	0.2	0.2	10.6	10.3
max.	18.0	1.0	1.5	17	18
min.	0.0	0.0	0	7	4
At what age did you start to have English lessons at school?					
avg.	9.2	5.1	5.0	10.9	10.4
max.	20	12	6	18	15
min.	3	3	3	7	4
For how many years did you have English lessons at school?					
avg.	9.4	10.1	12.8	8.3	9.5
max.	25	13	18	12	25
min.	2	2	9	3	5
How often do you speak English[1]					
avg.	4.5	5.0	5.0	3.9	4.8
max.	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
min.	1.0	4.5	5.0	1.0	2.0
How often do you write English[1]					
avg.	4.4	4.9	5.0	3.8	4.6
max.	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
min.	1.0	4.0	4.0	1.0	2.0
On a scale from 1 (low) to 5 (high) how would you rate your proficiency in English?					
avg.	4.0	4.7	4.7	3.5	3.9
max.	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
min.	1.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.0

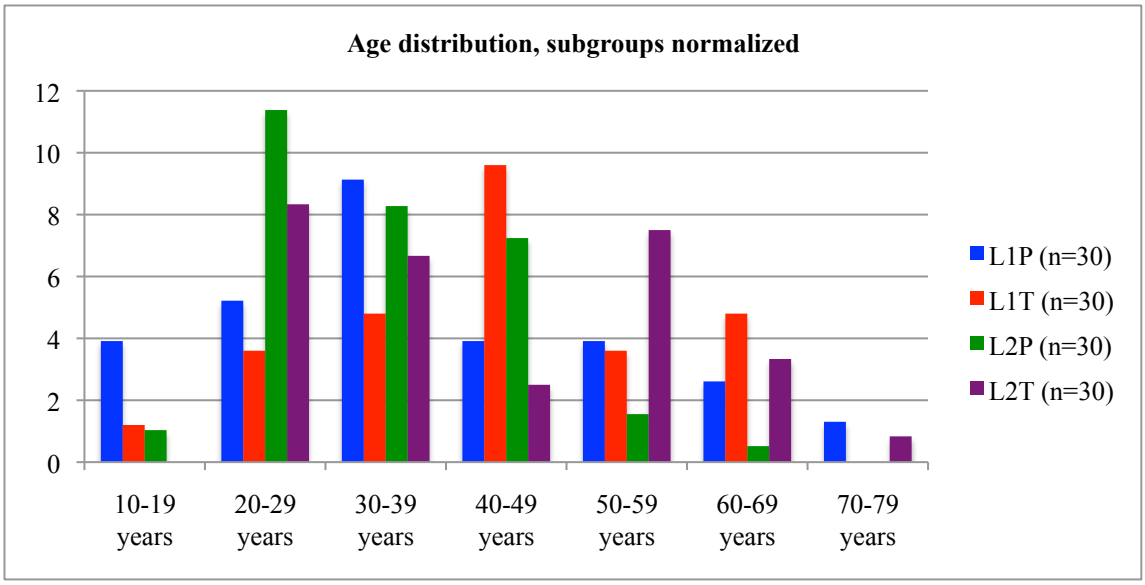
[1] 5 = daily, 4 = every week, 3 = every month, 2 = seldom, 1 = I haven't spoken written English in years

Appendix 5: Professions and Studies

Profession[1]	Number of informants	If you are a college/university student: What are your subjects?	Number of informants
Artist	1	Digital Audio Signal Processing	1
Bursar	1	Eastern Medicine	1
Consultant	1	Economics / business	4
Economics	1	Education	3
Education manager	1	Engineering	2
Engineer	6	English	4
Government employee / public administration	6	English linguistics	2
Homemaker	1	Geography	1
Information advisor	1	German studies	1
Lecturer / university teacher / professor	13	History	1
Medical doctor	1	Informatics / Computer engineering	7
Nurse	1	Italian	1
Personal assistant / secretary	3	Law	1
PhD student	16	Linguistics	6
Psychology	1	Music	1
Public defender / legal counselor	2	Neuroscience	1
Research Technician	1	Philosophy	1
Retired	2	Psychology	2
Scientist / researcher / academia	15	Science	7
Student	14	Sociology	3
Teacher	29	Technical communication	1
Teaching assistant	1		
Translator	5		
Travel planner / -agent	2		
Videographer	1		
Writer	3		
TOTAL	**129**		**51**

[1] Professions and subjects as given by the informants. Where more than one profession or subject was given, only the first one was listed.

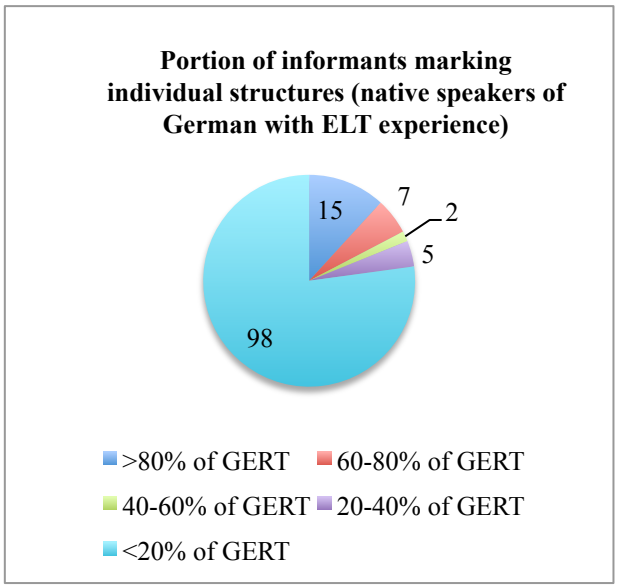
Appendix 6: Age Group Distribution Normalized Subgroups.

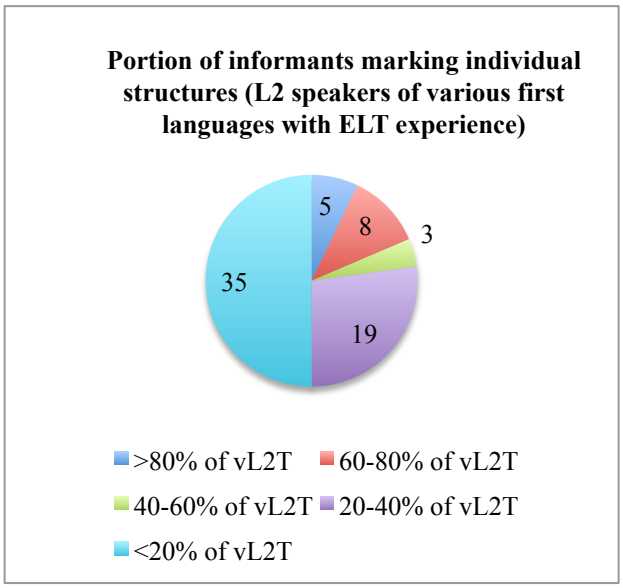


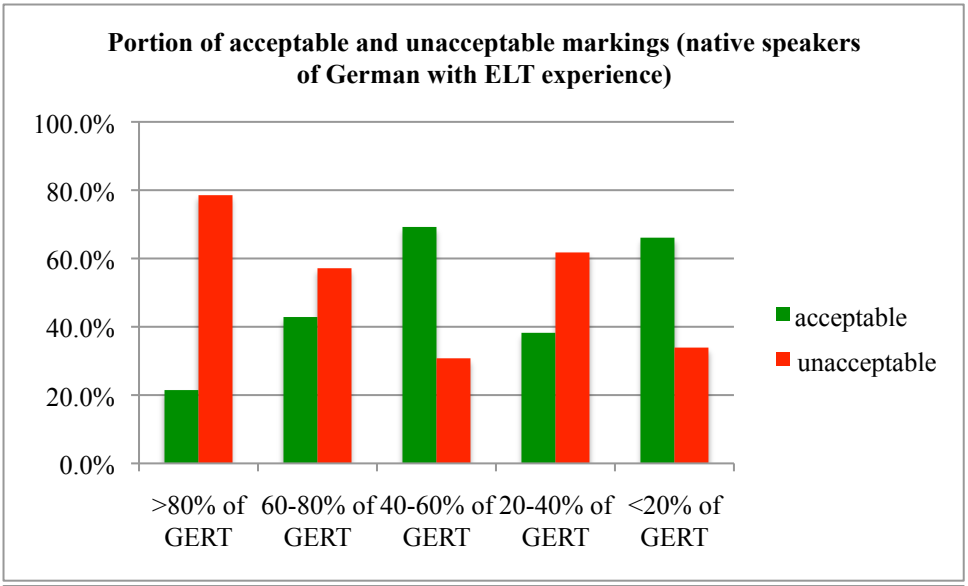
In order to make the representation of different age groups in the four informant groups comparable, the group sizes were normalized to 30 informants.

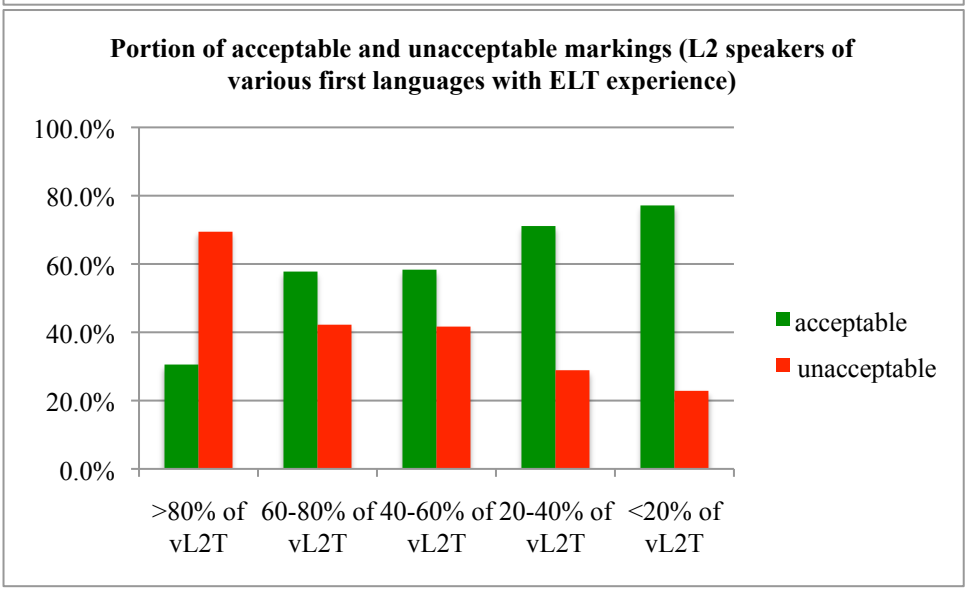
Appendix 7

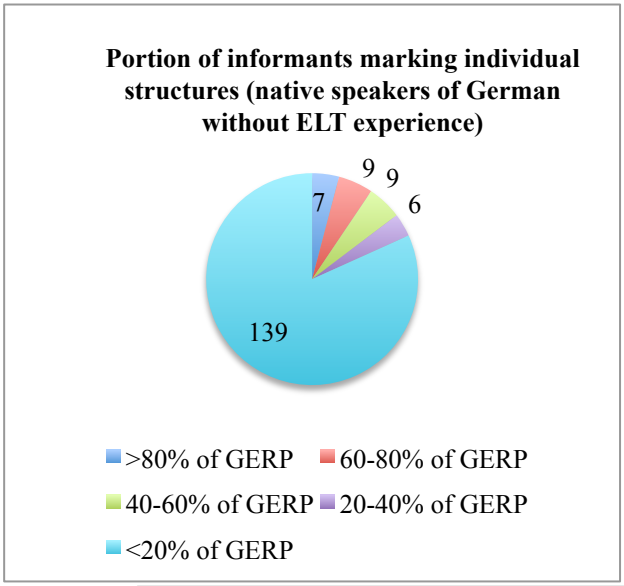
The graphs for the "L2 speakers of various first languages…" excluded data from the German speaking informants.

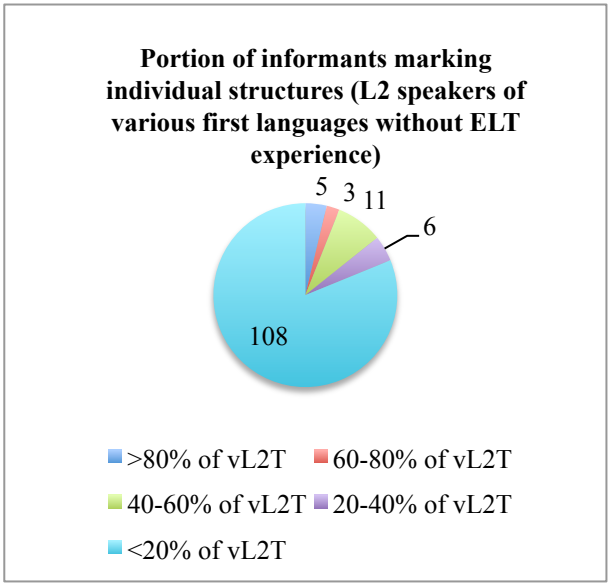


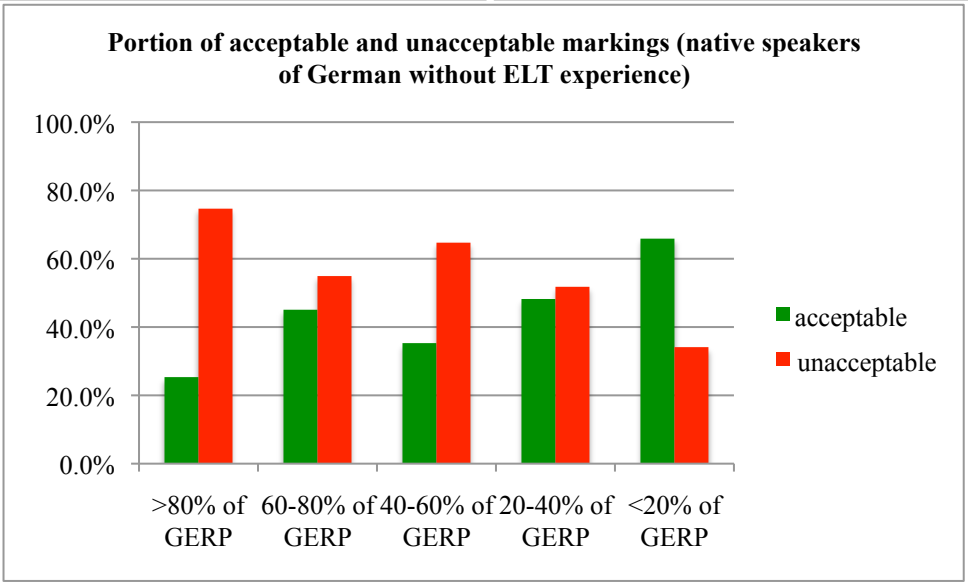


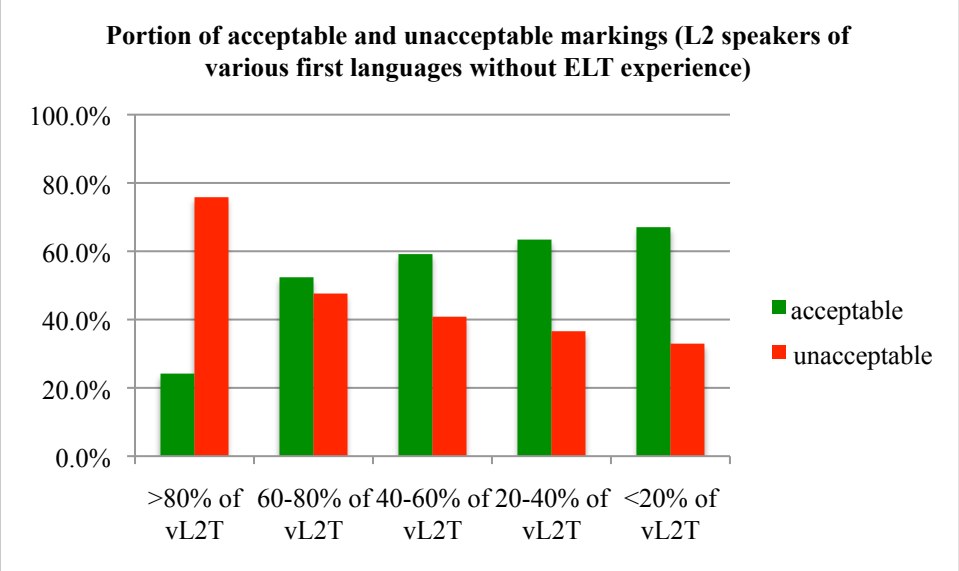

Portion of acceptable and unacceptable markings (native speakers of German with ELT experience)
100.0%
80.0%
60.0%
40.0%
20.0%
0.0%
>80% of GERT
60-80% of GERT
40-60% of GERT
20-40% of GERT
<20% of GERT
acceptable
unacceptable


Portion of acceptable and unacceptable markings (L2 speakers of various first languages with ELT experience)
100.0%
80.0%
60.0%
40.0%
20.0%
0.0%
>80% of vL2T
60-80% of vL2T
40-60% of vL2T
20-40% of vL2T
<20% of vL2T
acceptable
unacceptable


Portion of informants marking individual structures (native speakers of German without ELT experience)
9
9
7
6
139
>80% of GERP
60-80% of GERP
40-60% of GERP
20-40% of GERP
<20% of GERP


Portion of informants marking individual structures (L2 speakers of various first languages without ELT experience)
5
3
11
6
108
>80% of vL2T
60-80% of vL2T
40-60% of vL2T
20-40% of vL2T
<20% of vL2T


Portion of acceptable and unacceptable markings (native speakers of German without ELT experience)
100.0%
80.0%
60.0%
40.0%
20.0%
0.0%
>80% of GERP
60-80% of GERP
40-60% of GERP
20-40% of GERP
<20% of GERP
acceptable
unacceptable


Portion of acceptable and unacceptable markings (L2 speakers of various first languages without ELT experience)
100.0%
80.0%
60.0%
40.0%
20.0%
0.0%
>80% of vL2T
60-80% of vL2T
40-60% of vL2T
20-40% of vL2T
<20% of vL2T
acceptable
unacceptable

Appendix 8: Quintiles and Markings, Overview Main Groups

L1P								
marked by	Structures in quintile	Quintile structures share of overall	acc.	unacc.	acc.	unacc.	Total number of markings in quintile	Quintile markings share of overall
>80% of L1P	14	11.3%	60	237	20.2%	79.8%	297	46.3%
60-80% of L1P	8	6.5%	41	93	30.6%	69.4%	134	20.9%
40-60% of L1P	1	0.8%	3	10	23.1%	76.9%	13	2.0%
20-40% of L1P	9	7.3%	22	33	40.0%	60.0%	55	8.6%
<20% of L1P	92	74.2%	65	78	45.5%	54.5%	143	22.3%
TOTAL	124		191	451	29.8%	70.2%	642	100.0%
				markings per informant			27.9	
L1T								
marked by	Structures in quintile	Quintile structures share of overall	acc.	unacc.	acc.	unacc.	Total number of markings in quintile	Quintile markings share of overall
>80% of L1T	20	16.0%	85	381	18.2%	81.8%	466	61.2%
60-80% of L1T	3	2.4%	14	36	28.0%	72.0%	50	6.6%
40-60% of L1T	3	2.4%	14	25	35.9%	64.1%	39	5.1%
20-40% of L1T	11	8.8%	35	30	53.8%	46.2%	65	8.5%
<20% of L1T	88	70.4%	91	50	64.5%	35.5%	141	18.5%
	125	100.0%	239	522	31.4%	68.6%	761	100.0%
				markings per informant			30.4	
L2P								
marked by	Structures in quintile	Quintile structures share of overall	acc.	unacc.	acc.	unacc.	Total number of markings in quintile	Quintile markings share of overall
>80% of L2P	6	2.7%	84	227	27.0%	73.0%	311	21.7%
60-80% of L2P	8	3.6%	146	164	47.1%	52.9%	310	21.6%
40-60% of L2P	8	3.6%	105	119	46.9%	53.1%	224	15.6%
20-40% of L2P	7	3.1%	70	67	51.1%	48.9%	137	9.6%
<20% of L2P	194	87.0%	299	152	66.3%	33.7%	451	31.5%
Total	223	100.0%	704	729	49.1%	50.9%	1433	100.0%
				markings per informant			24.7	
L2T								
marked by	Structures in quintile	Quintile structures share of overall	acc.	unacc.	acc.	unacc.	Total number of markings in quintile	Quintile markings share of overall
>80% of L2T	12	7.9%	93	295	24.0%	76.0%	388	41.8%
60-80% of L2T	9	6.0%	97	126	43.5%	56.5%	223	24.0%
40-60% of L2T	3	2.0%	29	22	56.9%	43.1%	51	5.5%
20-40% of L2T	4	2.6%	12	23	34.3%	65.7%	35	3.8%
<20% of L2T	123	81.5%	160	72	69.0%	31.0%	232	25.0%
Total	151	100.0%	391	538	42.1%	57.9%	929	100.0%
				markings per informant			25.8	

Tables

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