From the Native Speaker Norm towards English as an International Language

A study of Exposure and Attitudes to Native and Non-native Varieties in the Teaching of English in Norway.

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SUMMARY IN NORWEGIAN

Globalisering har ført til at det engelske språket nå først og fremst brukes i internasjonal kommunikasjon, der samtalepartnerne har lært engelsk som et fremmedspråk og gjerne har vidt forskjellige språkbakgrunner. Flere akademikere på området stiller med bakgrunn i dette spørsmål ved *the native speaker norm*, tradisjonen vi har for å se på morsmålsbrukere av britisk og amerikansk som ideelle modeller for uttale. I denne forbindelse argumenteres det blant annet for at elever bør eksponeres for mange ulike varianter av engelsk gjennom undervisningen, ettersom det er et svært variert lingvistisk landskap de vil møte når de skal bruke språket i det virkelige liv.

Denne masteroppgaven har hatt som mål å gi en oversikt over representasjoner av forskjellige uttalevarianter av engelsk i to av de mest brukte læreverkene for videregående skoler i Norge, samt gi et innblikk i læreres og elevers tanker og holdninger til møtet med de ulike uttalevariantene i undervisningen, deres forhold til *the native speaker norm* og visse tilnærminger som er blitt foreslått som alternativer til denne normen. Dette er særlig aktuelt da *Kunnskapsløftet*, den nåværende læreplanen som har vært gjeldende i den norske skole siden 2006, er den første til å ha et eksplisitt og mer tydelig fokus på global engelsk og interkulturell kompetanse.

Studien har tatt i bruk tre ulike metoder, for å kunne belyse temaet fra flere sider: Det er gjort en analyse av lydmateriale fra læreverkene *Targets* og *eXperience*, i tillegg til intervjuer med tre engelsklærere, samt en elektronisk spørreundersøkelse gjennomført av elever fra ulike deler av landet.

Resultatene viser at elever eksponeres for et større utvalg av uttalevarianter enn tidligere, men at dette i stor grad er begrenset til varianter fra land der engelsk er et offisielt språk og at det fortsatt er britiske og amerikanske eksempler som dominerer. Både elever og lærere ser på kommunikasjon, og det å gjøre seg forstått på engelsk, som hovedmålet for språkopplæringen. Selv om det finnes en viss forståelse av at man ikke behøver å snakke engelsk som en morsmålsbruker for å gjøre seg forstått, ser det likevel ut til at native speaker normen står sterkt.

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Table 1 Transcription key for interview transcripts

Speakers	
Interviewer	I
Respondent	R
Turn start	:
Speech overlap	[ ]
Units	
Truncated intonation unit	--
Truncated word	-
Transitional Continuity	
Final	.
Continuing	,
Appeal	?
Accent and lengthening	
Accent	‘
Lengthening	=
Booster	!
Pauses	
Short/Medium	..
Medium/Long	…
Vocal noises	
Laughter	@
Quality	
Laugh quality	<@ @>
Quotation quality	<Q Q>
Emphatic	<EMPH EMPH>
Transcriber’s perspective	
Non-linguistic action/ researcher’s comment	(( ))
Uncertain hearing	<X X>

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

One of the most debated issues in Norwegian media, and especially in social media, following the Nobel Peace Prize award ceremony in October 2012, was the English accent of the Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel committee. This suggests to me that Norwegians have more or less conscious opinions about the way English should or should not be spoken by a Norwegian in an international context, and that 'sounding Norwegian' when speaking English is frowned upon or even considered unacceptable by many. Norwegians are not Brits or Americans, however, so how should we sound when we speak English? This question does not have one simple answer, and there are many different opinions in the field, some of which will be discussed in this thesis.

> Globalization is pulling English in two very different directions: the language has splintered into countless regional varieties, some with a high degree of self-regulation and divergence from English as a Native Language (ENL). At the same time, there is a need for an international lingua franca which will be comprehensible in a wide variety of settings, involving linguistically, ethnically and culturally heterogeneous speakers.
>
> (Prodromou, 2006, p. 51)

As early as in 1985 Kachru presented a description of English as a global language in terms of three circles; the inner, the outer and the expanding circle. The division is based on the speakers' acquisition of the language. This model is still widely used, and as I will be referring to the circles in the further discussion of varieties of English in this thesis, a brief explanation is required: The inner circle includes native speakers of English, the outer circle speakers of English as a second language, and the expanding circle speakers of English as a foreign language. Following this distinction, Norwegians belong to the expanding circle. It can be argued though, that such lines dividing speaker groups are increasingly being blurred. McKay argues that:

> in the current teaching of English two significant aspects of the network have changed, requiring changes to other parts of the system. These changes relate to the nature of English today and the characteristics of its learners. (McKay, 2006, p. 114)

English as an International Language (EIL) is viewed and defined in numeral ways. Widdowson (1998, p. 399-400) suggests that EIL can be seen as 'a kind of composite lingua franca which is free of any specific allegiance to any primary variety of the [English] language'. EIL is also used interchangeably with other terms, such as English as a lingua franca, English as a global language, English as a world language and English as a medium of intercultural communication. (Phan Le Ha, 2008)

Increased globalization has reaffirmed the status of English as an international lingua franca, and its ownership has been redefined to extend beyond native-speaker countries. English is now first and foremost used for international interpersonal communication between non-native speakers. As a result of this the focus on the UK and the USA, which has infused earlier curricula, is toned down and Global English is presented in various forms with examples from all over the world (Hansen, 2011).

> Teachers need to prepare their students for a world of staggering linguistic diversity. Somehow, they need to expose them to as many varieties of English as possible (...) And above all, teachers need to develop a truly flexible attitude towards principles of usage. The absolutist concept of 'proper English' or 'correct English' which is so widespread, needs to be replaced by relativistic models in which literary and educated norms are seen to maintain their place alongside with other norms, some of which depart radically from what was once recognized as 'correct' (Crystal, 2001, p. 20)

The situation that Crystal describes is one in which different models and norms coexist. There have been some radical changes as to what is accepted as 'correct', but at the same time certain traditional norms still prevail. Crystal proposes that students should be exposed to as many varieties of English as possible, and an important aim of this thesis is to get an insight into whether and how this is done in Norwegian EFL classrooms.

1.2 Relevance

In order to educate successful and professional future language teachers, and prepare them to guide their students in a greatly diverse language learning environment, research on language acquisition and the conditions for language acquisition that takes place in different settings is needed:

> A large number of factors influence the language classroom, the language learner, and particularly the language teacher as the most obvious catalyst. Assuming language education will be influenced by increasing amounts of information and continuous

> rapid change in society, the actors of the foreign language classroom need to face these phenomena and also prepare to deal with them effectively. (Bjørklund, 2008, p. 32)

Speaking is one of the five main skills that foreign language teaching aims to develop (Directorate for Education and Training, 2006/2010), and therefore deserves attention. When learning how to speak English in Norway, students have traditionally been encouraged to look to the native speakers of the language. The spread of English as a world language involves a gradual juxtaposition of this native speaker norm, while new ideas such as *comfortable intelligibility* (Nilsen and Rugesæter, 2008) and *the intercultural-speaker* (Byram, 1997) increasingly find their way into the teaching of English as a foreign language. This calls for a significant change in the whole subject, which is bound to affect its teachers and learners. The emphasis on global English(es) in the *Knowledge Promotion*, the current national curriculum, has made this more interesting as to carrying out research in Norway. As in so many countries around the world, students in Norway are now also much more exposed to international usage of English and different representations of speech from many geographical and social areas outside of school than any generation before them. This may also affect their relationships to varieties of English and the native speaker norm.

1.3 Previous studies in Europe and Norway

1.3.1 The European Context

Ten years ago the European Centre for Modern Languages conducted a study of the views of European teachers of English and French on intercultural communicative competence in language teaching. Their questionnaire was distributed to teachers in Cyprus, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Greece, Malta, Iceland, Hungary, Estonia and the Netherlands. Below, I will present a few of the general conclusions that were made from that study.

All of the respondents view Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) as having an important role for communicating and teaching in a foreign language. They generally agree that raising intercultural awareness and ICC skills should be enclosed in the teaching process, but their perception of the problems which may follow differ according to the teachers' age, their education and experience, and to the contexts in which each individual teaches. It seems that direct contact with and experiences with daily life in culturally different environments are more influential on their views than the traditional educational channels, as those who have

spent more time abroad and received part of their teaching education or teaching experience in multicultural environments seem to hold a clearer view on the importance of ICC teaching. Personal experiences with intercultural communication make the teachers better equipped to recognize the principles of ICC and find more suitable methodological approaches to present the message of the other cultures in ways which increase learners' appreciation of the importance of this message. Teachers who have had fewer and shorter intercultural contacts, on the other hand, tend to choose more informative and expository approaches. One important point on which all the respondents agree is that theoretical and methodological elements of intercultural studies need to be included in both pre-service and in-service teacher training programs.

1.3.2 The Norwegian Context

Very little research has been carried out in Norway regarding exposure to, use of, and attitudes to different varieties of English so far. At least two studies, though, have brought about some interesting findings, which may support my reasons for doing this study, and some of these findings will be presented in the following.

Rindal (2010) suggests that Norwegian learners use varieties of English in the construction of identity. Her findings indicate that they might be capable of adapting 'English variants from different English varieties to have local meaning in and outside the Norwegian classroom' (Rindal, 2010, p. 255). The learners in her study made evaluations of English accents, and evaluated their Norwegian peers based on which accents of English they attempted to use. They reported that their choice of English pronunciation relied on how they wanted to present themselves to others. This suggests that the possibility to choose between different ways of speaking English is important to Norwegian learners, that this is something many of them make conscious choices about, and that this choice might be considered to have implications for their peers' perception of them.

Status and formality were stated by the participants both as reasons to speak British English, and as reasons not to speak British English. The students who aimed at American English and those who aimed at British English thus had many of the same attitudes towards American and British varieties of English. However, they disagreed about whether the evaluations were positive or negative, and consequently made opposing variety choices. Such

evaluations definitely call for taking into consideration the attitudes present in the learning environments of my participants when investigating their variety choices.

A number of studies, both Norwegian (e.g. Rindal 2010, Hansen 2011) and others (e.g. Ladegaard 1998) have found that, as a model for language learning, students offer British English higher status than American English. However, in Rindal's study (2010, p. 256) of Norwegian students, she found that 'although BrE is the chosen model by the majority of participants, American English is the dominant pronunciation. It is difficult to avoid the impression that learners' pronunciation is influenced by spoken media, seeing as there is limited access to AmE elsewhere'.

Hansen (2011) has investigated the impact in Norway of the intercultural-speaker teaching model, which will be discussed in section 3.3 of this thesis:

> The issue of speaker models is treated quite coincidentally from one district to another. This may suggest that there is little theoretical understanding of the speaker-model debate in relation to intercultural competence in Norway. (Hansen, 2011, p. 53)

The present thesis contributes to support Hansens suggestion, but in addition to an investigation of the teachers it also takes into account the materials available to the teachers and student attitudes.

1.3.3 The Pilot Study

In the words of Seidlhofer (2006): 'When you are trying to teach you need to know what you are trying to teach – and equally importantly, what for, why and to whom' (in Rubdy and Saraceni, 2006, p. 45). Because I am studying to become a teacher of English in Norway, the teaching of English here is understandably an area of interest to me.

In the spring of 2012 I had an eight week teaching practice period at an upper secondary school in Bergen. During this time I performed a pilot study for my master's thesis. I used general observations from different situations in the classroom, did a questionnaire/interview with my practice teacher and analysed audio-material from the textbook that we used. The aim was to study exposure and attitudes to different varieties of English in the teaching of English as a foreign language. My findings for the pilot study supported some of my hypotheses and reasons for doing research in this area, brought about some new ideas and suggested that further research was needed:

> It seems to me that a change in attitudes lags a bit behind the change in models and curriculum foci. Although pupils are increasingly exposed to different varieties of English these are still presented as something peripheral or even exotic, and not an ideal for successful communication in English. Therefore they seem to be taught mostly as representations of culture and as an interesting "side dish" to the more important task of learning standard varieties correctly. In order for attitudes to catch up with the change, time and even more increased exposure to and awareness of variation is essential. There is need for more research on how changes are implemented in the schools and how teachers are prepared (Sannes, 2012, p. 17)

1.4 Aims and Research Questions

I wish to investigate how an increased focus on English as an international language, evident from the most recent curriculum reform, the *Knowledge Promotion*, affects learning materials, teachers and students in Norway. The present thesis aims to give an overview of the representations of different varieties in two editions of *Targets* and an edition of *eXperience*, which are among the most widely used textbooks in Norway at the upper secondary level, as well as an insight into students' and teachers' experiences, views and attitudes regarding the presence of varieties of English in the classroom, the native speaker norm and some approaches that have recently been proposed as alternatives to the native speaker norm. Through analysis of the audio-materials for Targets and eXperience, interviews with teachers, and a student questionnaire, this thesis should be able to provide an insight into the current situation in Norway regarding exposure and attitudes to different speech varieties of English. It can also make some suggestions as to whether current teaching practice reflects a continuation of the long tradition for the native-speaker model in Norway, or if the idea of a possible replacement, by means of for example an *intercultural speaker* model (Byram 1997), corresponds with the views of the people who are actually involved in the teaching process, namely the teachers and students.

First, I aim to map representations of different varieties of English in the audio-material of two current textbooks that are widely used in Norway, assuming that this is a major source of exposure to varieties, within the school context, for Norwegian students. Another related aim is to investigate whether there are changes in the teaching materials with regards to representations of varieties, from before to after the *Knowledge Promotion*, through the example of the two editions of *Targets.* A set of research questions relating to these aims are presented below:

1 a: Which varieties of English are represented in the audio-material of *Targets* and *eXperience*?

1 b: Are there any changes as to the audio material in the two editions of *Targets*, before and after the *Knowledge Promotion*? What type of changes can be identified?

1 c: Are the changes identified in 1 b similar to the findings from the audio-material in *eXperience*?

Next, I aim to identify students' attitudes to different varieties of English, their opinions on what it means to become a successful speaker of English, and get an insight into their relationship to non-native varieties of English and the native speaker norm. A further set of research questions, relating to the students attitudes and views, is presented below:

2 a: What does it mean to become a successful speaker of English, according to the students in my study?

2 b: What attitudes do the students in my study have when it comes to different varieties of English?

2 c: What experiences do these students' have as to non-native varieties of English in the classroom?

2 d: What are these students' attitudes as regards the native speaker norm and their current situation?

Finally, I aim to investigate the teachers' experiences with varieties of English in the classroom, their attitudes to a potential move away from the native speaker norm, and whether this is something that seems to be in motion. In this regard I ask the following research questions:

3 a: What experiences do the teachers in my study have as to varieties of English in a classroom context?

3 b: Are any of the suggested approaches presented in the theoretical background of this thesis reflected in the teachers' current practice and attitudes?

3 c: What are the teachers' attitudes as regards the native speaker norm and the current situation?

This will all be viewed in relation to the current situation in which English is viewed as an international language, causing the aims of learning English to be more focused on lingua

franca communication, and in which the students are increasingly exposed to many varieties of English outside of school.

The different areas of study in this thesis are closely connected. As a consequence, the discussion in chapter 5 will not deal with each of the research questions presented above separately, but rather be structured in accordance with the main aims. In chapter 6, however, a summary in which each research question will be addressed is provided in order to pick up the threads and come to a conclusion.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. In this first chapter (chapter 1) an introduction to the topic has been given, as well as a brief presentation of some previous research, supporting the relevance of the present study. Chapter 2 presents theoretical background on second language acquisition, the native speaker norm, suggestions for alternatives to the native speaker norm, and a brief overview of some important influences on the situation in Norway, historically and currently, in relation to this. Chapter 3 describes the three different methods that have been employed in this study, and the materials used in connection with each method, while chapter 4 presents the results from the analyses. In chapter 5 the results are interpreted and discussed in light of the theoretical background. Finally, chapter 6 brings the thesis to a conclusion, summarising the main findings with specific reference to the research questions, and suggesting ideas for further research.

2. BACKGROUND

In social scientific research empirical investigation of conditions of society are usually, in different ways and to variable extent, connected to theoretical understandings of these conditions. The connection to theory is particularly important in constructing research questions and hypotheses and in interpreting the empirical data (Grønmo, 2007). This chapter presents theoretical background about second language proficiency, some historical background about the native speaker norm and the native speakers' influence in Norway, as well as a number of linguists' and scholars' ideas about moving away from this norm and their suggested approaches to such a change. The chapter also includes a brief overview of the current situation in Norway regarding the teaching of English and other inputs from the English language, providing a background for understanding this research in its setting.

2.1 The Construct of Second Language Proficiency

As mentioned in the introduction, speaking is one of the main abilities of language learning, and deserves special attention in research. However, speaking is a very complex ability: 'a form of information processing in which intentions, thoughts, ideas, reflections, and also feelings must be transformed into language' (Eisenmann and Summer, 2012, p. 416). One of the aspects of speaking which makes it a particularly complex skill to develop is that the students must typically deal with immediate and simultaneous communicative situations spontaneously.

This thesis will continue to discuss whether one can become a successful speaker of English without being dependent on the native speaker as a model and whether it may be accepted to a greater degree to speak with a foreign accent as long as one can communicate and make oneself understood. For this reason we should have a concept of what it means, or has meant, to be proficient in English in terms of speaking and/or communication.

2.1.1 Intelligibility

Intelligibility can be defined as 'the extent to which a speaker's message is understood' (Kennedy 2009, p. 132). This makes it a key component of second language learners' proficiency. Results from the student questionnaire show that 'intelligible pronunciation' is

viewed by the learners as a highly important criterion for being successful in English (see figure 4.5 in section 4.3).

Meaning lies not in the words but with the interlocutors. Knowing how to act in any language involves making useful guesses about what an utterance is meant to accomplish. (Johnstone, 2007) Even if we use the same words we do not always think of the same things, but this can be figured out through trying, adjusting and accommodating, if the interlocutors are willing to do so. According to Nelson (2011, p. 89) our construct of intelligibility is based on 'the degree of compatibility that speakers discover among participants in a language event.'

The common way of measuring intelligibility has been based on comprehension of isolated words or sentences, but it is not known whether this actually reflects intelligibility of extended speech in context. Nelson (2011), for example, argues that a structural approach to teaching (experienced by himself in the 1970s) which focuses on remembering lexical items by means of lots of repetition, or trying to approximate a standard variety as closely as possible, would produce 'structurally competent' students who would often be unable to transfer correct sentences describing fictitious characters into talking about themselves, thus becoming 'communicatively incompetent'. Today most people would probably agree that a better approach would be not to overemphasize either form or content at the expense of the other, and communicative approaches are special in that they pay systematic attention to both functional and structural aspects of language. Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) 'takes learners to be active participants in the negotiation of meaning'. (Savignon 2001, p. 14, in Nelson 2009, p. 91)

Kennedy's (2009) study of four native English speakers and six second language learners of English suggests that some L2 learners can in fact be as intelligible as native speakers in cases where the units of intelligibility measurement are above word level, focused on accurate understanding of semantic elements (rather than accuracy of word recognition), and heard in context. However, she found clear differences between native speakers and second language learners for intelligibility at a word level, indicating that the traditional measurements of intelligibility may fail to reveal some L2 learners' potential for intelligibility in authentic discourse. As put by Nelson:

> No one can pronounce English in all the ways in which it is (or may be) pronounced; no one can know all the lexicon of an unfamiliar variety. But we can be attitudinally open and equipped with the skills that allow us to explore possibilities in order to achieve effective communication with users of other Englishes. (2011, p. 91)

Because effective communication can be seen as the ultimate goal of teaching language proficiency and because communication is interactive, spontaneous, and context dependent, turning the focus to intelligibility of extended speech, as suggested by Kennedy (2009), seems appropriate.

2.1.2 Complexity, Accuracy and Fluency

Many researchers and language practitioners believe that there are three principal dimensions of the multi-componential nature of L2 performance and –proficiency. These have been termed *complexity, accuracy* and *fluency* (CAF). (Housen and Kuiken, 2009)

2.1.2.1 Origins and definitions

The origins of this triad lie in research on L2 pedagogy, where a distinction was made between fluent versus accurate L2 usage in connection with an investigation in the 1980s of the development of oral L2 proficiency in classroom contexts. Complexity was added as a third component in the 1990s, following Skehan who in 1989 had proposed the first L2 model to include CAF as the three principal dimensions of proficiency (Housen and Kuiken, 2009)

The working definitions for complexity, accuracy and fluency, which were constructed in the 1990s, are still used today:

> Complexity has thus been commonly characterized as '[t]he extent to which the language produced in performing a task is elaborate and varied' (Ellis 2003: 340), accuracy as the ability to produce error-free speech, and fluency as the ability to process the L2 with 'native-like rapidity' (Lennon 1990: 390) or 'the extent to which the language produced in performing a task manifests pausing, hesitation, or reformulation' (Ellis 2003: 342). (Housen and Kuiken, 2009, p. 461)

2.1.2.2 Problems in measurements

Complexity, accuracy and fluency lack appropriate definitions supported by theories of linguistics and language learning, and this causes problems concerning their operationalization –how CAF can be validly, reliably and efficiently measured:

> Deviations from the norm are usually characterized as errors. Straightforward though this characterization may seem, it raises the thorny issue of criteria for evaluating

> accuracy and identifying errors, including whether these criteria should be tuned to prescriptive standard norms (as embodied by an ideal native speaker of the target language) or to non-standard and even non-native usages acceptable in some social contexts or in some communities (Ellis 2008; James 1998; Polio 1997).
>
> (Housen and Kuiken, 2009, pp. 3-4)

Despite these challenges, however, the concepts of complexity, accuracy and fluency are still widely used in evaluation of L2 learners, both in Second Language Acquisition research and in L2 educational contexts. (ibid)

Although CAF has been assessed within the contexts of communicative tasks, paradoxically, the results of this communication, i.e. to which extent it succeeded in achieving its goals, have hardly ever been discussed. Pallotti (2009) suggests the inclusion of a fourth dimension of L2 production and proficiency: *adequacy*, defined as 'the appropriateness to communicative goals and situations'. This element is to be viewed both as an independent construct based on task success and as a means of interpreting CAF measures. The term adequacy is also found much earlier in Dell Hymes' (1972, p. 63), specification of communicative competence, where one of four key questions relating to communication is 'whether (and to what degree) something is *appropriate* (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated'.

2.1.3 Accuracy Versus Fluency in Norway

Accuracy has historically been considered highly important in the Norwegian school system. Acceptance of a more comprehensive and communicative conception of language proficiency as an important aim in teaching resulted in the gradual inclusion of the concept of fluency. While accuracy relates to grammatical correctness, fluency relates to 'smooth, rapid, effortless use of language' (Crystal, 1987, p. 421, in Simensen, 2010: 1) or 'natural language use' (Brumfit, 1984, p. 56, in Simensen, 2010: 1) and has developed to accept faults in grammar as long as they do not interfere with the meaning.

The curriculum *Læreplan for forsøk med 9-årig skole* from 1960 was based on the predecessor to the audio-lingual method, the oral theory of teaching, and thus had a clear focus on linguistic accuracy. However, discrepancies between curriculum and assessment criteria became quite common in its time. Assessment criteria were among the first indicators that a new conception of language proficiency was entering the scene around 1970. An example is the explicit recommendation from 1967 to credit learners' language even with

faults in grammar as long as these are only '[formal] faults which do not distort the meaning' (Norsk skole, 1967, p. 277, translated in Simensen 2010: 7)

In 1976 fluency is mentioned in the curriculum *Læreplan for den videregående skole* (L76), in connection with methods of work and related to accuracy, but not as a teaching aim. The same can be observed in revised versions of L76 in the first half of the 1990s. In the following curricula later in the 1990s however, fluency is not mentioned at all. Although the conception seems to always have been present, the term is not reintroduced until the present English curriculum, the *Knowledge Promotion* of 2006. Here fluency is a proficiency aim in the subject area of communication, for both speaking and writing, at high or fairly high levels. This is an indication of the influence from the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) which introduced a scale including fluency among the suggested criteria for assessment. CEFR and *The Knowledge Promotion* will be discussed further in sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.3 respectively.

When fluency is an aim in teaching and a criterion in assessment it is important that teachers have a common understanding of the concept. Only if they meet this requirement they can really be able to appropriately plan instruction and choose appropriate classroom activities. (Simensen, 2010)

2.1.4 Differences Between Native and Non-native Speakers in Fluency

The shift in focus from grammatical accuracy to fluency corresponds well with findings in research on differences in language performance between native and non-native performance which suggest that these are more related to aspects of fluency and lexis than they are to the grammatical complexity of language production. The major difference seems to be patterns of pauses. Native speakers use end-of-clause points for more effective, listener-friendly pausing, whereas non-native speakers tend to pause mid-clause. (Skehan, 2009) An important finding has also been the greater use by native speakers of filled pauses, replacing silence or hesitation with small words or so-called 'fillers', a feature which, when it appears in non-native speech, is assessed as more fluent. (Simensen, 2010) When it comes to lexical performance the inclusion of less frequent words in language tasks seem to have a greater impact on non-native speakers, as they are derailed in speech planning and thus disrupt fluency when they have to use such words. (Skehan, 2009)

2.2 The Native Speaker Norm

Native speaker varieties of English are codified and thus have grammars, dictionaries, and norms against which learners' English can be evaluated and tested. There are also prestigious corpora of literature written in these varieties. Through this codification, such native varieties are seen as standard varieties of English. They represent power, and have historical authority – arguments sometimes used to claim their inherent superiority over other varieties of English. (Kirkpatrick, 2006)

> In the traditional view of foreign language learning and teaching, the native speaker criterion is taken as a measure of success in learning, as well as a role model for language teaching and as a measuring stick in research. This notion is based on the Chomskyian idea that the native speaker is the ideal and ultimate authority on language competence and use. (Angelovska and Hahn, 2009, p. 164)

For the reasons mentioned above it can easily be assumed that choosing to model learners' speech on standardized native-speaker varieties, i.e. to utilize *the native speaker norm*, is an easy and safe option. However, as will be explored in section 2.4, the appropriateness of the native speaker norm may be problematized.

2.3 Native Speaker Influence on the Teaching of English in Norway

The long-lasting reign of the native speaker norm in Norway can be explained in part by the history of English in this context. The country's bond with the UK was a driving force behind the first establishment of English as a subject in Norwegian schools. Later bonds with the USA and increasing exposure to American English throughout the twentieth century have contributed to enhancing and securing the model's position in the curriculum.

For centuries Norway has had close bonds with the English speaking World, to a large extent due to its status as a seafaring nation. The development in Norwegians' relationship with the English language must first and foremost be seen in connection to the internationalization of workforce, education, travel, science, and trade of goods and services. (Hansen, 2011)

In the early beginnings of the subject, the offer was limited to certain parts of the country and its purpose was communication with the British for trading purposes. Thus, the

training in English started in selected schools along the southern coast of the country from where there was shipping overseas, but, roughly speaking it was not until near the end of the 19th century, in the university colleges that English became a subject area of any significance. There were even great differences in the availability of English education between regions and between rural and urban areas all the way up until *Lov om grunnskolen* [An act relating to primary and lower secondary education] from 1969. This act made English a compulsory subject for all students in the 9-year long school. (Simensen, 2011)

The Parliamentary School Committee of 1922-1927 was behind one important breakthrough for English as a school subject in Norway. They unanimously decided that English was to be the primary foreign language studied in Norway, pedagogically as it best befitted those who had to settle with elementary school, but also finally because English was more highly regarded than German as an influence in trade and industry. The shipping fleet and Norway's close relationship to America, with Norwegian emigration to the USA, were explicitly mentioned in the matter. The teaching of English was therefore extended over the next decades. (Høigård and Ruge, 1971)

English as a school subject in Norway has been highly influenced by the British, through the British Council which was established in 1934 and developed to be an institution with great academic ambitions and substantial resources in the field of English teaching. Much of the Council's work had its basis in the research of British linguists, especially with regards to teaching of grammar and vocabulary. From 1937 the council contributed with the establishment of *Anglophone societies* in all the Scandinavian countries, and eventually by offering a British Council representative to each country. Norway got its representative in 1946. (Gundem 1989, in Simensen, 2011) British Council also offered supplementary teacher education in Norway and in Britain, often held as summer courses. In the fifties the need for assistance in English teaching had become so extensive that consultants for the British Council were attached to the Department of Church and Education. With this the consultants got an even more central role and contributed with their expertise in the design of national curricula, written work on teaching methods, and production of exams. The council also provided Norwegian educational institutions on different levels with qualified teachers of English, and research shows that as many as about 120 Brits were teaching in Norway between 1969 and 1977. (Simensen, 2011)

Up until around 1960 the British Council virtually had monopoly on outside support to the teaching of English in Norway. Their work included the qualification of teachers, researchers and students, facilitating studies and research in Britain, assistance in connection

to development and execution of English exams, and obtaining English speaking experts into different subject areas and functions in the Norwegian educational system. However, towards the end of this period in the subject's history in Norway, the subject was exposed to significant influence from strong research environments in the US, concerning new, or at least adjusted, theories about the teaching of foreign languages. It is implied in the literature that the language teaching research which had been the driving force in British academic environments in the inter war period were abandoned after 1945, and this resulted in reduced influence from Britain at this time (Simensen, 2011).

The new, or adjusted, language learning and teaching theories from the US influenced the school subject of English in Norway, at first manifested in 1970 in an extremely audiolingual-oriented suggestion for a new curriculum, 'Forslag til normalplan for grunnskolen', a suggestion which was discarded. Four years later they found their place in a far more balanced curriculum, 'Mønsterplan for grunnskolen av 1974'. The American advance in the teaching of English as a foreign language seemed to cause problems for the British Council, which did not play an important role in the introduction of these new theories. (ibid)

From the middle of the last century The Council of Europe became the main influence. They had European integration as a goal from the start, and through shared institutions they aimed to achieve European cooperation and mutual understanding. The Council of Europe has had several important contributions to the work on foreign language teaching, and they have had the whole specter of experiments, developmental work, research, and dissemination work on their agenda. The latest phase of their work resulted in the document *Common European Freamework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (CEFR) in 2001. (ibid) This is to date an important guidance document, which will be discussed further in chapter 4.

2.4 Questioning the Native Speaker Norm

Nilsen and Rugesæter (2008), among others, point out that very few people really ever need or achieve the ability to sound like native speakers, and argue that 'comfortable intelligibility' is the level most people should be aiming for. Today, making oneself understood is generally acknowledged as the most important thing, and there is greater acceptance for speaking English with a foreign accent. However, an accent can be problematic if it leads to a

breakdown in communication, and in order to avoid misunderstandings or sending out unwanted signals it is crucial that pupils are taught to speak clearly and consistently. The debate on which models and/or norms can be used for a globally intelligible model of English is one that brings about many different suggestions and arguments, some of which I will discuss in section 2.4. To begin with, however, I will discuss why such new norms or models have increasingly been regarded necessary.

2.4.1 Why the Native Speaker Norm can be Regarded Unsuitable

2.4.1.1 The spread of English as an international language

In recent times the field of applied linguistics has been questioning and redefining the terms native speaker and non-native speaker. Much of this has been brought about by the situation that the English language is in. Being a global language, in fact more used by speakers who do not have it as their mother tongue than those who do, the ownership of English is being problematized. (e.g. Crystal, 2001; Widdowson, 1994)

For most people in 1900 English was still simply English, the English language or the English tongue, although, even fifty years earlier, the philologist Jacob Grimm had declared to the Royal Academy in Berlin that it 'may be called justly a language of the world: and seems, like the English nation, to reign in future with still more extensive sway over all parts of the globe' (Bailey, 2008, p. 353). However, by the 1990s a lot had changed. According to David Crystal (2008, p. 394) 'The impact of globalization brought a widespread acknowledgement that English had achieved a genuine world presence, receiving special status in the usage or educational systems of every country'. New labels such as 'world language' or 'global language' were increasingly used at these times and books and journals describing the language as such soon became universal.

The initial spread of English happened due to speaker migration, and as a result largely monolingual English-speaking communities, such as the US, Australia and New Zealand, were established. The current spread of English is, however, due to *macroacquisition* (Brutt-Griffler, 2002), a term referring to individuals in existing speech communities acquiring English as an additional language for the purpose of international, and in some cases intranational, communication. (McKay, 2006) This latter type of language-spread results in large-scale bilingualism, and this has important implications for the teaching

of English as a foreign language, to a large extent because bilingual and international learners will have "new" and different reasons for learning the language: many learners will have quite specific purposes for learning English, more limited than those of immigrants; many will make use of English in interaction with other L2 users with different L1 backgrounds; and many may wish to learn English for the purpose of sharing information about their own countries with others, and exchanging information with other cultures, which in turn can be used to encourage economic development and promote trade and tourism. Another reason for wanting to learn English, which have come with internationalization, is the access the language can give to scientific and technological information, international organizations, global economic trade and higher education. (ibid)

Such more recent purposes of English language learning as presented above can be said to undermine the traditional cultural basis of English. Because of the internationalization of English, and the idea that the language is no longer owned by any culture, the need to internalize cultural norms of native speakers, which has traditionally been a central part of the teaching of EFL, disappears. Ownership of English has in a sense become de-nationalized, and a main educational goal is now often to enable the students to communicate *their* ideas and culture to others. (ibid)

Alptekin (2002) argues that 'communicative competence, with its standardized native speaker norms, fails to reflect the lingua franca status of English: social and economic globalization has necessitated the use of an international means of communication in the world.' He questions the relevance of teaching e.g. British politeness conventions, and culturally-laded discourse samples such as British railway timetables and American newspaper advertisements, when English has become a language of international communication, now mainly involving interactions between non-native speakers.

2.4.1.2 Two languages – one mind

The term *Multicompetence* was coined in 1991, by Cook (1999), to refer to the existence of knowledge of two languages in a speaker's mind. She argues that multicompetence is inherently more complex than monolingualism, and that there is thus no reason for the L2 of a multi-competent learner to be identical to that of a monolingual's L1. That is, e.g. the English of a learner who has knowledge of both Norwegian and English should not be identical to the English of a native-speaker, who has only knowledge of English, simply because their minds

are different. Hakuta and Diaz (1985) list many advantages for bilinguals, such as measures of conceptual development, creativity, and analogical reasoning. On the other hand, Mägiste (1986, in Cook, 1999) has argued that because the multicompetent learner has more than one response available to the same stimulus, he or she may naturally have slower reaction times.

2.4.1.3 The impossible target of becoming native speakers

> Consciously or unconsciously, people proclaim their membership in particular groups through the language they use. However, L2 learners are not supposed to reveal which part of the world they come from; they are considered failures if they have foreign accents (Cook, 1999)

Labov's (1969, in Cook, 1999) classic argument held that one group should not be measured against the norm of another. Whether we define groups based on race, class, sex or other features, people cannot be expected to follow the norm of a group they do not belong to. Although almost all teachers and researchers today would agree that we find differences rather than deficits between different groups, and that such differences do not make one group worse than the other, many teachers, researchers, and people in general, have often treated L2 learners as a special case: as a group that can be judged by the standards of another group - the native speakers. This compares to the earlier held views that women should speak like men to succeed in business, that Black children should learn to speak like White children, and working-class children should learn the elaborated language of the middle class.

Speakers of English as a second or foreign language are commonly seen as failed native speakers, and the measure of their success in L2 learning is often assessed by the amount of foreign accent they have or to what extent their pronunciation conforms to native standards: ‘Grammar that differs from native speakers', pronunciation that betrays where L2 users come from, and vocabulary that differs from native usage are treated as signs of L2 users' failure to become native speakers, not of their accomplishments in learning to use the L2’ (Cook, 1999, pp. 194-195)

Complying to the pragmatic norms that come with a language other than your own brings with it a certain ‘cultural inappropriacy’ (Kirkpatrick, 2006, p. 81; Prodromou, 2006, p. 52) When native models are imposed on non-native contexts the learners’ autonomy is restricted and their own cultural authenticities are pushed aside by the native-speaker’s assumed authority. (Widdowson, 1996, 1998, in Prodromou, 2006) In this thesis one of the

main aims has been to chart student attitudes to varieties of English and the native-speaker norm, and based on this idea about the inappropriacy of complying to native speaker norms, I have also investigated whether some Norwegian students find reasons *not* to aim at native varieties of English (see section 4.3).

In his attempt to describe varieties of EIL which could potentially form the basis for a new model, Prodromou (2006) aimed specifically to explore the role of idiomaticity, which according to his corpus data seemed to be a problematic issue. In particular he investigated, and questioned, the assumption that a successful non-native user necessarily holds a repertoire of native-like styles and idiomatic expressions. His working hypothesis was that, due to its cultural implications, idiomaticity is resistant to acquisition by non-native speakers. His findings support this hypothesis in suggesting that non-native speakers hardly use any pure idioms and that they are rarely creative with idioms. Following his findings, Prodromou suggests that the role of idiomaticity and phraseology in general, which have played an important role in defining *native*-like fluency, should perhaps be reassessed with reference to *non-native* fluency.

2.4.2 Norm or Model

The term *norm* is defined in *Oxford Dictionary of English* as something 'standard', something 'typical and expected' and something to be 'complied with or reached'. As argued by Dalton and Seidlhofer (in Jenkins, 1998), the term is strongly connected with ideas of correctness. A norm is regarded invariable, and when speaking of language norms these should be imitated without considerations of language use. The norm is treated as an end in itself and, even though it is very unrealistic, the aim is one hundred per cent attainment. If Received Pronunciation and/or General American are treated as a model, rather than a norm, they can instead be used as points of reference and models for guidance. Demands of the specific situation would then play a role in speakers' decisions to approximate them more or less.

Up until this point the native norm has generally been treated as the goal for production. Dalton and Seidlhofer (ibid) argue for raising awareness among teachers that the goal for non-native students to sound like native speakers is neither a desirable or likely outcome. Teachers of English should rather show their students how to use a native model as a point of reference, to prevent local non-native varieties from moving so far apart from each other that they become mutually unintelligible. This use of the native speaker variety as a

model can also promote receptive competence, e.g. in interaction with native speakers. For active use and correction, however, students can be directed towards focusing on production of core features from the native varieties (as will be discussed further in section 2.4.3), but to otherwise accept and even promote the use of L1 norms. (Jenkins, 1998)

2.4.3 Proposed Alternative Methods and Models

2.4.3.1 Using the L1 to our advantage

When linguists survey language change in native speaker varieties they see it as a sign of creativity and innovation. Change led by non-native speakers, on the other hand, is viewed as error, regardless of the extent to which it is used or the degree to which it is mutually intelligible among ELF speakers. (Jenkins, 2006)

Much of the present-day Modern Englishes spoken by educated native speakers in the Inner Circle have been influenced by a large amount of language contact from the days of Old English onwards. This attaches a 'contamination metaphor' (Jenkins, 2006, p. 34) to current language contact, when any and every item affected by L1 transfer is assigned the status of error:

> Influence from an Expanding Circle speaker's L1 is labeled "L1 transfer" or even "L1 interference" and its product is "error" to be eliminated. There is no suggestion that contact between ELF groups' L1s and English might be leading to the emergence of new English dialects, let alone bona fide standard varieties. (Jenkins, 2006, p. 34)

Bamgbose (1998) points out that a non-native variety can never receive any recognition if its innovations are seen as errors. In Kirkpatrick's (2006) view it is both inevitable and desirable that some of the pragmatic norms of their L1 will be transferred when L2 speakers use English as a lingua franca.

Cook (1999) discusses two ways of using the L1 in the EFL classroom. The first is for presenting meaning: the meaning of a new word or structure can be accessed through translation into their L1. Multicompetence theory, as mentioned in section 2.4.1.2, supports the idea of developing links between the languages through means such as translation, rather than viewing them as separate parts. Another use of L1 is for communication in classroom activities. Students are often asked to use the L2 even during activities in which they communicate with other students with whom they share a common L1, and where it would be

natural for them to code-switch. The L1 will always be present in the students' minds even as they carry out activities in the L2, the difference is only whether it is visible in the classroom or not, and the seeming L2 nature of the classroom will often conceal this presence.

Cook suggests that teachers should embrace the L1 as a positive factor, and in doing so put a more positive light on something which already happens in many classrooms. Activities which deliberately involve both languages see the student as an intercultural speaker instead of an imitation of the native speaker.

2.4.3.2 The L2 user as a user in its own right

Empirical research into L2 user situations are, as mentioned before, scarce, and have rarely been used to establish communicative needs. This contributes to making the native speaker model all-pervasive. Willis (1993, 1996, referred to in Cook 1999: 198) proposes that 'the pedagogic corpus of language the students encounter should be expanded to include specimens of the language that L2 users rather than native speakers need'. Although, as will be illustrated in section 4.1 in the empirical part of this study, teaching materials may not offer examples of skilled L2 use a large pool of recordings of L2 English is available from the media. Most EFL textbooks and their supplementary recordings present exclusively native situations with native speakers in all roles. 'At one level, materials simply need to demonstrate that L2 users exist in the world as role models for students to emulate' (Cook, 1999, p. 200)

Seidlhofer (2006a) argues that one important step towards providing L2 users of English with an alternative model is to chart the way that English is actually spoken as a medium for international communication. By creating and analysing ELF corpora we can get a better understanding of the measures ELF speakers take in their interactions in order to better understand each other. Very little work has been done in this area, but one example is the *Vienna-Oxford international corpus of English* (VOICE): a description-based corpus which 'comprises transcripts of **naturally occurring, non-scripted** face-to-face interactions in English as a lingua franca (ELF)' (VOICE, original emphasis), the first publicly available corpus of ELF.

Jenkins (2006a) points out that 'Although ELF researchers seek to identify frequently and systematically used forms that differ from inner circle forms without causing communication

problems and override first language groupings, their purpose is not to describe and codify a single ELF variety'.

For new, non-native, English norms to be fully accepted, however, some kind of codification would be a requirement –you need to be able to show people what it is you want them to accept (Bamgbose, 1998, in Seidlhofer, 2006). As will be seen in section 4.2.7 and further discussed in 5.5, teachers interviewed for this study report that their assessments are based solely on their experience with the English language. This experience will typically be with standardized inner-circle varieties. Without codification, uncertainty of what is correct and incorrect will prevail and doubts will have to be resolved on the basis of existing norms. As a consequence, we will continue to look to the Inner Circle for such norms, as this is the only place where standardized norms exist so far.

2.4.3.3 Local diversity and global intelligibility

If the recently started work on collecting and codifying lingua franca use of English continues, and descriptions of usage by speakers from many different linguistic and cultural backgrounds are made available, we can start to consider whether English as it is spoken by non-native speakers should be thought of as falling into different varieties, as they do in native speaker English. It would not be strange if English as a lingua franca turns out to vary and change over time, as all natural languages do, and thus it does not make sense to view it as a monolithic variety. (Seidlhofer, 2006)

It has been argued that because English as an international language or English as a lingua franca differs both from established standard varieties and from local nativized Englishes, it would only complicate matters further if it were to be adopted in the classroom. Learners would have new externally prescribed norms to deal with, different from the kinds of English they are exposed to in their daily lives. (Peter Tan, Vincent Ooi, Andy Chiang, 2006) Seidlhofer (2006, p. 45) however, argues that this is not about prescribing a new rule, but 'offering an alternative possibility'. She points out that ELF situations are self-regulating by nature; that interlocutors will choose to use English as a lingua franca when it is the best alternative for the purpose at hand.

Some scholars fear that variation will lead to many new and mutually unintelligible varieties. Jenkins differentiates between core aspects of variation, which impede mutual intelligibility, and non-core aspects of variation, which do not. 'She decidedly rejects the idea

that native-speaker models should be the ideal target for learners of English, aspiring, as she does, towards "global intelligibility and local diversity"' (Rubdy and Saraceni, 2006, p. 18). In doing so she redefines the concept of pronunciation error, which is no longer based on proximity to native speaker norms, but on the degree to which it affects intelligibility in ELF communication.

In the following tables the core and non-core features of lingua franca English are presented as described by Jenkins (2006b, p. 37):

Table 2.1 Jenkins' core features

Lingua franca core
1. Consonant sounds except for substitutions of 'th' and of dark /l/
2. Aspiration after word-initial /p/, /t/ and /k/
3. Avoidance of consonant deletion (as opposed to epenthesis) in consonant clusters
4. Vowel length distinctions
5. Nuclear (Tonic) stress production and placement within word groups (tone units)

Table 2.2 Jenkins' non-core features

Non-core features
1. Certain consonants (see table 2.1, Jenkins' Core features 1.)
2. Vowel quality
3. Weak forms
4. Features of connected speech such as elision and assimilation
5. Word stress
6. Pitch movement on the nuclear syllable (tone)
7. Stress-timed rhythm

The English th-sounds are examples of features many Norwegian students struggle with, because they are sounds that are not incorporated in the sound repertoire of the Norwegian language. Consequently, /θ/ is often replaced by /t/ and /ð/ by /d/. As can be extracted from table 2.2, point 1, Jenkins' considers substitutions of 'th' a non-core feature of lingua franca English, which does not impede intelligibility and would for that reason be less important. However, other consonant sounds do belong to the core and the difficulties many Norwegian learners have of distinguishing between /v/ and /w/ would therefore be more problematic.

Another example of a core feature, as can be seen from table 2.1 is vowel-length. To illustrate this: the distinction between for example /bi:nz/ and /bɪnz/ is one that clearly changes the meaning of the word, and a mistake in this category would cause ambiguousness. Vowel-quality, on the other hand, is regarded less problematic and can thus be found in table 2.2 of non-core features: a speaker would make herself understood whether she pronounced the word 'cake' as / keɪk/ or /kaɪk/.

Rugesæter (2012) is skeptical to such a universal set-up as Jenkins', and believes that pronunciation teaching should be carried out with specific L1 to L2 problems in mind. Due to differences in our L1 repertoires, speakers with different language backgrounds have difficulties in different areas, and a universal model of pronunciation features does not recognize this. For example, the general lack of voiced fricatives in the Norwegian language tends to lead to problems for Norwegian students with distinctions such as /s, z/. Chinese and Japanese speakers often struggle with the /l, r/ distinction which they do not have in their native languages, while this is not a relevant problem area for Norwegian learners. Making the students aware of contrasts that exist in every native English accent and particularly contrasts which do not exist in their L1, for example by working with minimal pairs, is generally relevant and meaningful. Practicing one specific sound, on the other hand, is only relevant in trying to imitate a specific accent, as phonemes may be realized in a number of different ways by the native speakers, depending on their accent backgrounds.

Jenkins' core approach recognizes bilingual non-native speaker teachers of English who share a common L1 with their students as the most appropriate and motivating classroom models. They have the many advantages outlined in a growing literature on the subject of non-native speaker teachers and combine core features for international intelligibility with their own regional version of the non-core features in their accents (which they share with their learners), allowing local identity and sociolinguistic appropriacy to shine through. 'Communication in lingua franca English has to be seen in terms of accommodation between codes and in a multilingual context' (Kirkpatrick, 2006, p. 80) Jenkins (e.g. 2000, 2002, referred to in Jenkins 2006b) has demonstrated the significance of the accommodation among ELF users towards one another in what often amounts to a remarkable display of tolerance for diversity. Consequently, L2 users of English often communicate more easily with other L2 users than they do with native speakers.

Jenkins views global intelligibility and local diversity for English accents in lingua franca contexts as not only a possibility, but even a probability, and not at all a paradox:

> By embracing the sociolinguistic facts of regional variation (e.g. they are the rule, not the exception), the core approach thus recognizes the rights of NNSs of the Expanding Circle to their own 'legitimate' regional accents rather than regarding any deviation for NS pronunciation norms as an error (as is the case in English as a Foreign Language approaches). In other words, it is an attempt to extend to Expanding Circle members the rights that have always been enjoyed in the Inner Circle and to increasing extent in the Outer. (Jenkins 2006b, pp. 37-38)

Seidlhofer (2006, p. 48) agrees by stating that: 'Identification with a primary culture on the one hand and communication across cultures on the other are equally worthwhile endeavours, and there is no reason why they should not happily coexist and enrich each other.'

2.4.3.4 The intercultural speaker as a possible replacement for the native speaker?

One alternative to the native-speaker norm, referred to as *the intercultural-speaker model*, has recently been proposed. This model is claimed to be more achievable and more appropriate for the function that English has as a lingua franca, and focuses on the context in which intercultural communication takes place.

Byram (1997) points out that descriptions of intercultural communication are limited, as they tend to focus on language learning as understood in a traditional sense. A model for intercultural communication can break out of these existing traditions, "but it must be linked to them and usable within the constraints of current and foreseeable circumstances" (Byram, 1997, p. 31). Because FLT varies from one situation to another, Byram proposes an originally 'content-free' model, which he continues to suggest different uses for according to different situations.

When non-native interlocutors from different cultures meet, they bring experiences and knowledge based on their cultural background into the interaction. The central issue of the intercultural-speaker model is to master this interaction, but as every such encounter is unique there is no final goal. Intercultural experience is continually expanded by bringing these experiences into ever new encounters. The approach is consequently focused on teaching the students to discover universal communicative features that they can use to communicate effectively, based on their own distinct cultural background (Byram, 1997; Hansen, 2011). Kramsch (1998, p. 27) characterizes a 'competent language user' as one that has 'the adaptability to select those forms of accuracy and those forms of appropriateness that are called for in a given social context of use'.

With a lingua franca model the focus will be on communication, rather than on idealized norms. The cultural context is considerably broadened, as the students can learn about cultures they are likely to use their English in communication with, instead of the narrow focus on native-speaker countries that has been dominant so far. "Imitation is replaced by comparison, establishing a relationship between one's own beliefs, meanings and behaviours and those of the other, whoever that happens to be" (Byram, 1997, p. 113). Such an alternative can be liberating, as it implies that English is now property of all, including the L2 learners, and not somehow owned by someone else. A lingua franca English should be flexible enough to reflect the cultural norms of all of its users. (Kirkpatrick, 2006)
Following his arguments from section 2.4.1.1, Alptekin (2002) rejects the conventional communicative competence model as unsuitable due to its stern obedience to native speaker norms within the target culture. Instead he believes a new model for teaching English as a foreign language, which considers the implications of the international status of the language, is needed urgently, and he takes up several of the abovementioned ideas when he suggests that such a model should take into account the following criteria:

1) Successful bilinguals with intercultural insights and knowledge should serve as pedagogic models in English as an International Language (EIL) rather than the monolingual native speaker.
2) Intercultural communicative competence should be developed among EIL learners by equipping them with linguistic and cultural behavior which will enable them with an awareness of difference, and with strategies for coping with such difference (Hyde, 1998).
3) The EIL pedagogy should be one of global appropriacy and local appropriation, in that it should prepare learners 'to be both global and local speakers of English and to feel at home in both international and national cultures' (Kramsch and Sullivan 1996, p. 211)
4) Instructional materials and activities should involve local and international contexts that are familiar and relevant to language learners' lives.
5) Instructional materials and activities should have suitable discourse samples pertaining to native and nonnative speaker interactions, as well as nonnative and nonnative speaker interactions. Discourse displaying exclusive native speaker use should be kept to a minimum, as it is chiefly irrelevant for many learners in terms of potential use in authentic settings (Widdowson, 1998).

(Alptekin 2002, p. 63)

2.4.4 Problematizing the Suggested Models

Tan, Ooi and Chiang (2006) argues that introducing a standardized model for lingua franca English gives rise to several difficulties. All language users make linguistic choices all the time, and as we have seen there are many possibilities and much variation in English usage. As mentioned earlier, throwing in an additional set of norms might just further complicate an already quite intricate situation. Moreover, the ELF norms that they would have to follow in the classroom would be different from real encounters with English in interaction outside the classroom, and from British and American English which they would continue to encounter frequently through media such as the Internet and Television.

Standardized code does not necessarily solve intelligibility problems. Tan et al. shares Bamgbose's (1998) position in suggesting that it is not the code itself that makes for intelligibility, but the people and their willingness to converge to understand. They argue that if teaching ELF norms would lead learners to expect others to speak like them and no longer feel the need to make allowances or make an effort in cross-cultural communication, this would be doing them a great disservice. Misunderstandings happen even within the same language, so standardization and codification may not be what is needed in order to solve intelligibility problems. Tan et al. (2006) recommend less confidence in standardized code and instead more confidence in the adoptability of speakers.

Through investigation of the attitudes of teachers and students from 45 countries towards native-speaker norms Timmis (2002) found that their views might contradict those of applied linguists who argue against the predominance of native-speaker models. Students in his study were given descriptions of two speakers, and were to choose which one they would prefer to be like:

> Student A: I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker.
> Student B: I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country.
> (Timmis, 2002, p. 241)

Out of the students who stated that they currently used English more with non-native speakers sixty-eight per cent chose option A. Although the results cannot be regarded statistically accurate or representative of the whole English learning world, they do suggest that there is still a desire to conform to native-speaker norms, even with the students who

primarily use the language with other non-natives. Given students' apparent preferences then, Timmis (2002) believes native varieties of English to be the best starting point for a practicable model of comfortable intelligibility for international purposes.

Prodromou (2006) puts forward the idea that it is highly unlikely that successful bilingual users of English would want to settle for an imperfect lexico-grammatical repertoire. If the model is that of a successful non-native bilingual, learners will always be aware that an expert level beyond ELF exists out there among native speakers of the language, and that this is more prestigious than the simplifications of ELF users, regardless of their perfect efficiency. Because the modern world is one of international communication and the influence from the media is so strong, ELF learners could not possibly avoid coming into contact with native-speaker norms in some way or another. 'To do justice to our students' needs and aspirations we should try to empower them to cope with the variety of Englishes, both non-native and native, which they will encounter in the world outside their classroom walls or invisible European walls' (Prodromou, 2006, p. 58).

It is difficult to teach and develop text around a model that is virtually undescribed. *If* we had detailed knowledge about the linguistic features of lingua franca English, this might be the sensible classroom model for those who are learning English to use it as a lingua franca. Yet, the surprisingly few attempts to try to describe, let alone codify, lingua franca English represents a great gap in current applied linguistic research (Seidlhofer, 2001), and until we have a description of lingua franca English few will have any reason to support it. 'Teachers and learners, while they may acknowledge the role of lingua franca English, will be hesitant about teaching and learning it until they know what "it" is'. (Kirkpatrick, 2006, p. 78)

2.5 The Current Situation in Norway

As this thesis deals with Norwegian teachers and learners of English, this section provides a brief overview of the current teaching and learning situation of English as a foreign language in Norway, and some of the main aspects that are believed to influence this situation.

2.5.1. The Common European Framework of Reference

As mentioned in section 2.3, The Common European Framework of Reference has been a major influence on the teaching of English in Norway since 2001.

> The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) plays a central role in language and education policy, not only within Europe, but worldwide. It has growing relevance for language testers and examination boards, helping to define language proficiency levels and interpret language qualifications (Cambridge English).

CEFR contains statements of goals, based on the European version of the communicative approach. Its most innovative aspect is the way that competence aims are expressed. The document contains many 'can do' – characteristics for competence aims in quite a few main- and component skills, and on different levels of attainment. It includes a number of tables with such 'can do'- characteristics, which are used also in self-assessment forms with the phrasing 'I can…' The framework operates with six levels of attainment: C2 (the highest), C1, B2, B2, A2, and A1 (the lowest). It focuses on numerous areas within the communicative ability. Specific areas of speech competence, such as the ability to present something orally to a group, are evaluated. (McNamara, 2012; Simensen, 2011)

The framework represents a unique tool in the Council of Europe's efforts to achieving the best possible common European basis for development of curricula and assessment tools, and facilitating mutual acknowledgment of language competence across national borders. 'There is at present no sufficiently strong research-based consensus on how learners learn for the Framework to base itself on any one learning theory' (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 139). For this reason there has been a change in the Council of Europe's work from focusing on teaching methods to focusing on aims and content. This kind of thinking is evident in *Læreplanverket for den videregående skolen* from 1993 and now in the *Knowledge Promotion* (LK06), where there are no recommendations for which teaching methods to use, but a focus on management by objectives, for which specified competence aims work as the tool.

The CEFR stresses the importance of developing each individual learner's competences and that different competences are needed in different kinds of situations. In doing so it acknowledges the individual learner's possible choices of developing certain language skills more than others, depending on which situations they will need the language for. (Bjørklund, 2008)

Although it is stated at the beginning of the document that 'the aim of language education … is no longer seen as simply to achieve "mastery" of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the "ideal native speaker" as the ultimate model' (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 5), the native speaker seems to remain quite present in many of the objectives. Native speakers are apparently the ones to keep up with in conversation in order to attain the higher levels: 'understanding conversation between native speakers' and 'understanding a native speaker interlocutor' are own objectives, and when it comes to making oneself understood, the wording 'at no disadvantage to a native speaker' occurs more than once in the descriptors for level C2 (ibid, p. 78, 82).

In his lecture 'The CEFR: Pluses and minuses' (September 11th, 2012) Tim McNamara mentioned the ideology of the native speaker in CEFR as an issue, and claims that some of the wordings where the native speaker is in focus are outdated. The native speaker is explicitly mentioned in several cases, such as aims in social discourse or conversational skills where a B2 level is described among other things in terms of ability to 'sustain relationships with native speakers without unintentionally amusing or irritating them or requiring them to behave other than they would with a native speaker' (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 35) and 'Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party' (ibid, p. 24). Sociolinguistic appropriateness is also measured in relation to the native speaker, where a student at the highest level: 'Appreciates fully the sociolinguistic and sociocultural implications of language used by native speakers and can react accordingly' (ibid, p. 122).

Culture is stressed as an important aspect of language teaching and learning in the CEFR, but the practical implementation of cultural aspects can be problematic and it has even been suggested that culture cannot be taught, because it is 'a dynamic phenomenon that operates in and through discourse' (Evensen, 2000, in Bjørklund, 2008, p. 30).

Second language learners' ability to mediate between speakers of two languages who cannot communicate directly is addressed in the CEFR, distinguishing them from the monolingual native speaker. Activities and competences related to such mediation, through interpretation and translation, are included in the framework.

*2.5.*2 Teacher Education

There is no formal pronunciation norm in English as a school subject in Norway today. However, the majority of university-educated teachers are likely to use a standard British English variety because Received Pronunciation dominates in the phonetics and intonation courses that are taught here. At the University of Oslo for example, which is the country's largest teacher-education institution, six out of seven courses offered Received Pronunciation while only one taught General American in 2009. (Rindal, 2010)
The current phonetic course at the University of Bergen covers both British and American pronunciation, and offers different seminar groups for Received Pronunciation and General American. Teacher students attend the same lectures and seminars as all other students of English at the university, and no particular recommendations are given to teacher students regarding choice of speech variety. B. Hannisdal (personal communication, April 19th, 2013)

*2.5.*3 Increased Focus on International English in the Knowledge Promotion

In the fall of 2006 a new reform, *The Knowledge Promotion* (LK06), was introduced in the Norwegian educational system. An important characteristic of reforms is that they have both an instrument aspect [*virkemiddelaspekt*, my translation]: a reform is a strategy for change, and a content aspect [*innholdsaspekt*, my translation]: a reform has a certain content, certain aims it hopes to achieve. (Moren, 2011)

The Knowledge Promotion is clearly inspired by the Common European Framework of Reference and specifies among other things competence aims for five years in the primary and secondary education and training and for three main areas. The same phrasing is used at all levels and within all main areas: "The aims are that the pupil shall be able to…" (Directorate for Education and Training, 2006/2010),

A focus on Communicative Competence has been prominent since *Mønsterplanen* of 1987. LK06 continues this tradition and also increases the focus on Intercultural Competence which was first introduced, but not explicitly termed as such, in Norway with Reforms 94 and 97 (Hansen, 2011; Skulstad, 2012). The curriculum does not specify a model, but regards many parts of language use important for communication. The main area of communication includes both prepared oral production and spontaneous oral interaction. There is also emphasis on the development of a linguistic repertoire, and the ability to adapt the language to different situations:

> The main area of communication focuses on using the English language to communicate (...) It also includes participation in various social arenas, where it is important to train to master an increasing number of genres and forms of expression. Good communication requires knowledge and skills in using vocabulary and idiomatic structures, pronunciation, intonation, spelling, grammar and syntax of sentences and texts (...) (Directorate for Education and Training, 2006/2010)

As mentioned earlier, culture is regarded a very important part of language teaching and learning in the CEFR, however problematic it may be. This is also reflected in the curriculum:

> The main area culture, society and literature focuses on cultural understanding in a broad sense. It is based on the English-speaking world and covers key topics connected to social issues, literature and other cultural expressions. This main area also focuses on developing knowledge about English as a world language with many areas of use (…) (Directorate for Education and Training, 2006/2010)

The focus on knowledge about English as a world language, and its many different areas of use, is particularly important, but there is no specification here of what is meant by the English-speaking world, or which cultures and language varieties it includes. As English is a global language, one could argue that the entire world is in fact the English-speaking world, but this is not clear.

There seems to be no common understanding of speaker models in relation to the aim of intercultural competence, so it is not surprising that we find different interpretations of competence aims different places within the Norwegian context. Hansen (2011) illustrates this in a comparison of oral assessment criteria for two upper secondary schools in Oslo and Østfold, where he found that in Oslo a "near-native-speaker-level" was explicitly mentioned, while at the same time in Østfold the requirement was "very clear pronunciation and consistent intonation", without any mentioning of the native speaker. It is difficult however, to decide what these latter criteria really mean, and as the native-speaker model is so far the only standardized model it might be easier for teachers to rely on and relate to in assessment. Linguistic insecurity has proved to make teachers evaluate many non-standard, especially regional or dialectal, forms as errors. (Donaher, 2010) When teachers are unsure of the acceptability of forms, they may find it easier to rely on linguistic conservatism and the rules that they have always been taught. Schools and teachers' interpretations of competence aims and perceptions of what is correct or incorrect have important implications for the pupils.

A suggestion for a revised curriculum, under debate in 2012-2013, divides the main area of communication into written and oral communication. Under oral communication an

aim that includes exposure to varieties of English other than standard native-varieties is anticipated:

- Listen to and understand social and geographical varieties of English from authentic situations (Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, my translation).

The term 'authentic situation' is unclear, leading to a further suggestion to reformulate the sentence. In any case, the point of explicitly including a more specified aim of listening to and understanding different social and geographical varieties of English in the curriculum could, potentially, be an important development.

2.5.1.4 Teaching materials

'Research has shown that textbooks, together with exams, constitute the most important influence on language teaching' (Skjelbred et. al. 2005, in Fenner, 2012). Many curricula for English as a foreign language emphasise the use of English as a common language shared by students from non-English speaking countries. Thus, there is a strong case for including tasks which encourage learners to speak about their own cultural background. Fenner (2012) argues that an intercultural perspective can only be given in national textbooks, because a dialogue between the learner's own culture and the target cultures is essential. The textbooks investigated in this thesis are of this kind.

As mentioned in the introduction the representation of English(es) has spread from Britain and the US alone to world-wide English speaking communities, and this is also reflected in most European curricula today – including LK06. An important aspect of this is representations of multiculturalism, and to be given the opportunity to learn about other groups and communities is important for the pupils' personal growth. An important aspect of multiculturalism is that many different voices should be heard, including those of minority groups.

'Good audio-recordings are an essential part of the textbook' (Fenner, 2012, p. 380). Along with assisting the learners' reading process they provide great opportunities for listening to different Englishes, dialects and accents. As Fenner (2012) points out, spontaneous communication (which most communication is) is a very different oral genre than prepared speech, and this should also be included in the listening material. If such

recordings are linked to tasks, they provide students with an opportunity not only to understand, but to learn to participate in oral communication.

2.5.4 Increasing Exposure to Other Varieties of English

Sudqvist (2009), writes about her experience as an English teacher in junior and senior high schools in Sweden and the influence that the English they met in their spare time appeared to have on the pupils' language. She lists typical spare time activities in English as "listening to music, watching English-speaking TV programs or films, playing video games, surfing English sites on the Internet, and reading books, newspapers, or magazines in English" (Sundqvist, 2009, p. 63). She found that, on average, Swedish teenagers use as much as 18 hours per week on such activities, and thus concludes that it is not strange if learners' English skills are influenced in some way by this.

Traditionally, English-language programmes or films have not been dubbed in Norway.[1]. Bearing in mind American global cultural hegemony (cf. Crystal, 2003), it is still likely that American English is the variety Norwegian students hear most frequently through various media. A brief overview of the television programming on Thursday 25 January 2013 contributes to illustrate this: From 4pm to 1am six of the most general national Norwegian television channels showed 36 American programmes, 7 British programmes, and 2 Australian programmes. The rest of the programmes were Scandinavian.

Ladegaard's (1998) study of Danish learners reveals that they generally see American culture as exciting, but an American accent is not presented as a model for pronunciation. Despite a stated preference for American culture, and presence of negative stereotypes of British culture, language-behaviour and language-preference seems unaffected and RP remains the ideal. Although media is a very powerful channel for transmission of attitudes and stereotypes, other sources seem to be significant as well. Passive exposure to English, even if it is quite strong, is not in itself sufficient to build a good phonological foundation in English as an L2. Consequently, systematic teaching, and the opportunity to practice the language under guidance, seems to be necessary in order to attain a good pronunciation. (Rugesæter, 2012) The teacher does not only guide the pupils to get their pronunciation right, but also has a very important impact as a language model (Nilsen and Rugesæter, 2008) A possible

[1] This has changed over the past years when it comes to programmes for children and teenagers, e.g. with the introduction of 'Disney Channel'.

explanation for the fact that RP seems to embody the notion of correctness, even in contexts outside the English-speaking world, is the way that English is taught. The notion of 'Standard English' and prescribing 'correct' language use has been very strong in Scandinavian institutions of further education, and all seven teachers in Ladegaard's (1998) study claimed to be aiming at a form of British English pronunciation. The same has been the case, particularly in their education, with all four teachers included in this study, although one has later changed her accent towards Australian English and one has been slightly influenced by Scottish (see section 4.2.1).

Nilsen and Rugesæter (2008) suggest that all the diversity in spoken English in the media might be somewhat confusing to young people when they are trying to pick up the language, and therefore argue that it is important that the teacher as a language model has a good and stable pronunciation in order to counterbalance.

2.5.5 Exposure to Variation in the L1

The Norwegian language situation is in a way a special case. Although there is no officially-recognized spoken standard, we have two official written standards of the same language, and this has been suggested to make Norwegians' interest in dialects greater. Compared to neighbouring countries, the Norwegian dialects are heard more and receive higher status. Dialects function as identity markers because they are connected to place. Many Norwegians take pride in showing where they come from through use of their dialect. (Holbergprisen)

Linguistics professor Elizabeth Lanza (2012) believes the prestige that is put into the dialects in Norway reflects a language ideology that is quite distinctive. She thinks Norwegians are very accepting of different dialects, and that this tolerant attitude is different from what is found in other European countries. (UiO, 2012)

Rindal (2010) has suggested that this might lead to a stronger public sense of variation, and the social meanings of variation, in Norway compared to countries which do not have this recognized diversity in their first language. This might affect Norwegians' views on variation in a foreign language (in this case English) as well. Because of the great variation Norwegians are also used to having to accommodate in order to understand each other even within their own language, and this may possibly suggest that they will more readily do so in a foreign language as well.

3. MATERIAL AND METHODS

3.1 Materials

In the present study, three types of methods have been employed. As materials such as interview transcripts and questionnaire answers are largely intertwined with and derived from the methods that were used, the materials will be presented in connection with each method respectively.

3.2 Methods

'In the most profound sense "research" simply means trying to find answers to questions' (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 15). Different methods are different tools to answer different questions. The term *method* originally means 'the way towards the target' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2010, p. 199, my translation), thus the aim determines the method. This study aims to investigate actual conditions of society, and the distribution of certain values or attitudes within groups in society, and can thus be described as an empirical study. (Grønmo, 2007) In this section I will start by providing some theoretical background about three main types of methodological approaches: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods, and continue with a presentation of the materials and a discussion of which methods I found applicable for the present study.

3.2.1 Qualitaive, Quantitaive, and Mixed Methods

A main division made in research methodology is between qualitative and quantitative methods. Essentially, qualitative methods are about *what kind* and quantitative methods about *how much of a kind*. Qualitative methods are a suitable choice when the purpose is to understand in depth how a small number of people act, experience and think in relation to a given subject. Due to their exploratory nature they are also particularly useful when little is known about the subject in advance. (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2010). Qualitative research may be characterized as emergent research design: "no aspect of the research design is tightly prefigured and a study is kept open and fluid so that it can respond in a flexible way to new details or openings that may emerge during the process of investigation" (Dörnyei, 2007, p.

37). Even the research questions may evolve, change or be redefined along the way. Founded on its fundamental principle that human behaviour is based upon meanings which people attribute to and bring to situations "qualitative research is concerned with subjective opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals and thus the explicit goal of research is to explore the participants' views of the situation being studied" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 38). Qualitative researchers strive to view social phenomena from the insiders' perspective, but the research outcome is ultimately the product of the researcher's subjective interpretations of the collected data. In order for qualitative research methods to be well-conducted they require a lot of work and by necessity use much smaller participant samples than quantitative ones. Although a few individual cases may provide valuable insights into a phenomenon, these insights may not apply broadly to others and qualitative researchers must therefore be careful not to make generalizations based on such findings.

Quantitative methods are used to make generalizations about a larger group of people, expressed in numbers and statistics. (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2010) The use of numbers requires categories and values to be specified before the actual study can be carried out, making the preparation phase the most time-consuming and labor-intensive. In contrast to the qualitative researchers' emphasis on the individual, quantitative researchers are more interested in the common features of groups of people. These features are captured by variables which can be quantified through counting or scaling, or by having different values assigned to them, and identifying and specifying relationships amongst such variables is an essential feature of the research method. "QUAN […] proponents usually emphasize that at its best the quantitative inquiry is systematic, rigorous, focused, and tightly controlled, involving precise measurement and producing reliable and replicable data that is generalizable to other contexts" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 34). However, as the methods work with concepts of averages, they do not have the possibility of doing justice to individual subjective variety. Furthermore, their possibility of uncovering underlying dynamics of the studied situation or phenomenon and exploring the reasons for their observations is very limited.

A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods is used in a newer branch of research methodology: mixed methods. Both aforementioned methods have advantages and disadvantages, and by combining the two it is believed that they can support and inform each other so that each method's strengths may be increased and their weaknesses limited. The inclusion of both numeric trends and specific details may contribute to get a better understanding of the phenomenon in question.

> Mixed methods research has a unique potential to produce evidence for the validity of research outcomes through the convergence and corroboration of the findings. (…) Corresponding evidence obtained through multiple methods can also increase the generalizability – that is, external validity – of the results (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 45-46)

Despite the advantages he outlines above, however, Dörnyei (2007) joins a number of other scholars in warning against a 'when in doubt, mix methods' mentality. A belief that the sum may be greater than its parts should not be used to discard thorough and insightful analyses in one field. The sum can only be greater if the researcher has more than sufficient knowledge in both fields and it is perhaps unlikely that one researcher can be as skilful in both fields as a researcher who concentrates on only one methodological approach in his or her field.

3.3 Choice of Methods

3.3.1 Audio-material Analysis

I have included an analysis of audio files on the teacher's CDs that accompany two of the most commonly used textbooks in Norway, *Targets* (2009) and *eXperience* (2006) also used by the interviewed teachers, as well as an earlier edition of *Targets* from 2005, before the *Knowledge Promotion.* My motivation for the analysis is that I wanted to find out how much other varieties of English than the standard British and American ones are actually represented in the teaching material, and whether there has been a change in their representations from before to after the *Knowledge Promotion,* with its introduction of English as a Global language. Another important reason for including this analysis was in order to have some more tangible data, something quantifiable that was less subject to human interpretation and speculation.

The way the collection of CDs is used in this study is as materials representing a main source of exposure to varieties. Many textbooks offer not only teacher's CDs, but student's CDs and internet resources which include speech, but I chose to study the teacher's CDs because many students do not have access to or may choose not to use the other alternatives. Audio from the teacher's CD is usually presented to the whole class collectively, and the teacher is in charge of which tracks are presented in the classroom. Thus I have considered the audio material that can be found on such CDs to be the students' main source of exposure to varieties inside of the school context.

Teachers differ in their opinions about the teaching materials they use, and as these opinions are based on personal interpretations and preferences it is expected that they may have different conceptions about the same material. The quantitative approach employed in this study can contribute to give a more accurate and reliable picture of the presence of different varieties in these particular teaching materials, than subjective statements from the teachers and students can.

3.3.2 Interviews

This thesis deals with subjects that affect and are affected by people. For this reason it is necessary to apply methods that take the complexities of human interaction into account. Interviews can be helpful in getting information about the thoughts and experiences of the individuals who are involved. My research questions are open-ended questions, and interviews have the advantage of a high response rate to this type of questions. Interviews allow interaction between the researcher and the interviewee, which is valuable because it brings about the opportunity to follow up leads along the way, clear up misunderstandings and specify questions. I chose a semi-structured approach to the interviews because it combines the possibility of flexibility with an appropriate amount of structure for the topics to be covered. There is no standard method for interview analyses. I chose to transcribe each interview in order to have everything in writing before I began to further analyze its contents through categorization.

3.3.3 Questionnaires

An important aim of my research has been to investigate how a focus on the international nature of the English language might affect students' attitudes. Students therefore represent an essential part of my study, and in this regard I found it important to take their opinions into account and not just study them as objects. Including both teachers and students enables me to look at the subjects from more than one perspective.

My main reason for choosing questionnaires for gathering information from the students was that questionnaires are easy to administer to many people and they do not demand the researcher to be present. I created an online survey which students from all over

the country were invited to answer. By including both students and teachers I hoped to make available points of view of two different groups, and make possible comparisons.

3.3.4 Choosing to Combine Methods

My interviews are very limited in number of respondents and geographical spread, and cannot be used to make generalizations. Although the questionnaire cannot be regarded representative either, it had the advantage of being distributed to a larger and more diverse group of people. Unlike the qualitative interviews however, the quantitative nature of the questionnaire restricts the opportunity to follow up the respondents' answers, clarify misunderstandings, reveal their actual opinions more closely and ask for specific examples to support their statements.

The approach to the audio-material can be considered quantitative because it consists of a collection of measurable data: the number or proportion of different tracks (texts), how many different accents are represented in the material, and how many times each accent is represented in the total number of tracks. This quantification serves as a background for the qualitative analysis and for suggesting some trends in these kinds of materials. Analysing the contents of the CDs provides a background for understanding the attitudes about them that are revealed in the interviews. Combined with information from the interviews about how they are used and understood they can contribute to illustrate some tendencies in the teaching of varieties of English. With the inclusion of an earlier edition of one of the textbooks, a few suggestions can be made about changes or developments related to the matter of introducing students to different varieties of English in the classroom.

For the above-mentioned reasons my research comprises a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The audio material analysis provides information about the teaching materials that are available to both teachers and students: which varieties are represented in the material and the degree to which they are represented. The interviews can communicate interesting views from the teachers about the use of speech varieties in the classroom, while the questionnaires contribute to test to a certain degree how widespread such attitudes are among students across the country, and how they seem to be affected by them.

3.4 Ethical Concerns

Research projects which gather information about individuals need to be carried out within guidelines provided by the government. Before I could begin my research my plan for the study needed to be approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD), which acts as the Privacy Ombudsman for Research. Documents that were submitted and approved were overviews of which topics I wanted to ask questions about in the interviews and questionnaires, and the information sheets delivered to the interview subjects and the questionnaire respondents and their teachers.

The teachers each signed an agreement to participate, where they had been informed of the purpose of the project, that their anonymity would be secured and that they had the possibility to withdraw from the study at any point without explanation. Only I know the identity of the interviewees, and they have only been referred to by number in all written accounts.

On the first page of the online survey the students were informed of the purpose of the research project and of their anonymity. In order to carry on with the questionnaire they were required to tick an answer option stating that they had read and understood the information and wished to answer the questionnaire, or that they did not want to participate. If the last option was chosen the questionnaire would end at that point. The students' anonymity was secured by the data processor NSD WebSurvey. IP-addresses which could be traced to the students were not revealed to the researcher or anyone else other than the data processor. The approval of the Privacy Ombudsman is included as appendix 1, and the written information given to the participants as appendixes 2 and 4.

3.5 The textbook Audio Material Analysis

3.5.1 Material

I chose to analyze the audio-material from three different textbooks meant for the teaching of English as a foreign language to students at Vg1 in Norway. Two of these were editions of *Targets*, one preceding the *Knowledge Promotion*, (from 2005) and one following this reform (from 2009), while the third was *eXperience* (2006) which was issued the same year as the *Knowledge Promotion. Targets* is published by Aschehough while *eXperience* is published by

Gyldendal Forlag, both among the country's leading textbook publishers. Although none of the people involved in this study are currently using the 2005 edition of *Targets*, I decided to include it in order to investigate possible changes from before to after the introduction of the *Knowledge Promotion.*

The audio-material from the 2005 edition of *Targets* comprises four CDs and a total of 36 tracks, while its 2009 edition has five CDs and 56 tracks. *eXperience* includes five CDs and a combined number of 77 tracks.

3.5.2 Method

I listened to extracts from all the tracks on all the CDs and determined which variety or varieties were used in each track, based on diagnostic linguistic features outlined in Wells (1982) and on information about the author's language background and/or geographical settings of the stories, where this was provided. I proceeded to count how many of the tracks included British English, how many included American English and how many included varieties outside the British and American contexts. I also determined whether the speech was spontaneous or prepared. I have counted all occurrences of each variety, so because more than one variety could be present in the same track, the total number of occurrences is higher than the total number of tracks. Some texts are longer and divided into parts with several tracks. I have chosen to count the number of tracks rather than the number of texts, because there is greater variation in the length of each text than there is in each track. An even more accurate measurement would be to count minutes and seconds, but as more than one variety can occur within the same track and there is a total number of 169 tracks this would be very time consuming. As this analysis is provided mainly as a background for better understanding the results and discussion of the interviews and questionnaires, I find it sufficient to comment on the number of represented varieties and the number of occurrences for each of these.

3.5.3 Categorisations

As the main purpose of this analysis is to investigate relations between representations of standard native varieties and non-native varieties in teaching materials the categories do not need to be very specific. Consequently, I operate with three broad categories: 'British English', 'American English' and 'Other'. Any variety that cannot be traced to either Britain or the US belongs in the category 'Other'.

The category ‘British English’ is further divided into ‘Standard (RP)’, ‘Non-Standard’ and ‘Scottish’. The Category ‘American English’ is divided into ‘Standard (GA)’ and ‘Non-Standard’. In both British and American ‘non-standard’ here refers to any variety that is not identified as RP and GA respectively. In the figures in the results chapter, the subcategories will be shown in different shades of the same colour, to indicate that they belong to the same main category. In *Targets* an occurrence of a variety that could be identified as Canadian English is included in the category ‘American English, Non-Standard’ because it is difficult to make a clear distinction here. I have also chosen to include Mexican accented and Italian accented English in this category because they are put on for reported speech of characters who are immigrants in the US by a speaker who as the narrator speaks General American. The same was done for *eXperience* with the accented speech of an immigrant from the Dominican Republic and for speech with only a hint of accent in a Native American (Sioux) context.

As these are recordings of speech and not real-time speech it is impossible to know how the speech has been prepared. Although the interviews that have been identified as spontaneous speech in this study may have been prepared to varying extents, they have nevertheless been categorised as spontaneous speech, as they differ from the other recordings in the following ways: they are not given in written form in the book, the language is not as structured and includes more oral language, and there are some signs of the speaker having to think before they answer (whether these are pauses and fillers included in a kind of script or not).

3.6 Teacher Interviews

3.6.1 Material

The material for conducting the interviews was the interview guide, included in appendix 3. I used a standard sound recording program on my personal computer to record our conversations. Each recording was transcribed shortly after the interviews, and the transcripts thus became the material for the interview analysis. The complete transcripts are included in appendixes 5-7, while a few illustrative extracts are presented in the results chapter. My use of symbols in the transcriptions is based on Du Bois’ system for transcription of discourse. I have chosen to use only a selection of the many possible symbols, the ones I found relevant to

bring forward the most important content of my interviews. The transcription key is presented at the beginning of the thesis.

3.6.2 Respondents

To avoid presence of possible conditions specific to one school, the teachers were chosen randomly from three different schools in two different cities. I made a conscious choice to try to interview teachers of different age and experience. I would have liked to include more than three teachers in the study, but had to consider time consumption and whether I had room for it in the thesis. I also experienced that it was difficult to get teachers to participate. Because I could not get more interviews I will include data from an interview done in the pilot study, different in form and range but relating to some of the same topics. The answers that I got from this small group of teachers illustrate different views and might suggest some tendencies. More information about each interviewee's background will be given in a separate presentation in the results chapter.

3.6.3 Conducting the Interviews

The primary aim of the research interview is to understand sides to the interviewee's daily life, from his or her own perspective (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2010, p. 43, my translation). The use of different kinds of questions is necessary to acquire the needed information. My interviews are in part explorative and hypothesis-testing (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2010) : I presented some problem areas and followed up the interviewee's answers and based on personal experiences with teaching, I has some ideas about which attitudes the teachers might have before conducting the study.

I emphasized in the invitation that I was after the teachers' own ideas, thoughts and perceptions, not general ideas or what they thought to be the correct or common view among their colleagues, and that they were not supposed to prepare for the interview session. I met with teachers 1 and 3 at their respective workplaces and teacher 2 at the university. I chose to start out by asking the teachers a few questions about their educational background, and proceeded with the questions in the order I considered to be from least to most threatening,

intending to make them comfortable in the interview situation before presenting them with potentially challenging ideas (e.g. about the Intercultural Speaker as model).

The interviews were semi-structured: prior to the actual interviews I had designed an interview guide stating which topics I wanted to address and loosely formulated some questions. I did not follow a list of very specific questions and I had the possibility of changing and adapting the questions to each interview situation. This entails that each interview includes some of the same questions and some different questions, and that the same questions are not always asked in the exact same way or in the same order. Some questions were spontaneous follow-ups to the respondents' answers, and a few of the questions I had planned to ask turned out to be superfluous as the teacher indirectly answered them in response to previous questions. I developed my interview guide from one interview to the next, based on the knowledge acquired and perceptions of what may have been unclear or missing. Consequently, each interview transcription, while they have quite a few similarities and are based on the same main themes, turned out different from the other, and – as is a characteristic of qualitative research – quite disorganized.

3.6.4 Categorising and Analysing the data

An important method to make the material clearer and more organised is categorising the data. Simply speaking, categorisation means grouping data into different categories. An abstraction of the data is made in this process. Categories are needed in order to claim that certain kinds of data are similar or different, that they illustrate the same or different phenomena or themes. The categorisation does not only work as a simplification of the data, making it easier to comprehend, but it also makes possible comparisons between the materials. The method should be mainly inductive, i.e. the categories should not be made up by the researcher beforehand, but based on the available data material (here: the interview transcripts). (Jacobsen, 2005)

Especially from the start, but also throughout the process, a certain openness to the empirical data in itself is required in order to reveal new and unforeseen tendencies and connections. Moving further in the process, the problem statement is increasingly emphasized so that the findings can be interpreted and understood in light of theoretical perspectives. (Grønmo, 2007)

My interview guide was a practical starting point for the categorisation, as it had already established some categories through questions which were directed at specific themes. Next I had to try to define the content of the different categories. This involves a concretization, which is commonly done hierarchically: the general categories are further divided into more detailed subcategories. (Jacobsen, 2005) In the following example the category "Background" has been divided into "Teaching experience", "Education" and "Variety".

BACKGROUND				
SUBTOPICS	**TEACHER 1**	**TEACHER 2**	**TEACHER 3**	**PILOT**
Teaching experience	33 years	10 years	18 years. Taught other subjects before finishing education in English	
Education	*Mellomfag*[2]	Master's degree	*Mellomfag*	
Variety	Chose British English, but says she was free to choose anything. Still British English, but influenced by Scottish from travels. Mentions that when she was young there was a great influence from GB, whereas now US has a huge impact on students' lives.	Chose British English in university where she could choose between American English or RP, then it changed into an accent closer to Australian after staying in Australia for a year.	Did upper secondary school in England and chose British English as a consequence. Had lecturers who spoke both British and American, was not explicitly asked to choose.	Was told to use RP in school and teacher education. Tries deliberately to stick to RP although she thinks it is more difficult now with so much influence from the US.

After the categories have been established, the data (here: the respondents' statements) can be assigned to one or more categories and as put by Jacobsen (2005, p. 197): the data is moved from one context (the interview) to another (the categories). The categories generally include a short description of the phenomena or themes, and what is interesting to investigate is the interviewees' evaluations, their subjective experiences and understandings, of the predefined phenomenon. In the analysis the teachers' thoughts on the different topics are

[2] Mellomfag [30-credit university or university college course of three semesters' duration contributing to a cand.mag degree]

extracted and seen in relation to the other teachers' views on the same topic and the same teacher's views on other topics. Finally, these categorised reports are also discussed in relation to theoretical background.

3.7 Student Questionnaires

3.7.1 Material

The questionnaire data was downloaded from the data processor NSD WebSurvey, who provided the online survey, as an SPSS-file and saved as a computer file to be used in the statistical program PASW Statistics 18 from SPSS Inc. All answers to open-ended questions were added in an HTML-file.

3.7.2 The Respondents

The respondents were students of English at the first year of upper secondary school in Norway, Vg1. English is a compulsory subject at this level, so all students at General Studies, Vocational Education or any other programmes were applicable and I did not single out any particular educational programme or choose to exclude some students from the survey. Since 2006 a programme subject called International English has been offered in the second year (Vg2), and as suggested by the name there is a greater focus on EIL at this level. However, as this is an optional course I found it more useful to direct my study towards Vg1 in order to investigate a group that can represent more closely what all Norwegian students learn about and think about international English.

Questionnaires were distributed to student groups across the country. First I sent an e-mail to 39 upper secondary schools, two from each county (plus one from Svalbard where there is only one) inviting them to participate. Out of these I got positive answers from only five. Because these answers came mainly from the southern half of the country, and I had hoped for as much geographical spread as possible, I chose to send the invitation to five more schools based in the north, resulting in one more positive answer and a total collection now consisting of respondents from west, east, south and north. However, even after several reminders, not all of those who had agreed to participate did. Consequently, I did not get data from the north and south after all.

3.7.3 Designing the Questionnaire

The questionnaire includes three main types of questions (Dörnyei, 2007):
Factual questions are used to find out certain facts about the respondents. In this study such questions comprise factual information, or background information, about where the respondents go to school, whether they have English speaking friends or family and whether and for how long they have spent time in an English speaking environment.

Behavioural questions focus on actions and habits, intending to find out what the respondents are doing or have been doing in the past. In this study this can be exemplified by questions about whether and how much they speak Norwegian in the classroom and whether they aim at a particular variety when speaking English.

Attitudinal questions are used to find out what people think, and make up the majority of the questions in this study. Such questions cover attitudes, opinions, beliefs, interests, and values. Examples from this study are questions about why they prefer certain varieties, whether or not they find it acceptable to mix different varieties, and how they think teachers, friends, family, and media affect their choice of variety.

In a number of cases the respondents were asked to indicate for example to which extent they agree or disagree with a statement, or to what extent some factors influence them, by marking one of four possible responses ranging from 'I fully disagree' to 'I fully agree' or from 'To very little or no extent' to 'To a great extent' on likert scales. I chose to have only four alternatives on these likert scales, pushing the respondents to make a choice on either side rather than allowing them the possibility to choose a middle, neutral, option.
Open-ended questions are questions which do not offer the respondents a set of fixed response options to choose from, but is rather filled by a blank space for them to fill in more freely.

> By permitting greater freedom of expression, open-format items can provide a far greater richness than fully quantitative data. The open responses can offer graphic examples, illustrative quotes, and can also lead us to identify issues not previously anticipated. Furthermore, sometimes we need open-ended items for the simple reason that we do not know the range of possible answers and therefore cannot provide pre-prepared response categories. (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 107)

Despite these advantages, the inclusion of open-ended questions is far from unproblematic: lack of restrictions may facilitate very long and varied answers, which demands challenging and time-consuming processing and categorisation. However, if the questions, instead of being completely open, contain certain guidance, this type of question may work quite well.

On the basis of this information, the decision to include open-ended questions in this study was made.

Most of the open-ended questions in the present study ask about concrete pieces of information and can therefore be considered specific open questions. A type of open-ended questions called clarification questions are used after the category 'Other answer' in some multiple-choice questions, in order to secure that responses other than those anticipated may be included. The "please explain" item that follows some questions may also be categorised as clarification questions. All my open-ended questions are regarded short-answer questions, as they are worded in such a focused way that they may be answered in a few words or sentences. (Dörnyei, 2007)

3.7.4 Conducting the Questionnaire

Invitations were sent by e-mail to the administrations of the schools and they in turn asked their teachers if they were willing to participate with one or more of their classes. When a teacher had agreed to participate, an invitation was sent via NSD WebSurvey, containing information about the purpose of the study, how to answer the questionnaire and an URL to the survey followed by a password for the teacher to use to log in with their class. The survey was open to the invited teachers for a period of eight weeks, so they were free to find the time within this period to have their classes log in and carry it out when it best suited their respective schedules. As not all teachers who had originally agreed to participate did, a few teachers were added later in the process and consequently had less than eight weeks to find the time. However, each class worked within the same time frame as to the actual process of answering the questionnaire, so the results should not be affected by this delayed involvement. The questionnaire was answered by a whole class in one lesson, to increase the likelihood of participation, but they were asked to answer each question individually without consulting their classmates.

3.7.5 Analyzing the Questionnaire Data

When the questionnaire was closed and all the answers had been collected, I was left with a large raw-material which needed to be processed in order to get a good overview and be

prepared to evaluate it. I needed to select certain information and discard other information, in order to create structure and bring the information that may best contribute to answer the research questions to the fore. The aim of the study decides how far into the analysis we need to go. The simplest form would be to give a purely descriptive statistical overview, but, as will be clear from chapter 5, this study also aims to find some plausible explanations for the observed phenomena and increase the understanding of the results.

This thesis deals with two main types of data: *nominal* or *categorical* on the one hand, and *ordinal* on the other. The difference between them lies in the precision of measurement, and this distinction decides which statistical procedures can be used to analyse the data. With the first type the only thing that can be concluded about the units are that they belong to the same or different categories, while the second kind also includes information about relations between the categories. There is an order to the values, e.g. between not important, less important, somewhat important, and very important, but the "distance" between them cannot be measured (as they can in a third type which is not employed in this study: scale). Ordinal measurement is applied particularly to the attitudinal questions in this study as it can measure for example the degree to which a respondent agrees with a statement or how important they find a certain variable. (Jacobsen, 2005; Dörnyei, 2007).

For many of the questions the simplest form of analysis was sufficient: finding out how answers to the individual questions were distributed through a simple frequency analysis. For nominal or categorical measurements, however, it is also interesting to look at which answer is the typical answer and how great the variation between the answers is. The findings are best illustrated in tables, pie charts, and bar charts.

For the answers to the open-ended questions I needed to divide them into different themes/topics and then indicate how many respondents had brought up each theme/topic. The different categories that the different answers have been fitted into can be coded and we can view these answers in much the same way as the close-ended response options. By doing this it is possible to include them in the statistical analysis (Jacobsen, 2005). Suggestions that were only mentioned by one or a few respondent were excluded if they were not considered to be more or less directly linked to the research questions.

3.8 Challenges and Limitations

In this section I will present some challenges of the applied methods, including some specific limitations to this particular study. I have chosen to present limitations and challenges of interviews and questionnaires in the same section, as some of the same problems apply to both methods.

3.8.1 Limitations of the Audio-Material Analysis

The quantitative nature of this part of the study is weakened by the fact that judgments and assumptions about which varieties can be heard in each track had to be made by the researcher. However, although no close analysis with reference to specific phonetic variables was done to identify the varieties, I still believe the broadness of the categories here secure to some extent that identifications nevertheless can be made rather safely. I tried to determine not only which accents were represented, but also whether the reader of each text was an authentic speaker of the given variety, and this proved difficult as none of this was specified anywhere in relation to the texts or CD tracks. In consequence I contacted the publishers.

For *Targets* I was informed that their principle for recording literary texts is that they are read in the variety of the author. Scholarly texts are read with British or American accents mostly by the same principle – namely origin of the author. They use a professional sound studio in London, which has access to a broad range of actors with different origins, so in most cases the texts are read by persons who have relevant background from the language area represented in the text and can thus be regarded authentic speakers of the varieties.

Varieties were particularly difficult to identify on the CDs from *eXperience*, as accents, when they were present at all , were almost exclusively close to a standard and not broad. I was informed by the publishers that the speakers that were used for these recordings could not be tracked down or identified and, consequently, comments about their language background or authenticity could not be made. From listening to the CDs however, teacher 3 and I both have the impression that most of the texts on these CDs are not read by speakers who originally speak with the presented variety.

Information about whether the speech was prepared or spontaneous was not given either. Consequently, even the occurrences that have been judged as spontaneous speech may

in fact have been written or rehearsed. However, at least the impression is that this is unprepared speech, the form is less stylized and there is no written account of it in the book.

3.8.2 Limitations of the Interviews and Questionnaire

Subjectivity is considered an obstacle of interviews, mainly in the analysis phase. A lot of what is present in the actual personal interaction disappears when the discourse is translated from oral to written form. The transcriptions must therefore be viewed only as a tool in interpreting and understanding the interviews. (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2011, p. 200) In the actual interview sessions the interviewer should also try to remain as neutral as possible, in verbal and non-verbal expressions, to restrict influence on the interviewee's responses. However, some kind of positive response to what is said might be needed to encourage the interviewee to continue.

Especially 'when it comes to assessing non-factual matters such as the respondents' attitudes, beliefs and other personal or mental variables (…) minor differences in how a question is formulated and framed can often produce radically different levels of agreement or disagreement' (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 103). This point definitely applies to my interviews and questionnaires as they to a great extent revolve around personal experiences, opinions and attitudes, and there is a possibility that my formulations may have skewed the results. However, I tried to not let my own opinions be apparent when I asked the questions and did neither ask whether the teachers or students agreed with my opinions nor with the general opinion. In some cases the researcher's formulations may also be difficult to interpret. Sometimes the respondent will have to make guesses as to what the researcher is really asking, and with questionnaires one does not have the possibility of clearing up potential misunderstandings.

Getting schools to participate in the questionnaire was challenging. I had hoped to ensure that students from all parts of Norway were represented and the invitations were distributed equally across the country. However, in the end, those who chose to participate were from the same few regions. I had also hoped that the teachers I interviewed could participate with one class each, for the purpose of comparing the students and their teacher's answers, but two out of three teachers were unable to, and combined with time and place limitations this led me to abandon this aim.

Technical issues caused some respondents to not be able to complete the survey, and due to misunderstandings while designing the questionnaire about its different possibilities for answer options, some questions could not be answered the way I had intended.

In NSD WebSurvey, the program in which the questionnaire was designed, I chose a default setting which did not allow the respondents to continue to the next question before each question had been answered. For the open-ended questions however, several students enabled themselves to continue without answering by simply typing a few random letters or punctuation marks. This supports the already anticipated idea that the students seem less willing to answer questions that demand more work on their part, in this case by constructing their own answers rather than simply ticking a box next to a given answer. I tried to limit the number of open-ended questions, but felt the need to include some due to their possibilities of greater freedom discussed in section 3.3.3. If I were to do this project again, I would limit the total number of questions and the number of open-ended questions in particular, in order to prevent the students from getting too tired to give their answers any thought and to make the data more concise.

The questionnaire included a few questions that would only appear as follow-up questions if the respondents had chosen a particular answer, e.g. if they had answered 'yes' to a question they would be asked to specify. With the idea that students might choose options that demand less work remaining in mind, it is possible that some students may have changed their answer, away from what they originally meant or agreed with, upon discovering that only one of the response alternatives initiated extra questions and thus extra work.

Based on the students' expected English skills at this level, I chose to provide the questionnaire to the students only in English, trying to use clear and simple wording. Naturally, the students' knowledge of English varies greatly and although the absolute majority seemed to understand the questions, a few answered explicitly that they did not understand when the open-ended questions gave them this opportunity. Furthermore, in some cases it was evident from the written answers that the question had been misunderstood. As all students were forced to answer all questions, and I had not provided an alternative such as "I do not understand the question" for the multiple-choice questions, this may have skewed the results a little if students were forced to choose an answer for a question they did not understand and this could not be signalled to the researcher. However, as anticipated, it does seem that this was only a problem for a very small percentage of the participants.

4. RESULTS

This chapter will present the results from the three different approaches explained in chapter 3. The results will be shown mainly in tables and figures, supplemented by brief comments and explanations. A further interpretation and discussion will follow in chapter 5.

4.1 Results from the Audio-Material Analysis

4.1.2 Results from *Targets* 2005

Figure 4.1 shows in how many CD-tracks each variety is represented on the CDs from *Targets* 2005. The chart illustrates that British and American varieties are almost equally represented (16 /42% total for British and 18/46% total for American), while the category 'Other' makes up a much smaller part of the combined material.

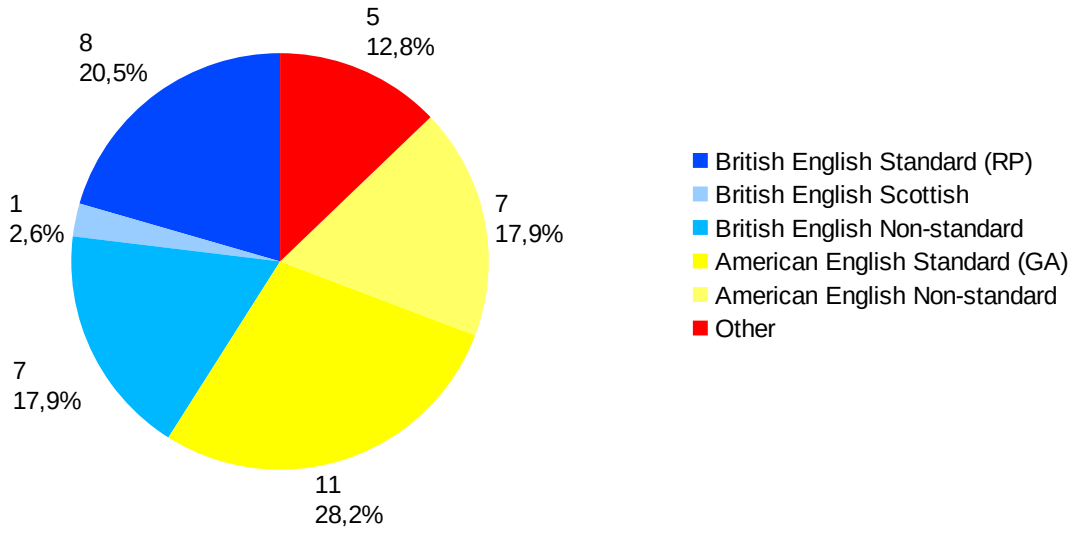


Figure 4.1 Representations of varieties in *Targets* 2005

Table 4.1 below shows which varieties the category 'Other' comprises in *Targets* 2005. Four different varieties from outside Britain and the US are represented in this audio-material, all of which are from countries in which English is an official language. None of the tracks in *Targets* 2005 include spontaneous speech.

Table 4.1 *Targets* (2005) - Variation within the category 'Other'

Variety	Number of occurrences
Australian English	1
Caribbean English	1
South African English	2
Indian English	1

4.1.3 Results from *Targets* 2009

Although the frequencies for the category 'Other' has increased compared to the results from the 2005 edition, figure 4.2 illustrates that its share of the whole is still small compared to 'British English' and 'American English'.

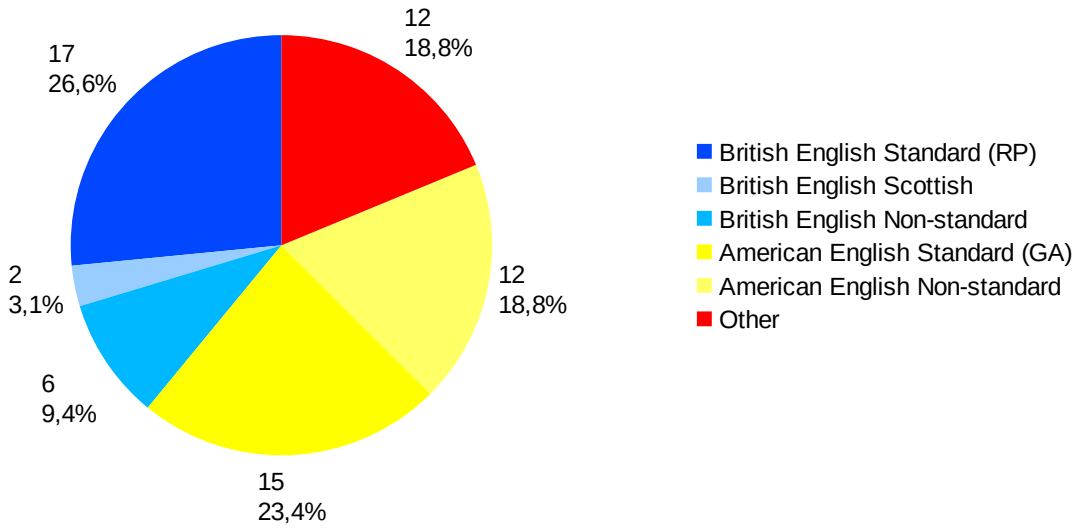


Figure 4.2 Representations of varieties in *Targets* 2009

Table 4.2 shows which varieties make up the category 'Other' in the case of *Targets* 2009. Seven different varieties from outside Britain and the US are represented in this audio-material, all of which are from countries in which English is an official language. Two tracks include spontaneous speech. These are interviews with authentic speakers, a Scottish speaker in the first, and two American speakers in the second. The interviewers speak RP and GA respectively.

Table 4.2 *Targets* (2009) - Variation within the category 'Other'

Variety	Number of occurances
Australian English	3
New Zealand English	1
Caribbean English	1
African English	2
South African English	1
Indian English	2
Irish English	2

4.1.4 The two editions of *Targets* Compared

Out of a total of 36 tracks, the 2005 edition comprises 20 of the same tracks that are also there in the 2009 edition and 16 tracks that are not. The 2009 edition has a total of 56 tracks, of which 38 tracks are new to this edition and 18 tracks were also found in the 2005 edition. The reason that the number of tracks that are found in both editions is not the same (20 versus 18) is that two of the texts that fit into one track each in the 2009 edition were divided into two tracks each in the 2005 edition.

Out of the fourteen tracks which have not continued on in the newest edition, only one, South African, represented speech from outside Britain/US while five were from the US and eight from Britain. Seven of the thirty-eight tracks which are in the 2009 edition and not in the 2005 edition include speech in the category 'Other'. These can be divided into all new appearances of varieties and varieties that are represented more frequently in 2009 than they were in 2005, as seen in table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 New occurrences in the category 'Other' from 2005 to 2009

New to 2009 edition		Occurs more in 2009 edition than in 2005 edition	
African English	2 occurrences	Indian English	2 occurrences vs. 1
New Zealand English	1 occurrence	Australian English	3 occurrences vs. 1
Irish English	1 occurrence		

Although seven out of thirty-eight might not sound much, the total number of tracks with speech from outside of Britain and the US has actually more than doubled (from five to

twelve) from the 2005 to the 2009 edition. Many of the new tracks also represent non-standard varieties within the categories 'British English' and 'American English'. Another important development is the inclusion of spontaneous speech in *Targets* 2009, which was completely absent in the 2005 edition.

4.1.5 Results from *eXperience*

Figure 4.3 below shows that the total number of occurrences is higher in *eXperience* compared to *Targets*, and that although the British and American varieties are still clearly represented most, the category 'Other' makes up a greater share of the whole in *eXperience* than it did in *Targets*.

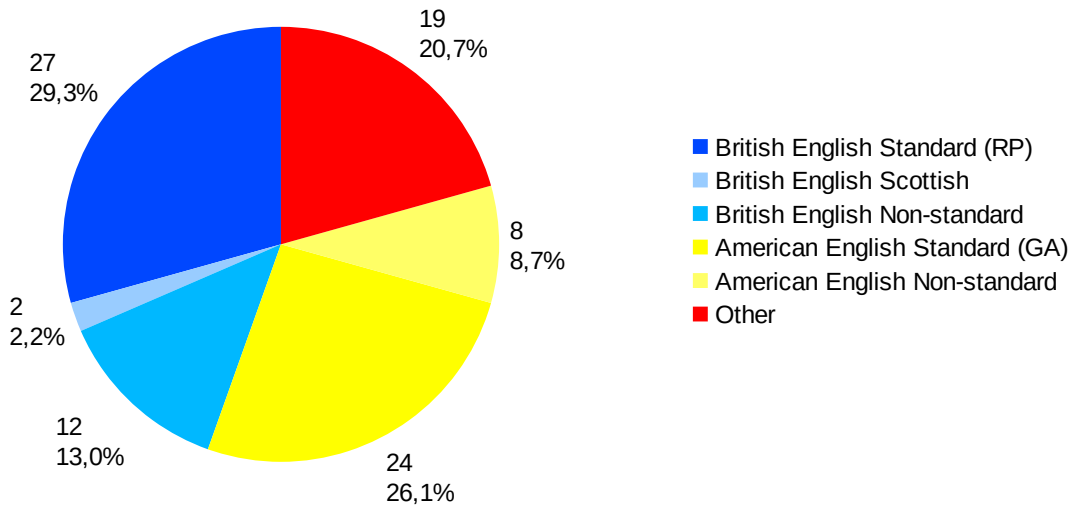


Figure 4.3 Representations of varieties in *eXperience* 2006

Table 4.4 below shows that the category 'Other' consists of nine different varieties, two of which are from countries which do not have English as an official language.

Table 4.4 *eXperience* (2006) - Variation within the category 'Other'

Variety	Number of occurrences
Australian English	5
New Zealand English	2
Irish English	5
African English	2
South African English	1
Jamaican English	1
Indian English	2
Norwegian English	2
French English	1

It should be noted that in both cases where the speaker is Norwegian he or she is (most likely[3]) an authentic speaker who speaks with very little trace of accent and has a varied vocabulary, while the French speaker is a comic character in a fictional story who is portrayed as having a very limited vocabulary in English and keeps repeating the same phrase in heavily accented French throughout the story.

There is one occurrence of spontaneous speech: an interview with a Sioux chief, which does not seem very authentic and in which the speaker's accent is (at least very close to) General American.

4.2 Results from the Teacher Interviews

Each interview resulted in approximately twenty minutes of recorded speech, transformed into writing to form a combined material of approximately sixty pages of transcriptions. In order to present the most relevant findings in an organized way, decisions about which parts of the data to present here had to be made. These decisions were challenging, as I found so much of the teachers' input interesting, but I have tried to work by a principle of only selecting data which could contribute to answering the research questions. Full transcriptions of the three interviews that were done for the present thesis are included in appendixes 5-7. In the following sections the results will be given thematically, and the respondents' views in each main area will be presented. When found appropriate, findings will be presented in text

[3] Due to lack of information from the publishers, assumptions have been made. See section 3.8.1

and illustrated by quotes from the teachers. Some themes yielded longer stretches of more complex information, thus, when convenient, some of the data will be presented in short in tables.

4.2.1 Presentation of the Interviewees

All the interviewees are women, but this is coincidental and depended on who chose to participate among a number of invited teachers of both genders. The teachers who were interviewed specifically for this thesis will be referred to as teachers 1, 2 and 3. The numbers correspond with the order in which they were interviewed. As mentioned earlier I also interviewed a teacher for the pilot study. She will be referred to as teacher P in areas for which I have relevant answers from her. I will start this section with a brief presentation in table 4.5 of each teacher's background with attention to which education they have, for how long they have been teaching English and which variety of English they have come to use themselves.

Table 4.5 Background

Subtopics	Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3	Teacher P
Teaching experience	33 years	10 years	18 years. Taught other subjects before finishing education in English	
Education	*Mellomfag*	Master's degree	*Mellomfag*	
Variety	Chose British English, but says she was free to choose anything. Still British English, but influenced by Scottish from travels. Mentions that when she was young there was a great influence from GB, whereas now US has a huge impact on students' lives.	Chose British English in university where she could choose between American English or RP, then it changed into an accent closer to Australian after staying in Australia for a year.	Did upper secondary school in England and chose British English as a consequence. Had lecturers who spoke both British and American, was not explicitly asked to choose.	Was told to use RP in school and teacher education. Tries deliberately to stick to RP although she thinks it is more difficult now with so much influence from the US.

4.2.2 Main Purposes

When asked about the main purposes for Norwegian students to learn English today, all teachers brought up communication. They all agree that using English as a lingua franca, particularly in travelling, studies and future careers has become increasingly important over the years. Teacher 3 puts it this way:

> [1]
> R: To ‘learn in Norway, but to ‘use in the rest of the world.
> I: mm
> R: I suppose,
> Because its impossible in eh--
> I suppose to get anywhere without English.
> I: mm
> R: and ‘although they learn a lot of English from films and videos and the internet and so on I think they need a higher standard if they want to .. be successful in their .. studies or in future careers and so on,
> So .. yeah I think
> I think it’s very important.

4.2.3 Varieties

All the teachers agree that there is a greater focus on varieties other than the standard British and American varieties now than there has ever been earlier. This is represented in their teaching material, e.g. by the inclusion of texts from many different parts of the world. Teacher 3 thinks that this change has been especially prominent over the last few years and relates it to the Knowledge Promotion of 2006: the curriculum now says that the students should be exposed to or be in contact with other varieties. Teacher P states that even though the focus of the teaching materials has extended beyond Britain and the US she still thinks there is an overexposure to the American varieties outside of school, particularly from the media, and therefore tries to focus on other varieties in her teaching.

The teachers were asked whether they think people in the Norwegian society perceive each other differently according to different ways of speaking English. Their answers are presented in short in table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Norwegians' perceptions of each other relating to how we speak English

Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3
When people get to a certain linguistic level they can perceive different accents quite easily. We do perceive each other differently according to different ways of speaking English, e.g. we laugh at Jagland.	People in general cannot identify different varieties of English (cf. students' misconceptions about her variety). However, some students are very conscious about how they want to speak. Perceptions of others often depend on where in the country we are from: westerners may think easterners' English is bad.	Depends on level of English. Most of her students know what sort of English they speak. Does not really have any experience or thoughts on that. Does not think people perceive each other differently according to the varieties of English we speak, like they do in England. Although few have the extreme "Heyerdahl-accent" anymore, she supposes people get impressed if someone's English sounds very real or authentic, but is unsure.

It seems the teachers agree that you need to have a certain level of skills in English or a certain level of consciousness in order to identify different varieties of English, and that the most commonly held notion is perhaps that a Norwegian accent is bad. They are in less agreement when it comes to whether and to what degree this is observed and reacted to by people in general.

The teachers were inquired whether they ask their students to choose a variety of English, and whether alternatives were given.

Table 4.7 Students' choice of variety

Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3	Teacher P
Students can choose to aim at any variety, and are asked to be consistent.	Asks her students if there is anything in particular they want to learn, but they are open to speak as they like and there is no pressure to aim at any variety at all as long as they communicate	Students can choose to aim at any variety, and are asked to be consistent. Asks them if they feel closer to any variety and if they do not they can try to copy her or copy something else.	Students can choose to aim at any variety, and are asked to be consistent. Tries to influence them to use RP, but does not evaluate them more negatively if they choose not to.

Although they are free to aim at any variety or even no variety at all, teacher 2 thinks, as does teacher 1, that the most likely varieties to be chosen (if they are to choose one) are British and American. Teacher 3 says that the majority of her students choose American, but that most end up with a mixture of British and American English. Teacher 2 believes most students choose British or American because they are the most available varieties, the ones they hear more and get more input from. Teacher 2 is so focused on valuing communication above variety that she varies her accent and even speaks 'Bergen English' to demonstrate that the most important thing is to make oneself understood. She tends to adapt her English a bit to the way the student she is talking to speaks, but says that she cannot do this all the time as that feels wrong. She also thinks it is interesting for the students if they have native speakers of English in the class to speak a bit like them.

4.2.4 Teaching Materials

Teachers 2 and P both use *Targets* (2009), while teachers 1 and 3 use *eXperience* (2006). Their opinions on the materials and their usage are presented in tables 4.8 and 4.9. For each of the two textbooks it seems that one teacher is quite content while the other is more critical.

Table 4.8 General usage of and opinions on materials from *Targets*

Teacher 2	Teacher P
General opinion: Good - Interesting texts from around the world - Interesting subjects - Good reference section Uses the book and the accompanying CDs a lot. The CDs are used to listen to a lot of regional varieties. The teacher often stops after a sentence and the students mimic the speech.	General opinion: Ok. Uses the book and the accompanying CDs a lot, but tries to be conscious about representing different varieties when choosing which texts to work with and listen to. The textbook focuses to a great extent on standard varieties, and the Anglo-American language area. She would have liked to have more examples of non-standard varieties such as Jamaican, South-African, etc.

All of the teachers except teacher 3 use the book and the accompanying CDs quite a lot, and the CDs are used to listen to different regional varieties and notice differences.

Table 4.9 General usage of and opinions on materials from *eXperience*

Teacher 1	Teacher 3
General opinion: varied and quite good Uses the book and the accompanying CDs a lot. Uses the CDs to make the students aware of differences in the varieties - listening comprehensions and speaking after - both native and non-native speakers are represented - literature from different parts of the world.	General opinion: outdated Uses the book "not that much, maybe fifty per cent". Uses the CDs to make the students aware of differences in the varieties Positive: - Texts from all parts of the world Negative: - Texts are not up to date in terms of e.g. what is "news" and who is the president - The audio examples (on the CDs) are not good enough because the accents are so mild that you can hardly hear where they are supposed to be from. Thinks they should use more native speakers with clearer accents, even though it might be more challenging for the students. She often tries to find broader variants of the accents on the internet, and the students like that.

One of the main problems for teacher 3 is the lack of authenticity; she recognizes the voices of the speakers and can tell that they are not always native speakers:

> [5]
> Cause we hear that the .. same people--
> 'I hear it anyway,
> the same people reading American English even trying a New Zealand accent, which doesn't work @at all@

4.2.5 Speech samples of English as a foreign language

Teacher 1 mentions that there are examples of successful speakers of EFL on the CD, even Norwegian speakers, and that they listen to this in class. Teacher 3 who uses the same materials thinks the English they get to hear other than inner circle varieties are more of English as a second language than English as a foreign language. They have listened to examples of French and German English, but these are used more as examples of what they

should not do and not as possible models. She thinks they are negative examples of non-native English, and the students laugh at them. The teacher thinks the purpose of these examples is to show the students that if you want to be taken seriously, and communicate at a serious level, you have to aim at the most correct pronunciation.

[6]
R: but then of course in= the th—
Some- the newer textbooks and online textbooks 'try to focus on the fact that none is better than the other,
Even- even these foreign language englishes,
Talking about the internati- the international English,
I mean,
<SIT it doesn't really matter and who owns English SIT> and all that

Teacher 2 does not think her students are presented with speech samples from successful speakers of English as a foreign language:

[7]
R: no= not necessarily,
We have those listening texts or listening 'tests we get from udir [4]
They're usually by= Norwegian students because they talk about .. studying abroad or something like that,
And then we usually hear that they have a Norwegian accent,
But it's not aiming at <Q oh listen to them they're so .. oh! … accomplished at this Q>
I: no
R: no not like that

4.2.6 The use of Norwegian in English lessons

All three teachers use Norwegian in English lessons. It seems it is mainly used in order to help students who do not understand when difficult topics and grammar are explained in English. Only teacher 2 has a clearly positive attitude towards the use of Norwegian, while the others view it as necessary but would prefer to use only English if possible.

Teacher 3 thinks that if the students are good at Norwegian as a subject, e.g. in terms of grammar, her experience is that they often master English as well. She thinks learning English in English, like she did herself in England, is better if you have a certain skill, but

[4] Udir = Utdanningsdirektoratet, Directorate for Education and Training

then you should also have everything around you in English to support that. When students are learning English in Norway she thinks it is necessary to use Norwegian as well.

Table 4.10 The use of Norwegian in English lessons

Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3
For many years she did not use Norwegian, but feels now that she needs to – especially when teaching grammar - because otherwise lower level students do not understand. Students ask her to summarize in Norwegian. Students are encouraged to speak English, but 'weak students' speak Norwegian anyway. The teacher does not view Norwegian as a potential positive resource. However, there are positive sides to the teacher and students having a shared language background.	Usually she says everything in English and then repeats some of it in Norwegian, and she asks the students about the meaning of some words. If she notices that a few students seem to not have understood what they are supposed to be doing she will always say it in Norwegian as well. Norwegian is a positive resource because it is their frame of reference and what they know. Some would easily give up if they did not have some Norwegian to cling to.	She uses Norwegian when she has to explain e.g. grammar or when they talk about more difficult topics such as social studies or politics in class. She tries to use English whenever they talk about easier subjects. There have been cases where students have asked her to use more English. She thinks she should be consistent in using English and let students ask if they do not understand, but she knows that they do not always do so. Norwegian is a necessary resource. Connection to skills in Norwegian as a school subject.

4.2.7 Assessing Pronunciation

Interestingly, all the teachers have quite different thoughts about the assessment of English pronunciation. Their answers are presented in table 4.11.

Teacher 1 is the only one who finds this assessment unproblematic:

> [2]
> R: Ehm.. well.. <@eh@> .. after such a long period of teaching English I've ..
> been listening <EMPH so much EMPH> to .. English texts, American texts, so .. I very @@
> much know, what it's 'supposed to be like ...
> And, eh.. it's not difficult at all to decide whether a student speaks eh.. well or poorly

It can be noted here that teacher 1 refers to her long experience with English and American texts as the basis for not finding assessment difficult, although, as shown in table 4.7, she states that her students are free to aim at any variety. This statement gives rise to a question of whether she can have enough experience with all varieties of English to assess them with the

same validity, or if e.g. Irish and South-African English will also be assessed with reference to English and American and how that is 'supposed to be like'.

Teacher 3 says that you have to have the right pronunciation, but at the same time that idea should not be taken too far:

[3]

I remember I had one student who ah had an oral exam,
And we had an external examiner,
And the student spoke perfect British English 'except she couldn't pronounce the (θ) the T H (θ) all the time,
And everything else was 'really impressive including the content of what she said and fluency and everything,
But the external- the eh examiner did not think she could get .. top marks [because]
I: [mm]
R: because she didn't do that,
Which I think is ridiculous because I mean British people have speech impediments too
I: mm
R: you don't --
You don't say that they are not perfect in their mother tongue,
So I thought that that was unfair,
But the pronunciation other than special things .. should be= should be as good as eh as good as possible obviously.

Teacher 3 also mentions that she has taught students with different language backgrounds who make completely different mistakes, and in those cases she has decided that no mistakes or difficulties are worse than others.

It might seem that the assessment of pronunciation is something teacher 3 gets a raised awareness of during the interview:

[4]

I: You say they have to have good pronunciation but .. how do you assess pronunciation? Do you think it's difficult to= assess what is good pronunciation and what's not?
R: I suppose it's not very scientific ((smiles)),
Except e= I suppose my experience with English is the basis of that assessment.
I: mm
R: and eh when it comes to pronunciation …

So I think that--

I basically think--

that's a bit scary but I think that's it.

That it's just my impression of what it should be

Table 4.11 Assessing pronunciation

	Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3	Teacher P
Is pronun-ciation difficult to assess?	Pronunciation is easy to assess because she has a lot of experience with the language and knows how it is supposed to be.	Pronunciation is probably difficult to assess, but she does not see the point in assessing it.	Assessment of pronunciation is not scientific; it is based on her experience, and that is a bit scary.	
How do they assess pronun-ciation?	Success in pronunciation can be measured on the level to which they sound like native speakers. Examples of poor pronunciation: they use a western Norwegian /r/ or they have trouble with unfamiliar sounds.	A successful speaker of English is one that communicates well, wants the listener to understand and tries to make that happen by finding the right words and being conscious of who the receiver is and adapt to that. She does not take variety into account in assessment at all - it is not an aim in the curriculum to speak with a certain accent. If students are unwilling to communicate or if the way they speak causes a communication breakdown or a native speaker would not understand them, then that is a problem.	Communication is at the top of the priority list. What they say has to be unambiguous and clear to understand. Acknowledges that the students use one or another and is impressed if they are consistent. Most students are mixed and they can still do well, but they do better if they are more conscious of what they are doing. Basically, to be able to pass, they have to be able to communicate. However she thinks that to be a successful speaker of English you have to have higher levels than that. You have to have the right pronunciation.	Pupils who are closer to RP in pronunciation are not perceived by her as being better than pupils who are close to General American, and she does not make a distinction between the two in assessing her pupils. Students who use either of these two varieties appear slightly better than pupils who use non-standard varieties from English speaking areas or English that is clearly marked by Norwegian.

4.2.8 Connections Between Pronunciation and Other Skills

The teachers were asked whether they think pronunciation skills are connected to other skills in the school subject of English. Table 4.12 below presents their opinions.

Table 4.12 Connections between pronunciation and other skills

Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3	Teacher P
Pronunciation- and writing skills are connected. Students with poor writing skills can have great pronunciation, but she has never seen this the other way around. For this reason she believes that students with poor pronunciation are likely to have writing skills that are average or less than average.	There is a connection between students' choice of speech variety and other skills. Students who have a conscious idea of how they want to speak are usually ambitious. Students who choose British English are often quite literary and like to read.	The more conscious and fluent they are the better they master the rest of English. Although they do not have to be good at e.g. writing and grammar if they have good pronunciation, this very often goes hand in hand.	Students who are close to either British or American pronunciation are usually also good at producing good texts/presentations with relevant content and few language errors. She does not strongly disagree that pupils who have difficulties with pronunciation usually have difficulties in these areas as well.

All the teachers seem to think pronunciation skills and other skills in the subject are connected. Again, consciousness is brought to the fore: students who are more conscious of how they want to speak, i.e. choose to aim at a variety, are considered ambitious and likely to master other parts of the subject. Although teacher 3 thinks it often goes hand in hand, both her and teachers 1 point out that the students do not have to be good at writing even if they are good at pronunciation. However, teacher 1 thinks that students who have poor pronunciation skills are more likely to have comparable writing skills.

4.2.9 Moving Away from the Native Speaker Norm

Teacher 1 does not think that she will ever use speakers of English as a foreign language as models for her students:

[8]

R: I don't think it's a good idea

I: no.

.. and why is that?

R: ((sighs)) .. you know.. why should my students learn English from Jagland, or Stoltenberg or Støre?

Eh .. I think they should go directly to .. eh the source when it comes to e= the correct intonation for instance.

Eh .. and .. we 'Norwegian English teachers we can help them with eh 'grammar and stuff like that.. but intonation has to be learned by.. modeling .. eh .. <EMF real EMF> native speakers.

She thinks the very best would be for the students to learn English from a native speaker who also 'knew grammar the way we know it', but doubts that such a teacher is very likely to be found. Norwegian teachers have an advantage in understanding how the students think in Norwegian, which can help them understand what they are trying to say in English.

Teacher 2 believes the ways in which people speak will always be different and to her that is ok. She mentions that this is a personal preference of hers; she likes to hear where people come from. It must be grammatically correct and the pronunciation must be understandable, e.g. she wouldn't let the students put the stress anywhere. It is easier to model on British and American because we get more input from those varieties.

She thinks that it is quite clear from the curriculum that you do not have to know standard British or American, and that this is completely open. However, she does not think that all teachers necessarily have the same view on this matter:

[9]

R: But I suppose it's more my personal interest in it

That I'm sort of--

Because I--

I probably think there are still a lot of teachers who still definitely see British English as the one that is sort of to be aimed at or ..

<Q you should definitely go for that one Q>

But uhm that's not me,

Teacher 3 declares her liking for standards with a small laugh. She usually tells the students that they need to have some sort of standard or centre to work towards, but she does not put that much emphasis on this in assessment as long as other things are right. She says that she tries to be open to new forms.

[10] R: although I'm probably conservative but I'm trying ((smiles))

Table 4.13 Thoughts on moving away from the native speaker norm

Subtopics	Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3
Using successful speakers of EFL as models	No. Does not think she will ever do that. Need to go directly to native speakers.	Yes, if a successful speaker is defined as one that communicates well.	The students should have some sort of standard to work towards, but she is accepting of other influences. Maybe it should continue to be part of language training to aim for one accent
Is it possible to move away from the native speaker norm?	Yes, it is probably possible, but she does not think it is recommendable/a good idea.	Yes. Most of her students do not aim at native speaker varieties anyway, and she does not think it is even possible to sound like a native unless you have lived in the country or hear the language at home.	Yes, if it was accepted around and in the different situations you would be in. However, most people, at least those who have an interest in language, would choose a standard if there was one.
Challenges	Especially intonation has to be learned by modeling native speakers	Sometimes the differences are very big. We do not get enough input from other accents to pick them up, understand and make ourselves understood.	A problem for the teachers because a lot of the non-standard forms are used around the students in literature and films etc., and so "who am I to say that that's wrong"? Lack of formal knowledge about this.
Is a change going on?	No. That is not her impression, at least not with her colleagues and her students.	Yes. Especially younger teachers are more open to it. Older teachers are often very accomplished at what they do and speak with a very clear RP accent and want to keep doing that as that is what they have learned and have been doing for a long time.	Yes. Teachers are more open to different varieties, but there's still the idea that you have to be able to call it something (e.g. British- or Indian-English). She does not think we have come so far in terms of openness that any intonation or pronunciation is accepted as long as it is understandable.
How are the teachers informed of this change?	(Not relevant as she does not believe there is a change)	No meeting/official information. Clear from the curriculum. Personal interest.	They have not really discussed it among colleagues, but this is the impression she gets from reading. She tries to keep updated and would want to attend a course if one was offered.

Teacher 2 also thinks that many teachers have a fairly strong Norwegian accent and that they cannot blame their students for having an accent if that is how they speak themselves.

4.3 Results from the Student Questionnaire

In this section, results from the student questionnaire will be presented. A very large material was collected and in order to keep the results comprehensible and only present data that is relevant to the aim of the study, choices of which results to include and which to exclude have been made. For the open-ended questions I operated with a general rule to exclude any topic or category that was not brought up by at least five students. However, in some cases, a point that only one or two students brought up has been included because it was found important in connection to the research questions. As mentioned earlier, their potential for bringing other ideas to the fore was an important purpose of including open-ended questions.

Although a default-setting prompting each respondent to provide an answer for every question was selected, the results show that for unknown reasons not all students have answered all questions. The number of answers seems to be declining gradually towards the end, indicating that the students may have tired. As discussed earlier, there were probably too many questions in this questionnaire. Due to the uneven numbers, a table which shows how many students answered each of the questions that are included in the analysis is provided below. For more convenient reading the questions are numbered in the order in which they appear in the analysis, rather than the order in which they appeared in the questionnaire.

Table 4.14 Presentation of questionnaire questions

Questions	No. of answers
1. How important is it to you to become good at speaking English?	187
2. In which situations in your life do you think it will be useful for you to be able to speak English?	169
3. How important do you find the following criteria for speaking English well?	189
4. To which extent do you think the following influences your spoken English? Your teacher / Your friends / Your parents / The music you listen to / the video games and/or computer games you play / The TV-series and Films you watch	182
5. Can you think of any speakers of English as a second or foreign language whom you think is especially good at speaking English (Norwegian and/or other nationalities)? - Have you heard and/or talked about examples of such people in English lessons?	169
6. How different or similar do you find the English that is mostly used in school to the English you hear most in your spare time	182
7. Give short descriptions of how you think the following sounds:	164
8. Can you think of any Norwegian(s) who's spoken English you think is bad? - Name one or more examples - What, in your opinion, makes their spoken English bad?	167
9. Do you have any favourite variety/varieties of English? Which variety/varieties is/are your favourite(s), (and why is it/they your favourite(s))?	166
10. When you speak English, do you aim at a particular variety? - Why? / Why not?	165
11. To which extent do you agree with the following statements: I think it is ok to mix different varieties of English when speaking English I think it is ok to mix different varieties of English when writing English	185
12. To which extent are you familiar with the competence aims in the school subject of English?	180
13. To which extent do you feel that the competence aims meet your needs (regarding what you will use English for)?	165
14. What is the attitude in your classroom to speaking Norwegian in English lessons?	164
15. Which variety of English do you think would be most appropriate for a Norwegian to use? A Standard British or American variety / A non-standard British or American variety / A neutral variety that cannot be connected to any geographical area / A variety of English which is easy for foreigners to understand, but which reveals that you are from Norway	173
16. Do you feel that there are reasons for you to not use standard British English, even if you were fully able to?	164
17. What are your reasons not to use standard British English, even if you were fully able to?	164
18. Do you feel that there are reasons for you to not use standard American English, even if you were fully able to?	164
19. What are your reasons not to use standard American English, even if you were fully able to?	164

Figure 4.4 below illustrates quite clearly that the majority of students find it very important to be able to speak English well. Only two students answered that it was 'Not important' to them to become good at speaking English, and only five students found it to be 'Less important'.

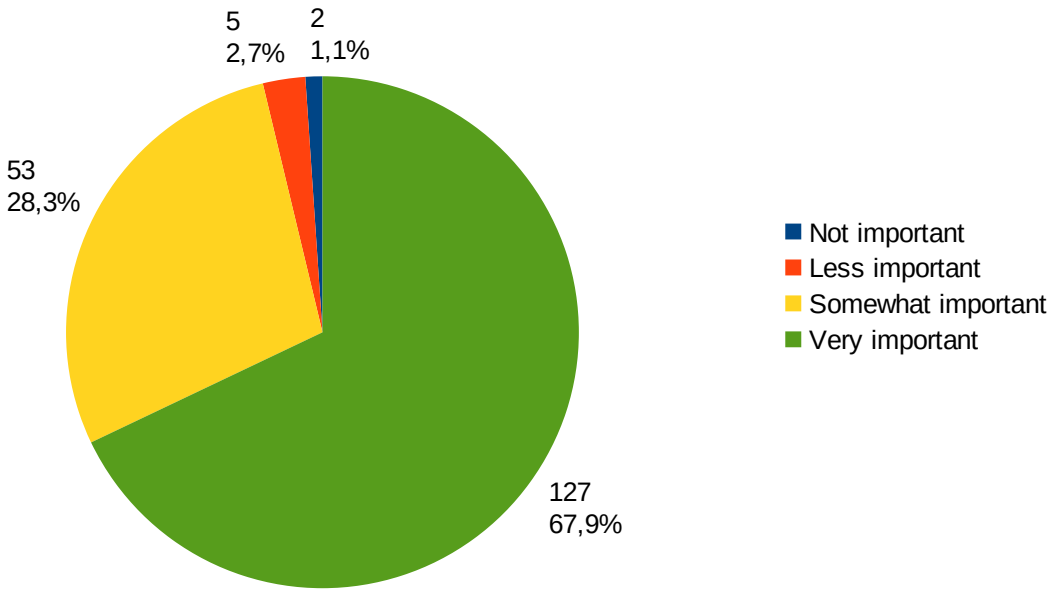


Figure 4.4 How important is it to you to become good at speaking English?

Table 4.15 below shows in which situations in their lives the students think it will be useful to be able to speak English. Travelling abroad is the situation most students see themselves in, but many have ambitions for further studies and careers in which they think they will use English –both in Norway and abroad. 31 students mention lingua franca communication in one way or another, and it is evident from this data that most of the students do not view English primarily as a language to be used for communication with native speakers of English.

Table 4.15 Situations in which it will be useful to be able to speak English

Studies (In Norway and abroad)	34
Work (In Norway and abroad)	61
Travelling abroad - Specifically to English speaking countries	112 - 11
Moving to an English speaking country	12
Communication (that is not specified to studies, work or travel) - Lingua franca communication - Online communication - Communication with friends and family	43 - 31 - 7 - 5
Understanding foreign media (Books, the Internet, News, Games, TV and Films)	11

The students were asked to rate certain criteria for speaking English well on a scale from 'Not important' to 'Very important'. Figure 4.5, below, shows how the answers for each criterion were distributed. Very few have rated any of the criteria as 'Not important', and, as the extent of yellow illustrates, most students find the criteria at least 'Somewhat important'. Intelligible pronunciation is regarded 'Very important' by an absolute majority of the students. In comparison, pronunciation that is close to native speakers' is rated much less important.

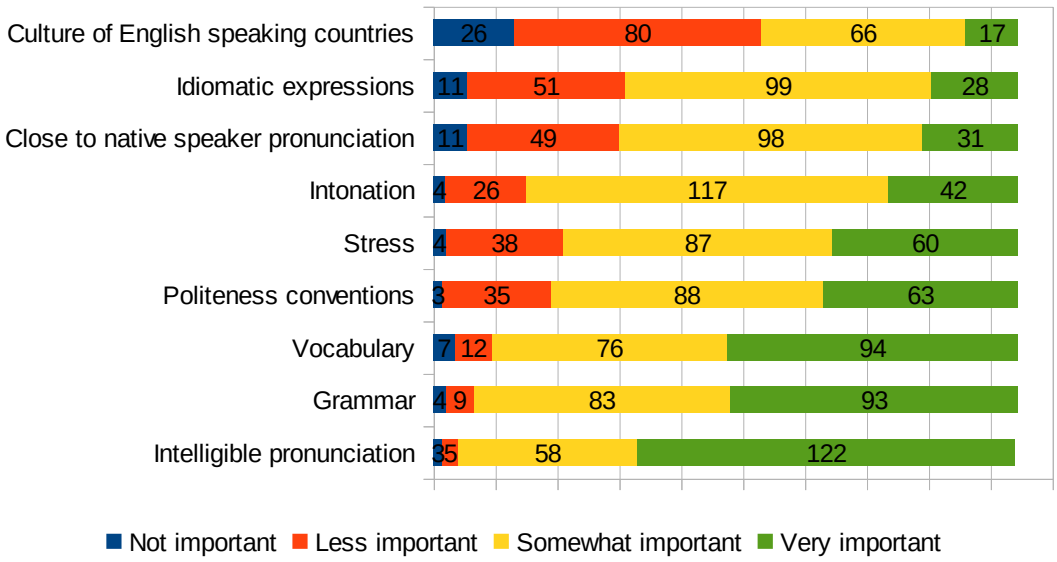


Figure 4.5 'How important do you find the following criteria for speaking English well?'

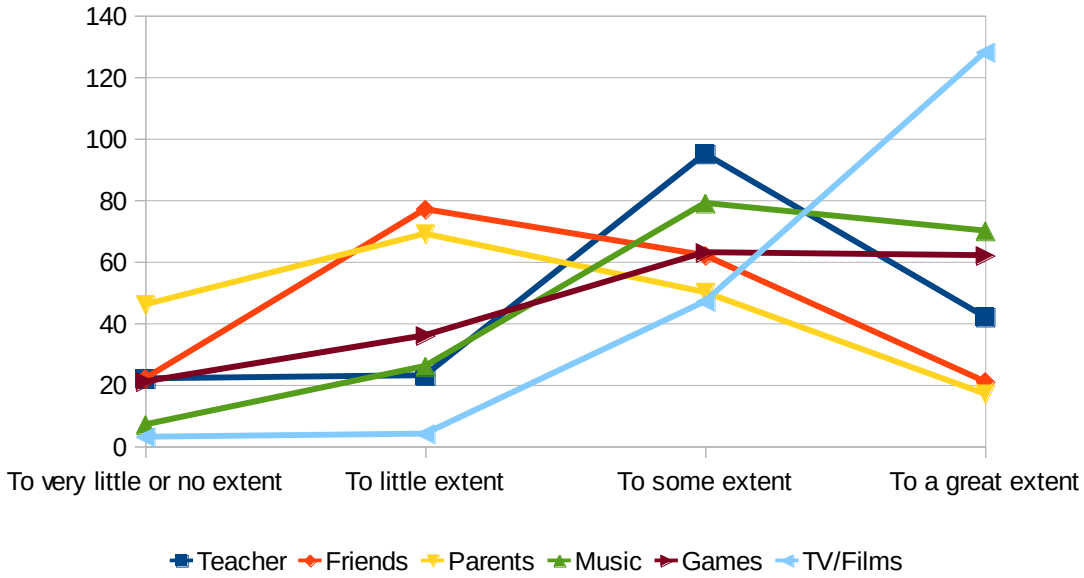


Figure 4.6 Influences on spoken English

It can be seen from Figure 4.6 below that the category TV and films is viewed by the students as the greatest influence on their spoken English, followed by the music they listen to and their teacher.

The students were asked if they could think of any speakers of English as a second or foreign language who were especially good at speaking English, and whether they had heard about and/or talked about such people in class. Figure 4.7 shows that the absolute majority could not remember having heard or talked about this in class.

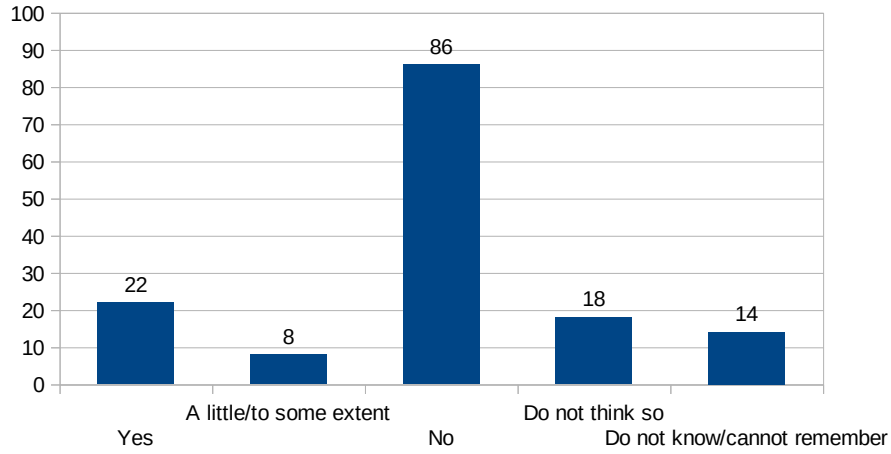
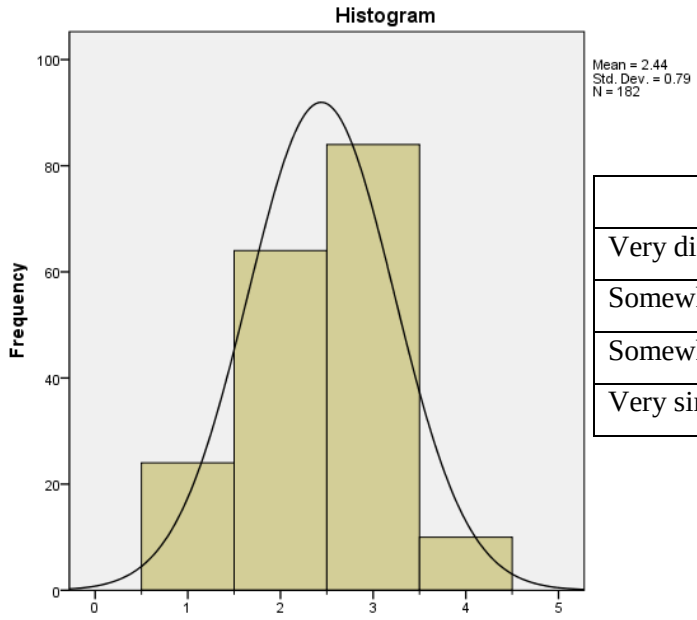


Figure 4.7 Examples in English lessons of successful EFL speakers



	Frequency	Per cent
Very different (1)	24	13,2%
Somewhat different (2)	64	35,2%
Somewhat similar (3)	84	46,2%
Very similar (4)	10	5,5%

Figure 4.8 Similarity or difference between English in school and in spare time

Although 46,2% find the English that is mostly used in school ‘somewhat similar’ to the English they hear most in their spare time, more students find it ‘very different’ than ‘very similar’. The histogram in figure 4.8 above illustrates that the mean, 2.44, therefore lies between ‘somewhat different’ and ‘somewhat similar’, slightly closer to ‘somewhat different’.

Table 4.17 Students’ descriptions of varieties

	St. Br. Eng.	St. Am. Eng.	Strong NO accent	Slight NO accent
Intelligent	53	4	-	4
Polite	76	7	2	2
Nice, good, fine, pretty	43	28	3	12
Warm	6	12	-	3
Classy, elegant	7	-	-	-
Successful, important , educated, high goals	27	5	-	4
Rich	45	3	-	3
Formal	5	-	-	-
Cool	11	50	2	6
Easy to understand	31	68	11 (incl. 1 “for Norwegians”)	29 (incl. 1 “for Norwegians”)
Informal, laid back, relaxed	-	9	-	-
Normal (incl. common)	6	47	3	29
Neutral	4	13	1	23
Ok	2	3	1	36 (incl. 3 “acceptable)
Funny	16	23	44	8
Posh, snob, better than everyone else, arrogant	14	-	-	2
Weird, special, strange	12	1	54	12
Unsuccessful	1	-	24	1
Unintelligent, Stupid	-	6	37	3
Poor	2	5	12	-
Impolite	1	5	13	4
Cold	11	1	3	3
Hard/Difficult to understand	13	4	24 (incl. 3 “for natives”)	2
Bad, Ugly	4	3	56	15
Boring	-	5	1	-
Very negative comments (awful, horrible, hate it)	1	1	15	3

Table 4.17 illustrates how frequently a word or word group was brought up by the students to describe each variety. It should be noted that the descriptions are not made as reactions to auditory examples, but derived from semantic interpretation.

After having suggested some examples of Norwegians whose English they thought was bad (not included here due to space limitations), the students were asked: 'What, in your opinion, makes their English bad?' This was an open-ended question and the answers were categorised, resulting in the nine categories presented in figure 4.9 below.

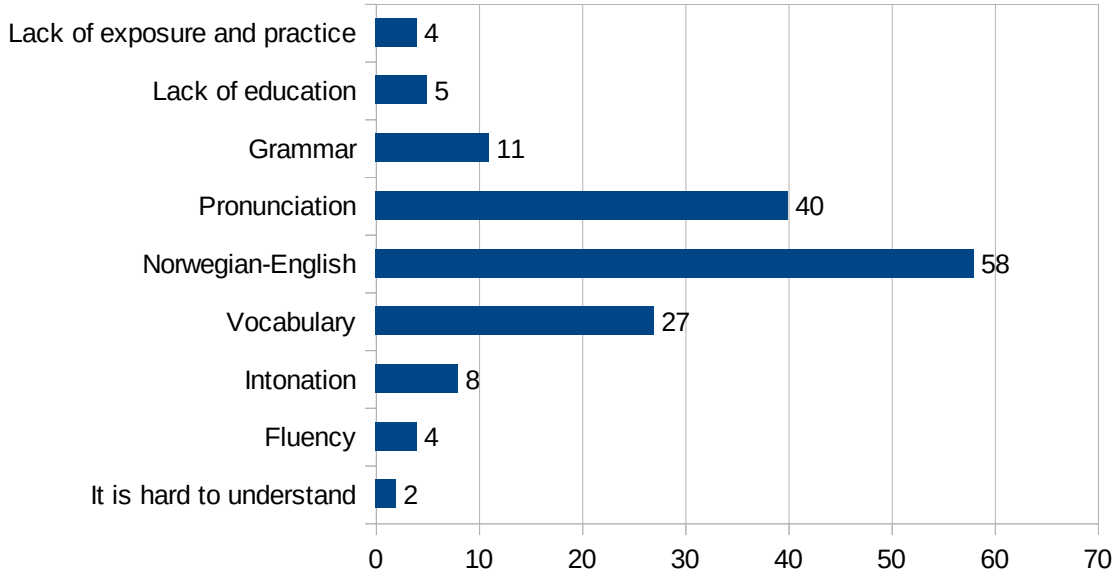


Figure 4.9 What makes certain Norwegian speakers' English bad

The students seem to think of speakers who have any sort of Norwegian influence on their English, including a heavy Norwegian accent, using Norwegian words, directly translating Norwegian idioms, and using Norwegian word order, as 'bad at speaking English'. Such Norwegian features, which have been grouped together in the category 'Norwegian-English', are the ones most frequently mentioned by the students as reasons for deeming the English 'bad'. This category only includes answers in which Norwegian is explicitly mentioned, although the two categories which are the second and third most mentioned, 'Pronunciation' and 'Vocabulary', could also be referring to some of the same features.

The students were asked whether they have any favourite variety or varieties of English, and Table 4.18 below shows that the majority of students do not.

Table 4.18 Having favourite varieties of English

Yes	No	Total answered	Missing	Total
70	96	166	33	199

Figure 4.10 below illustrates which varieties were named by the seventy students who reported that they did have favourites.

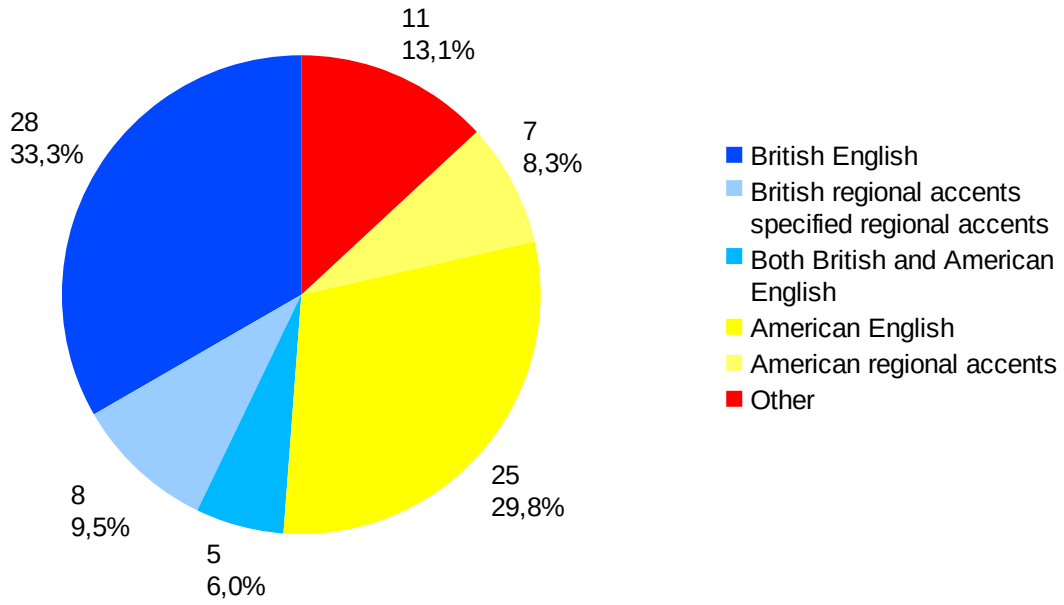


Figure 4.10 Distribution of favourite varieties

The total number of answers displayed in figure 4.10 (86) is greater than the number of respondents who answered that they had a favourite variety (Table 4.18: 70) because a number of respondents stated more than one variety as their favourites.
It may be interesting to notice that the figure looks quite similar to figures 4.1 – 4.3; indicating that the spread here corresponds with the spread in varieties they are exposed to through the CDs. Frequencies for British and American English are a lot higher than they are for any other variety.

The students were asked if they aim at any particular variety when they speak English. Their answers to this question are displayed in figure 4.11 below, while explanations for why or why not they choose to do so are given in tables 4.19 and 4.20.

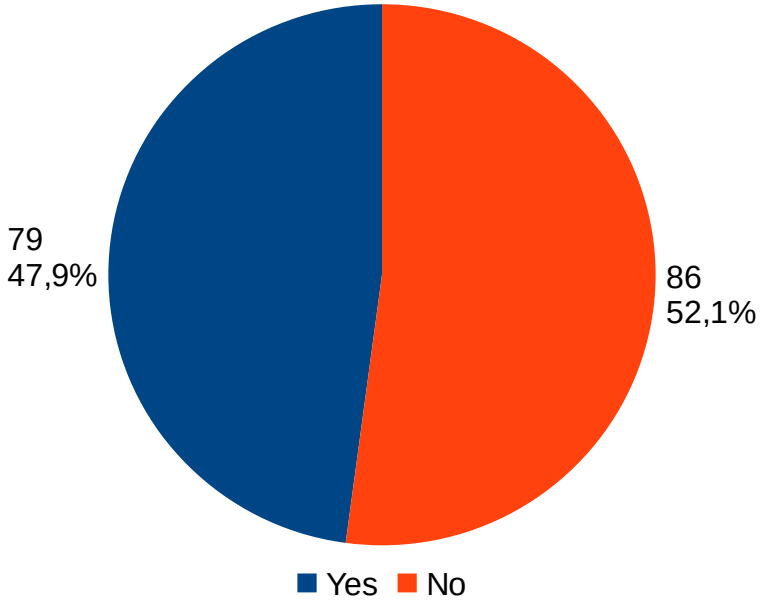


Figure 4.11 Do you aim at a particular variety?

Table 4.19 Reasons for choosing to aim at a particular variety

It sounds better/more proper/ natural/ like “real English” if you aim at something specific	15
To sound as English as possible / as someone who speaks English every day	5
Because a mixture does not sound right	5
Because it is enough to learn just one, difficult to learn several varieties properly	4
Our teacher makes us choose between British or American	3
It is perhaps easier (for native speakers) to understand	2

The results shown in table 4.19 suggest that many of the students who choose to aim at a variety do so because they think it sounds better and more like “real English”. However, it is interesting to note that four students report that they choose to aim at one particular variety because it would be difficult to learn more than one, and for this reason they think the one is enough. Only two students bring up the notion that it may be easier to understand. One of them specifies that it may be easier for native speakers to understand.

Table 4.20 Reasons for choosing not to aim at a particular variety

Rather focus on getting people to understand, that is the main point / People will understand anyway / as long as the person I talk to understands me, it`s no point	6
Don't feel the need/ don't think it's important / Don't bother	4
I don't think about it when I speak, I just speak the way I speak/the way I feel like	12
Not secure enough / Don't think my pronunciation is good enough / Don't think I'll be able to	7
It's difficult / It's stress	4
The differences are not clear to me / It's difficult to distinguish the varieties	4
Because too much focus on variety makes me forget and skip words	1
Because it's not "normal" in my society	1
Because I am Norwegian, why should I speak a variety of English when it isn't my mother language?	1
Because I feel gimmicky, do not want to feel exposed and ready to be humiliated by others.	1
I don't know of any varieties	2
Because my teacher is very bad in English	1
I don't know	16

The results shown in table 4.21 suggest that most students who do not aim at a variety are not very conscious about this choice. 16 students report that they do not know why they do not aim at any variety, while 12 say that they simply do not think about it when they speak. However, answers with lower frequencies have been included here to illustrate that some students do have certain reflections about why they do not aim at a variety and that several of these relate either to difficulty, to the idea that it feels unnatural, gimmicky, or not "normal", or to the attitude that it is more important to make oneself understood.

Results shown in figure 4.12 below indicate that the students differentiate between mixing of varieties in spoken and written English. It is accepted among them to a greater degree to mix different varieties when they speak English compared to when they write English.

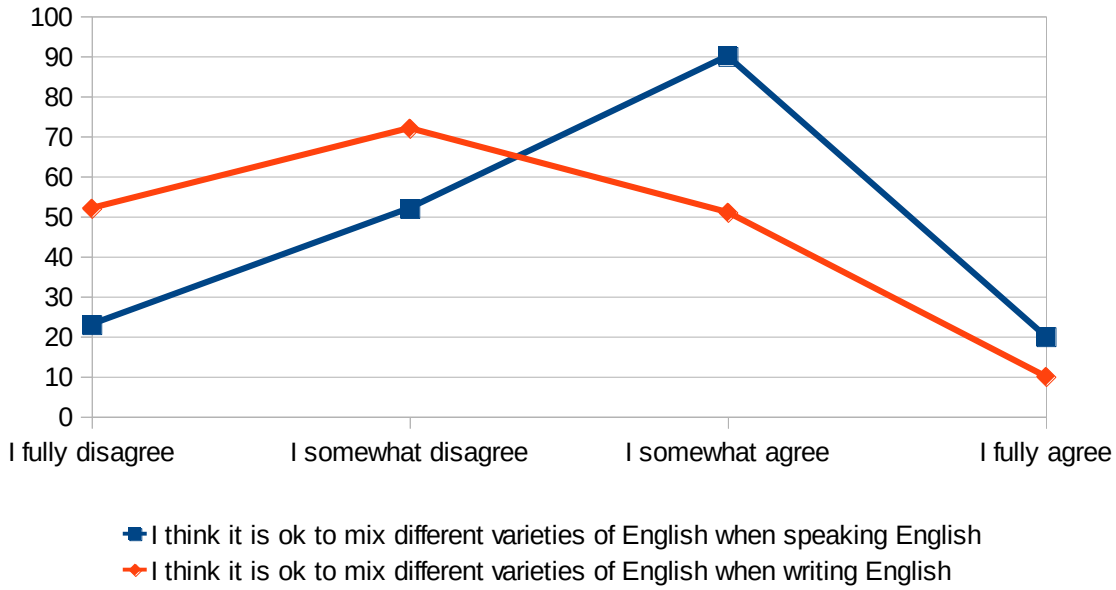


Figure 4.12 Mixing varieties

Eleven students answered that they were familiar with the competence aims in the school subject of English 'to very little or no extent' and were therefore excluded from the following question about how these competence aims meet their needs.

The absolute majority of students, 52.1 per cent, answer that they feel their needs are met to some extent. The purpose of a cross tabulation is to show the relationship (or lack thereof) between two variables. Figure 4.13 illustrates that the students' sense of how the competence aims meet their needs may be affected by their familiarity with said aims. A greater share of students who claim to be most familiar with the aims also claim that their needs are met to a great extent, while those who are least familiar with the aims are also the ones who claim to be least satisfied by the aims.

		: To which extent do you feel that the competence aims meet your needs (regarding what you will use English for)?					
		To very little or no extent	To little extent	To some extent	To a great extent	I don't know	Total
: To which extent are you familiar with the competence aims in the school subject of English?	To little extent	3	7	22	4	5	41
	To some extent	1	9	55	27	11	103
	To a great extent	0	1	9	10	1	21
Total		4	17	86	41	17	165

Figure 4.13 Competence aims cross tabulation

As the use of the L1 as a positive resource has been a topic in the theoretical background of this thesis, the students were asked (as were the teachers) about their experience of this. Table 4.21 below shows that most students, 63,8%, think the attitude in their classroom to speaking Norwegian in English lessons is that the teacher wants to avoid it, but accepts it to a certain degree, while only 15,1% think the use of Norwegian is seen as a positive resource.

Table 4.21 Attitudes to speaking Norwegian in English lessons

What is the attitude in your classroom to speaking Norwegian in English lessons?	Count	Per cent
Use of Norwegian is seen as a positive resource	30	15,1%
The teacher wants to avoid it, but accepts it to a certain degree	127	63,8%
The students try to avoid it	34	17,1%
It is not accepted by the teacher at all	12	6%
It is neither accepted by the teacher nor the class	10	5%
The teacher uses Norwegian a lot	29	14,6%
The students use Norwegian a lot when speaking to each other	97	48,7%
The students use Norwegian a lot when speaking to the teacher	52	26,1%

An additional category 'Other answer' was provided to give the students the opportunity to give answers outside of the given categories. One important point that emerged was that the use of Norwegian often depends on the topic that is being taught. Another student says the students sometimes use Norwegian when there is a word they do not know. One student reports that their teacher does not care, and adds that this teacher is 'really bad in English she should never teach it'.

The students were asked to rate the variety options '*A standard British or American variety'*, '*A non-standard British or American variety'*, '*A neutral variety of English which cannot be connected to any geographical area (assuming such a variety exists)*', and '*A variety of English which is easy for foreigners to understand, but which reveals that you are from Norway (assuming such a variety exists)*' on a scale from 'Not appropriate' to 'Appropriate' for a Norwegian to use. The results are presented in figure 4.14 below.

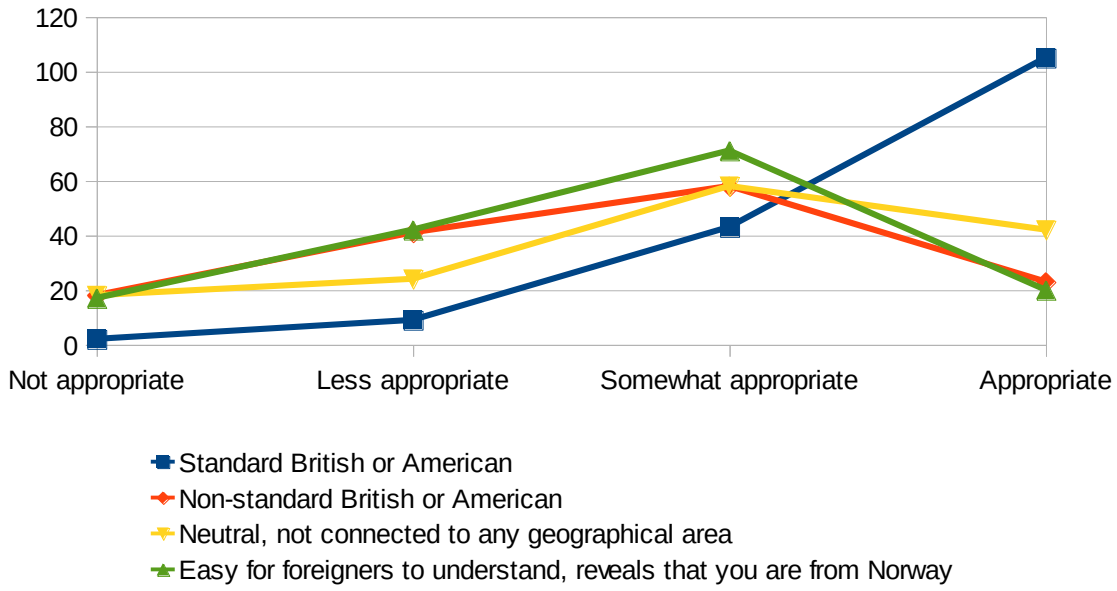


Figure 4.14 Appropriateness of varieties

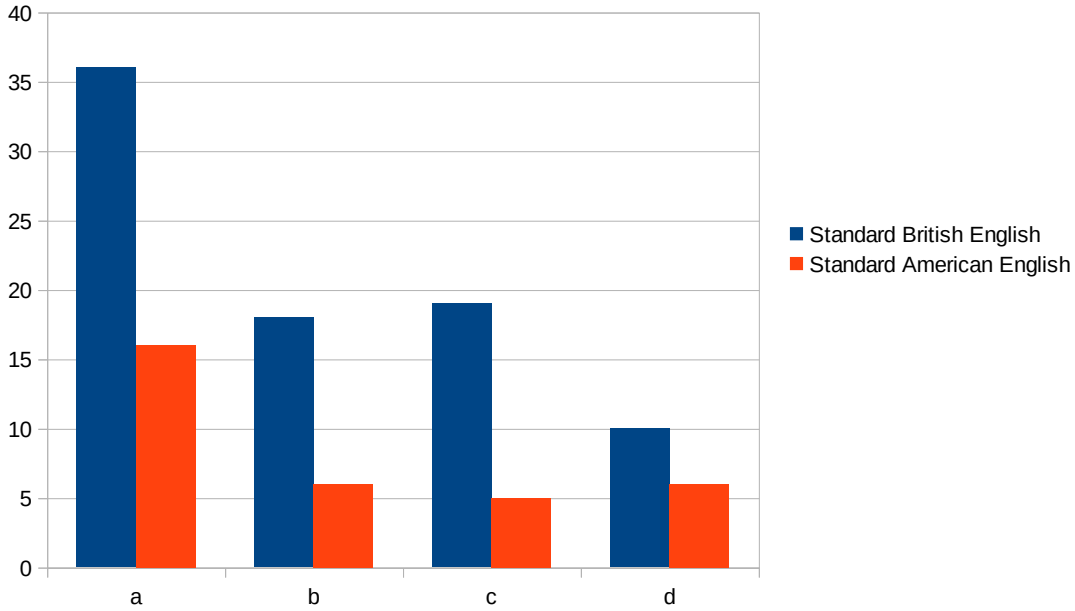
Figure 4.14 indicates quite clearly that the native-speaker norm still holds strong ground among the learners. A standard variety of either British or American is seen appropriate by as much as 105 students (65.6 per cent), while a variety that reveals their nationality is only seen appropriate by 20 students (12.5 per cent) even if the latter variety is characterised as easy for foreigners to understand. If the alternatives from 'not appropriate' to 'appropriate' are given the values 1 to 4, the mean scores for appropriateness are as follows in table 4.22:

Table 4.22 Mean values for variety options

Variety option	**Mean**
Standard British or American English	3.69
Non-standard British or American	3.07
A neutral variety	3.25
A variety of English which is easy for foreigners to understand, but which reveals that you are from Norway	2.94

Interestingly, even non-standard native varieties receive a fairly high score, while the variety that can be connected to the students own nationality receives the lowest score.

51 students (31 per cent) report that they feel that there are reasons for them not to use standard British English, even if they were fully able to, whereas 25 students (15 per cent) feel the same way about using standard American English. (Total: 164). Their reasons, from answers given by checking one or more of the response options are presented in figure 4.15 below.



a)	It feels unnatural to me because I am not British/American
b)	It is embarassing
c)	I think my friends would see me as something like an overachiever or a “geek”
d)	I am proud of being Norwegian and would like people to hear where I come from when I speak English

Figure 4.15 Reasons not to use Standard British or American English

Some students chose to make use of the response option ‘other answer’. For both British and American a few students stated that they chose not to use it, either because of a preference for the opposite variety, that the language is difficult, or that they do not like the way it sounds. Some interesting comments that only occurred for British were that speaking a standard British variety of English feels like an act, not wanting to be ‘put in a box as the English genius’, and a fear of not being understood. One respondent expressed an opinion that ‘as long as I sound like I can speak English properly, I don’t care if I sound more or less British or American’.

5. DISCUSSION

The discussion that follows will further explore the results presented in the previous chapter, relating them to the research questions raised in chapter 1 and theoretical background from chapter 2. The first section will show how my results support the background for doing this research, namely that the subject of English has been and is still undergoing important change in terms of who uses the language and what for. The change towards a greater focus on the internationality of English, and, as a consequence, suggestions for a new model as an alternative to the native speaker norm, has been a starting point of this thesis. Although I do not aim to answer whether or not these ideas are the best alternatives, I will discuss my results with reference to these suggestions, and take into consideration how Norwegian students can be better prepared to use English as a means of international communication.

Sections 5.3-5.5 are divided with regards to the main aims of the study. Each section will focus mainly on the audio-material, the students, and the teachers, respectively. However, as the results are closely related, I will for example address some of the research questions relating to the teachers in the section which has its main focus on the students and vice versa.

5.1 Change

People who are learning English today are not as concerned with the native speakers as they were in the school subject's early beginnings, when the aims of learning English were connected primarily to trade and contact with Britain and the US. Currently, English is acquired as a means of international communication, for people of various backgrounds to exchange information about their own cultures and ideas. Students wish to learn the language in order to get far – both geographically speaking, by travelling all around the world, and professionally speaking, by succeeding in an internationalized job market. We are of course dealing here with changes that have come gradually over a long time, but as the current curriculum is the first Norwegian curriculum to explicitly focus on 'Intercultural competence' it becomes particularly relevant to carry out new research in this setting presently.

As discussed in chapter 2, communication is a major component of intercultural competence. A number of results from this study point to communication being the most important objective of the current teaching of English in Norway. All the teachers put communication first, both regarding purposes for learning the language and, at least for two of them, when describing a successful EFL speaker. Furthermore, many of the students mention

‘Intelligible pronunciation’ as the most important criterion for speaking English well. Following Kennedy’s definition of intelligibility from section 2.1.1 (as ‘the extent to which a speaker’s message is understood’ (Kennedy 2009: 132)), students and teachers thus agree that the ability to communicate and make yourself understood is a key component of second language proficiency. Moreover, ‘Communication’, for a number of respondents even with explicit reference to lingua franca communication, is seen by the students as one of the most important situations in their lives in which knowing English will be useful.

My results show that, even more so than communication, students mention travelling and work as situations in which they think English will be useful for them. Following communication, they mention studies, moving to an English speaking country and understanding foreign media. It is not that long ago that these aims were not relevant or not considered possible options for most adolescents, but the world is changing: travel has become more easily available in terms of (geographical) mobility and economics, it is becoming increasingly common to spend a term or more abroad as part of one’s education or career, and more and more workplaces require their employees to be fluent in English, for example for purposes of international cooperation. Additionally, the digital revolution brings about many new reasons for wanting to learn English that have not been relevant before. Most of the information that is found online is in English and, as is supported by the results of this thesis, many students also use English in Internet communication and online gaming, and they visit international online news sites to keep up to date with current events.

5.2 Exposure Outside of the School Context

TV and film are viewed by many students as influencing their spoken English to a great extent. From figure 4.6 we saw that it was considered even more influential than teachers and friends. Most of the students rate the variety most used in school between ‘somewhat different’ and ‘somewhat similar’ to what they hear most in their spare time, with a mean value slightly closer to ‘somewhat different’. Teacher 1 and teacher P both mention that they feel US varieties have a great impact or influence on their students’ lives, and results from the questionnaire support this, as students say they are used to hearing American English in their spare time. Teacher 1 notes that this is different from her time as a student, when there was a much greater impact from Britain. Additionally, the results suggest a certain degree of exposure to non-standard and non-native varieties through media, which is not found to the

same extent in school. Nilsen and Rugesæter (2008) put forward that the diversity of varieties met by the students outside of school might be confusing for them, and therefore proposed that the teacher needs to be a clear model of one variety. At the same time it is probably equally confusing to the students if the wide ranges of varieties they are influenced by in their spare time, whether from TV, film, online gaming or any other source, are not addressed in the classroom at all. The following section will discuss which varieties are represented in the teaching materials, while succeeding sections will discuss how these are dealt with in the classroom.

5.3 The first aim – The Audio-material

In this section, findings related mainly to the first aim, which relates to the audio-material, will be discussed.

Analysis of the audio-material from *Targets* and *eXperience*, combined with comments from the teachers, suggest that Britain and the US, particularly their standard varieties, are still overrepresented in the materials and that the representation of other varieties is limited to outer circle countries. This suggests a certain continuation of the tradition we have had of relying on the native speaker norm, as discussed in section 2.2.

Speakers of English from the expanding circle, who are in an equivalent situation to the Norwegian pupils and to whom they would perhaps relate more closely, are completely absent in *Targets*. When asked if they had heard examples of speakers of English as a foreign language who were especially good at speaking English, as can be seen from figure 4.7 the majority of students were either clear that they had not or could not remember whether they had encountered such examples. In *eXperience*, three examples of expanding circle English are found, but these are not considered good examples because they reveal almost no detectable accent on the Norwegian speakers' part and a very heavy accent, combined with an extremely limited vocabulary, on the French speaker's part. Teacher 3 says that her students have heard examples of both French- and German-accented English, but that this is something they laugh at. It seems the students are only exposed to "negative examples" (Teacher 3) of non-native speech for humorous effects, rather than positive examples on which they could potentially model their own speech.

There are very few examples of spontaneous speech in the audio-material (see sections 4.1.2 - 4.1.5), something which the pupils could benefit from both listening to and

participating in, as most communication is in fact spontaneous. The aims in the *Knowledge Promotion* also address spontaneous interaction (see section 2.5.3). If spontaneous speech is not included in the audio-recordings that accompany the most widely used textbooks, we paint the students a very inaccurate and unrealistic picture of how English is used. In order for the students to be prepared to understand and participate in real communication both inside and outside of the classroom, I would argue that they need to be exposed to genuine examples of spontaneous interaction to a much greater extent. As pointed out by teacher 3 in quote [3], native-speakers have weaknesses too. In section 2.1.4 we saw that differences in language performance between native and non-native performance are closely related to aspects of fluency. When Norwegian students do not get to hear how speakers of English, native or non-native, handle authentic situations by means of effective communication strategies such as listener-friendly pauses and filler-words, how can they be expected to accomplish this?

Although varieties from the outer and expanding circles are represented in a proportionally small part of the material compared to inner circle varieties, a development from 2005 to 2009 (and 2006) is discovered. As the time span from *Targets* 2005 to *eXperience* 2006 is very small, and they were published directly before and after the introduction of the new curriculum of 2006, *The Knowledge Promotion*, it is likely that differences in the materials may relate to this reform. Suggestions for revisions in later years also state more clearly that students should be exposed to different geographical and social varieties of English. However, the curriculum is quite ambiguous –for example it does not clearly state what is meant by terms such as 'the English speaking world', and although it includes competence aims such as 'the student shall be able to select listening, speaking, reading and writing strategies adapted to the purpose and situation', it does not provide a set formula for which strategies would be appropriate in for example a lingua franca situation.

All of the teachers sense to some extent that a change is on-going. They believe there is a much greater focus on several different varieties of English now than there has ever been before, and that this is reflected in their teaching materials. The CD-recordings are commonly used by these teachers to illustrate differences. However, the teachers are satisfied with the representations of the different varieties to variable extent. Teachers 1 and 2 do not express that they miss anything in particular in the books and seem to be quite happy with the variation they now include. Teacher P on the other hand wished for even more representations of varieties from outside the 'Anglo-American' context, and while teacher 3 agrees that the textbooks now try to expose the students to a number of different varieties, she does not think that the recordings of these varieties are good enough. My results from the audio-material

analysis of *Targets* support what teacher P is referring to, as there is indeed still a clear overrepresentation of Inner Circle varieties, even though more varieties from the Outer and Expanding Circles are present now than earlier. Having listened to the audio-material from *eXperience* (2006), which is the book teacher 3 refers to, I agree that the recordings display very little accent or broadness and they are often difficult to identify. Although this could not be confirmed by the publisher, it also seems that the same speakers 'put on' different accents which do not exist naturally within their language repertoire.

It is of course not necessary for the teachers to use only material from these books and CDs, and they do all say that they bring additional sources to the classroom, but I think it is safe to assume that textbooks are still commonly used as the main source by many teachers.

5.4 The second aim – The Students

5.4.1 What does it Mean to be a Successful Speaker?

As illustrated quite clearly in figure 4.4, the students in this study find it highly important to become good at speaking English. They view intelligible pronunciation as the most important criterion for speaking English well. What makes pronunciation intelligible, however, is not (yet) universally agreed upon. Adopting Jenkins' (2006b) core approach could be one possible way of trying to assess pronunciation not in terms of the degree to which it approximates the native speaker, but the degree to which it is intelligible. This approach embraces regional differences, while at the same time it seeks to eliminate some core features of ELF believed to hinder communication. However, even though L2 production containing certain pronunciation mistakes can be intelligible, as Rugesæter (2012) underlines, it is desirable to have the focus on what you say and not on how you say it. This relates closely to the point that was made at the very start of this thesis: many people seemed to be more concerned with how the Chairman of the Nobel Committee said what he said, and not about what he said, even though what he said should be fully comprehensible. Although communication and intelligibility are highly regarded by the participants in this study, it does not seem that they have considered that it is possible to value L1 transfer and local features as long as this does not impede intelligibility.

Although there are differences between native and non-native speakers at word level, non-native speakers can be just as intelligible as native speakers in extended speech.

Developments in the Norwegian curriculum with a focus on fluency rather than accuracy also clearly indicate that it is regarded perfectly possible to be fluent in English even with certain mistakes, as long as these do not interfere with meaning. This suggests that word for word assessment is perhaps not even necessary, and alternatively the students could be assessed on the basis of adequacy, the extent to which their language usage is appropriate to the situation and their message is accessible and understandable. It seems one of the teachers in this study, teacher 2, is working along these lines as she states that she does not assess pronunciation at all, but focuses on whether or not her students communicate. As was supported by statements from both teachers and learners in this study, there is a widely established agreement that communication is the main aim of language learning, and that intelligibility is important to be able to communicate. Rugesæter (2012, p. 128) suggests that: 'pointing to a lack of phonemic oppositions as a possible source of misunderstanding may be a relevant way of highlighting the importance of correct pronunciation on a communicative level, and may motivate the learners to improve their own pronunciation'.

5.4.2 Students' Attitudes to Native and Non-native Varieties

Table 4.17 in chapter 4 shows how the varieties 'Standard British English', 'Standard American English', 'English with a strong Norwegian accent', and 'English with a slight Norwegian accent' are described as sounding to the students. It is important to keep in mind that, although they were given a number of suggested adjectives, the students were free to choose which words they found suitable to describe each variety, either from the provided examples or in their own words. The fact that some properties are mentioned for only one or two varieties may therefore not necessarily mean that the students do not identify these properties in the other varieties at all, but simply suggests that they were not the properties they found most noteworthy for that particular variety in this context.

British English is viewed as intelligent, polite, successful, rich[5] and nice by most students, while American English is primarily seen as easy to understand, cool, normal and nice. English with a strong Norwegian accent is perceived as bad or ugly, weird, funny (some specify: 'not in a good way'), unintelligent, unsuccessful and difficult to understand, and

[5] It should be noted here that 'rich' may refer both to the speakers of the language being rich (wealthy) or to richness of the language itself.

English with a slight Norwegian accent as OK or acceptable, normal, neutral and easy to understand.

The students seem to have very strongly negative attitudes towards English with a strong Norwegian accent. This is also supported by the students answers to question 8, where they mention Norwegians whose English they think is bad and why they think their English is bad: celebrities who are widely known for having a strong Norwegian influence on their English are amongst those who are brought up the most, and features of 'Norwegian English' (explained in relation to figure 4.9) are mentioned most for making Norwegians' English bad. British English seems to be a variety the students respect, as it is the variety most closely linked with intelligence, success and politeness. This may relate to the high status this variety has been rewarded historically. As it is likely that the students are used to hearing a near-RP variety of English from educators, this might explain the close perceived relation between British English and education and intelligence.

I find it worth remarking that the chart displaying favourite varieties looks very similar to the charts displaying variety distribution in the materials. This points to a possible connection between the students' exposure to the varieties and their attitudes to these: the varieties that are clearly most frequently represented in the materials are also most frequently considered favourite varieties by the students, while varieties from the outer and expanding circles (placed in the underrepresented category 'Other' in sections 4.1.2-4.1.5) are mentioned as favourites by very few students. This might be connected to the findings in a study of learner attitudes and L2 pronunciation in Austria (Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenboeck and Smit, 1997), which indicated that participants had a marked overall preference for accents they were more familiar with. Hannisdal (2012) has also suggested, in the case of non-standard varieties, that the more we get used to hearing them, the more accepting of them we become. This leads me to speculate that the positive attitudes to the varieties that are most represented in the material may be connected to the students' greater exposure to these compared to other varieties.

As this thesis is particularly concerned with intelligibility, and as this has turned out in the previously discussed results to be a quality highly valued by the students, we will take a closer look at the point 'easy to understand', in the descriptions of the different varieties. This is mentioned by 68 students about American English. For British English it is mentioned less than half as many times, 31, closely followed by English with a slight Norwegian accent which 29 students mention is easy to understand. English with a strong Norwegian accent is marked easy to understand by only 11 students. Even though intelligibility is seen as the most

important criterion for speaking English well, and English with a slight Norwegian accent and British English seem to be evaluated very closely for intelligibility, speaking a standard British or American variety of English is regarded much more appropriate than speaking English with a slight Norwegian accent.

5.4.3 The More or Less Conscious Choice to Aim at a Variety

In section 4.2.3 ‘Varieties’ we saw that three out of the four teachers ask their students to aim at a variety. Which variety they choose is optional, but they are encouraged to be consistent. Only teacher 2 does not encourage her students to aim at one variety. Three of the students report that they aim at a variety because their teachers make them choose.

Results shown in figure 4.11 illustrate that slightly less than half of the students, forty-eight per cent, report that they aim at a particular variety. This could be interpreted as a consequence of a sense of more freedom regarding speech varieties, but as shown by table 4.20 the majority of those who do not aim at a variety seem to have very little consciousness of having made a choice at all. The students who do choose to aim at a variety are more aware of their motives, and many say that they have made this choice because it makes their English sound “more real”.

An interesting point which is raised by both teachers and students, but in different ways, is that modelling their English on one specific variety may be the easier option. Teachers 1 and 2 both point to British and American varieties’ availability as an important factor. As these are the varieties the students are exposed to the most, the students are likely to choose one of them to model their own English on. Because they do not get enough input from any of the other varieties it is unlikely that they would be able to pick these up in the same way. A few of the students argue that one variety of English is enough to learn, implicating that having to deal with more than one variety becomes complicated and difficult. Although most suggestions about moving away from the native-speaker norm do not actually intend to require the students to learn a range of different varieties as additional sets of rules to be complied with, it is an important point that these varieties’ mere presence in the classroom may nevertheless be confusing for some students. After all, they are already facing the challenge of learning a language which is different from their own, so it may feel unmanageable to have to deal with too many differences within this language.

Difficulties are also brought up by several students as a reason not to aim at a variety, either because it is ‘stress’ or because they feel insecure about their abilities. One of the

students also points out that too much focus on variety makes him or her forget and skip words. Another interesting point that is put forth by several students in this study is that it might be difficult to distinguish different varieties of English or identify the differences:

> Student 97: The biggest problemt is that I'm not very clear of the differences. I look at a lot of american movies, but in class we read most British english.
> Student 165: I am not very good in English, and I think it is difficult to distinguish the English-types
> Student 170: I do not hear the difference
> Student 180: i do not know of any

Returning again to the question of intelligibility; only two students claim to be aiming for a particular variety because they believe their English will be easier for others to understand if they do. Intelligibility issues are even been brought up by two additional respondents as a reason *not* to use a native variety: when asked if they had reasons not to use either British or American standard varieties of English even if they were fully able to, they state that they are afraid that they would not make themselves understood if they did:

> Student 132[6]: If i could speak British-English, i wouldnt always use it in class, because maybe not everyone would understand what i would say, sometimes ti can be hard to understand British-English

As was argued in section 2.1, and in part supported by the results discussed at the end of the previous section, non-native speakers can be just as intelligible as native speakers in extended speech. Thus, it is likely that the students' apparent desire to speak with a near-native accent is based on other qualities than intelligibility. This will be discussed further in the next section.

5.4.4 Students' Attitudes as regards to the Native Speaker Norm and the Current Situation

The students are generally quite pleased with how the competence aims meet their needs regarding what they wish to learn English for, particularly those of the students who claim to be familiar with these competence aims to a great extent. The students seem affected by the presumably on-going shift to a very little extent. They still rely quite heavily on the native

[6] All student quotations are accurate representations of the students' answers, and consequently include spelling mistakes.

speaker and see the native speaker varieties as the most appropriate alternatives for Norwegians to use.

The results presented in figure 4.14 and table 4.22 in the previous chapter are particularly important in discussing the students' relationship to the native speaker norm, as they were asked directly how appropriate they found a selection of varieties for a Norwegian to use. The students' opinions differ to some extent, but if we choose to deal with the mean values the four variety options can easily be arranged from most to least appropriate according to the 'mean student'. Although none of the varieties are deemed inappropriate, interestingly, for a Norwegian speaker of English to speak with an accent which reveals that he or she is from Norway is considered the least appropriate alternative even with the requirement that such a variety would be easy for foreigners to understand. It could perhaps have been anticipated that a standard British or American variety is still seen as the most appropriate, and that a neutral variety is also accepted to a certain degree. More surprisingly, however, even a non-standard British or American variety is considered more appropriate than a Norwegian accented variety, offering considerable support to the continuation of the native speaker norm.

My results here conform well to Timmis' (2002) results presented in section 2.4.4, where he found a desire to conform to native-speaker norms, even with students who primarily use the language with other non-natives. This may be connected to arguments delivered by Prodromou (2006) in the same section, where it was suggested that the students are unlikely to want to settle for an imperfect lexico-grammatical repertoire, as long as they are aware that an 'expert level' exists among native speakers of the language. A similar argument seems to be put forth by teacher 1, who would not want her students to 'learn English from Jagland, or Stoltenberg, or Støre' when there is a possibility of going 'directly to the source'.

The students generally show quite negative attitudes to Norwegian accented speech, although a 'slight Norwegian accent' is much more positively assessed than a 'strong Norwegian accent' and accepted to a certain degree. There are some, but not many, comments from students stating that it feels unnatural and unnecessary for them to speak a variety of English when English is not their mother tongue and that they think making themselves understood is what is most important. This might indicate that some of these ideas are to some extent making their way into students' minds as well.

In addition to the considerable importance students afford intelligibility and communication, a handful of students state, as an explanation for choosing not to aim at any

particular variety, that the most important thing is that they make themselves understood. This would suggest at least some support for the idea of 'mutual intelligibility' and of the intercultural speaker model's primary focus on communication.

5.5 The third aim – The Teachers

5.5.1 Are any of the Suggested Approaches Reflected in the Teachers' Current Practice and Attitudes?

The teachers in this study seem to have some reservations regarding the use of the L1 - Norwegian. The students' perception of the attitude in their classrooms towards speaking Norwegian in English lessons corresponds well with the teachers' thoughts on the matter: as much as 127 students state that 'The teacher wants to avoid it, but accepts it to a certain degree'. Quite few students (30) have a notion of Norwegian being viewed as a positive resource in their class, and it seems a common view among teachers and learners that Norwegian in the English classroom is a necessary evil. However, even fewer students report that speaking Norwegian in English lessons is not accepted at all. Relating these results to the discussion in section 2.4.3.1 'Using the L1 to our advantage', it seems there might exist a rather unexploited potential for the use of Norwegian as an advantage to the teaching of English.

As discussed in chapter 2, influence from their first language on learners' English is almost exclusively viewed as error. When teacher 1 was asked to give some examples from assessment of pronunciation, she immediately brought up direct transfer of the western Norwegian /r/ into English as a token of bad pronunciation. It is very likely however, that such L1 transfer will occur, and some have argued that it should. This phenomenon was also exemplified by teacher 3 who brought up that she had taught students with different first languages who often had problems in other areas than what was typical for her native Norwegian students. It seemed she had an impression that these students' pronunciation mistakes were related to their first languages and she had made a decision not to assess them any differently than the typical Norwegian transfer mistakes.

As argued in chapter 2, the L1 will always be largely present in the students' minds, and the question is whether it is brought to light. It seems that teachers (and students) who believe use of Norwegian in the classroom should be completely avoided would be doing

themselves a disservice, as the L1 can only ever be concealed and not eliminated. The focus needs to be on *how* the L1 *can* be used and not *if* the L1 *should* be used. Teachers should help their students develop links between the foreign language and their first language, and in order to do so the first language needs to be more visibly present in the classroom. As pointed out by teacher 2, Norwegian is what the students can relate to –their frame of reference.

Norwegian learners of English are on their way to becoming speakers of two different languages, and as discussed in section 2.4.1.2 there are many advantages to bilingualism. This is also stressed by the Common European Framework of Reference, which has dedicated a section to developing skills of mediation between languages. It seems these abilities, and activities which deliberately involve both languages and thus value the student as an intercultural speaker instead of a failed native speaker, may deserve more attention than they get presently, at least in some Norwegian classrooms. In lingua franca communication L1 transfer does not necessarily hinder intelligibility, and some transfer from the first language is even considered desirable by certain scholars.

As discussed in chapter 2, it has been suggested that pursuing better knowledge of how English is used as an international medium for communication, and charting its various non-native varieties, can contribute to provide L2 users with a model alternative to the native speaker. As the results of this thesis support, students are rarely exposed to non-native varieties of English.

The teachers interviewed for this thesis were confronted with a question of what they would think of having Norwegian students model their English on successful speakers of English as a foreign language, and the results showed great variation. At one end of the scale we find teacher 1 who does not think other L2 users of English would be suitable models for EFL learners at all. At the opposite end, teacher 2 thinks that it would definitely be a good idea to use successful EFL speakers as models, as long as a successful speaker of English is defined as one that communicates well (which is how she would define it) and this approach thus contributes to illustrate to the students what works and what does not work in communication. Teacher 3's position is somewhere in between the other two: she thinks that it might be a good idea to continue to aim at one variety in language training, but is not as clear on the matter as teacher 1.

I think the fact that teacher 2 sets a condition for her opinion is important: in order to adopt a new model which is based on successful use of English as a foreign language or English as a lingua franca, 'successful use' must be clearly defined. Teacher 2's definition relates to the ability to communicate, which is a top priority of the teaching of English for

many teachers and students. *eXperience* includes two tracks in which the speakers are (at least supposedly) Norwegian, and they both communicate well and do not have any distinct pronunciation mistakes. However, the textbook does not bring any attention to the fact that the speakers have a Norwegian language background or that their language differs in any way from native speaker English, which it only does to very little accent in these examples. Teacher 2, who uses *Targets*, does not have any examples of non-native speech provided by the textbook. She says that they sometimes hear speakers of English with a detectable Norwegian accent in listening tests from Udir, but that these are not aimed at illustrating the speakers skilfulness or presenting them as potential models.

It seems rather purposeless that students should be exposed to expanding circle varieties of English if features of the language are not commented upon. When a textbook includes examples of both successful and unsuccessful non-native speakers, as *eXperience* does, it could be very beneficial for the learners to examine what makes the former work in communication and why the latter does not work. By including the discussed examples, eXperience of course makes this kind of work more accessible, but it does not in any other way encourage it and this is not a clear purpose of their inclusion. Consequently, the quality is heavily dependent on the teacher, and it is therefore very important that the teachers have enough knowledge of different varieties of English, and their effects on communication, to be able to make conscious choices of which recordings they present their students with. Moreover, for the examples to be meaningful to the students, the teachers need to have a clear idea of why they are using them and should be prepared to discuss them thoroughly in the classroom.

Measuring features of second language proficiency is problematic because there are no appropriate definitions of e.g. complexity, accuracy and fluency available. Housen and Kuiken (2009) are among those who have raised the question of whether the criteria for assessing L2 performance should be set on the basis of prescriptive native speaker norms or, relating more closely to practice, on the non-standard and non-native usages that are increasingly accepted in many situations.

When it comes to the assessment of English pronunciation, the teachers in this study have different views and uncertainties. As mentioned by teacher 3, the assessment process is not very scientific. Consequently, it is likely that different teachers make different judgements about for example the severity of a specific pronunciation error or about whether or not a feature of a variety is an error at all. There is no specified pronunciation norm in the

Norwegian school system, and no standardized criteria paying close attention to what is correct and incorrect pronunciation.

Teacher 1 still does not find pronunciation difficult to assess, as she trusts her long experience with the language. She refers to her knowledge of 'what it's supposed to be like' as coming from her having heard a lot of British and American. As it is widely established that these are the varieties all learners of English are exposed to the most, and that this was even more true in the past than it is now, this has made me question whether any teacher who has started out as a learner of English who has hardly had contact with any other variety than British and to some extent American can be equipped to equally assess other varieties of English. All of the teachers in this study say that they encourage their learners to use the variety they feel closest to, but I think it is unlikely that they would be familiar enough with all of the potential varieties their learners may speak to be able to distinguish errors from acceptable features of a regional variety.

Although there are differences between native and non-native speakers at word level, non-native speakers can, as mentioned, be just as intelligible as native speakers in extended speech. Developments in the Norwegian curriculum with a focus on fluency rather than accuracy also clearly indicate that it is regarded perfectly possible to be fluent in English even with some mistakes, as long as these do not interfere with meaning. This suggests that word for word assessment is perhaps not even necessary, and alternatively the students could be assessed on the basis of adequacy, the extent to which their language usage is appropriate to the situation and their message is accessible and understandable. It seems one of the teachers in this study, teacher 2, is working along these lines as she states that she does not assess pronunciation at all, but focuses on whether or not her students communicate.

5.5.2 Teachers' Attitudes as regards the Native Speaker Norm and the Current Situation

The teachers show varying degrees of openness towards moving away from the native speaker norm. It might be interesting to note that the youngest and least experienced teacher is the most positive to the potential change and the oldest and most experienced teacher the most negative. Teacher 2, the youngest, also has an impression that younger teachers in general are more open to these changes.

The teachers feel to varying degrees that change is going on. Teacher 1 does not have the impression that there is an on-going move away from the native speaker norm at all, from

experience with her colleagues and students. Teachers 2 and 3 believe their perception of change comes mainly from personal interest in the matter, and none of the teachers have received any 'official' information or guidelines leading them to make a conscious change. Teacher 3 expresses a desire to be more informed of the matter, and says that she would be interested in attending a course if one was offered. The curriculum, which they of course all have access to and should be familiar with, has changed to some extent by focusing more on global English, but as mentioned in section 2.5.3 the curriculum is very open to interpretation.

An important point in this discussion is that the ideas of relying on EFL or ELF rather than native speech are presented as a *model*, as opposed to the native speaker *norm*. As discussed in chapter 2, if native varieties are regarded the norm it is expected that the students conform fully to this norm and the ideal will be to sound exactly like a native speaker. The proposed models discussed in this thesis, however, are merely intended to be used as points of reference and models for guidance. In other words, they allow greater variation. Additionally, an intercultural speaker model demands some decision-making on the learners' part: speakers of English as a lingua franca need to assess the demands of the situation, adapt their speech to their interlocutors, and thus approximate the standard reference varieties more or less. Fear of the unknown is virtually universal. As seen for example from Donaher (2010), teachers are likely to rely on traditional norms when they are uncertain. I suspect that many teachers and students would be more open to a change if they were well informed of what such a change might imply and thus felt more secure in the situation.

5.6 Conclusion

A shift from the native speaker norm towards a greater focus on English as an international language is an on-going process. It seems to be the uncertainty of individuals involved, and the ideas that have become integrated in them over a long period of time, that contribute to holding it back. Competence aims in the curriculum do relate more to communication and interculturality, but they are open to a lot of interpretation. The textbooks have a greater focus on English as an international language, and offer more examples of non-standard and non-native varieties of English in the audio-material, but the native speaker varieties still dominate and there is minimal presence of the English spoken in countries where English does not have official status, even though the greatest use of English is now as a lingua franca in such contexts. Teachers need to be aware of the presence of all of these varieties, as well as

familiar with their characteristics, and make conscious choices of which varieties they expose their pupils to.

The audio-recordings from the most widely used textbooks in the country are at present almost exclusively representations of one speaker reading a written text, and not examples of authentic real time communication. When the ultimate goal of English language learning in this context is communication, the students need to hear and participate in spontaneous oral interactions.

Although pupils are increasingly exposed to different varieties of English these are still presented as peripheral or even exotic, and not as ideal for successful communication in English. The very few examples of varieties from the expanding circle that can be found in the material are either so accented that they become comical or not accented enough to be easily identified as non-native, and their qualities or characteristics are not commented on in the textbook. Non-native and non-standard varieties of English therefore seem to be taught mostly as representations of culture, while in terms of language use, approximating to standard pronunciation norms is still an important goal.

The students find native pronunciation norms the most appropriate to follow, and have strongly negative attitudes about Norwegian accented speech. If teachers and materials were to help illustrate to the students the high levels of intelligibility that different non-native speakers achieve in lingua franca communication, even with some local features that are commonly assessed as errors, this could possibly lead to a greater acceptance of deviations from the native speaker norm. Still, the change may not be what the learners want or need. The participants in this study generally seem happy with the current situation, and as suggested by Prodromou (2006), and supported by results from e.g. Timmis (2002) and this thesis, the native speakers are considered experts of the language and many learners may have ambitions to attain what they find the highest possible level. Additionally, having to deal with virtually as many varieties of English as there are speakers may seem an impossible challenge and consequently a certain common standard to aim towards may be preferable.

If, however, a greater acceptance of features of lingua franca English is regarded desirable and the integration of new models for international English is the goal, attitudes need to catch up with scholarly thought. In order for this to happen, greater exposure to and greater awareness of different varieties and means of successful communication is crucial. However, this is not universally agreed upon and Norwegian teachers are not guided to do so in any other way than from their own interpretations of the present curriculum.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This thesis has attempted to give an overview of the representations of different varieties in two of the most widely used textbooks in the country, as well as an insight into students' and teachers' experiences, views and attitudes regarding the presence of varieties of English in the classroom, the native speaker norm and some approaches as alternatives to the native speaker norm. In this section I will summarise the main findings of the study, structuring the summary by the research questions that were presented in section 1.4 of the introduction. The first set of research question was related to the audio-material:

1 a: Which varieties of English are represented in the audio-material of *Targets* and *eXperience*?

Based on the results presented in chapter 4 and discussed in chapter 5, from an analysis of the audio-material of *Targets* and *eXperience*, it has been found that British and American varieties, and most frequently the standard varieties Received Pronunciation and General American, are represented in the majority of the listening examples. Additionally, a comparatively small selection of outer circle varieties are represented, and in the case of *eXperience* three examples representing the expanding circle are found, (allegedly) produced by two Norwegian speakers and one French speaker.

1 b: Are there any changes as to the audio material in the two editions of *Targets*, before and after the Knowledge Promotion? What type of changes can be identified?

The number of occurrences in the category 'Other' (representing the outer- and expanding circles), increases from five to twelve from the 2005 edition of Targets to the 2009 edition, indicating that there is a greater focus on representing several different varieties of English now than earlier. Another difference between the two editions is the inclusion of spontaneous speech in the 2009 edition. Examples of spontaneous speech may provide the students with an important opportunity to listen to and participate in more authentic communication.

1 c: Are the changes identified in 1 b similar to the findings from the audio-material in *eXperience*?

The results of the audio-material analysis of *eXperience* show that, even though this textbook was published closer in time to the 2005 edition of *Targets*, it has more in common with the 2009 edition of *Targets*, in terms of the number of representations of varieties from outside of Britain and the US. The fact that both of the analysed works that were published after the introduction of the *Knowledge Promotion* in 2006 include more examples of non-native speech than the edition of *Targets* from 2005, which preceded the *Knowledge Promotion* by only a year, suggests that the identified changes may relate in some way to this reform.

A further set of research questions related to the students' attitudes and views:

2 a: What does it mean to become a successful speaker of English, according to the students in my study?

It is important to the students involved in this study to become good at speaking English, especially for purposes of travel, communication, studies, and work. They generally feel that the competence aims of the subject are suited to meet these needs. When asked directly, they find intelligible pronunciation the most important criterion for speaking English well, followed by grammar and vocabulary. Some also make comments elsewhere about the importance of making oneself understood, and a few explicitly state that they prioritise this rather than aim at a specific variety.

2 b: What attitudes do the students in my study have when it comes to different varieties of English?

The students generally seem to have positive attitudes toward British and American varieties, and a very negative attitude towards English with a strong Norwegian accent. English with a slight Norwegian accent is widely accepted, but not necessarily viewed as desirable. Among the students who think of some varieties of English as their favourites, British and American are again the most popular. A few students specify regional accents, but most of the students only refer to either British English, American English, or both, in general. Other favourites are Australian, Irish, African, Jamaican and Russian, only the latter coming from a country in which English is not an official language. 48% of the students claim to be aiming at a particular variety of English when they speak. Out of these, only two say they do so because they believe their English is easier for others to understand if they do, while many say they do so because it makes their English sound more 'real'. Most of the students who do not aim at a variety are not conscious about it, but a few do note that they do

not feel that it is necessary, or that they find it more important to focus on making themselves understood.

2 c: What experiences do these students' have as to non-native varieties of English in the classroom?

The absolute majority of the students claim that they have not been introduced to examples of successful speakers of English as a foreign language in the classroom. Considering the idea that people get more accepting of a variety the more they are exposed to it, this may contribute in part to explain the students' negative attitudes to Norwegian-accented English.

2 d: What are these students' attitudes as regards the native speaker norm and their current situation?

As seen from results of the previous research questions, the English that the students are exposed to in the classroom context is primarily standard British and American English. Students in this study report that they feel the English that is most used in the classroom is somewhere between 'somewhat different' and 'somewhat similar' to the English they hear most in their spare time. A greater exposure to different varieties of English from different sources may increase the students' ability to understand more varied English, and possibly make them more accepting of such varieties, but their communicative effects are rarely or never explicitly discussed in the classroom context. Even if a variety of English which reveals their Norwegian identity is recognised as not interfering with intelligibility, native varieties of English are still seen more appropriate for Norwegian language users.

The last set of research questions related to the teachers' attitudes and views:

3 a: What experiences do the teachers in my study have as to varieties of English in a classroom context?

The teachers in this study all agree that there is a greater focus on varieties in the teaching of English now than there has ever been before. Three out of four ask their students to choose a variety to aim at and try to be consistent. The students may choose their variety freely, but one of the teachers tries to guide their choice by having them think about which variety they feel that they are closest to, and another tries to encourage her students to aim for a RP accent. Only one teacher says that she does not ask her students to aim at any particular

variety at all. The teachers' shared experience is that students are most likely to choose to aim at either British or American, as these are the varieties they are most exposed to. The teachers all use the audio-materials, provided by *Targets* and *eXperience* respectively, to illustrate differences in varieties of English to their students. One teacher expresses a desire to get more input from several other varieties from outside of the Anglo-American context, and another is critical of the quality of the examples that are provided in this category.

3 b: Are any of the suggested approaches presented in the theoretical background of this thesis reflected in the teachers' current practice and attitudes?

A subheading of chapter 2 was 'Using the L1 to our advantage'. There may be a great deal of unrealised potential relating to this, as Norwegian is commonly viewed as a necessity rather than a resource in the classroom. As regards to presenting their students with examples of successful speakers of English as a foreign language, and thus regarding the L2 speaker as a speaker in its own right, there are different opinions among the teachers. It does not seem that this is a common practice in the classroom at present. The teachers say that such recordings are sometimes played in the classroom, but they are not consciously used as examples of successful language use or successful communication. The idea of 'global intelligibility and local diversity' seems to be embraced by teacher 2 (the youngest teacher in this study) as she claims that she does not focus on pronunciation mistakes as long as they do not interfere with the communication.

3 c: What are the teachers' attitudes as regards the native speaker norm and the current situation?

When asked if successful speakers of EFL could possibly replace native speakers as models, one teacher (teacher 2) was very open to the suggestion, provided that a successful speaker is understood as one who communicates well. In her experience, most of the students do not aim at any of the standard varieties anyway. The other two both think the students should continue to have a certain standard to aim towards, although teacher 1 is more determined than teacher 3. Teacher 3 expresses, as does teacher 2, a certain feeling that this is an area of language teaching that is changing, and although she values standards she says that she tries to be open and would like to be more informed. The fact that the teachers have so different attitudes as regards the native speaker norm, might suggest that a shift is in motion.

6.2 Conclusion

As evident from the background chapter of this thesis, there exists a diverse and continually expanding literature on the primary use of English as a means of international communication, and on implications for the teaching of English in EFL contexts. However, very little research has been done on how the teaching situation has actually changed as a consequence. This thesis has provided important insights to how English as an international language is dealt with by teaching materials and teachers, and how students are affected by this. Scholars have suggested that we should move away from the native speaker norm, and rather focus on communication and mutual intelligibility, but few have taken the opinions and preferences of the target group – the students – into consideration.

This study has shown that the students do find communication and intelligibility to be at the very core of their language training. However, for most of them, this is not sufficient. Students still find native varieties of English the most appropriate to use, even if they can be perfectly efficient in communication with certain pronunciation mistakes and features of a Norwegian accent. The teachers interviewed for this thesis indicate quite clearly that this is not something all teachers agree on, and their different interpretations of the information provided to them through e.g. the curriculum and the teaching materials, are bound to affect their students in different ways. The teaching materials that have been analysed here illustrate, by their inclusion of a range of varieties of English, that the focus of the subject has been extended from native speaker contexts to the entire English speaking world. As more research on how the changes in foci of the subject of English are understood by the stakeholders and how they are reflected in practice, is arguably needed in order to best prepare teachers and students for the teaching of English as an international language, this thesis can be seen as a valuable contribution to the field.

6.3 Suggestions for further research

Originally, I had hoped to include and identify one Vg1 English class taught by each of the interviewed teachers in the questionnaire. However, only one of the interviewees was able to participate with one of her classes. Because there were also time and space constraints to consider, I decided to leave this part out of the thesis. In further research however, I believe it would be interesting to look more closely at possible direct links between teachers' thoughts and attitudes and their students' attitudes and choices. The students in this thesis do view their

teachers as influencing their spoken English (see figure 4.6), and there is reason to assume that teachers may have some influence their students' attitudes towards the language as well. With reference to the present thesis for example, it would have been interesting to see if teacher 2's choice not to encourage her students to aim at any variety of English and not to focus on pronunciation in assessment has influenced her students in a different way than the students whose teachers who find it important to aim towards a standard variety.
I also think it would be interesting to compare Norwegian learners' and native speakers' and other L2 speakers' attitudes to Norwegian accented English. In his forthcoming study of native Englishmen's attitudes to different degrees of Norwegian accentedness, Hordnes (personal communication, April 25th, 2013) found that:

> Overall, Norwegians in general seemed to be well liked and were seen as educated by English people, but there was nothing in the results that suggested, or rejected, that Norwegians were more liked than people from other countries because the study was unfit for this purpose. The negative attitude many Norwegians have to the oral English of people such as Torbjørn Jagland was unfounded and seems illegitimate, but one might benefit in terms of prestige from having a less noticeable Norwegian-accent in one's oral English, according to this study.

It would also be interesting to investigate how strong or marked the accent of an L2 speaker can be before the accent gets in the way of intelligibility, and whether this would be different between native speakers and non-native speakers, broad native accents and non-native accents.

My results suggest that the teachers have limited formal knowledge of the potential change away from the native speaker norm. It would be interesting to investigate closer whether Norwegian authorities are working in any way to implement these ideas in the Norwegian school system, and to see how this has been done other places in the world.

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APPENDIX 1

Approval from the NSD

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

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Aud Solbjørg Skulstad
Institutt for fremmedspråk
Universitetet i Bergen
Sydnesplassen 7
5007 BERGEN

Vår dato: 23.10.2012 Vår ref:31681 / 3 / MSS Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 01.10.2012. All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 23.10.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

31681	*Engelsk som verdensspråk og uttalevarianter i engelskundervisningen*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Universitetet i Bergen, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Aud Solbjørg Skulstad*
Student	*Maria Sannes*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2013, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Marie Strand Schildmann

Marie Strand Schildmann tlf: 55 58 31 52
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Maria Sannes, Furulyvegen 55, 5416 STORD

APPENDIX 2

Written information to the interviewees

Forespørsel om å delta i intervju i forbindelse med masteroppgave

Jeg er student ved Integrert lektorutdanning med master i engelsk ved Universitetet i Bergen og holder nå på med min avsluttende masteroppgave. Oppgaven handler om tilstedeværelsen av ulike uttalevarianter av engelsk i engelskundervisning ved VG1 i Norge. Jeg er interessert i å finne ut noe om hvilke tanker engelsklærere har om dette temaet gjennom intervjuer. Intervjuene vil ta inntil en time, og spørsmålene vil dreie seg om erfaringer fra: egen utdanning og arbeidshverdag, holdninger til ulike varianter av engelsk i undervisning og vurdering, elever, lærebokmateriale etc.
Det er frivillig å være med og du har mulighet til å trekke deg når som helst underveis, uten å måtte begrunne dette nærmere. Dersom du trekker deg vil alle innsamlede data om deg bli anonymisert. Opplysningene vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og ingen enkeltpersoner vil kunne gjenkjennes i den ferdige oppgaven. Opplysningene anonymiseres og opptakene slettes når oppgaven er ferdig, innen utgangen av 2013.

Dersom du kunne tenke deg å være med på et intervju, er det fint om du skriver under på den vedlagte samtykkeerklæringen og sender den til meg.

Hvis det er noe du lurer på kan du ringe meg på 95 44 10 17, eller sende en e-post til msa117@student.uib.no. Du kan også kontakte min veileder Aud Solbjørg Skulstad ved institutt for fremmedspråk på telefonnummer 55 58 48 35.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (NSD).

Med vennlig hilsen
Maria T. Sannes
Furulyvegen 55
5416 Stord

……

Samtykkeerklæring:

Jeg har mottatt skriftlig informasjon og er villig til å delta i studien.

Signatur …….

E-post …….

APPENDIX 3

Interview Guide (final version)

For how long have you been teaching English?
What kind of education do you have in English, and when did you get it?

Throughout your education, was one specific variety of English in focus?
(Were you told to use one or to choose between different alternatives?)
How are varieties other than standard British and American English portrayed in schools and learning materials in Norway, in your experience?

Do you think people in the Norwegian society, outside of the school context, perceive each other differently in relation to different ways of speaking English?

- How so?

What are the most important purposes of learning English in school today, in your opinion?

- Do you think they have changed over the last decade?

Do you encourage your students to use a particular variety? (Or present them with alternatives they should choose from and use one consistently?)

How do/does the speech varieties/variety your students choose to aim towards and the degrees to which they master them/it influence your assessment?
Do you find pronunciation difficult to assess?

- What kind of criteria do you work with in assessment of pronunciation?

How important do you find pronunciation, compared to other skills in the subject of English?

Do you experience a connection between students' choice of speech variety and other skills in the subject (of English)?

Do you use Norwegian in English lessons?

- How?

- Do you think it is possible to use Norwegian as a resource in the classroom? How?/why not?

Do you ever present your students with speech samples from successful speakers of English as a foreign language?

- Successful speakers of English as a foreign language have been suggested as an alternative for students to model their English on, what are your thoughts on doing this?

Which textbook do you use? What is your general opinion on the book and the CD that accompanies it? (Any particular Advantages/Disadvantages you could point out, especially related to speech?)

- Do you use these materials a lot? Do you use alternative materials? When (if) you use alternative materials, is that because there are certain things you miss in the book?

What do you think of the way different varieties of English are presented in the book?

Do you feel that there has been a change in representations of speech varieties after LK06?

- Is this in your experience reflected in your teaching materials?

Have you encountered the terms "intercultural communicative competence" or "the intercultural speaker" during your education or career?

Do you think it is possible to move away from the «native speaker norm»? (explanation: the tradition we have of modeling our speech on native speaker varieties)

- Do you think that such a change would be favorable?
- Do you see any challenges in that regard?

Do you feel that you have been introduced to and made conscious of such changes?

- How?

Do you think that relying on other speech norms than those of standard native varieties have ever felt like an option for you or your students?

APPENDIX 4

Written information to the questionnaire participants

Forespørsel om å delta i elevspørreundersøkelse i forbindelse med masteroppgave
Jeg er student ved Integrert lektorutdanning med master i engelsk ved Universitetet i Bergen og holder nå på med min avsluttende masteroppgave. Oppgaven handler om tilstedeværelsen av ulike uttalevarianter av engelsk i engelskundervisning ved VG1 i Norge.

Jeg vil forsøke å finne ut mer om elevers forhold til uttalevarianter gjennom en elektronisk spørreundersøkelse. Målgruppen til denne undersøkelsen er elever som følger engelsk undervisning ved VG1, så det er ønskelig at læreren enten sender denne e-posten eller linken til undersøkelsen, brukernavn og passord til elevene.

Dere skal få tilgang til spørreskjemaet ved å følge linken under:
https://resp.nsd.no/survey/auto.aspx?aid=1712312-2523

Vennligst ikke bruk tilbake-tasten i nettleseren. Merk at innloggingsdata er personlige, og ikke må overlates til andre.

Dersom du ikke kommer inn i skjemaet ved å klikke på den oppgitte linken, kan du gå til: https://resp.nsd.uib.no/alog Bruk innloggingsinformasjon: BrukerId [xxxxxxx] og pinkode [xxxx]. Du kan også forsøke å kopiere den øverste linken over i adressefeltet i nettleseren.

Selv om undersøkelsen gjennomføres når klassen er samlet svarer elevene på undersøkelsen enkeltvis, og skal ikke måtte dele hva de svarer med resten av klassen. Undersøkelsen tar et sted mellom 15-30 minutter å gjennomføre. Vi håper dere har mulighet til å besvare undersøkelsen så snart som mulig, helst innen 8. februar.
Det er frivillig å være med og opplysningene som innhentes behandles konfidensielt. Den tekniske gjennomføringen av spørreskjemaundersøkelsen foretas av NSD WebSurvey, og forsker får utlevert data fra NSD WebSurvey uten tilknytning til e-post/IP-adresse. Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet er ferdigstilt, innen utgangen av 2013. .

Hvis det er noe du lurer på kan du ringe meg på 95 44 10 17, eller sende en e-post til msa117@student.uib.no. Du kan også kontakte min veileder Aud Solbjørg Skulstad ved institutt for fremmedspråk på telefonnummer 55 58 48 35, eller sende en e-post til Aud.Skulstad@if.uib.no..

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (NSD).

På forhånd takk for svar

APPENDIX 5

Transcript of the interview with teacher 1

I: We can start with e= just a little bit about your background
For how long have you been teaching English?

R: e= fo=r thirty three years

I: ok
R: m-m

I: what kind of education do you have .. in English?
R: e: in Norwegian it's called "mellomfag".. from .. Bergen University

I: yes. And when did you--
do you remember--
when did you--
R: when it was?
I: yes
R: e in= seventy== four.

I: ok
R: m-m

I: e= and throughout your education/
was there one specific variety of English that was in .. focus/
in .. the education?

R: e= no it was very general eh throughout my education.
I: yes but were you--
were you told to--
when you spoke English, were you told to use e= for example British English,
or American English? [or--]
R: [no.]

I: you could choose?
R: yes we could choose.
I: ok
R: m-m

I: e=m how do you experience .. the portrayal of .. varieties ‘other than standard British and American English .. in school and learning materials .. in Norway?
R: e= I didn’t catch the verb?
how .. do we?
I: e= how do you ‘experience it ...
how do you--
what’s your--
R: eh yeah in the second grade here .. we’ve got eh .. a version called international English, and eh .. ‘there the students get to listen to lots of different varieties,
but there are different varieties in .. the first .. grade books as well.

I: yes.
R: [m-m]
I: [but not] as much as in ... [international]
R: [interna-]
No.
I: yeah

I: e= and e= do you think that e= it is enough ..
representations of other varieties?
.. in e= the first year?
R: yeah. I think so. M-m

I: Do you think that.. people, in the Norwegian society, outside of the school context, perceive each other differently .eh.. in relation to.. our different ways of speaking English?
R: ehm.. yeah, I guess, when people get to a certain level.. linguistically .. they’ll.. perceive.. different varieties.. quite easily … M-m..
I: and do you think that eh ... they will have different opinions about us, as persons, based on how we speak English?

R: e= I actually think so, yes. So, we laugh at eh <@Jagland@>, eh for instance. Due to his [politician]

I: [<@yes@>]

R: English .. m-m.

…

I: e= what are eh in your opinion, the most important purposes of learning English in school?

R: e= .. for the large .. groups, it is communication when travelling abroad. Eh ... yeah, I-
I think that is the 'main purpose.

I: yes

R: m-m

…

I: any other .. important purposes?

R: yes, of course, if people eh go to work in the north sea for instance they need to communicate and eh-
But there are lots of 'reasons why English is important,
eh .. it is listed in the books.. eh.. um.. if.. um ... some of them go to study at eh .. an advanced level, they may have to write their reports or papers in English,
.. ehm.. if they go, ehm .. to become .. pilots,
.. eh .. or air hostesses .. for instance, they'll need it, so.. it's useful in a lot of situations.

I: yes

I: do you think that.. eh.. such purposes have changed .. over time?

R: eh.. yeah. ..eh.. I think so. Eh.. So, nowadays, people ..travel, much more ..than earlier on. And, eh ... it is, therefore … many many situations in which English is eh .. handy.

I: mm ... e=... you said that you could eh choose .. eh.. which variety of English you wanted to use. e= have you taken a stand to.. aim at a particular variety?

R: e== when I was young.. e= .. eh .. the impact eh .. from Great Britain was quite eh .. eh heavy.
Eh.. nowadays it's eh.. the American= influence that eh plays a 'huge part ..in the lives of eh.. young people.

I: m-m. But eh.. you use?

R: Eh .. well .. E= British English ... Scottish perhaps.
[Mhm]

I: [Do you have] influence from Scottish?

R: Mhm

I: Do you have any … background from Scotland or ...

R: M= no not really. Only tourist eh visits

I: yes,

that's interesting

Eh.. do you encourage your students to use a particular variety?

R: no. they can choose freely, and eh.. we.. have been instructed lately not to ma=rk eh American influence in the.. papers,

but if .. 'most of it is in British English, we sort of .. mark a little bit anyway..

so they have to be .. consistent.

I: yes.

But it's mainly .. between .. British and American that they can choose?

R: eh.. well.. If they go to Australia for instance,

they can .. choose e=. the Australian version,

Eh .. so.. they—

they <EMF can EMF> choose actually, but eh British and American are.. the ones .. most likely.. to.. be used.

I: yes.

How do.. the varieties that your students choose .. e= and .. the degree to which they master it, influence you .. in assessment?

R: ehm.. it has been quite common, eh.. over the last.. ten years for instance that.. eh.. the students are very good at <EMF speaking EMF> ..English or American,

and.. I'm sometimes <EMF shocked EMF> when .. I later on .. 'see the way that they write.. because.. it may be .. so bad, what they write, compared to their pronunciation etcetera.

I: m-m

R: ehm.. and sometimes that--

that's quite hard.. to eh.. assess . them,

if they.. are very bad at writing but at the same time .. 'excel[lent] speakers.

I: [m-m]

R: So sometimes there are two.. degrees.. between those two..

I: yes

R: m-hm

I: e= and do you find pronunciation .. difficult to assess?

R: no.

I: what eh.. what kind of criteria do your work with .. eh .. how do you eh .. work to assess pronunciation?

R: Ehm.. well.. <@eh..@> after such a long period of teaching English I've..

been listening <EMF so much EMF> to.. English texts, American texts, so.. I very @@ much know, what it's 'supposed to be like ...

And, eh.. it's not difficult at all to decide whether a student speaks eh.. well or poorly .. 'lately .. this last year, I've ..received.. approximately ten students.. with a.. 'lously pronunciation and that is quite rare .. actually.

So.. normally, students are.. either excellent o=r average, so this is new 'again, to .. receive poor.. eh.. pronunciation.

I: and when you speak of poor pronunciation.. eh.. how would you.. eh.. define that? Sort of.. what makes their pronunciation poor?

Are there any specific characteristics of their speech?

R: yeah.. you could say eh.. if they.. speak with a.. an /r/ that is used in the western part of Norway for instance, and bring that directly into their English, that's a token of .. bad pronunciation.

But, very often if there is one bad token, then there'll be more.. so, eh.. the /g/ sound, is difficult, for some students, eh.. and it could be practically anything that they—

uhm.. 'read.. in a very 'poor way.

I: m-m … But do you feel that it's connected to .. eh .. that they don't know the sounds from their first language, being Norwegian? Since you said that they bring sounds into..--

R: yeah, it could be.. eh.. but it's hard to realize these days with this 'heavy impact that they get from their computers.. films etcetera, that eh.. they don't get.. eh.. that pronunciation.

I: e= how important do you find pronunciation eh.. to being successful in English, compared to other skills?

R: ehm.. well.. as I said you may find .. people with excellent pronunciation, but poor writing, but.. I've never yet seen.. the other way around…

I: m-m

R: so.. if a person has a bad pronunciation then eh.. his written eh skills, are likely to be .. average or less.. than average.

I: m-m

R: so it's eh.. connec[ted]

I: [it's con]nected? yes.

but e--

but do you think that .. it's important for the students to have a good pronunciation?
.. Eh .. do you find that—
for the purposes you've talked about, do you find pronunciation.. 'more important than writing or—
R: [e=]
I: [do you] value them equally?
R: … well.. eh.. in this context, eh.. <@well@> @ we have to consider .. or assess .. 'both.
both written and oral skills but e= … when it comes to travelling, then, eh.. pronunciation is of course much more important.

I: do you use Norwegian? eh.. in English lessons?
R: eh.. for many many years I didn't.
But .. 'this year.. I received some .. eh .. low performance students,
and eh.. they 'asked me to summarize things in Norwegian because they don't catch ..eh.. the contents of ... a story that is being read by.. e= a native speaker or.. by a co-student.
They don't 'catch the contents.
I: m-m
R: so—
and 'also for many many years whenever I've been teaching grammar,
eh .. I've been doing that in English .. but 'this year .. I can't. Because I <EMF know EMF> that there are students who don't understand.
I: mm.
and do you= e- e- .. do you allow the 'students to use norwegian in the lessons?
R: ehm … 'mostly eh.. they'll have to= use English,
but then .. the 'weakest ones eh.. they use Norwegian anyway.
I: m. but you try to encourage them not to?
R: m-m
I: and eh.. do you.. have you thought about using.. Norwegian and their Norwegian language background .. as an advantage? Do you think that's possible? To.. to 'value Norwegian more in eh .. the teaching of English?
R: eh.. no I don't e= l- look upon it in that eh.. way
I: m-m. So you think that.. eh.. to the extent it's possible you should try to speak .. only English?
R: yes.

I: yes. Ok. Ehm .. Do you ever present your students with speech samples.. of successful speakers of English as a ‘foreign language?
R: yeah that happens eh ... many times.. during a year.
I: yes. And eh.. do you find this in the teaching materials-
[uh]
R: [m-m]
I: the CD?
R: yes
I: what kind of speakers are they?
.. Or what language backgrounds do they have?
R: eh.. well in some cases the point is to eh make the students aware of eh … the different varieties so eh people from India, Bangladesh, Scotland, England, America, Australia, eh.. ‘say.. something, and then the students are supposed to eh.. ‘match their eh .. ‘country with their eh pronunciation.
I: m-m.
R: m-m
I: but is this—
eh.. it sounded from your examples that this was mainly .. countries where English is an official language or a [second language]
R: [<F no Nor F>]way as well
I: Norway as well?
R: yeah
I: ok
R: m-m
I: so that’s interesting
eh .. because .. successful speakers of English .. as a foreign language have been suggested as an alternative for students to model their English on..
R: m-m
I: in some of the literature I am working with .. eh .. so instead of modeling their English on .. native speakers .. that they could use examples of .. ‘Norwegian speakers who are successful in English. What are your thoughts on -- on doing that?
R: eh.. well.. eh.. I don’t think I’ll ever do that.
I think I’ll go directly to eh native English speakers.
I: what are your reasons for that?

R: ehm.. well.. if you by successful mean that .. eh they also know English very well, then ‘their English is very much influenced by English or American for instance, so.. I don’t see..
I: eh.. you.. you believe that eh ... success in English pronunciation is—
can be .. sort of measured on the level to= which they are alike the natives?
R: yes. I would say that, m-m.. So Jagland is no success when it comes to the English eh pronunciation for instance

I: mm
Yes eh .. the book you use is eh eXperience
R: m-m
I: eh.. what’s your general opinion on the book?
R: eh.. I think it’s quite good. M-m.
I: e= and the CD that accompanies it--
R: m-m. they are good too.
I: are there any particular advantages or disadvantages you could point out,
related to speech and speech varieties.. in these materials?
R: e== well,
((Flips through pages in the book))
there are listening comprehensions,
and eh they get to speak afterwards and .. eh ... there are .. ‘both native speakers and non-native speakers and .. literature from different parts of the world, so.. right now, we have been working with some.. African proverbs and.. yeah, an African poem, and I showed them.. the poet, eh.. from YouTube
I: mm
R: and eh New Zealand.. we have recently covered New Zealand ... and the native americans.. ((Points to a page to show me)) so this is the one from Africa
I: mm
R: And eh.. tomorrow we’ll eh be watching a film .. dealing with the Australian aborigines, so..
I: yeah
…
R: I think it’s rather .. varied
I: mm.. and, eh.. do you use this a lot?
R: mm

I: you say that you also use YouTube [and] show films, [do y]ou,

R: [mm] [mm]

I: use other materials a lot too?

R: eh.. the net

I: mm

R: eh.. so .. once a week eh we deal with grammar and.. eh.. lately they have been doing tasks eh on eh or from the net..

I: is this a webpage connected to eXperience?

R: yeah, that too.

I: yes, and others?

R: yeah, we've got N D L A… dot N O, and eh if you search on google you'll find e= sets dealing with e= grammar .. tasks for students to do

I: mm.. eh.. and if you use eh alternative materials,

is that .. because there are certain things you miss .. in the 'book?

R: no, not really it's more because eh students today are so preoccupied with 'not being bored and if you use the same methods all the time e= things will very easily be perceived as being .. boring, so e= I use films and music,

((Opens a page with lyrics to 'The Wild Rover'))

Eh the wild rover for instance,

and e- eh whenever I know of films related to the material I .. show them.

For instance .. son of mine and rabbit proof fence, (flips through pages), and.. and racing for glory, and Crash that's a film, I don't know whether you know it?

I: yes, I've seen it

R: It's a very good one

I: m-m

R: so.. eh I normally show that one. And eh ... from Northern Ireland there are films that can be shown etcetera.

I: mm ...

so you use it eh.. to provide variation for the students

R: mm

I: so they're not going to get bored

R: yeah

I: and eh, what other eh ... advantages do you find with eh using for example films and music?

R: ehm= films can add pieces of information and eh .. may give the students.. a look into different kinds of environments eh etcetera.

I: m

R: So it's not only.. to.. keep them @from being bored@

I: @@

R: but.. it's to add.

I: yes.

do you think it has specific eh advantages for their oral production?

R: eh.. that is what I 'have believed .. eh .. earlier on at any rate,

but now since I've gotten so many eh- poor e- e-

persons or students eh .. when it comes to pronunciation eh .. it has made me ..'wonder

I: yes

R: m=

I: how are the different varieties of English presented in the book?

You say that there are many different but eh what is said about them .. in the book?

R: ehm.. well, noth-nothing negative, @@ if you're @

I: @@@

R: looking for that.

So.. whenever we come to a text from a different country.. there are facts listed.. and eh ... there are .. persons, from that particular country, reading the text. For instance for Ireland there'll be.. an Irish person reading etcetera. So it doesn't say anything negative about it.

I: m-m. nothing <@positive@> either? I mean eh.. it's--

R: well, I suppose.. in eh.. the course called International English ehm it is listed as quite positive … at least neutral .. not negative.

Mm.

I: eh.. do you feel that e= these representations,

or the presence of the different varieties, is something that has changed after.. *Kunnskapsløftet*?

R: yeah. It has changed eh .. lately at any rate,

I don't know exactly when.. but, eh..

I've been here at this school for .. six years and eh it has definitely been a part of the curriculum.. yeah

I: mm

R: so.. could be after *Kunnskapsløftet* I don't know exactly

I: no. but, eh.. what--
what has been the change?
R: eh.. more.. impact has been put upon these different varieties.. and eh..
well in particular when it comes to this eh .. course called International English .. the students work with eh the inner circle and the outer circle eh of native speakers and eh … countries in which eh English is the official language and also ehm .. countries in which eh english is being taught as a .. foreign language.
I: mm
R: so.. they work with these circles etcetera
I: yes. But that's in international English
R: mm.
I: do they do that in.. the first year as well?
R: eh no, not the circles, no.
I: eh.. so--
so how is international English talked about in the first year?
R: … eh .. well.. for instance.. ((Shows me a text in the textbook, titled 'They can speak English')) they can speak English .. this is eh .. a poem, by an African .. poet .. who says something about them being treated a- eh a=s
second-hand .. eh because of their poor .. english.
((Opens new page))
and eh English as lingua franca.. Is mentioned..
I: mm
R: … and how did English become a world language ((Another title from the texbooks)) .. says something about ..the development of .. and.. spreading of English.
But do you mean .. whether it is positively or negatively commented upon?
I: no, not necessarily, just eh.. if it's, if it's talked about.. if there's a greater focus now on.. the internationality of English..
R: yeah.
It is.
Mm.
I: and you feel that this is represented in the teaching materials .. and that they.. are different now than materials that you've used before?
R: yes
I: mm

R: mm
I: … ehm ... one of the things that I've been reading about or working with, eh.. is.. moving away from what they call the native speaker norm,
R: mhm
I: the tradition we have of modeling our English on .. British,
and--
and lately more American English.
Eh.. do you think that it is possible .. to move away from this?
R: eh.. well.. it is 'possible but eh e= whether it's eh recommended that's a different question [so]
I: [yes]
R: I don't think it's a good idea
I: no.
.. and why is that?
R: (SIGH) .. you know.. why should my students learn English from Jagland, or Stoltenberg or Støre?
Eh .. I think they should go directly to .. eh the source when it comes to e=. the correct intonation for instance.
Eh .. and .. we 'norwegian English teachers we can help them with eh 'grammar and stuff like that.. but intonation has to be learned by.. modeling .. eh .. <EMF real EMF> native speakers.
I: but do you feel that you have eh--
as a 'norwegian teacher of English,
do you feel that you have an advantage eh .. because you're teaching Norwegian students?
Or do you think that they would benefit more from having a teacher who was a native speaker?
R: well.. eh, it, it depended on.. what eh that English teacher knew.
eh, if that English teacher 'also eh knows eh 'grammar, the way EMF we EMF know it, eh … I guess that would be the very best,
but uhm .. I doubt whether that would be the case..
I: mm
R: and eh.. sometimes students write.. in a way.. so that you need to know their Norwegian way of thinking
I: [yes]
R: [to] understand .. what they are trying to eh say in English.

I: mm. so that's an advantage that you have [because] you have the norwegian

R: [yeah]

I: [language] background

R: [m-m]

I: mm.

but when it comes to.. pronunciation, you think that native speakers are the best models?

R: yeah.

'Definitely when it comes to intonation. Yes.

I: ehm ...

such changes .. away from the native speaker norm ..

have you .. experienced any of that in your--

in your work or .. in … the settings that you work in?

R: eh .. no.

not when it comes to 'my students

I: or other teachers .. who .. because..

like I said eh a lot of the literature I read eh talk about moving away from this, but I'm not sure if it is something that is happening in the schools?

R: no.

it is not.

no.

that is not my impression.

APPENDIX 6

Transcript of the interview with teacher 2

I: e= For how long have you been teaching English?
R: e= since .. two thousand and three so .. it's about ten years
I: yeah
and e= what kind of education do you have in English?
R: a= I have a master's degree or hovedfag
I: mhm
R: as it was called
I: e= and when did you .. take your education?
R: e= I finished the master's in two thousand and three as well
I: yeah so you started right off e--
R: yes or at the same time I was working when I handed it in
I: yeah.
Throughout your education .. was one specific variety of English in focus?
R: e= I suppose it started off as british English .. because I chose that at university
I: mhm
R: but then I went to Australia for a year,
I: mhm
R: so I suppose the accent changed a bit
I: yeah
R: I guess
I: mhm
But eh in university you were 'asked to choose?
R: yes. It was American English or R-P
I: mhm
R: yeah british yeah
I: ehm … how do you think varieties 'other than the standard british and American .. eh are portrayed in schools and learning materials in norway?
R: e= I think there's a lot of focus on variety today because before there was a very sort of stron=g what's your focus American English or british English? But today they have .. a lot of

varieties, also the texts they have south African text o=r Australian texts o=r texts from new Zealand or whatever, Jamaican English ..

I: mhm

R: so there's a lot of focus on variety I think

I: yeah

Ehm .. and do you think that people in the Norwegian society outside of the school context .. perceive each other differently .. in relation to the different ways we speak English?

R: ehm do you think that- like 'people perceive each other differently or- or-

I: [yes]

R: [they] use different varieties of English?

I: yes. So if we perceive people different if they speak british compared to American or to .. Australian or whatever

R: m=

I: or if they [have a very Norw]egian accent

R: [I don't think] yeah, I don't think people always can hear what kind of people use

I: mm

R: uhm at least the students have a problem they can think that <SIT oh you speak -- You speak sort of american English SIT> and I'm like not really

I: @@

R: and then it's <Q a=h it's so good that you speak really british English Q> and I'm like ye= aha not really @ and then some say <Q o=h you're like home and away Q>

I: @@@

R: and I'm like yeah that's more like it

Yeah. But so people in general I don't know If they know.

I: no

R: if <X things X> --

Sort of --

One is different from the other

I: [m=]

R: [some] some students are 'very conscious about it,

Because they want to speak british English for example,

I: mhm

R: or they already have a very broad american accent .. and they're very 'proud of it ((smiles)) I think

Eh and that's good, but I don't know

I: eh so if .. Norwegians speak with a very Norwegian accent or .. that sort of thing do you think .. we .. think differently about them?

R: e=h I suppose it depends a bit on which part of the country they come from.

I: mm

R: I noticed for example that my mother she's from Bergen she always comments on people with a very strong oslo accent,

I: mm

R: and she thinks that is very negative

For example Jagland

I: mm

R: why= didn't they pick someone who could actually @speak English@ @

I: @@

R: and then of course it's the accent that is the problem 'cause what he 'says is not a prob-- Oh well it is maybe @

I: @

R: but-

But not per say

I: [mm]

R: [it's not] the words as such it's more the pronunciation or..

I: yeah

R: variation of English

I: mhm

R: mhm

I: ehm … what are the most important purposes .. 'today of learning English in school .. in your opinion

R: e= 'I .. don't care as much if they have any sort of 'variety of English as long as they're willing to communicate, I think that's very important

Uhm and also with 'all the varieties 'of English there's no= necessarily right or wrong,

Uhm but more the willingness .. and of course that it's understandable to a native speaker,

I: mm

So it must be more .. 'grammatically correct than it has to be any sort of variety or .. accent

I: mm
and eh but for what purposes do .. Norwegians need to learn English today?
Do you [think that that's --]
R: [in Norway you mean?]
I: Yes, do you think that that's something that has changed ... over the last .. decade or so?
R: a= probably because it's--
It's more needed .. in everyday= --
If you want to access the internet or .. if you want to travel which I guess a lot of people do 'more than they used to,
Eh you need English --
and for a lot of jobs it's either acquired or at least assumed that you do speak English
of course the job market is very international so even working at a building site will require many students to be able to communicate 'in a lingua franca and that's obviously only English because --
for example polish people I suppose that they don't have another language
I: mm
R: mm
I: m= and so do you encourage your students to use a particular variety?
R: no
I: no
Eh do you give them alternatives to .. choose from?
R: m= not--
(sigh) I ask them if there's anything they 'want to learn in particular but
But it's totally open and I say <EMPH that is your choice EMPH> I don't put any sort of .. pressure on you to learn one variety or not,
E= I usually have a tendency to vary 'my accent a bit,
Because I speak like 'this,
But if I /really want to I can speak Bergen English like this to make sure that everybody feels it's eh ok to speak this way,/
I: mm
R: /as long as people understand them/
So-
And also probably I have a bit of a tendency to speak whatever they speak so if they were to speak in a very british-

I tend to differ a bit
Like I don't think I can do it all the time because there's something wrong with /this accent/
I: @
R: a= well I try to do it and--
and let them lead the way when I--
yeah
I: mm, that's nice
R: and of course if there are a lot of speakers who are native speakers of one kind or another,
For example last year I had a south African girl,
So obviously then that's interesting for the rest of the class maybe to speak a bit like her,
Yeah
I: ehm … so how do= .. e= .. the speech varieties they choose .. to aim towards and .. the degree to which they accomplish that .. influence you eh in assessment?
R: … e= I don't really take that into account
I: mm
R: yeah it's not a--
It's not an .. aim in the curriculum to speak a certain accent so= eh
If they're just willing to communicate that's good,
But ofcourse if they don't communicate--
There's a communication breakdown because of the way they 'speak then that's a problem
O=r a native speaker wouldn't understand the word because of the pronunciation then that's of course a problem
I: mm
R: so .. yeah.
I: eh do you think pronunciation is difficult to assess?
R: e= probably, but I really don't see a point in assessing it,
Necessarily ..
Eh in itself
I: mm
So how--
How would you define eh a successful speaker of english?
R: oh one that communicates well and wants the listener to understand and tries (inaudible) to make that happen.
I: mm

R: a=h and of course as much as possible with words,
And not just @gestures@ ((makes gestures)) and you know like
<SIT eh--
Eh--
Eh--
Bi=g SIT> and then showing with their hands ((shows with her hands)) or whatever
You know ‘finding the words and also,
Just ‘thinking who’s the receiver? who’s listening to this?
And eh trying to adapt to that
Yeah
I: mm
Ehm= …
Do you .. experience a connection between students choice of eh speech variety and other skills?
In eh .. the subject?
R: eh .. yeah,
Those who have a conscious idea of wanting to speak in a certain way,
I: mm
R: usually are quite ambitious,
And they’re usually quite good at it already.
So those who have a broad American accent are very much aware of that,
And those who .. aim at a british accent they’re usually quite literary they like to read,
They have a certain maybe shakespearian love affair or @something@
I: @mhm@
R: you know it’s something they want
I: yeah
Eh .. do you use ‘norwegian in English lessons?
I: yes,
Definitely.
Ehm= I usually say everything in English and then repeat some of it in Norwegian or also ehm say some of the ‘words or ask them if they know what that word me=ans and then use the Norwegian word eh
(inaudible) that they really don’t understand like

Most of the class are doing what they're supposed to and we have like three students who are like <Q what? Q>

I: mm

R: then I always say it in Norwegian

I: mm

Ehm .. do you think e= you can use Norwegian as a resource in the classroom? Eh that it's positive to use Norwegian?

R: e= yeah sure because it is their .. frame of reference and what they know,

E= and I think some would easily just give up if they couldn't cling to sort of some Norwegian and know that for sure yeah I understood what you said,

I: mm

R: yeah so definitely

But also my English is very different in the classroom I speak very < slo=w> and try to < annunciate >

I: mm

R: and be very 'clear.

Yeah.

I: do you ever present your students with speech samples from successful speakers of English as a 'foreign language?

R: … do you think that like we--

We listen to Norwegians for example?

I: yeah for example,

Or other nationalities

R: no= not necessarily,

We have those listening texts or listening 'tests we get from udir,

They're usually by= Norwegian students because they talk about .. studying abroad or something like that,

And then we usually hear that they have a Norwegian accent,

But it's not aiming at <Q oh listen to them they're so .. oh! Q>

I: @@

R: accomplished at this

I: no

R: no not like that

I: … because eh successful speakers of English as a foreign language have been suggested as an alternative for students to model their English on,

R: mm

What do you--

What are your thoughts on doing that?

R: a= sure but what is to be successful in that respect,

Uhm is it to sound as much as a native speaker or what is--

I don't know

I: that's maybe what they're trying to .. redefine,

R: yeah

I: and eh--

Eh like you've talked a lot about the communication aspect,

R: mm

I: so if we= view successful communicators [as] .. successful speakers of English .. as a foreign language,

R: [mm=]

Mm

I: do you think … [that's an idea] fo=r--

R: [yeah that's an idea]

Yeah definitely

Mm

To show them what actually works in communicating

I: mm

…

Eh which textbook do you use?

R: eh targets

I: targets that's what I thought

Eh and what's your general opinion on the book?

R: a= I like it,

It has very interesting texts from around the world,

And a= .. good tasks and interestin=g subjects they've picked and also a good reference section,

So yeah certainly it's very good

R: mm

And there's a C D that accompanies it?
I: yeah.
I think that's good as well,
We use that quite a bit because the=y definitely hear a lot of regional accents
Eh for example the text dial zero zero zero I don't know if you know it
I: mm
R: it's Australian
I: mm
So that
We sort of eh
We listen to the tape and then mimic it so I press pause and then they say the words one sentence at a time,
And we've also got eh Brackley and the bed which is from Trinidad and Tobago I think
I: mhm
R: and that's sort of very Caribbean English and it's very fun they're all <SIT a-a-ah can we speak like that? SIT> and--
And we'll also try to mimic 'that
Just to see that there are a lot of varieties
I: mm
R: yeah
I: so .. do you present these varieties to them then as .. eh alternatives that they can use? Eh..
R: a= no,
Well depending on--
Of course they could but there's no reason why they should suddenly s--
I: mm
R: start doing that,
I mean they wouldn't get 'enough ... sort of .. input from that regional variety to actually ..
I: mm
R: not based on one text at least
And--
And certainly a lot of students always (inaudible) like <Q o=h can we speak like Brackley and the bed? Q> or could we 'write like that,
I: m=

R: and of course I= prefer that they wouldn't because it's of course not exactly grammatically correct so I say no.

I: mm

R: not unless you're making a point to just write one sentence he said and then blah blah blah in tobagan English or something like that

I: mm

R: yeah

I: m= do you use the material a lot? Eh or do you use alternative materials?

R: u=m usually when we do projects we use alternative material and go online to find material,

U=m but usually the literary texts and the factual texts yeah it's from the textbook

I: mm

Ehm.. if you use alternative materials is that because there are certain things you miss in the book?

R: it's usually to let the students find material on their own,

So .. either go to the internet or to the library or--

Or also the reference section in the book,

So whatever e=

I: mhm

R: or of course they can use the textbook but,

Well--

Then--

Sort of--

Then I'm giving them the text

I: mm

R: they should find something on their own

I: mm

So there's not anything you 'miss in the textbook?

R: eh well of course there 'is,

If they want to do a project work from Pakistan there's like half a page

I: @

R: yeah so obviously yeah

I: …

Ehm .. do you feel that there has been a change in the representations of speech varieties after .. the knowledge promotion?
Eh .. yeah that's e--
I only have my own experience before that,
So yeah I definitely feel that I--
I don't think they ever spoke of any other variety than sort of British English or R P was the good one, and then you had American if you really really had to @
I: @mhm@
R: yeah .. and yeah
I: and this is reflected in your teaching material?
R: oh definitely yeah
I: eh have you encountered the terms intercultural communicative competence or .. the intercultural speaker during your education or your career as a teacher?
R: a=
In the career it's in international English,
Eh second year,
Third year
I think that's more of a focus there,
not as much in the first year
u=m I don't think we heard it when I was a student I can't remember specifically that term no
R: ehm .. because .. that's my @ area of study this year eh--
Eh- and eh—
What is discussed is the possibility of moving away from this native speaker norm we .. traditionally have,
Do you think that e= such a change is possible?
R: oh definitely since most of the student's @don't aim@ [at] sounding like a native speaker
I: [mm]
R: and I don't think that it's even possible to sound like a native speaker unless you've actually .. lived in that country or you have a family that sort of use that language at home,
And .. it's always going to be different and I think that's ok
I: mm
R: definitely in ehm--
I think it's --
But that's a personal ref- eh preference I guess,

I also like to hear where people come from
I: mm
R: (inaudible) it's ok
I: but do you see any--
Any challenges .. with such a change?
R: a= of course if it's a= --
If the differences are very .. big, like the Tobagan English, that maybe .. it's not sort of for everyone because you don't hear it enough to pick it up and and think <Q oh yeah I understand what you mean Q>
U=m so I definitely focus on with the students (inaudible), that it's grammatically correct and that the pronunciation is understandable,
So I wouldn't let them just
Sort of @put the stress 'anywhere@
I: @@
R: @yeah it's not ['optional@]
I: [@@]
R: yeah
I: mm
So .. it's maybe easier to model on British and American because they 'hear that more or .. get more input--
R: yeah definitely I would say so
I: mm
ehm .. do you feel that you have been .. introduced to .. these kind of changes and made aware of that? In eh--
R: u=m well I think that with the curriculum it's pretty clear that it's not you have to know standard American or British (inaudible) it's totally open for that,
But I suppose it's more my personal interest in it
That I'm sort of
Because I
I probably think there are still a lot of teachers who still definitely see British English as the one that is sort of to be aimed at or ..
I: mm
R: <Q you should definitely go for that one Q>
But uhm that's not me,

sort of thing so
I: mm
but eh but it's not something that eh you've been told--
R: no there's not been a meeting just to inform us that @you can [choose whatever you like@] @@
I: [@@@]
R: or you should try to yeah open up for--
No not really
But that's probably also because I--
Like I didn't teach before this happened so--
So I don't really have that strong (inaudible) about it
I: uhm but you have a--
You feel that change is going on and that teachers are more willing to go away from the native [speaker]
R: [I- I--]
I definitely feel that younger teachers are,
Maybe not older teachers because they're .. often very accomplished at what they do so they often speak with a very --
Very strong .. received pronunciation and want to keep doing that and of course that's understandable @because@ that's what they've been doing and u=m
And so yeah
I think younger speakers are more different because they've maybe been travelling mo=re o=r have their own ideas of what they like and
And I also think a lot of teachers 'don't have a
Well they have a fairly strong @Norwegian accent@ as well
I: mm
R: And I think that
Of course how can you blame the students for having that if that's what you yourself speak,
So yeah
I: mm

APPENDIX 7

Transcript of the interview with teacher 3

I: for how long have you been teaching english?
R: I started teaching in 1994 which means 18 years,
I: mhm
R: I think,
Yes. Mhm.
I: a=nd eh what kind of education do you have in English?
R: I= eh in English--
Well,
Fi=rst I did the equivalent of eh gymnas I did in England
I: ok
R: and then I stayed on and then I did a bachelor's degree in german and linguistics,
And then I came back to Norway and worked fo=r almost ten years,
… but then-
No after eight years I did english grunnfag,
And then later on I did mellomfag and the= teacher training
I: ok
R: so it's a bit unusual I suppose
I: yeah so you've teached a bit in other subjects before you [did--]
R: [yes] and I worked you know in a completely different area
I: ok
R: because I wasn't actually a teacher until 1996, then I was finished or .. certified or .. whatever it's called
I: yeah
Ehm .. but in your education, was there one specific variety of English that was in focus?
R: well uh my grunnfag which was in (inaudible) they were very clear ehm for instance we had some lecturers which were .. British .. English or ..
yeah which spoke--
Who spoke British English and others American.
One of the teachers eh had a beautiful Cambridge accent that he said but few years ago he used to have an American accent and he decided to change

I: oh!
R: but it was perfect and very British
I: hm
R: and then we had a- an American lecturer as well who obviously spoke with an Am[erican] accent
I: [yeah]
R: and the others it ‘seemed that they had made a choice which they would be--
They would use.
I: yeah and did they ask you to make a choice?
R: .. no I don’t think they did.
I: m=
R: which is by the way something that I ask my students to do
I: yeah
R: mhm
but I don’t think I was ever asked--
but because I learned mine in English in England it was obvious that that would be mine-- my variant
I: yeah so you chose .. British because you were in England?
R: yes.
I: uhm … how do you think that ah varieties other than British and American English are portrayed in-- in school and in learning materials?
R: in the last few years of course because the curriculum says that uh the students ‘should eh I don’t know exactly how it’s said if it’s said that they should be ‘exposed to or whether they should ‘learn about but they should be in contact with anyway other varieties,
So .. most textbooks I think have texts from other parts of the world and eh .. also .. samples Listening samples of for instance Australian English or .. even African .. English and .. yeah.
But I often think that the examples--
The audio examples aren’t good enough because they’re--
Eh they’re very mild very--
So you sort of hardly hear that that’s where it comes from
I: ok?
R: mm
I: and that’s eh ..
The speech samples you’re talking about now are from eh the book you [work with?]

R: [yes]
Yeah I'm trying to- over the internet to find others as well which is of course possible and then you get the broader .. variants and the students always like that,
To hear .. samples of that
mm
I: mm
…
I: Do you think that people in the Norwegian society outside of the school context perceive each other differently .. in relation to different ways of speaking English?
R: I think that probably depends on what level of English you're at
I: mm?
R: eh .. and it seems--
The students we get here--
That isn't outside school but it seems that 'most of them 'know what sort of eh English they speak
I: mm
R: but I don't think
I don't really have any experience or thoughts on that
I: m=
R: whether they—
Can you repeat [the .. second part]
I: [if they per-]
Perceive each other differently in relation to the ways we speak ..
R: not really I don't think so
I: yeah but e-
R: we speak English you mean?
I: yeah
R: yeah we're still on English?
I: yes.
R: no no because I'm thinking of in England of course it's 'really whether you speak a local dialect or RP the differences ..
I: but you don't think that we pick [up--]
R: [no]
I: on those differences?

R: ‘I don’t get that impression no
I: eh .. what about if we speak with a very Norwegian accent?
Do you think that makes .. people perceive us differently when we speak English?
R: other people you mean?
I: m= Norwegians
R: oh yeah
I: mm
R: I’m not sure.
E=h .. I think fewer and fewer people have the extreme Heyerdahl eh accent .. these days,
But I suppose some times that people get impressed if they think it sounds very--
very ‘real or authentic.
I: mm
R: I suppose
But I’ve never really thought along those lines
I: no
R: so …
I: yeah
What do--
Are to you the most important purposes e= for students to learn English?
.. in Norway .. today
R: to ‘learn in Norway but to ‘use in the rest of the world.
I: mm
R: I suppose,
Because its impossible in eh--
I suppose to get anywhere without English.
I: mm
R: and ‘although they learn a lot of English from films and videos and the internet and so on I think they need a higher standard if they want to .. be successful in their .. studies or in future careers and so on,
So .. yeah I think
I think it’s very important.
I mean you could get by with a lot but you can’t really succeed I think unless you have a certain level of- of English
I: yeah.

And you said that you e= encourage your students to choose,
Eh do you give them alternatives to choose from or is there one specific that you think [they should]
R: [no u-] usually I ask them to think about it whether they feel that they are closer to the American .. eh accent or the British accent and then I say--
'or any other accent if you if you know any others I mean I had one student whose father was Scottish,
I: mm
R: and of course I encouraged him to speak with a Scottish accent
I: yeah
R: and eh--
But I-
I 'tend to say= .. that .. whichever variant they choose i- i- it's equally correct or eh
They're worth the same.
I: yeah
R: because I--
In my old days I know that it was the--
Unless you spoke the queens English it wasn't really <EMPH real EMPH> English.
I: mm
R: but I encourage them just to do whichever they feel .. closest to
I: mm
R: and 'most choose American
I: ok
R: but I try to insist--
And- and I usually say that if they don't really have--
Feel that they are inclined one way or the other then I say that they can copy me
And then it would be British--
I: yeah
R: 'or copy something else
But sort of think about it,
Try and make an effort.
I: yeah.
E= so .. do you think that what they choose e= and the degree to which they master what they choose eh influences you in assessment?

R: …
I don't think so other than I'm aware of it if it is particularly visible eh .. in writing,
Ehm but .. I try to be=
You- you mean do I= emphasis--
O=r put more emphasis on … or .. hang on,
Do you mean that I eh 'reward the students of one accent better than the other?
I: for example yeah or if you feel that that's an influence e= in oral assessment mainly
R: in oral assessments I just acknowledge that they have one .. or another and I--
I am impressed if they are eh 'consistent
I: mm
R: some have a sort of mix but I'm quite impressed if they manage to be consistent and of course that's a--
That's a positive thing for the end result
I: mm
Yeah.
So as long as they're consistent in any accent they choose?
R: yes.
But most are mixed and not m= and--
And they can still do well but of course they do better if they are more conscious of what they're actually doing.
I: mm
So how would you define eh a successful speaker of eh English as a foreign language?
R: it depends really what connection it is,
But in our educational connection [e=]
I: [mm]
R: well,
According to @the curriculum@ @@
I: @@
R: they 'should be able to= .. well I suppose basically to be able to pass you have to communicate, but of course you have to have higher levels than that,
You have to have the right pronunciation,
But at the same time that shouldn't go too far because I remember I had one student who ah had an oral exam,
And we had an external examiner,

And the student spoke perfect British English ‘except she couldn’t pronounce the (th) the T H (th) all the time,
And everything else was ‘really impressive including the content of what she said
I: mm
R: and fluency and everything,
But the external- the eh examiner did not think she could get .. top marks [because]
I: [mm]
R: because she didn’t do that,
Which I think is ridiculous because I mean British people have speech impediments too
I: mm
R: you don’t --
You don’t say that they are not perfect in their mother tongue,
So I thought that that was unfair,
But the pronunciation other than special things .. should be= should be as good as eh as good as possible obviously.
I: mm
R: grammar mistakes …
Well .. some don’t really hinder communication,
‘But the fewer the better obviously.
So I think both pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary .. especially
I: yeah
R: So I think that those are the most important ones
I: mm
And eh eh is it--
You say they have to have good pronunciation but .. how do you assess pronunciation? Do you think it’s difficult to= assess what is good pronunciation and what’s not?
R: I suppose it’s not very scientific ((smiles)),
Except e= I suppose my experience with English is the basis of that assessment.
I: mm
R: and eh when it comes to pronunciation …
So I think that--
I basically think--
that’s a bit scary but I think that’s it.
That it’s just my impression of what it should be

I: mm

R: from my experience

I: yeah

R: hm= @@ ((has an expression on her face which tells me this is something she hasn't really thought about before, but that she seems to realize something))

I: @@ something to think about

R: yes

I: so .. how do--

How important do you find pronunciation compared to other skills?

You- You said that it was like one of the 'main three

R: yes

I: yeah

R: well without a 'certain level of eh knowledge or eh skill you can't get very far I mean it 'has to be good enough to--

To 'understand,

I have some students with other .. mother tongues than eh Norwegian,

And some have completely different sorts of probl- [pronun]ciation problems obviously,

I: [yeah]

R: But I mean in those cases I've told myself that no- no mistakes or difficulties are worse than any others,

I: mm

R: But the 'main thing is it 'has to be .. unambiguous and clear to understand

I: yeah

R: so communication i- 'again is the top of the priority list

I: mm

E= do you experience a- any connetion between the students' choice of speech variety and other skills in the subject?

R: yes.

The 'more--

In the same- in English?

I: yes

R: yes the 'more conscious they are and the bet- and the more fluency the- the better they master the rest of english,

I: mm

R: but- but if you're good at one thing you're good at another,
<EMPH although EMPH> they 'don't obviously have to be that good at writing like grammar,
But 'very often it's- it goes hand in hand.
I: mm
R: so .. ya .. mm
I: yeah
Do you use Norwegian in= English lessons?
R: sometimes.
Yes.
I u=se when I want to 'explain something e= for instance grammar,
Or specially difficult .. for instance eh social studies or when we talk about politics and so on I use eh Norwegian,
But whenever I talk about o 'easier e= topics .. I try to use English.
And there have been cases where students have asked me to speak 'more English.
I: yeah?
R: so sometimes I suppose I'm not--
I think I should be consistent 'really and then just let them ask,
But not everybody asks although they don't understand.
I: mm
R: but- so again I'm conscious of that.
I try to speak English as much as possible.
I: mm
How do you think e= that it's possible to use Norwegian as a resource in the classroom? ..
Or do you think that's possible?
R: .. often 'that goes hand in hand as well,
If they are good at Norwegian as a subject and grammar and so on then they master it in English as well,
But eh .. I 'think learning--
Well personally I learned English in England,
I learned English 'in English,
Which I think is eh is--
If you have a certain skill I think that's better.
I: mm

R: ehm but then you have everything around you as well that sort of builds up around that,
But ‘in Norway in ‘our situation in schools I think that Norwegian- ‘using Norwegian in class is necessary as well,
I: mm
…
Yeah,
Uhm so we’ve talked about the speech samples that you use and the sound- listening-
R: mhm
I: do you present your students with speech samples from speakers of .. english as a ‘foreign language?
R: eh .. no more as a second language like in wh--
Like in= eh African countries where they have- most people have two tongues,
But it’s their second language and e= --
But yes there have been examples of French and .. german as well,
And they always laugh
I: yeah?
R: sometimes they laugh at other eh eh dialects or accents too,
But--
And they might for all I care,
But I want them to be conscious of the differences and sometimes know what sorts of differences are there,
I: mm
R: ehm .. but .. mostly as a second language I think.
I: mm
But such eh eh French and german eh
What- what do you think was the purpose of--
R: it--
I: using those?
R: it’s--
I think one purpose is to show them that .. tha=t eh …
To ‘compare to- to focus on- on this eh this eh pronunciation part,
But it is important maybe in= in even being taken ‘seriously,
That if you want to communicate on a serious level then you have to aim at .. the most correct pronunciation.

I: mm

So it--

So the german and French accents were more like examples of .. what they shouldn't do?

R: I'm @afraid so yes@ [@@]

I: [@@]

R: @so negative@ examples anyway

I: mm

R: but then of course in= the th—

Some- the newer textbooks and online textbooks 'try to focus on the fact that none is better than the other,

Even- even these foreign language englishes,

Talking about the internati- the international English,

I mean,

<SIT it doesn't really matter and who owns English SIT> and all that

I: mm

R: so eh …

I: yeah

This,

Now you're moving into my area of study I guess,

And e= successful speakers of English as a foreign language have been suggested ((R: nods)) as an alternative for students to model their English on.

R: mm

I: what do you think about doing that?

R: I like standards @@

I think eh--

And that actually poses a problem for teachers these days because .. ehm a lot of the eh non-standard forms are used around the students,

I: mm

R: in literature and films and so on,

And then who= am I to say that that's wrong?

I: m=

R: and so--

But then I s- I- I tell my students that well we've got to have 'some sort of eh 'standard to work--

To- to have as a sort of .. center or some- some sort of eh eh “fasit?”

I: mm

R: well,

something to work towards.

I: yeah

R: But at the same time I don’t put all that much emphasis on it in oral assessment,

If eh if all the other things are .. right

I: mm

R: so eh yeah

I: so you’re accepting of that kind of non-standard language that they might get .. from .. influences outside of school?

R: yes. I- I- I eh ‘well,

Not- it depends sort of what I sometimes call street language,

That’s a- that’s a different thing to get- all toghether,

I’m not too keen on that because I want them to know what contexts they should use different language in.

I: mm

R: But I am trying to be open to new- new forms

I: yeah

R: although I’m probably conservative but I’m trying ((smiles))

I: @@

Mm

E= which textbook do you use?

R: e= we are using experience or new experience,

One teacher doesn’t use a textbook at all,

And I= don’t use it all that much .. [maybe=]

I: [ok?]

R: --fifty percent,

And we= use the N D L A ..

I: mhm

R: --a lot

Because the English eh resources there are really good

I: ok

R: and .. well we have the grammar book and so on but it’s not really (inaudible)

I: so is there anything in particular that you think is missing in the book? .. when you choose .. to use other resources [instead]?
R: [it's just] because it's getting out of date and we can't .. @ @afford new ones@
I: mm
R: and then also of course the trend is to be more and more online e= and use online textbooks
I: mm
R: eh .. I think it's the fact that it's not updated that's the big .. --
I: mm.
When is the book from?
R: eh well we have two sets,
Two classes have the new ones but the e= ..
no I haven't got the year,
it's probably two thousan=d .. and .. two or two thousand four
I: so it's before the knowledge promotion?
R: yes yes I't is.
Or is it?
.. what year did what di- was that implemented? [do you]
I: [w- two thousand] six
R: t- six,
In that case it is from the same year,
Because I think-
Yes it is.
[yes it's--]
I: [so it has] it has been created in relation to the kn[owledge promotion]
R: [yes, yeah]
I: but you still think it's outdated?
R: yes because eh barack Obama wasn't- for instance wasn't elected president and eh and some of the eh .. the eh media--
If you think about the media e--
Because that happened--
That development happened so quickly,
I: mm
So that's already--

What was news then is sort of .. everyday eh knowledge today.
I: mm
R: so it's .. probably that
(inaudible)
I think .. maybe it sh-
Tourism texts that are more .. close to the students .. eh .. 'lives I suppose,
More relevant in 'their lives,
So that they don't just <SIT a= another short story from far away from- from Norway or far away from my life or reality .. SIT>
I: mm
R: so ..
And sometimes I think the eh .. tasks aren't always that useful either,
But eh 'some of the tasks after after e= short stories and so on are very--
I mean you're eh you're mean to do them in writing whereas I sometimes just ask them to go through them quickly orally .. in pairs or groups or something
I: mm
R: (coughs) sorry
I: m that's alright
M= and what do you think of the= way that varieties of English are presented in that book?
R: it's .. mostly= ..--
Well there are 'few texts that are 'very one thing or the other,
I mean there's spelling and there's the- the- the 'normal differences between American and British,
But the other varieties are …
Well ehm we're talking about spoken English and when we eh
On the C D s [belong]ing to the texts ..
I: [yeah]
R: I f--
I mean I recognize the voices so I know that they're not- not always native speakers,
I: ok
R: but people trying to be and I think definitely they 'should have native speakers
I: [mm]
R: [with] <EMPH clear EMPH> accents,
Because I think the students eh I--

I think they'll understand but they might have to make a greater effort but I think that would be a good idea,

I: mm

R: to have .. always .. 'Au[thentic] language

I: [authentic] mm

R: so--

Cause we hear that the .. same people--

'I hear it anyway,

the same people reading American English even trying a new Zealand accent which doesn't work @at all@

I: yeah

.. ehm .. do you feel that there has been .. a change in the representations of speech varieties after the knowledge promotion?

R: yes I think there's more—

there's more focus on that because I don't think there used to be focus on it at all,

it was just sort of <SIT by the way this is written in Australia SIT> or <SIT this is a guy from Australia SIT> whereas now they're actually making- trying to make .. or the- the eh authors of the texts are trying to make a point of .. eh .. (inaudible) the varieties,

which is I suppose a result of this

I: yeah.

Ehm= have you encountered the terms intercultural communicative competence or the intercultural speaker .. during your education or career?

R: not in my education, but in my career, but mostly in eh the second grade year where we have the international language- international 'english

I: yeah

R: which focuses quite a lot that- that it's not just the language that is important in intercultural communication

I: mm

R: well but 'never in my studies though

I: no

And it's not focused on in the first year?

R: .. we=ll there is I suppose--

I suppose there are a couple of texts focusing on= --

Well I was thinking of one text called the brits and the yanks .. which a= points to= differences in behavior and maybe politeness and so on,
I: m=
R: but .. oh not a lot of focus on that
I: eh .. do you think that it's possible to move away from the native spo- speaker norm? like we talked about earlier
R: …
I'm not sh--
Yes I suppose if it was ..
I was going to say if it was 'acceptable around and in the different situations you would .. be in,
But.. I think 'most- at least everyone with an interest in language would choose- try and choose th- e= a standard,
If there was one.
I: mm
R: .. probably American,
But .. eh .. I'm not sure,
But I'm not sure I see the point either,
I: yeah
R: I think maybe= that it should continue to be part of language training to aim for one certain .. dialect.
That sounded really old fashioned @ but I think so @
I: there- there are different opinions on this of course ..
Ehm but eh do you feel that a- such a change is going on around you? Like more people 'are accepting eh and more willing to move away from it?
R: I think so that the- that we are more open to different varieties,
But I think we--
There's still the idea that it has to be- you have to be able to call it something <SIT this is britsh English, American English, indian English, Canadian English SIT> or whatever
I: mm
R: I don't think we're as open as that as long as you can understand whichever intonation or pronunciation you have it's ok,
I: mm
R: I don't think we've come that far

I: no

So it has to be .. labeled?

R: I- I feel it has to

I: mm

R: and I--

It's not something actually we've discussed a lot in- in eh among colleagues,

But I- I get the impression from textbooks and other things I come across that it- we 'are more open

I: yeah,

Cause that was actually my next question if you feel that you've been introduced to it and [made] aware of it from any .. source

R: [mm]

I: but [that's .. just]

R: [no just things I've read]

I: from reading then?

R: yes

…

I just wondered if I had it,

No that wasn't really a topic when I did English

I: no

R: so it's--

I'm not sure when David Crystal came out with his eh

Well he's been going on I've heard David Crystal he was even in eighty three when I did .. eh linguistics in England he was a guru,

I: mm

R: But it's eh

I sort of- I--

I try to keep updated with things like that,

I: mm

R: but it's not until the recent--

The last .. five years maybe that that's--

That I've thought of it as an issue

I: yeah, mm

And and it's eh on your own .. initiative [that] you've ..

R: [yes]

I: yeah,

So no one is telling you that .. --

R: no

I: --now you should be more open or

R: not really but I expect

I haven’t been on any courses recently eh and--

But if there was a course in ‘in this area I would ‘definitely want to take part.

I: mm

R: e= maybe just because I haven’t really any formal knowledge of it

I: mm

R: so that would be interesting

APPENDIX 8

A presentation of teacher P's answers from the pilot study

The teacher thinks that RP is the nicest variety of English to listen to: melodious and pretty, both pronunciation and intonation is nice to listen to. She does not like GA as much. She tries to use RP in the classroom and to influence her pupils to do the same. This was the variety she learned in school and in her teacher education, where she was explicitly asked to use it. She says that she gets influenced more by GA through media and culture, but tries deliberately to stick with RP. She has asked her pupils to choose one variant and be consistent.

The most important reasons for learning English, in the opinion of this teacher, are that the language is often used as a lingua franca, that textbooks in higher education in Norway often are written in English, and that the English language is used a lot in many job situations etc.

The teacher says that she is to a large extent conscious about the different varieties and how they are represented when choosing which texts from the textbook to work with. She tries to select different varieties and look at the differences with the pupils. How much each variety is represented depends on the possibilities given by the different chapters in the book. Some chapters are chosen for their themes, like chapters on literature from different parts of the world or indigenous people, while texts about Britain and the US are often selected to portray the language differences as well. The teacher claims also to be conscious about choosing sound material that allows the pupils to hear different varieties. However, as she thinks pupils of today's society is to a great extent exposed to standard and non-standard varieties of American English, she tries to put more emphasis on other varieties of the English language.

Her opinion of the textbook material is that there is a lot of focus on standard varieties and the Anglo-American language area. She misses a greater presence of non-standard varieties, Jamaican, South-African etc. because of the pupils' overexposure to American varieties.

To what extent do you agree with the following statements (1 disagree – 4 fully agree)	1	2	3	4
A pupil who is close to a standard British (RP) English pronunciation appears to be better/more skilled than a pupil who is close to a standard American (GA) English pronunciation.	x			
A pupil who is close to a standard British (RP) English pronunciation appears to be better/more skilled than a pupil who has a "neutral" English pronunciation (that cannot be tied to a specific geographical area).	x			
A pupil who is close to a standard British (RP) English pronunciation appears to be better/more skilled than a pupil whose pronunciation is clearly marked by Norwegian.		x		
A pupil who is close to a standard British (RP) English pronunciation appears to be better/more skilled than a pupil who speaks another, non-standard, variety from an English speaking area.		x		
A pupil who is close to a standard British (RP) pronunciation is usually also good at producing good texts/presentations with relevant content and few language errors.			x	
A pupil who is close to a standard American (GA) English pronunciation appears to be better/more skilled than a pupil who is close to a standard British (RP) English pronunciation.	x			
A pupil who is close to a standard American (GA) English pronunciation appears to be better/ more skilled than a pupil who has a "neutral" English pronunciation (that cannot be tied to a specific geographical area).	x			
A pupil who is close to a standard American (GA) English pronunciation appears to be better/ more skilled than a pupil whose pronunciation is clearly marked by Norwegian.		x		
A pupil who is close to a standard American (GA) English pronunciation appears to be better/ more skilled than a pupil who speaks another, non-standard, variety from an English speaking area.		x		
A pupil who is close to a standard American (GA) English pronunciation is usually also good at producing good texts/presentations with relevant content and few language errors.			x	
That a pupil uses a variety of English that I like influences me positively in assessment		x		
That a pupil uses a variety of English that I dislike influences me negatively in assessment		x		
Good pronunciation is important to make oneself understood in English		x		