

English-Medium Instruction: Modelling the Role of the Native Speaker in a Lingua Franca Context

Susanne Gundermann

**English-Medium Instruction:
Modelling the Role of the Native Speaker
in a Lingua Franca Context**

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Susanne Gundermann

Erstgutachter:

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Christian Mair
Englisches Seminar der
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

Zweitgutachter:

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Bernd Kortmann
Englisches Seminar der
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

Drittgutachterin:

Prof. Dr. Juliane Besters-Dilger
Slavisches Seminar der
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

Vorsitzender des Promotions-
ausschusses der Gemeinsamen
Kommission der Philologischen,
Philosophischen und
Wirtschafts- und Verhaltens-
wissenschaftlichen Fakultät:

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Bernd Kortmann

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List of Abbreviations

AL	Applied Linguistics
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
CR	[Data set] Classroom Recordings
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EC	[Data set] E-mail Communication
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELFA	English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings.
ELT	English Language Teaching
EMI	English-Medium Instruction
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESP	English for Special Purposes
FL	Foreign Language
HEI	Higher Education Institution
ICLHE	Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LE	[Data set] Listening Experiment
LE-pilot	[Data set] Pilot Listening Experiment
MSc	Master of Science
NNS	Non-native Speaker
NS	Native Speaker
PC	[Data set] Personal Communication
PI	[Data set] Personal Interviews
PO	[Data set] Participatory Observation
QC	[Data set] Questionnaire Covert (Attitudes)
QO	[Data set] Questionnaire Overt (Attitudes)
REM	Renewable Energy Management
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SM	[data set] Study Materials
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
WE	World Englishes
ZEE	Zentrum für Erneuerbare Energien.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The spread of English as a lingua franca

In these times of globalisation, the English language is gaining ever more ground worldwide with a continuously growing number of users. Crystal estimates a total number of more than 329 million first language speakers and more than 422 million second language speakers living in over 75 territories where English has official status (Crystal 2003: 109). Yet, it is commonplace that the vast majority of English language users do not reside in English speaking territories and that millions more people around the globe speak English as a foreign language. The British Council estimates a number of more than 750 million foreign language speakers of English already (cf. British Council webpage) and supposedly another 2 billion people will be learning English as a foreign language during the next decade, if we believe a study commissioned by the British Council (Graddol 2006:14).

As a consequence, the English language is no longer only used as an international language (EIL) for communication between native and non-native speakers of English, but increasingly so as a common medium of communication among speakers of different mother tongue backgrounds other than English. This use of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) is extending into virtually all domains of public life such as the economy, politics and popular culture, among others. Numerous multinational companies introduce English as their corporate language even if their headquarters are based in non-native speaker countries and the majority of staff are non-native speakers of English (cf. Lønsmann 2011, Swift & Wallace 2011), blogging and instant messaging in lingua franca English alerted the global community to the riots and uprisings during the Arab Spring in early 2011 (cf. Stepanova 2011) and contributions to the Eurovision Song Contest are largely performed in English by non-native speakers of English. The list of examples could be continued endlessly.

The growing use of ELF has obviously not gone unnoticed in linguistic research as ELF research has become a sub-discipline of applied linguistics in its own right over the last decade.¹ In the early 1980s, Anglophone (socio)linguistics began to broaden its scope as seminal publications (Kachru 1982, Bailey & Görlach 1982) laid the ground for a paradigm shift from investigating only native speaker language use towards exploring also postcolonial second language varieties and related issues such as language contact or linguistic identities. Research on World Englishes (WE) has gained popularity ever since, as demonstrated for example by recent advancements of WE models (e.g. the *Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes*, Schneider

¹ This subchapter aims to provide only a nutshell overview of ELF research and its theoretical underpinnings. For a detailed overview of ELF research including discussions of selected publications, see Chapter 2.3.

2007), by the extensive and constantly growing VEAWS monograph series (*Varieties of English around the World*, published by John Benjamins) or the continuous addition of subcorpora to the International Corpus of English (ICE) project started in 1990 (e.g. Deuber 2010; Mukherjee, Schilk & Bernaisch 2010).

This growing interest in WE has also called applied linguists and English language teaching (ELT) professionals to the scene sensing an opportunity for a change in the traditional dichotomy between native and non-native speakers. The debate centers around the question whether native speaker norms are and should continue to be relevant in lingua franca contexts. More fundamentally, the strict distinction between native speakers (NS) as target models and non-native speakers (NNS) as permanent learners striving for but never achieving native-like proficiency is being challenged, with some arguing that we should depart from this construct and rather distinguish between degrees of competence (viz. more competent language users vs. less competent language users; cf. Seidlhofer 2000, 2001). As this paradigm shift would have serious consequences for ELT in practice, inflammatory rhetoric gives a boost to an already lively debate: “It is time [...] for applied linguists to provide a description of lingua franca English, for by so doing they can liberate the millions upon millions of people currently teaching and learning English from inappropriate linguistic and cultural models” (Kirkpatrick 2006:81).

Yet, if we reject the NS as target model, which target do speakers then aim for instead in lingua franca interaction? “[H]ow do the language dynamics of ELF [...] actually work?” (Seidlhofer 2011: 95). This is the crucial question ELF research tries to address. Central ELF research claims include the hypothesis that communicative efficiency in ELF overrides norm conformity (Seidlhofer 2000: 65), or the even more radical assumption that linguistic features from a speaker’s first language (L1) are deliberately maintained in ELF interaction as a means of expressing the speaker’s L1 identity (Jenkins 2005: 15f.).

Empirical research on ELF has been flourishing in recent years, especially so within the realm of ELT and foreign language learning, which leads to a certain bias and casts doubt on the validity and generalizability of ELF research findings. Thus, the question remains open if and in which way ELF users outside ELT and language learning contexts are concerned with NS standard norms and how they perceive their ELF use. The present study seeks to address these questions empirically in an ELF setting of growing importance, viz. ELF use in higher education.

1.2 English-medium instruction (EMI) in higher education

1.2.1 EMI in higher education in Europe

English as a lingua franca (ELF) is omnipresent in the domain of research, as English has become the default lingua franca at international conferences, and research studies, especially in the natural sciences, are almost exclusively

published in English, even if neither authors nor publishers are based in English-speaking countries. This shift from local L1 to ELF in academic publications is particularly obvious in Germany, the country with the largest population in the European Union:

In the domain of science and research, the languages of publication until the end of World War II were German, French, and English. Today English alone clearly prevails as the dominant code within this domain. [...] In concert with the shift to publishing more articles in English, academic publishing houses also have been switching to English as the language of publication for their academic journals. (Hilgendorf 2007:138)

ELF use in academia has been continuously extending from research to all aspects of higher education in non-English speaking countries, where English medium of instruction (EMI) degree programmes have sprung up like mushrooms in recent years.

Why do higher education institutions (HEIs) offer degree programmes in English? Research and science thrive on the exchange of expertise and resources, and global knowledge networking is becoming increasingly important, among research institutions as well as between research and industry. HEIs can no longer afford to remain local if they want to raise external research funds and attract excellent scholars and students. To remain competitive, they have to aim for an international profile and strive for top reputations in rankings such as the international *Times Higher Education World Reputation Rankings* or the national ranking conducted by the *Centrum für Hochschulentwicklung* (CHE, Centre for Higher Education).

The internationalisation of higher education can be considered a global phenomenon, though driven by local needs: being the hatcheries of tomorrow's researchers and professionals, HEIs do not only aim to prepare local students for global markets, but increasingly also to educate global students for local research careers and local markets.² The domestic shortage of skilled professionals in Germany, for example, is a driving factor for German HEIs to recruit international students, since the demographic decline in Germany has led to decreasing enrolment rates (cf. Wächter 2003: 97). If tuition was carried out exclusively in the local language, prospective foreign students might anticipate insurmountable language barriers and reject the idea of going abroad to study. Thus, offering English-taught programmes represents the strategy of choice to facilitate access to higher education for speakers of other languages:

The development of English-taught degree programs across Europe, and elsewhere, is one of the potential game changers in international education. If language is no longer a barrier and the systems are relatively compatible, students will be free to pick and choose programs based on roughly the same criteria that they use for domestic programs. (Brenn-White & van Rest 2010: 22f.)

² Here the meaning of *market* is not restricted to economy in narrow sense, but also refers to other domains.

The vast majority of EMI programmes in Europe are offered at Master's level.³ The online database *MastersPortal*, a comprehensive source for an overview of Master's programmes in Europe, lists no fewer than 6,638 Master's programmes with English tuition⁴ in non-English speaking countries in Europe. Northern European countries, especially Scandinavian countries, are clearly leading the trend, as can be seen in Table 1.1, which shows the top twenty European countries with the highest proportion of EMI programmes in relation to the population size.

TOP 20 EMI Providers	Population in million (source: EuroStat)	EMI Master's programmes (source: MastersPortals)	Ratio population per EMI programme
Iceland	0,32	29	11034,48
Sweden	9,56	766	12480,42
Netherlands	16,78	1171	14329,63
Denmark	5,6	358	15642,46
Cyprus	0,87	52	16730,77
Finland	5,43	288	18854,17
Luxembourg	0,54	27	20000,00
Slovenia	2,06	90	22888,89
Norway	5,05	201	25124,38
Switzerland	8,04	312	25769,23
Estonia	1,32	49	26938,78
Lithuania	2,97	93	31935,48
Belgium	11,16	247	45182,19
Latvia	2,02	43	46976,74
Austria	8,45	166	50903,61
Portugal	10,49	166	63192,77
Czech Republic	10,52	116	90689,66
Hungary	9,91	96	103229,17
Greece	11,06	106	104339,62
Germany	82,02	765	107215,69

Table 1.1: Top 20 European countries with highest EMI ratio per capita (as of January 2014)

Looking at raw numbers of EMI Master's programmes per country (Figure 1.1), we see that Germany is the third most influential provider of English-medium

³ The following figures retrieved from the *MastersPortal* database represent the current state as of 17 January 2014. English-speaking countries (United Kingdom, Ireland and Malta) have been excluded from analysis, as well as non-European countries.

⁴ EMI in narrow sense means that tuition is carried out exclusively in English. However, many higher education institutions also offer programmes which are only partly taught in English, partly also in another language (usually the dominant local language). As searches in *MastersPortal* cannot be restricted to English-only tuition, the following figures may also include programmes with a broader application of the label EMI. With the exception of data from *MastersPortal*, the term EMI in this study will exclusively refer to English-only tuition and a distinction is made between EMI programmes in narrow sense and bilingual medium of instruction (BMI) programmes.

instruction in Europe with 765 EMI programmes, only outpaced by Sweden and the Netherlands.⁵

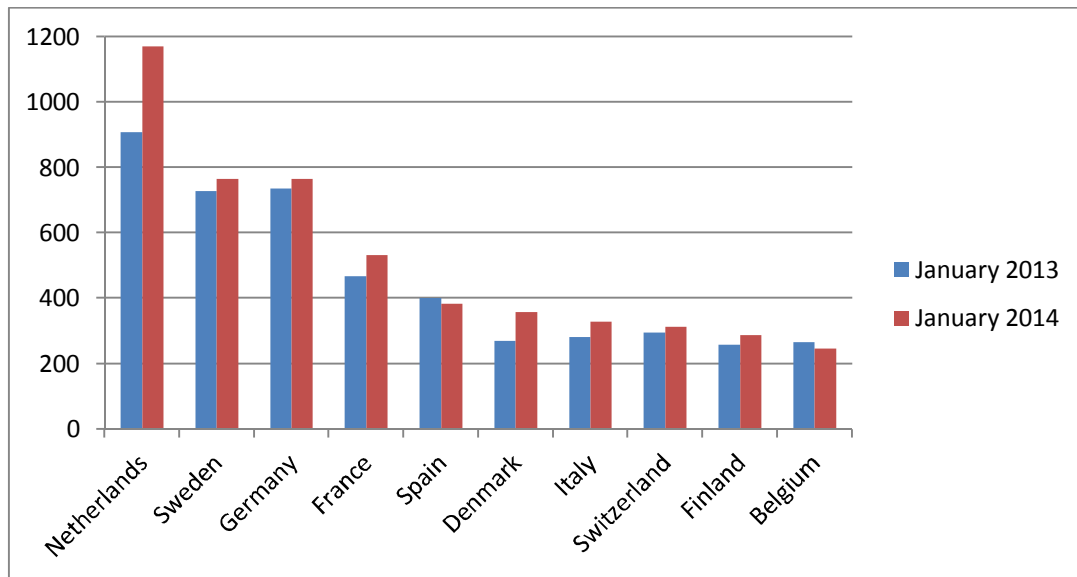


Figure 1.1: Top 10 European countries offering EMI programmes (Source: MastersPortal, Jan 2014)

We can also infer from Figure 1.1 that EMI is a growing trend since the number of EMI Masters's programmes in nearly all countries has increased within a time span of only 12 months, with a particular rise in the Netherlands.⁶ Regarding the spread of EMI over a longer period of time, Germany used to hold the leading position. Between 2007 and 2010, EMI Master's programmes in the Netherlands only have nearly doubled, while the total number of EMI Master's programmes in Germany has more than quadruplicated in the same time span (cf. Brenn-White & van Rest 2010: 21, Tab.2).

1.2.2 EMI in higher education in Germany – facts and figures

The *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD, German Academic Exchange Service) online database for international study programmes (cf. DAAD International Programmes in Germany 2014) currently lists 895 degree courses in Germany with English as the exclusive medium of instruction, 79 of which are taught at Bachelor's level, 574 at Master's level and 242 at PhD level (Figure 1.2). Like elsewhere in Europe, Master's courses represent the largest sample of international EMI programmes, although the concentration of on Master's level is particularly strong in Germany (cf. Maiworm & Wächter

⁵ In the academic year 2000-01, Germany was even the top provider of EMI programmes in Europe with regard to the absolute number of EMI programmes offered. However, with regard to the size of its tertiary education system, other European countries clearly surpassed Germany (cf. Wächter 2003).

⁶ See Hagers (2009) for an impression of the public debate on the implementation of EMI in higher education in the Netherlands.

2002).⁷ Within a period of 34 months, the number of EMI Master's courses in Germany has increased by 39% from 412 (April 2011) to 574 (January 2014). Compared to the total number of available Master's courses in Germany, one out of 10 programmes is taught in English, numbers increasing steadily (cf. DAAD).⁸

EMI in Germany by degree level

(Source: DAAD)

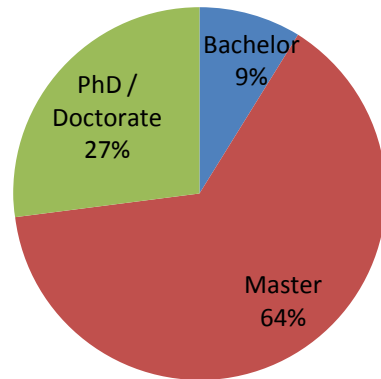


Figure 1.2: Distribution of EMI programmes in Germany according to degree level
(Source: DAAD, Jan 2014)

The majority of EMI programmes at Master's level in Germany are offered in the fields of economics, natural sciences and engineering (cf. DAAD. International Programmes in Germany 2013). The scope of these courses in terms of subject matter is either general (e.g. MSc in Sociology, Bielefeld University), highly specialized (e.g. MSc Crystalline Materials, University of Freiburg) or international (e.g. MSc Sustainable International Agriculture (SIA), University of Göttingen). Apart from a negligible number of programmes with focus on Anglophone literatures and cultures or specifically on English linguistics, there is no direct link between the subject matter and the language of instruction.

Prospective students have to prove their language competence in English – commonly by a predefined TOEFL or IELTS score – with their application as English language training is usually not part of the syllabus in EMI programmes. Up to the present, there has been no comprehensive policy for the implementation of EMI programmes at national level in Germany (e.g. by the *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* (HRK) German Rectors' Conference) and the implementation of EMI can be considered unsystematic, especially with regard to linguistic criteria (required entrance language levels vary among and within institutions) and institutional embedding (some HEIs offer identical parallel Master's courses in English and German, others only run EMI courses with unique contents).

⁷ In the academic year 2000-01, four out of five EMI programmes in Germany were offered at Master's level (Wächter 2003: 95).

⁸ According to the DAAD data base, English-taught Master's programmes make up for 10.2% of the total number of Master's courses in Germany (n=7090).

Research interest in EMI in Germany is growing, but still scarce in relation to the current expansion of EMI.⁹ Again, Scandinavian countries are leading the trend here. Besides a considerable and steadily increasing number of case studies on EMI, there are even several research centres concerned with the implementation and impact of EMI in higher education (e.g. *Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use* (CIP) in Copenhagen/DK).

In view of the growth trend of EMI in German higher education and the lack of systematic, large-scale national research projects or centres, there is a crying need for a holistic description of how EMI works in the German context. Such insights will allow for a systematic identification of generic challenges and trouble spots in EMI, a lacuna the present study aims to fill by providing an exemplary in-depth view into an EMI Master's programme in Germany. Understanding how EMI works (and does not work) will not only serve as the basis for further research, but also provide a starting point for de-/revising (EMI) language policies, for HEIs planning to offer/already offering EMI programmes in particular as well as for higher education governance in general.

1.2.3 *EMI in higher education in Germany – setting and challenges*

The prototypical German EMI setting comprises three distinctive groups of stakeholders. Firstly, there is the heterogeneous student body. As can be seen on the DAAD website, EMI Master's programmes in the strict sense (i.e. English-only programmes) are commonly also labelled as international, as they are meant to particularly attract international students. Many institutions offering EMI programmes even have admission policies that restrict domestic admissions to a given percentage. Thus the student body in such Master's courses consists of a substantial proportion of foreign students, alongside a considerably smaller one of domestic students. Regarding their linguistic backgrounds, we can speak of a multilingual classroom comprising speakers of various first language (L1) backgrounds with significantly different degrees of competence in the local language, ranging from zero knowledge to native competence. English is often the only common language in which all participants have sufficient competence to communicate with each other; hence we have a true *lingua franca* context here.

Besides multilingualism, the international student body is also heterogeneous with regard to cultural baggage and academic biographies. The students' cultural backgrounds differ greatly (regarding national cultures, regional cultures, religious cultures, etc.) as do degrees of experience with intercultural exchange and studying abroad. While some students are well acquainted with the host country and culture (domestic students and those who have spent time there prior to studying the EMI course), for others it might be their first time in Germany, or even their first stay abroad ever. Even though the

⁹ For a comprehensive overview of EMI research in Europe and Germany in particular, see Chapter 3.

students' previous academic careers have led to the same degree level (Bachelor's) or even the same degree name, contents, instruction and assessment may have been very different. These dissimilarities are already noticeable at intranational level, but even more so at international level. In sum, English-medium instruction at Master's level is directed at a heterogeneous multilingual and multicultural student body with a clear extrinsic need for *lingua franca* use.

The second stakeholder group is EMI teaching staff, a rather homogeneous group compared to students. Lecturers of German EMI courses are commonly in-house staff members who also teach in other programmes, although institutions occasionally also recruit new staff specifically for their EMI courses. As higher education in Germany is still predominantly delivered in German, lecturers are primarily German speakers (L1 speakers or speakers with near-native competence) and are more used to teaching in German than in another language.¹⁰ Their cultural backgrounds may vary, but not to the same extent as among students. Despite certainly diverse academic biographies, lecturers in EMI programmes are of course well acquainted with the German university system and its particular learning culture.

As the spread of EMI is a fairly new trend in Germany, the majority of EMI lecturers have not been exposed to EMI during their own studies at Master's level (unless they have spent time abroad or belong to the youngest generation of staff members and have only recently completed their Master's in an EMI programme). In sum, the teaching body of EMI programmes consists of linguistically and culturally rather homogeneous lecturers with different (typically low) degrees of experience with EMI, concerning teaching in English as well as receiving instruction in English.

The third stakeholder is the hosting institution. As mentioned before, tuition in the local language still prevails in German higher education and German is also the default language of administration, at least at state-funded universities. As a consequence, the introduction of EMI causes increased efforts for monolingual universities to cater for the linguistic needs of the stakeholders involved. These efforts range from official translations of legally binding documents such as study and examination regulations over hiring administrative staff with sufficient competence in English to master direct contact with non-German speakers to adjusting the institution's infrastructure (e.g. by using bilingual German-English signage in buildings or by translating web contents into English). As the formulation of official language policies is still the exception rather than the rule at German HEIs, institutional efforts to accommodate EMI are usually undertaken from a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach, i.e. efforts are made at faculty level, usually in a demand-rules-supply-manner.

In sum, the third stakeholder, the hosting institutions of EMI, is characterized by homogeneity with regard to language use (predominantly German) and language policy (frequently inexistent) and heterogeneous with

¹⁰ Lecturers at philological faculties make an exception, of course.

regard to efforts of accommodating EMI (ranging from low to high efforts and varying forms and foci).

As we see, EMI embraces three groups of stakeholders with essentially different starting conditions in terms of linguistic repertoires and (inter)cultural expertise, let alone variability within each stakeholder group. Thus we can assume that EMI represents quite a challenge for all parties involved. In order to identify what exactly the challenge consists of and develop recommendations for reducing or converting it to a venture which is intellectually productive and rewarding in human terms, we first need to investigate how EMI actually works in practice.

The driving question is how students, lecturers and institutions actually cope with the lingua franca situation: How do they interact in lingua franca English in- and outside the classroom? How does learning and teaching in a lingua franca work? What are their motivations to participate in an EMI programme? Which language proficiency levels in English do they bring in? Do other languages also play a role in EMI (albeit indirectly)? How does social/institutional interaction in an EMI community of practice work? What kind of support is offered for students and lecturers (if any)?

The twin question involved is how students, lecturers and institutions perceive the lingua franca situation and whether codified standard norms of English language usage are relevant in this context: Do they perceive any challenges or difficulties? What are their personal aims with regard to lingua franca use? Are they concerned at all with standard norms of English language usage? Do standard norms play a role in concrete interaction among EMI stakeholders? Does the lingua franca situation have an effect on the intergroup dynamics in the classroom? Do native speaker students or lecturers play a special role in an EMI community of practice? Do codified norms play a role in assessment?

Thirdly, the question is whether stakeholders' perceived challenges objectively have to do with the lingua franca situation or are caused by other circumstances: Which challenges are language-driven, which are not? Which impact do host language and culture have on the lingua franca situation in EMI? Which impact does the lingua franca situation have on host language and culture in the hosting institution? What kind of support or which strategies would be beneficial for the stakeholders involved to level out linguistic and other challenges?

1.3 Towards a grounded theory of the native speaker in lingua franca English-medium instruction

In a nutshell, the aforementioned issues can be condensed to three essential research questions:

- a. How does ELF use objectively work in EMI and what are the challenges?
- b. How do EMI stakeholders subjectively perceive ELF use in EMI and which challenges do they perceive?
- c. Which challenges raised by EMI are driven by the ELF situation and which strategies could be promoted to cope with them?

These questions have been explored in the framework of a longitudinal case study of an international EMI Master's programme at the University of Freiburg, with the aim to build a grounded theory of the role of the native speaker in lingua franca English-medium instruction. Fieldwork was carried out over a period of 22 months. The empirical data was gathered through a comprehensive mixed and multi-methods approach, including traditional ethnographic methods (participant observation, interviews), sociolinguistic methods (questionnaires, recordings, corpus generation) and psycholinguistic methods (verbal guise test), and comprises substantial amounts of qualitative as well as quantitative data.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of research on ELF and EMI, with particular attention being paid to the role of the native speaker (both as an occasionally present participant in the lingua franca setting and as an absent but influential provider of linguistic norms). After a short introduction to the native speaker concept in World Englishes (WE) and Applied Linguistic (AL) research, Chapter 2 introduces the ELF research paradigm and main findings from this growing field of research. Chapter 3 then provides an overview of current themes and findings in EMI research.

Chapter 4 introduces the grounded theory approach applied in the case study and describes the case study setting, the data gathering process and the data available to analysis.

Chapters 5 to 7 assess the aforementioned research questions in the framework of the case study with particular focus on the emic perspective. Chapter 5 gives a detailed account of the stakeholders involved in the case study and explores how ELF use works in the case study setting, which linguistic challenges it brings about and how case study participants cope with them. Chapter 6 captures students' and lecturers' attitudes towards ELF use and assesses the role of the native speaker (as target norm provider and as participant) in the case study context. Chapter 7 adds a further perspective to the discussion by assessing challenges in the EMI classroom that go beyond ELF use.

In Chapter 8, the core findings from the case study are summarized and discussed. From a sociolinguistic point of view, it provides a grounded theory of the role of the native speaker in EMI. From an applied perspective, it discusses

best practice in EMI and offers recommendations for further improvement. The chapter ends with an outlook on desiderata for further research.

With the breadth and depth of its coverage, this study seeks to provide both a contribution to linguistic expert discussions as well as a foundation for debate among EMI stakeholders and higher education policy makers. By linking up research on ELF and EMI, it contributes to the theoretical discussion of the relevance of native speaker standard norms in lingua franca contexts and the validity of the traditional distinction between native vs. non-native speakers. Furthermore, the grounded theory can also serve as the basis for developing recommendations and tools for quality management in EMI programmes and lastly, it can also provide a starting point in developing and discussing language policies for German HEIs.

2. RESEARCH BACKGROUND

The aim of this study is to build a grounded theory of English medium instruction with focus on the role of the native speaker (NS) in such a lingua franca environment. The following subchapters examine the NS concept from three different perspectives: from a theoretical sociolinguistic perspective, from an empirical applied linguistic perspective and from a proactive pragmatic perspective that conjoins these two.

After a brief summary of the traditional NS concept and its underlying ideology, Chapter 2.1 explains the problematic role of the NS within the World Englishes (WE) paradigm, where the NS ideology is criticised and the NS – NNS dichotomy partly reconceptualised. Chapter 2.2 summarizes the role of the NS in instructional settings, including both English language teaching (ELT) and English-medium instruction (EMI), where the NS norm is largely adhered to and taken for granted as target model. Chapter 2.3 then shows how ELF research aims to enlighten applied linguistics by expanding the WE research paradigm and rendering the NS irrelevant.

2.1 World Englishes and the native speaker

The native speaker concept and its ideological underpinnings have been extensively discussed in (socio)linguistic literature in the last 40 years and definitions and (re-) conceptualisations of the NS abound.¹¹ The phrase NS itself dates back to the mid-19th century when it was used to express and reinforce a nationalist ideology which “encompassed the British Empire and the US in a logic of racial exceptionalism based on both descent and culture” (Hackert 2009b: 315). In other words, the NS concept was linked to place (i.e. territories) and national identity (for a comprehensive overview of the NS in the disciplinary history of English linguistics, see Hackert 2012).

With the emergence of structuralist approaches to language in the early 20th century, the NS concept was detached from national and territorial notions and linked to arguments of time and sequence of acquisition: “The first language a human being learns to speak is his native language; he is a native speaker of this language” (Bloomfield 1933: 43). Generativist approaches to language saw the NS as an abstract idealization, e.g. in Chomsky’s definition of *competence* as an innate capacity of an “ideal speaker-listener” (Chomsky 1965).

¹¹ For a general overview of different definitions and conceptualisations of the NS and related concepts (such as mother tongue, first language, etc.) across linguistic sub-disciplines, see Davies (2003) and Doerr (2009a and 2009b).

Criticism of the prevailing NS concepts started to emerge in the 1980s, from a theoretical angle (e.g. Paikeday 1985) but also and even more so from a perspective that took the global realities of real speakers into account, i.e. from the perspective of what is today known as World Englishes (WE) research.

2.1.1 *The native speaker ideology*

Since a discussion of the various definitions and conceptualisations of the traditional NS would go beyond the scope of this study, suffice it to use an exemplary definition demonstrating the ideological bias criticised by WE research. The following definition can be found in David Crystal's *Dictionary of Phonetics and Linguistics*:

Native-speaker (n.) A term used in LINGUISTICS to refer to someone for whom a particular LANGUAGE is a **first language** or mother-tongue. The implication is that this native language, having been acquired naturally during childhood, is the one about which a speaker will have the **most reliable INTUITIONS**, and whose judgements about the way the language is used can therefore be **trusted**. In investigating a language, accordingly, one is wise to try to obtain information from native-speaking informants, rather than from those who may have learned it as a SECOND or foreign language (even if they are highly proficient). Many people do, however, develop a **'native-like' command** of a foreign language, and in bilingualism one has the case of someone who has a native command of two languages (BILINGUALISM). The term has become a sensitive one in those parts of the world where *native* has developed **demeaning connotations**. (Crystal 2003:308; my emphases in bold)

The first argument in this definition takes up Bloomfield's equation of native language (NL) with first language (L1) and reflects the tripartite distinction between first, second or foreign language speakers, the distinction being based on the order of language acquisition (cf. Quirk et al. 1972). This implies that NS status is achieved in early childhood and cannot extend to languages acquired at a later stage. Thus, a non-native speaker (NNS) whose performance resembles the NS closely enough may claim to have near-native¹² proficiency, but cannot become a NS proper.

The intertwined argument about "most reliable intuitions" reflects Chomsky's concept of an *ideal speaker-listener* by defining the NS as the only trustworthy authority over language use. Such an argument implies that native speakers define and rule over a standard norm of language use. The advice to particularly avoid second or foreign language speaker data in investigations of language use implies qualitative differences between NS and NNS data with NS data being more suitable for linguistic analysis. The concession that this NS concept is perceived as problematic in some parts of the world infers that it is taken for granted and has a neutral connotation in others.

Such a definition of the NS reflects a strong ideological bias by making a binary distinction between authorities and aspirants, viz. between natives and

¹² The inverted commas around the phrase "native-like" are possibly used to emphasise the argument that NNS can only imitate the NS and thus only ever attain "as if" status.

“others”. This line of argumentation has been criticised as discourse of “linguistic ownership” which

implies the presence of a particular ethnically defined community of native speakers which has a strong historical association with its mother tongue. Native-speaker status is acquired by way of being born into a particular group, with proficiency a result of early and continued exposure to the language in question. (Hackert 2009a: 402).

Pennycook distinguishes three ideologies of the NS in the discourse of linguistic ownership: the link between national language and native language, the ideal of a homogeneous speech community with an ideal standard language and the assumption of a NS’s utmost proficiency on all levels and in all domains of language (Pennycook 1994, in Doerr 2009b: 18f.). More radical critics accuse the underlying ideology in the traditional NS concept of *linguicism* (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1989) and *linguistic imperialism* (Phillipson 1992, 2000):

[The] terms themselves – native/non-native – are offensive and hierarchical in that they take the native as the norm, and define the Other negatively in relation to this norm. Thus are hierarchies internalized subconsciously and serve hegemonic purposes. (Phillipson 2000:98).

2.1.2 Criticism of the native speaker ideology

As of the 1980s, research interest in the global spread and use of English increased and developed into two strands: primarily descriptive approaches on the one hand (from Bailey’s and Görlach’s (1982) seminal publication *English as a world language* to the journal *English world-wide* (EWW) or more recently the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) project, to name but a few) and problematizing approaches on the other hand (for example the edited volumes *The Other Tongue* (Kachru 1982) and *The handbook of world Englishes* (Kachru, Kachru & Nelson 2009) or the journal *World Englishes* (WE)).¹³ While the former investigate the emergence of new varieties and uses of English from a descriptivist point of view, the latter give voice to the “Other” and focus more on the ideological discourses of ownership and legitimization. Both approaches challenge the traditional NS ideology by arguing that a binary distinction between native and non-native speakers does not fit the sociolinguistic realities of speakers of English in former colonial settings.

The main argument put forward in WE research is that *native* is not a static property acquired in early childhood, but rather the result of a process. Second

¹³ As a terminological discussion of *World Englishes* and related concepts would go beyond the scope of this study, the term World Englishes (WE) is taken for granted in this study and plainly refers to any dialect of English in the world. See McArthur (2004) for an overview of the emergence and use of the term *World English(es)* and related concepts (*New Englishes*, *English as an international language*, *English as a global language*, etc).

language varieties of English (which are considered non-native in the traditional sense) can and do undergo processes of *nativization* (cf. Schneider 2007).¹⁴

In distinguishing between *performance varieties* (traditional foreign language uses) and *institutionalized varieties* (traditional second language uses), Kachru stresses the different realities of non-native language use. While the former uses are restricted to specific domains, the latter have “some ontological status” as they are used in various contexts and domains, encompass a wide range of *nativized* registers and styles and display a large body of *nativized* literature with characteristic *localized* features (Kachru 1982: 38f.). From this it follows that it does not make sense to classify speakers by their sequence of language acquisition, but rather by their sociolinguistic contexts of language use.

In his trailblazing three-circle model of English, Kachru (1985) maps the traditional tripartite distinction between first, second and foreign language (with order of acquisition as distinguishing criterion) onto geographically located speech communities. The so-called *Three Circle Model* comprises a norm-providing *Inner Circle* (covering traditional ENL countries such as the UK or the USA, thus representing the speech communities traditionally associated with the NS label), a norm-developing *Outer Circle* (referring to traditional ESL countries such as India or Nigeria) and a norm-dependent *Expanding Circle* (including countries where English is spoken as a foreign language, e.g. Japan, Brazil or Germany). In this model, ESL speech communities are no longer seen as dependent on Inner Circle norms (as opposed to the Expanding Circle), but in a stage of developing their own norms.

Recognizing the emergence of new endonormative standards implies a deconstruction of the traditional definition of error as part of the traditional NS ideology. In the Outer Circle, linguistic features that do not match NS norms are no longer considered errors, but redefined as *deviations* (Kachru 1982) or *innovations* (Bamgbose 1998). Kachru defines deviation as “the result of the new ‘un-English’ linguistic and cultural setting in which the English language is used; it is the result of a productive process which marks the typical variety-specific features; and it is systemic within a variety, and not idiosyncratic” (Kachru 1982: 45). Thus, non-native features of language use are considered deviations if they fulfil a functional purpose and occur in the speech of multiple speakers, as opposed to random individual errors in the speech of foreign language speakers. Bamgbose’s definition of the term *innovation* is based on other criteria, namely on acceptability and level of education: “An innovation is seen as an acceptable variant, while an error is simply a mistake or uneducated usage” (Bamgbose 1998: 2). Bamgbose stresses that innovations will only cease to be labelled as errors if they become codified and accepted by speakers as well as by authorities (ibid.: 4).

¹⁴ Note that *nativization* here does not mean that speakers replace their first language by another variety, but the term relates to the structural and functional changes a variety is undergoing in its transition from a colonial variety to an independent postcolonial variety.

The emergence of a new endonormative standard variety involves both linguistic and attitudinal processes in a speech community: “A variety may exist, but unless it is recognized and accepted as a model it does not acquire a status” (Kachru 1982: 39). Schneider’s *Dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes* (Schneider 2007) aims to explain the underlying linguistic and attitudinal processes in five phases, wherein norm-development in the Kachravian sense would correspond to the processes involved in phase 3 (*nativization*) and partly also phase 4 (*endonormative stabilization*).

The codification and acceptance of features as legitimate deviations or innovations instead of errors eventually leads to the legitimization of non-native varieties in their own right, which by some is perceived as the creation of *third spaces* (Kramsch 1993 in Pennycook 2000: 118), by others as liberating acts in fighting back *linguistic imperialism* (Phillipson 1992) or *linguicism* (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1989). With regard to the traditional NS concept, recognizing the emergence of *nativized* post-colonial varieties in their own right implies that the NS is not the only authority over language use anymore.

Reasons for the persistence of the NS ideology are attributed to the global Anglo-Saxon hegemony (e.g. Bhatt 2007 in Lange 2012: 24) as well as to the continuous exclusivity of the NS as target model in English language teaching (ELT): “[T]he reluctance to accept the norms of spoken non-native English is tied up with the question of the variety of English which should serve as a pedagogical model in schools” (Bamgbose 1998: 8). Kachru sees the exclusive use of Inner Circle target models in ELT as *elitist prescriptivism* (Kachru 1982: 33). Besides the exclusive transmission of NS norms in ELT, Canagarajah also criticizes the *native speaker fallacy* in considering the NS a superior teacher in comparison with a NNS (Canagarajah 1999a, 1999b). He argues for a ELT pedagogy that raises the learner’s awareness to the conflicting ideologies involved in the use of English as a native vs. non-native language and that showcases “the creative communicative strategies adopted by people from their own communities from way back in history to acquire and use English in their own terms, and to resist the hegemonic ideologies of English or represent liberatory possibilities, despite the power represented by the language” (Canagarajah 2000:131). In sum, WE research argues for an extension of ELT targets and against an elitist position of the traditional NS as the only acceptable norm.

We have seen that the traditional NS concept and its underlying ideology are perceived as problematic and do not fit the global realities of speakers in postcolonial and globalizing speech communities. WE research criticizes the role of the traditional NS as exclusive norm-provider by arguing that ESL varieties can and do undergo processes of *nativization*. Thus, criticism centers around the use of NS norms as the only reference point in defining standards in ESL contexts, but it does not criticise the authoritative role of the NS in EFL contexts. In other words, it does not entail a deconstruction of the NS concept or the binary distinction between NS and NNS. The label NS is still exclusive to first language speakers as speakers of *nativized* second language varieties are

treated as similar but different, as for example in the common distinction between “traditional” and “New” Englishes (e.g. Kirkpatrick 2010). The traditional subdivision of the NNS as either second or foreign language speaker is also upheld, with the former being a speaker of an eventually *nativized* variety (not native proper!) and having the permission to develop positive attitudes towards this variety, and the latter being a learner whose target model is the traditional NS.

2.2 Applied linguistics and native speaker target norms

The NS and the differentiation between NS and NNS are central concepts in applied linguistics (AL).¹⁵ The definition of native vs. non-native status according to sequence of language acquisition (i.e. a first language speaker being a NS and a second or foreign language speaker being a NNS) manifests itself in the correspondent research branches of AL, viz. first language acquisition vs. second language acquisition.

2.2.1 *The native speaker in second language acquisition*

Second language acquisition (SLA) research is concerned with the way how speakers learn a language other than their first language (L1). This language can either be a second or a foreign language, the dividing line being the usage context of the language (natural environment vs. restricted context) and the status of the language in a speech community (official vs. informal). A second language is used in a speaker’s personal or public environment (e.g. as a family language or an official national language) and usually acquired through teaching and immersion, i.e. through being exposed to the language in naturally occurring situations. A foreign language, on the other hand, is acquired through institutionalized learning in usually non-immersive settings, e.g. as school subject.

Traditional SLA research takes the NS-NNS dichotomy for granted and distinguishes between native language and learner language. Native language use serves as target model for learning a second or foreign language and deviations from the target norms are considered errors. A fair amount of SLA research, especially in the 1970s, is concerned with analyses of the source of such deviations, whether they are transfer, intralingual or developmental errors (cf. Ellis 1994: 58f.). Especially the first type of deviation, so-called *interference-*

¹⁵ Applied linguistics generally refers to any practical application of linguistic knowledge and includes a broad range of research areas from forensic linguistics to lexicography. For the sake of brevity, the following overview is restricted to the most widespread and dominant branch of applied linguistics (both in terms of research and real life application), viz. language acquisition and teaching. For a comprehensive overview of the NS in applied linguistics, see Davies (2003).

caused errors, has received much attention (e.g. Selinker 1979, Smith & Kellerman 1986, Odlin 1989).

In language learning and teaching in practice, the NS serves as ultimate but unattainable goal (unattainable because NS status can never be achieved as it is determined by biography, not by proficiency). Although there have been advances in language teaching pedagogy over the last 30 years and the instructional focus often also includes strengthening the learners' communicative strategies (communicative language teaching (CLT), cf. Davies 2003: 116), assessment is still largely based on sanctioning deviations from NS norms as errors.

2.2.2 *The native speaker in English language teaching*

With regard to the English language, learning takes place mostly in contexts where English is spoken as a foreign language (EFL) (cf. Chapter 1.1) and hence through institutionalized instruction (commonly referred to as English language teaching (ELT)) rather than immersion (which refers to contexts where English is partly or fully institutionalized and used in everyday interaction, i.e. in ENL or ESL contexts). Such institutionalized instruction usually takes place in secondary education, yet increasingly also in primary and especially tertiary education, e.g. in specialized courses aka English for special purposes (ESP) or English for academic purposes (EAP). In nearly all European countries, EFL is an obligatory subject in secondary education (Hoffmann 2000: 13).

In ELT curricula, the NS target model is usually either British or American, representing the two largest speech communities of the *Inner Circle* in Kachru's model (cf. Kachru 1985), while other Englishes at most appear for illustrative purposes in teaching materials. The following example illustrates the emphasis on and exclusivity of *Inner Circle* norms in mainstream ELT: According to the educational standards for EFL in upper secondary education in Germany, learners should acquire a naturally-sounding pronunciation of an Inner Circle NS accent:

Die Schülerinnen und Schüler können die phonetischen und intonatorischen Elemente des **BBC English / General American** in der Kommunikation weitgehend sicher verwenden und haben eine klare, **natürliche Aussprache** erworben; [...]. (Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport des Landes Baden-Württemberg; my emphasis)¹⁶

The pupils are able to confidently apply the phonetic and intonational features of BBC English / General American in communication and have acquired a clear and natural pronunciation; [...].

¹⁶ *Bildungsstandards für Englisch (1. und 2. Fremdsprache) Gymnasium – Kursstufe, herausgegeben vom Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport des Landes Baden-Württemberg* (Educational standards for English as a first or second foreign language in upper secondary education; published by the Ministry of Education Baden-Württemberg/Germany; my translation). This language learning target refers to learners aged 16-18 who finish secondary education with the highest qualification (*Abitur*; general university entrance qualification).

Now one could ask for what purpose a foreign language learner should acquire native-like pronunciation. The goal of language learning in traditional ELT is to eventually be able to communicate effortlessly with native speakers of the language, hence the focus on NS norms as target. Communication with native speakers as target competence is for example formulated in the global scale descriptors of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR): An “independent user” with proficiency level B2 can, besides other competences, “interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party” (CEFR global scales; cf. European Council 2001).¹⁷

2.2.3 *The native speaker and (perceived) intelligibility*

The teaching of NS standard norms in EFL classrooms is also motivated by the functional argument of superior intelligibility. The NS is not only seen as target interlocutor, but native speech is also considered most intelligible, assuming that for NS, native speech is generally more intelligible than non-native speech. In ELT, this belief has led to the reverse assumption that NNS also find NS speech more intelligible than NNS speech.¹⁸

Yet, empirical studies measuring actual intelligibility (e.g. by means of measuring the outcome of a task instead of analysing the participants’ perception of the outcome) are scarce, and the few which do measure intelligibility cannot provide evidence that NNS speech is generally less intelligible than NS speech. For example, in Bent and Bradlow’s (2003) listening comprehension experiment, NS and NNS participants were confronted with different stimuli (text passages read aloud by different NS and NNS of English, the latter displaying various degrees of L1 interference in their accents) and asked to transcribe them. The results show that NS understand other NS better than NNS, but that NNS understand other NNS equally well as NS if they share the same L1, an effect which Bent and Bradlow call *matched interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit* (Bent & Bradlow 2003: 1607). In brief, there is no empirical evidence for the default assumption that native speech is linguistically more intelligible than non-native speech. Yet, the picture is different if we look at perceived intelligibility.

In contrast to the paucity of intelligibility studies proper, there is an abundance of empirical studies assessing perceived intelligibility of native vs. non-native speech, usually by means of a verbal or matched-guise experiment. The results regarding perceived intelligibility uniformly show that NS perceive

¹⁷ CEFR descriptor scales are often used as the basis of ELT goals in primary and secondary education, as for example in the level concretion of English as foreign language in secondary education published by the Ministry of Education Baden-Württemberg/Germany (*Niveaunkonkretisierungen Englisch als Fremdsprache an Gymnasien*)

¹⁸ The popular fear of communication breakdown caused by mutually unintelligible pronunciations seems to have inspired this assumption (cf. Gnutzmann & Intemann 2005: 18f.).

native speech as more intelligible than non-native speech. For example, Bresnahan et al. (2002) found that NS rated a native accent as more intelligible than non-native accents, and the NS participants in Lindemann's (2002) experimental study, who had to perform a map task, also perceived intelligibility to be superior in NS-NS dyads as opposed to NS-NNS dyads (Lindemann 2002; for similar results see also Rubin & Smith 1990, Rubin 1992, Derwing & Munro 1997 and Llurda 2000).

Besides perceived intelligibility, the cited studies also measured participants' attitudes towards native and non-native speech or speakers. When these attitudinal responses are matched with the intelligibility ratings, the overall results are different: positive intelligibility ratings correlate with positive attributions of intelligence and trustworthiness, while negative intelligibility ratings correlate with negative ethnic stereotypes (Rubin 1992, Lindemann 2002; see also Ritzau, Kirilova & Jørgensen 2009 for similar results in a Danish context) and perceived foreignness (Rubin & Smith 1990, Llurda 2000).

Analogous findings are also reported for NNSs' perceptions of native and non-native speech. For example, the NNS participants in Beinhoff's study assigned higher prestige to near-native accents than to non-native accents, including their own (Beinhoff 2013). Similarly, the NNS raters in Fayer and Krasinski's experiment were less tolerant towards deviations in non-native speech than the NS raters (Fayer & Krasinski 1987). In sum, perceived intelligibility depends on positive attitudes towards the speaker and these attitudes in turn depend on stereotypes and beliefs about the prestige of a variety and its speakers. In other words, the belief in superior intelligibility of native speech is indicative of the *NS fallacy* (Cangarajah 1999a).

As regards the self-perception and self-categorization of NNS, ethnographic SLA research has demonstrated that the labels NS and NNS are primarily social constructs: "[T]he determination of the identity of international speakers of English as 'native' or 'nonnative speakers' depends upon social factors that are not contemplated within the linguistic construct of the native speaker" (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy 2011: 102). Along the same lines, Tokumoto and Shibata explain the divergent attitudes and NNS self-perceptions of their Japanese, Korean and Malaysian research participants with "the historical and political backgrounds in the societies which might have impacted on the process of constructing L2 learners' language identity" (Tokumoto & Shibata 2011: 392). In other words, NS and NNS identities are determined by social, cultural and psychological constraints.

2.2.4 *The native speaker fallacy and the non-native speaker teacher*

SLA research with focus on second language settings in the narrow sense (as opposed to foreign language instruction settings) questioned and challenged the NS ideology already in the 1980s. Disapproval of the dominant position of the first language speaker in defining language use norms was inspired by (early)

sociolinguistics: if native speakers themselves show variation (be it regional, social or functional) in their speech and do not adhere uniformly to an idealized standard, why should second language speakers do so and consider their deviations from this idealized standard as errors? As early as 1983, Loveday called for a readjustment of target norms for second language teaching:

L2 pedagogy must come to terms with both non-native L2 variation with its inherent 'deviancy' and native L2 [sic!] variation as revealed by sociolinguistics. The recognition and acceptance of both these phenomena must lead to the necessary relaxation of many traditional norms in L2 education. This will mean an end of classroom learning as relentless corrective interaction, the damaging effects of hostile attitudes towards natural and 'creative' error and the socially unrealistic maintenance of an absolutist and artificial standard variety. (Loveday 1983: 210).

Criticism of the NS target model in SLA is closely linked to criticism of the NS ideology in WE research, as the perpetuation of the NS as benchmark is considered evidence of deeply ingrained *linguicism* (cf. Canagarajah 1999a, 1999b; Modiano 2000). Discrimination against the non-native speaker is particularly apparent in recruitment practices in the ELT sector, where NS instructors are often preferred over NNS instructors (Canagarajah 1999a; cf. Oda 1999, Kubota 2009). A considerable number of publications in applied linguistics particularly address the inferiority complexes of non-native English speaker teachers (so-called NNESTs) (e.g. Canagarajah 1999b; Lurda 2005; Braine 1999, 2010). The majority make a plea for the empowerment of NNESTs, with some even considering the NS an "obstacle" that "hinders communication" (Graddol 2006: 114f.) and near-native fluency "an utterly utopian goal that results in psychological defeatism" (Loveday 1983: 210). Discussions of "the dark side of being a non-native" (Medgyes 1999: 31) and acknowledgement of the NS teacher as role model are highly unpopular and rarely formulated explicitly in applied linguistic studies.

2.2.5 *The native speaker as essential target model in language teaching practice*

Despite all problematizing of the NS ideology in ELT, bottom-up mutiny against the NS supremacy by NNS learners and teachers has not been reported yet. Quite the contrary, many, if not the majority of, EFL learners exhibit very positive attitudes towards NS target models, and also many ELT practitioners consider the NS as most appropriate model for learning a language.

Timmis' (2002) survey is, to my knowledge, population wise the largest study of NNS learners' and teachers' attitudes towards NS norms in ELT. The study comprises questionnaire data from 400 learners of English from 14 different countries and from 180 teachers of English from 45 different countries. The results show that teachers are more tolerant towards NNS English while learners still exhibit more conservative attitudes, the majority expressing a clear preference for NS norms as language learning target, even

though not all of them have aspirations to use the language in an ENL setting (Timmis 2002: 248).

A similar survey was conducted by Ranta (2010) who investigated attitudes towards English among Finnish high school students and teachers. The results are less univocal than in Timmis' study as the students in her study express mixed feelings towards the NS model: 70% of students claim to not adhere to any specific NS standard variety of English in their usage, with some even stating that aiming for a NS pronunciation would make them sound "phony" or "ridiculous", while others explain their non-standard usage by their reduced proficiency, i.e. being not "good enough" at English (Ranta 2010: 163f.).¹⁹ Nevertheless, the learners clearly distinguished between "real' English" (i.e. NS English) and non-native English and some even associated NS English with 'school English' (ibid.: 165).

The teachers in Ranta's study represent the traditional ELT dogma with a binary choice between two NS target models. All of them claim to use a NS variety of English themselves (85% British English and 15% American English) and none of them question their target model: "Following a native norm seemed to be so self-evident to the teachers that none of them gave reasons for choosing to use a native norm in the first place, but rather explained why they had chosen the British norm over the American one or vice versa" (ibid.: 168). Despite a "strong awareness of the real-world circumstances" among younger teachers, the NS model is still considered "an appropriate yardstick for measuring their students' skills" (ibid.: 174).²⁰ Ranta concludes that ELT curricula are amenable to educational authorities and teachers thus restricted in their choice of target models and teaching contents. She is convinced, however, that her Finnish research participants are more progressive than EFL students and teachers in other European countries (ibid.: 175).

In the tertiary education context, Erling analysed the sociolinguistic profiles of German university students of English (Erling 2005). The majority of students in this survey are prospective teachers of English at secondary schools and thus represent both roles, i.e. the role of the learner of English and the role of the teacher(-to-be) of English. When asked about their preferred target model in learning English, a clear majority of 61% showed preference of a native variety, as opposed to 34% opting for a "neutral variety".²¹ Reasons for the

¹⁹ Ladegaard and Sachdev also investigated Danish high school and university students' attitudes towards English, with focus on their motivations of learning. The results confirm what the authors call "language-culture discrepancy hypothesis": learners can have highly positive attitudes towards a NS speech community (American English in this case), but nevertheless refuse to adopt elements of that culture in their speech (Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006). Further studies addressing (adult) learners' motivations to study English include Riemer (2003) and Erling (2005, 2007).

²⁰ The NNS teachers of English in Young and Walsh's study also expressed a strong belief in the need of a standard target model in ELT "even when participants acknowledged that it does not really correspond to the reality of Englishes which are in use worldwide" (Young & Walsh 2010: 135).

²¹ Unfortunately, the term "neutral variety" is not further specified in Erling's study. She explains, however, that the question about students' preferences with regard to target models was designed to test ELF research hypotheses as postulated by Seidlhofer (2001), Jenkins

students' preference of a NS model are above all due to their explicit desire to disguise their non-native origin and become fully accepted by the NS speech community, as well as in the perceived authenticity of NSE (not sounding "artificial") (Erling 2005: 221).

As a conclusion, one can say that learners and teachers of English still largely adhere to the traditional NS ideology in ELT, even though SLA research has been criticising the NS fallacy in EFL pedagogy for quite some time already.

2.2.6 Summary: The role of the native speaker in applied linguistics

This chapter has shown that the NS concept has a long tradition in applied linguistics. Especially in second language acquisition theory, the NS still represents the ultimate yet inaccessible learning goal and the benchmark for correctness, while deviations from the NS norm are sanctioned as errors. The teaching of NS target norms is commonly justified by the assumption that the long-term aim of language learning is interaction with native speakers of the target language. With regard to English as a foreign language, traditional ELT curricula promote the two largest ENL varieties, viz. British and American English, as exclusive target models for learners.

The NS is not only seen as target interlocutor, but often also as more intelligible than the NNS, proceeding from the assumption that non-native speech can cause communicative breakdown by its potential unintelligibility (the question who would suffer from this supposed unintelligibility remains unresolved). Empirical research on actual or perceived intelligibility has shown, however, that intelligibility is determined by sociopsychological factors, i.e. by the listener's attitude towards a speaker, including stereotypes and beliefs about his/her ethnographic background.

Related research on speakers' self-categorizations as NS or NNS has shown that the labels as such are social rather than linguistic constructs and that a speaker's socio-political environment can have considerable influence on his/her identity construction as NS or NNS. SLA research with focus on ESL settings has challenged the validity of NS models in ELT, accusing it of *linguicism* and *linguistic imperialism*, and many ELT researchers have embraced this criticism with complaints about the marginalization and discrimination of NNS teachers of English, although there are still ELT researchers who consider the NS as the only viable target model.

While many applied linguists have voiced criticism of the NS model, EFL learners and teachers largely exhibit conservative views. In various empirical studies of learners' and/or teachers' attitudes towards NS norms in ELT, learners expressed strongly positive attitudes towards the NS target model, sometimes even regardless of their motivation for learning the language. EFL teachers, although usually to a lesser extent than learners, also adhere to the NS

(2000) and Modiano (2000) (Erling 2005: 221). We can assume that "neutral variety" is meant to refer to ELF, although ELF is of course neither a variety nor neutral.

ideology in ELT. In sum, we can say that ELT participants (i.e. learners and teachers) are more conservative than ELT and SLA researchers and that the NS ideology is still vital and predominant in ELT.

2.3 English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) research and the marginalization of the Native Speaker

The growing use of English as a means of communication among speakers of different first languages, i.e. the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF), received comparably little attention in linguistic research in the 20th century and descriptive studies of ELF (e.g. Firth 1990) were scarce. The situation changed at the turn of the century with two publications addressing the growing ELF phenomenon from a theoretical (Seidlhofer 2001) and applied perspective (Jenkins 2000), laying the foundation for a rapidly growing field of research in its own right (for a concise overview of ELF research see Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey (2011), for a more comprehensive discussions of ELF research refer to the monographs by Seidlhofer (2011), Mauranen (2012) and Jenkins (2013).

2.3.1 The ELF research agenda

ELF research aims to expand the World Englishes (WE) paradigm and challenge persistent ideologies in English language teaching (ELT). Seidlhofer (2000, 2001) was the first to discuss the conceptual gap in the WE paradigm and the inappropriateness of the native speaker (NS) – non-native speaker (NNS) dichotomy in lingua franca contexts. Since speakers from the ‘Expanding Circle’ (cf. Chapter 2.2 for a description of Kachru’s (1985) three-circle model) increasingly use English for communication among themselves, they are believed to develop their own usage norms rather than orienting towards ‘Inner Circle’ norms, in analogy to the developments in the ‘Outer Circle’ as described in WE research (e.g. Schneider 2007). Seidlhofer thus called for an empirical description of ELF use in its own right: “[N]ow that the right to descriptions in their own terms has finally been recognized for nativized varieties of English, it is high time that we granted the same right to ELF” (Seidlhofer 2001: 138). A steadily increasing number of scholars have followed her call since then, contributing both to the theoretical discussion of ELF (cf. Chapter 2.3.2) as well as to its empirical description (cf. Chapter 2.3.3).

In its early stages, ELF research was closely associated with WE research, and its primary concern was legitimizing ELF as a variety in its own right (e.g. Seidlhofer 2001, Seidlhofer & Jenkins 2003). The focus of early empirical ELF studies thus lay on the identification of recurrent and salient ELF usage features to provide evidence of an ongoing standardization of ELF with the ultimate aim to codify this norm (e.g. Meierkord 2000). Several attempts were made to readjust the Kachruvian three-circle model to include ELF, e.g. Chew’s spiral

model (Chew 2009)²² or Yano's three-dimensional model of World Englishes (Yano 2009)²³, albeit with faint acknowledgement in sociolinguistics.²⁴

Various scholars criticized the inappropriateness of localizing ELF in conjunction with geographically defined varieties, e.g. James discussing the 'geographic fallacy' in ELF research by pointing out the 'discoursal hybridity' of ELF (James 2008). Others pointed to the fact that ELF as a non-native 'Expanding Circle' variety of English would not fit into the traditional WE paradigm because its users do not have a stake in indigenization or identity-marking processes (Pakir 2009).

Empirical research assessing potential variety status for EuroEnglish as a lingua franca variety in its own right comes to the conclusion that EuroEnglish (and as a consequence also any other locally conceptualized 'ELF variety') cannot be considered a variety in the traditional sense, but rather as "language use mode" (Kecskes 2007) or register (James 2000, Mollin 2006a, 2006b, 2007). ELF scholars successively changed their focus of investigation "from an orientation to features and the ultimate aim of some kind of codification, to an interest in the processes underlying and determining the choice of features used in any given ELF interaction" (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 287). Recent ELF research presents itself as going with the tide of global realities, neglecting unfruitful earlier research foci:

[F]or much English use as a lingua franca in the world, questions of variety status are simply irrelevant – these are questions that may still exercise (some) linguists, while the actual speakers have moved on. And linguistics needs to move on accordingly. (Seidlhofer 2011: 76)

Jenkins (2012) even turns the tables and criticizes WE and applied linguistic research for partly being too narrow-minded and inflexible to conceive of language beyond socio-geographical parameters:

The problem for some working at the more traditional end of ELT and SLA, and in World Englishes, seems to be a difficulty in conceptualizing language except in relation to the nation state, each with its (relatively) fixed, bounded, native language. (Jenkins 2012: 491)²⁵

²² Chew argues that ELF is currently undergoing a forming phase and will soon transcend into a norming phase which entails the identification and codification of locally based ELF macro- and micro-varieties (such as Euro English, East Asian English, German English or Korean English) (Chew 2009:220).

²³ Yano includes a third dimension into Kachru's three-circle model and distinguishes varieties not only with regard to their local uses (EuroEnglish varieties or Intraregional Standard Englishes (Intra-RSE)) but also with regard to their functional purposes (English for specific cultures (ESC), English for general purposes (EGP) or English as an international language (EIL)). Despite the introduction of new labels, the native speaker is still used as benchmark for proficiency: "For the lack of a better term, 'the proficiency level of adult native speakers' is used, to signify the proficiency of someone who can understand and be understood with no difficulty in English for General Purposes (EGP), namely, the basic communicative skill in English" (Yano 2009: 250).

²⁴ Seidlhofer concedes that in spite of the conceptual shortcomings of Kachru's model, "no alternative models and terms that have been put forward have gained widespread acceptance and currency in the literature" (Seidlhofer 2011: 5).

²⁵ Jenkins seems to be unaware of current advances in sociological and sociolinguistic research which particularly address the impact of globalization on language (e.g. de Swaan 2001,

While questions of variety status and geographically situated ELF speech communities seem to have gone out of fashion in ELF research, the question of endonormative stabilization of ELF has not completely been discarded. For example, Mauranen (2012) foresees the possibility of emerging norms in English as lingua franca in academia (ELFA) because of the relative stability of its community:

Although ELF is typically associated with fleeting encounters between strangers, it is also the working language of more long-lasting communities, for example business, trade, or academia. Spontaneous norms arise in communities of these kinds; they can thus become endonormative for their own duration and purposes. In the absence of linguistic authority other than communicative efficiency, group norms are negotiated internally. (Mauranen 2012: 6)²⁶

2.3.2 *The marginal role of the native speaker in ELF research*

As mentioned above (Chapter 2.3.1), ELF research as a subdiscipline at the intersection between sociolinguistics and applied linguistics came into being at the turn of the millennium. While early ELF research attempted to join in with WE research, recent ELF research rather situates itself in a contact linguistic framework with focus on the sociolinguistics of globalisation (e.g. Dewey 2007, James 2009).

A recurrent discourse in ELF research is the *transformationalist*²⁷ discourse with particular emphasis on the overvaluation of the role of the NS (Dewey 2007) and on the novelty of the ELF phenomenon with regard to the speed and range of its spread in comparison to other *lingua francas*. Seidlhofer (2011) argues that “we are faced with an unprecedented situation which is giving rise to unprecedented ideas as to what it means ‘to speak a language’ to achieve effective communication” (Seidlhofer 2011: 61; see also Seidlhofer 2009a). Globalisation leads to changing circumstances (including the emergence of global discourse communities) to which ELF users readily adapt with their “natural tendency for effective communication” (Dewey 2007: 339). As a consequence, traditional concepts need to be reassessed and reconceptualised to fit this new reality:

[U]nderstanding this inevitably undermines established ideas about community and variety. The appropriation of the language as a lingua franca necessarily focuses attention not on what is proper English in reference to standard or native-speaker norms, but what is appropriate English for new and different communicative and communal purposes. (ibid.: 88)

Blommaert 2010) and investigate for example diasporic language use and globalising vernaculars (e.g. Mair & Lacoste 2012, Mair 2013, Moll forthcoming).

²⁶ Schneider also hypothesises about stabilizing effects in sociolinguistically stable ELF settings (Schneider 2012).

²⁷ The term is borrowed from Held et al.’s (1999) conceptualisation of globalisation and used in Dewey (2007) to explain the impact of globalisation on ELF and the *transformationalist* approach taken by ELF research as opposed to the *hyperglobalist* position ascribed to applied linguistics and ELT in particular (Dewey 2007: 345).

If ELF neither is a variety nor has a geographically locatable speech community, what is it then and who are the speakers? Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey define ELF as “a multilingual activity involving speakers who have come together from a range of different geographical regions” (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 285).

Seidlhofer conceptualises ELF as more transient, “as a means of intercultural communication not tied to particular countries and ethnicities, a linguistic resource that is not contained in, or constrained by, traditional (and notoriously tendentious) ideas of what constitutes ‘a language’” (Seidlhofer 2011: 81). Others define ELF by its “inherent diversity” (Firth 2009) and by its “performativity” and “fluidity” (Dewey 2009), the latter term referring to the sociolinguistic instability of ELF communication (see also Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011). ELF users do not belong to clearly definable or regionally locatable speech communities, but instead ELF use is best conceptualised by a *communities of practice* approach (Wenger 1998) (cf. Seidlhofer 2011 and Ehrenreich 2009, 2010).

Conceptual discussions of ELF include reassessments of the NS–NNS dichotomy. Initial ELF research was primarily concerned with highlighting differences between ENL and ELF use, excluding NS participants from ELF data collections and analyses and considering only NNS as *ELF users* proper (e.g. Firth 1990).²⁸ Acknowledging the naturally occurring presence of the occasional NS in ELF interactions, in the bulk of recent ELF studies the term *ELF users* encompasses both NS and NNS, on the premise that NS are not in the majority and do not dominate the discourse (e.g. Jenkins 2012: 487) The VOICE corpus (cf. Chapter 2.3.3) for example aims to represent “intercultural communication between non-native and native speakers of English in equal proportions” with regard to turn length and frequency (Breiteneder et al. 2006: 165f.).

With regard to linguistic authority, the NS as abstract provider of norms plays a marginal if not insignificant role in ELF research. Neither are NS legitimized to “determine the linguistic ‘agenda’ of ELF” nor should ELF users “feel the need to defer to them for appropriate English use” (Jenkins 2012: 487). Native English varieties are “only versions, historically shaped to suit the social and communicative requirements of certain communities and so necessarily of restricted relevance to other users of the language” (Seidlhofer 2011: 148). In other words, native speaker norms might be useful in English as a native language (ENL) settings, but they are not appropriate for ELF use.

The formal features of ELF, like those of any natural language, are motivated by the functions they are required to serve and in this respect they are not abnormal at all but on the contrary conform to certain basic principles which are incompatible with conformity to native-speaker norms. (Seidlhofer 2011: 148).

²⁸ Several other labels for ELF users and dichotomies had been proposed, e.g. ‘successful users of English’ (SUEs) (Prodromou 2008) or Jenkins’s distinction between monolingual, bilingual and non-bilingual speakers of English (MES, BES and NBES) (Jenkins 2000), but were later discarded in favour of the less restrictive and more versatile term ‘ELF user’.

House argues that ELF has become “de-nationalized” and does no longer convey Anglo-American norms and values (House 2005: 56). Haberland even assumes that “[m]ost native speakers are neither willing nor able” to serve as linguistic authorities any more (Haberland 2011: 945). For Jenkins, “ELF is not about how closely someone approximates ENL, but about how skillfully users communicate in intercultural settings”, and she therefore considers it a natural consequence that “nativeness loses both its relevance and its traditional positive connotations” (Jenkins 2013: 38).²⁹

As a consequence of the inappropriateness of NS norms in ELF, NNS ELF users should not be conceived of as “eternal learners” (Mauranen 2006: 147) but as “highly skilled communicators who make use of their multilingual resources in ways not available to monolingual NSEs [=native speakers of English; SG]” (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 284). NS are thus not the default linguistic authorities in ELF communication, but instead have to appropriate their ways of speaking in order to communicate effectively (Jenkins 2012: 487).³⁰

Furthermore, NNS do not strive for native-like correctness but rather aim for “successful communication” (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 284) and have a clear “desire to be understood” (Jenkins 2006b: 47). Effective ELF communication can be achieved by means of various strategies (cf. Chapter 2.3.3) which need to be acquired by ELF users regardless of their language acquisition background, i.e. NNS as well as NS have to acquire these strategies:

The crucial point, however, is that ELF (unlike EFL) is not the same phenomenon as English as a Native Language (ENL), and therefore needs to be acquired by L1 English speakers too, albeit their starting point, native English [...] makes the process less arduous. (Jenkins 2012: 486f.)

A main difference between ELF research and ELT research and practice consists in different conceptualisations of deviances from NS norms. While such nonconformities are considered errors in ELT, they are treated as ‘innovations’ (Dewey & Leung 2010), ‘variations’ (Seidlhofer 2011) or ‘preferences’ (Jenkins 2013: 26) in ELF. Variation in ELF use is manifold, but not unsystematic, as many empirical studies have shown (Seidlhofer 2011: 108; see also Chapter 2.3.3), and ELF use is essentially characterized by performativity (ibid.: 97) and creativity:

ELF users exploit the possibilities of the virtual language to their own ends, appropriate it for their own purposes. ELF users thereby produce actual language that is exceptional to the extent that it does not fully conform to the regulative conventions

²⁹ Jenkins cautiously forecasts that some sort of ELF norms might eventually become established, at least in the domain of academia, and could supplant the role of NS norms: “[I]t is not altogether impossible to imagine a time when NES academics’ submissions are sometimes rejected for not satisfying new international intelligibility requirements” (Jenkins 2013: 53).

³⁰ In her monograph on ELF in Higher Education, Jenkins cautions that ELF researchers do not claim “that all English used by ELF speakers, NNS or NES, is by definition acceptable, or that all the processes and features found in ELF communication are different from those of native English” (Jenkins 2013: 25).

that define ENL grammar and usage. This is what makes these users creative. (Seidlhofer 2011: 120)

The bulk of ELF research thus aims to describe this ‘creativity’ in order to show how nonconformity to NS norms can even enhance communication, and with the ultimate aim to draw conclusions and formulate recommendations for ELT practice.

2.3.3 Empirical descriptions of ELF

Empirical research on ELF use largely draws on naturalistic data of spoken ELF interaction. The prevailing preference of spoken language data is supposed to lie in the nature of the primary focus of ELF research, namely “to further the understanding of how the language develops when used, predominantly but not only, by non-native speakers across the boundaries of primary speech communities” (Seidlhofer 2011: 23). Since the focus lies on the description of language change, spoken language is more likely to exhibit the emergence of new patterns than written language.

Over the last decade, various corpora of spoken ELF interaction have been compiled. Large-scale corpora (one million words or more) include the *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (VOICE, directed by Barbara Seidlhofer at the University of Vienna), the *English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings Corpus* (ELFA, directed by Anna Mauranen at the University of Helsinki) and recently also the *Asian Corpus of English* (ACE, directed by Andy Kirkpatrick at the University of Hong Kong).

Smaller corpus compilations include the *Tübingen English as a Lingua Franca Corpus* (TELF, directed by Kurt Kohn and Michaela Albl-Mikasa at the University of Tübingen), the *Studying in English as a Lingua Franca Corpus* (SELF, subproject of the ELFA corpus project) and numerous unpublished corpora compiled for individual studies (e.g. Pölzl 2003, Mollin 2006a, Kecskes 2007, Prodromou 2008). A corpus of written ELF is currently being compiled (Written Academic English as Lingua Franca corpus (WrELF, also directed by Anna Mauranen at the University of Helsinki).

As regards research methodology, most empirical ELF studies pursue a mixed-methods approach albeit with clear emphasis on qualitative analyses. Various studies also apply a multi-method approach by combining different types of analyses (e.g. corpus analysis and conversation analysis as in Mauranen 2012) and/or types of data (e.g. naturalistic data and elicited data as in Björkman 2009, 2013).

Ethnographically oriented studies of ELF, albeit being explicitly called for (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006: 21), are still scarce. The few exceptions include Smit (2009, 2010) on ELF in Higher Education, Ehrenreich (2009,

2010) on ELF in business settings (BELF), and Guido (2008) on ELF use in an immigration setting.³¹

ELF research covers a large variety of domains of language use, including English language teaching and teacher training (e.g. Jenkins 2007), academia and higher education (e.g. Mauranen 2012, Smit 2010; see also Chapter 3.2.4), business (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010, Firth 2009), immigration (e.g. Guido 2008) or student mobility (e.g. Kalocsai 2009, 2013) among others.

With regard to linguistic levels, ELF research considers all levels, but the main interest lies in lexicogrammar and pragmatics. The following sections exemplarily outline selected ELF studies and findings. For a comprehensive account of empirical ELF research, refer to Seidlhofer (2011) and Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011) and the respective chapters in Mauranen (2012) and Jenkins (2013).

2.3.3.1 ELF phonology: Intelligibility and (accent) acceptability

Jenkins's (2000) book-length treatment of ELF phonology – together with Seidlhofer's (2001) theoretical discussion of ELF – laid the foundation for ELF research. Jenkins analysed non-standard pronunciation and suprasegmental features as frequently found in non-native speech (e.g. non-standard word stress or preference of strong forms over weak forms) and classified them according to their degree of disturbance with regard to intelligibility as 'core' and 'non-core' features, the former building the basis of what she conceptualizes as the *Lingua Franca Core* (LFC) (Jenkins 2000).³² Intelligibility in ELF interaction thus does not generally depend on the native-likeness of a speaker's pronunciation, but varies for individual pronunciation features (see also Pickering 2006 and Osimk 2009 for a (partial) confirmation of Jenkins's findings).

Jenkins's proposal of a *Lingua Franca Core* for pronunciation received considerable criticism in applied linguistics (e.g. Gnutzmann & Intemann 2005 (introduction), Taylor 2006, Timmis 2002) and sociolinguistics (e.g. Trudgill 2008, Rajagopalan 2010).³³ In a recent publication, Jenkins admits that her early attempts at describing ELF phonology can be considered "naïve" compared to "the more nuanced ELF research and conceptualizations that followed" (Jenkins 2012: 488).

By and large, intelligibility in ELF is rather a matter of receptive accommodation than of production, since intelligibility is largely determined by

³¹ For a discussion of the methodology applied in their studies, see Chapter 4.1.

³² Note that the title of this publication does not refer to ELF but to English as an international language (EIL) since the label ELF was not yet widely acknowledged by the time of publication. Jenkins's monograph (Jenkins 2000) can however be categorized as early ELF research since it principally makes the same claims as later publications which explicitly address the ELF phenomenon (see also Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 287).

³³ For an extensive discussion of (the drawbacks of) the *Lingua Franca Core*, including Jenkins's response defending her model, see for example the various contributions in Dziubalska-Kolaczyk & Przedlacka (2008).

the listener's exposure to a certain accent, i.e. the more often ELF users interact with each other, the less frequent intelligibility problems among them become (Smit 2009).

With regard to target accent models, Seidlhofer claims that ELF users "are not primarily concerned with emulating the way native speakers use their mother tongue within their own communities" (Seidlhofer 2001: 141). Jenkins assumes that raising ELF users' awareness of "the facts of sociolinguistic variation" will lead them to come to terms with the non-nativeness of their non-native English accents and to construct and index their own ELF identity through L1-influenced accent features:

[H]aving been apprised of the facts of sociolinguistic variation, learners may prefer to project their own (L2) [=referring to ELF; SG] regional and social identity through their accent. In this case their goal is more likely to be an accent that retains a clear trace of their L1, provided that it does not threaten the intelligibility of their pronunciation in their target (probably ELF) communication contexts. (Jenkins 2005: 151)

However, several empirical studies assessing ELF users' attitudes towards (their own and others') non-native accents show that the NS as target model for pronunciation (and other areas of language production) is still the preferred option.

In a longitudinal survey of international students' attitudes towards their non-native uses of English, Adolphs found "little evidence [...] that the students consider native speaker norms irrelevant either in the local or in the global context" (Adolphs 2005: 130). Several other studies conducted in higher education settings report similar findings, albeit with more optimistic interpretations of the results (e.g. Grau 2005, Erling 2005, Young & Walsh 2010).

The participants in Jenkins's (2007) study of ELF attitudes expressed ambivalent feelings and contradictory attitudes towards their non-native accents (see also Jenkins 2009a, 2009b). On the one hand, several interview participants claimed to be at ease with their own NNS accent, on the other hand all of the seventeen teachers-to-be in Jenkins's interviews invariably maintained "that an NS English accent is 'good' and an NNS 'bad'" (Jenkins 2007: 217), the majority showing "a strong sense that they desired a native-like identity as signalled by a native-like accent, especially in their role as teachers" (ibid.: 231). Similar findings are reported from interviews with international postgraduate students from various disciplines (Jenkins 2013).³⁴

The reason for non-native speakers' adherence to the NS target model seems to be caused by "entrenched attitudes and established traditional views of native-speaker authority" (Seidlhofer 2011: 38) and by non-native ELF users'

³⁴ There is a strong bias towards educational settings and (prospective) English language teachers as participants in research assessing ELF users' attitudes. Future ELF research would gain from expanding and focusing investigation to other domains, as for example done by Ehrenreich (2009) in a business ELF setting.

linguistic biographies, i.e. by their former experience as EFL learners (cf. Ehrenreich 2009).

Positive attitudes towards ELF use can supplant self-perceptions as deficient learners through exposure to ELF. In a longitudinal study of ELF users' discursal identity constructions, Virkkula and Nikula (2010) showed that positive attitudes towards ELF use can emerge with ELF users' experience with ELF, with extensive ELF immersion (i.e. participation in an ELF *community of practice*) eventually leading to a shift from educational deficiency discourses towards discourses as successful users.

Jenkins assumes that strong attachment to the NS target model is for now a matter of age and is optimistic about the future of ELF as younger people supposedly "have experienced ELF communication at first hand, and (perhaps partly for this reason) [are] more receptive to ELF in theory and to (English) language change in general" (Jenkins 2009a: 205).

2.3.3.2 ELF lexicogrammar: Functional variation

ELF syntax is rarely assessed in ELF research. The few exceptions show that ELF syntax largely conforms to native speaker norms (e.g. Meierkord 2004, 2006). Research on ELF morphology is largely concerned with the identification of systematic morphological 'variations' (i.e. deviances from the NS norm frequently found in the utterances of speakers of different native language background and thus not traceable to L1 interference) and interpretations of their indexical or discourse functions.

For example, Breiteneder's (2009) analysis of a sample of ELF conversations reveals that speakers occasionally omit the third person singular marker {-s} in some contexts, but use it in others. Despite weak quantitative evidence, Breiteneder interprets her findings as evidence of the irrelevance of NS norm-conformity in ELF.³⁵ Zero marking of the third person singular in verb forms is seen as proof of ELF users' sense of linguistic economy and communicative efficiency and as indexing ELF identities and emancipation from NS ideologies:

These speakers do not need to make use of language-internal markers of prestige and social status, such as '3rd person -s', particularly because they are already asserting their educational status by taking part in European affairs and by being able to use an additional language successfully. (Breiteneder 2009: 263)

Other studies show that non-standard morphological variation can also fulfil discourse functions. Ranta (2006) for example found that the use of the progressive aspect in contexts where standard English would prefer the simple

³⁵ Breiteneder admits that her results are not statistically significant, but argues they could be the first signs of an emergent pattern caused by ongoing language change (Breiteneder 2009: 262).

form has an ‘attention-catching’ function through its markedness (quoted in Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 300).

2.3.3.3 ELF phraseology: Compositionality and creativity

ELF idiomaticity is characterized by a preference for semantic transparency and compositionality and by “online creativity” (Kecskes 2007; see also Seidlhofer 2009b). For example, Kecskes’s analysis of group discussions among NNS ELF users reveals that ELF users creatively generate genuine expressions, usually influenced by their L1s, such as “you are not very rich in communication” (example quoted in Kecskes 2007: 201). Thus, “ELF users naturally follow the idiom principle in appropriating the language for their purposes by co-constructing wordings as appropriate to these purposes” (Seidlhofer 2009b: 211).

ELF in academic settings (ELFA) seems to be more norm-oriented in this respect, exhibiting less variation in phraseology (as well as on other linguistic levels), thus being largely indistinguishable from native English as Mauranen’s (2012) extensive comparative analysis of the ELFA corpus and the *Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English* (MICASE) shows. Apart from a tendency towards grammatical simplification in ELF (ibid.: 172), “the overwhelming majority of lexis, phraseology, and structures are indistinguishable from those found in a comparable corpus of educated ENL, including their frequency distributions” (ibid.: 247).

2.3.3.4 ELF pragmatics: Communicative success and cooperativeness

Research on ELF pragmatics is for the most part concerned with analyses of ELF users’ communicative strategies to achieve mutual understanding and communicative success.³⁶ Empirical studies include analyses of the pragmatic functions of discourse markers such as “I don’t know” (Baumgarten & House 2009) or “you know” (House 2009) or lexical chunks (Mauranen 2009) in ELF interaction.

Most studies on ELF pragmatics specifically aim to identify strategies that are assumed to prevent misunderstanding. Kaur (2009, 2010) for example analysed fifteen hours of transcribed ELF interaction among international students at a Malaysian university and identified four main strategies by which ELF users pre-empt misunderstandings, namely repetition, paraphrase, request for confirmation of understanding and request for clarification. The frequent use of these strategies among the ELF users in her study is interpreted as evidence that ELF users do not take successful communication for granted and

³⁶ Communicative success is rarely ever defined or operationalized in ELF research (cf. Chapter 2.3.5). It seems that most ELF researchers implicitly understand communicative success *ex negativo* as absence of miscommunication.

use these strategies to compensate limited language proficiency in English (Kaur 2010: 205).

Mauranen (2006) reports similar findings in her analysis of ELFA corpus data, with confirmation checks, interactive repair and self-repair being the principal strategies to prevent misunderstanding. These strategies are of course not exclusive to ELFA users but are also frequently found in the MICASE data comprising academic interaction among native speakers. Yet, the reference point of these strategies is different in each case. While native speakers' self-repairs are mostly related to content and coherence, ELF users' self-repairs frequently represent grammatical self-repairs, "that is, speakers' initiations of grammatical reformulations in their own speech before closing their turns" (ibid.: 146).

Further strategies to avoid communicative disruption or breakdown can involve ELF users' exploitation of their plurilingual resources. Code-switching in ELF interaction often functions as explicit strategy to prevent misunderstandings by requesting translation help, although it frequently also has the function of "signalling culture" (Klimpfinger 2007; see also Pözl 2003 and Pözl & Seidlhofer 2006).

Various ELF studies emphasize the enhanced cooperativeness in ELF interactions as indicated by the frequency and salience of numerous communicative strategies to enhance mutual understanding (e.g. Meierkord 2000, Lesznyák 2004, Mauranen 2012). Cooperativeness is, however, not universal in ELF, but rather context-sensitive. Knapp (2002) for example has shown that high stakes interaction in a competitive setting is rather prone to uncooperative behaviour as opposed to low stakes interaction.

While many ELF researchers assume that 'being understood' is ELF users' prime concern (e.g. Jenkins 2006b), Albl-Mikasa's (2009, 2013) studies of TELF corpus material³⁷ come to a different conclusion. Although conformity to native speaker norms is not the main concern of the ELF users in her study, many are nevertheless worried about their ability to express themselves precisely. According to Albl-Mikasa's "Express-ability Principle", human beings have a "fundamental need and want" to express themselves in a way that is most appropriate in the given situation and context, which implies that

[P]eople will not content themselves with mutual intelligibility, but [...] they also strive to a greater or lesser degree for precision and clarity, stringency in the argumentation and rhetorical coherence, and a certain subtlety and delicacy in the nuances of their expressions. (Albl-Mikasa 2013: 109)

If we follow Albl-Mikasa's argumentation, we can assume that self-initiated repairs in ELF interaction are not necessarily indicative of listener-oriented cooperative behaviour in order to foster mutual understanding, but they can also be expressions of a speaker's wish to achieve more precision and coherence in his or her speech.

³⁷ The TELF corpus is a compilation of both naturalistic (i.e. recorded interaction) and elicited data (sociolinguistic interviews and retrospective interviews).

2.3.4 Implications of ELF research for applied linguistics

ELF research does not only join WE discourses of liberation and emancipation on a theoretical level, but specifically sees its mission in enlightening applied linguistics and appropriating ELT pedagogies to empirical reality.

NNS are believed to suffer from detrimental effects of “antiquated linguistic hierarchization” (Modiano 2003: 35) as perpetuated by the “Anglophile dominance in the production of language guidelines” (Modiano 2009: 219). At the same time, their sceptical attitudes towards ELF and their adherence to the NS as target model are seen as the results of entrenched NS ideologies notoriously perpetuated in ELT materials (cf. Jenkins 2009b; see also Modiano 2009).

[F]or teachers of English across the globe, the main knowledge-base and point of reference has not moved with the tide of applied linguistics research: the language as used by Inner Circle speakers and codified in grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks remains, by and large, unquestioned as the only legitimate object of study and target of learning, certainly in regions where English is taught as a foreign language (i.e. in Kachru’s Expanding Circle). (Seidlhofer 2011: 9)

Since ELF communication among NNS in non-native settings is not only quantitatively more frequent, but also believed to be more efficient than communication between NNS and NS in ENL settings (cf. Chapter 2.3.3), adherence to native speaker target norms in ELT is considered inappropriate and it is “high time that major conceptual adjustments are made” (Seidlhofer 2011: 15).

Traditional SLA concepts such as *fossilization* or *interlanguage* are deemed irrelevant for ELF (Jenkins 2006a). For ELF researchers, the solution lies in raising awareness among English language learners and teachers to the natural process of language change entailing variability (Dewey & Leung 2010: 12).

[D]eveloping an ELF perspective in pedagogy entails above all, at least for now, the generating of an understanding among learners and teachers of the inherent variability (and instability) of human language in general and English more specifically. (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 306)

Consequently, ELT is required “to open up the possibility of incorporating a multi-norm, multi-method approach, one in which linguistic diversity is acknowledged and better understood” (ibid.: 306f.). A first step towards promoting awareness to the variability in the English language consists in increasing the visibility of ELF research findings. While ELF is increasingly claiming floor in linguistic literature addressing a broader audience, as for example in the *Handbook of World Englishes* (Kirkpatrick 2010, including chapters on ELF (Seidlhofer), BELF (Nickerson) and ELFA (Mauranen)), it still has to find its way into the ELT classroom.

From an ELF perspective, it is high time for ELT to move away from exclusively promoting native-likeness as the ultimate goal of language learning and to aim for preparing learners “for communication with all speakers of the

language” (Erling & Bartlett 2006: 30). However, integrating an ELF perspective into ELT classroom practice does not mean replacing traditional pedagogy by a new model, but should be conceived of as “additional option about which teachers and learners can make informed choices” (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 306f.).³⁸ Jenkins emphasizes that ELF research is not interested in preventing learners from choosing the NS as their preferred target model (albeit implicitly inferring that this choice would require vindication):

If people wish to learn English as a ‘foreign’ language in order to blend in with a particular group of its native speakers in an Inner Circle environment or because of a personal aspiration to acquire ‘native-like’ English, then that is their choice, and of no concern to ELF researchers **provided that the choice is an informed one.** (Jenkins 2009b: 203; my emphasis)

Concrete practical recommendations for an ELF-informed pedagogy for ELT are scarce. For the time being, there is only one available handbook for teachers (Walker 2010) which focuses on phonology and Jenkins’s *lingua franca core* (Jenkins 2000). Sifakis (2007) provides a manual for an ELT teacher training workshop with the aim to enlighten (prospective) teachers’ perspectives towards ELF through exposure to and discussion of primary and secondary ELF discourse, i.e. ELF use data and ELF research.

Raising awareness of ELF (research) is not only deemed necessary for the ELT classroom and ELT professionals, but even more so for ELT examination boards (cf. Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 309). Testing criteria are still essentially based on native speaker norms, not only in the British-based *International English Language Testing System* (IELTS) and its US-American counterpart *Test of English as a Foreign Language* (TOEFL), but even in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), despite its objective to promote and further a “composite plurilingualism” (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 184f.; see also Chapters 2.2.2 and 8.3). Mauranen concedes that it is difficult to define achievement levels in testing criteria, but cautions that “[t]he highest achievement in English cannot possibly be ‘native-likeness’ outside Anglo-American environments, but those features that make a ‘good communicator’ in today’s world” (Mauranen 2012: 238f.).³⁹

³⁸ For a discussion of earlier proposals of new models for ELT such as Basic English, and the essential difference of these (simplified) models from ELF, see Seidlhofer (2011: 170ff.).

³⁹ Despite this emphasis on the irrelevance of conformity to NS norms in ELF, it is nevertheless intriguing that the vast majority of ELF researchers do not seem to practice what they preach: at both ELF conference I attended (ELF2 in Southampton in 2009 and ELF3 in Vienna in 2010) I have not come across any ELF scholar engaging in online creation of ELF idioms or omitting the third person singular morpheme {-s} as an emancipatory act in their conference talks. Instead I observed close proximity or indistinguishable conformity to NS norms in their speech, which casts doubt on their mission and the real-world desirability of the proposed ELT innovations.

2.3.5 *Impact of ELF research*

The assiduous attempts of ELF scholars to promote the naturalness of linguistic diversity, the communicative effectiveness of ELF use(rs), the inappropriateness of NS norms in ELF contexts and the urgent need to remodel current ELT practice and theory, have received considerable criticism for their “patronizing approach” (Taylor 2006: 51), the implicit proselytism (Timmis 2002: 249; see also Prodromou 2008: 250 and 255) and paradoxically the perpetuation of the NS ideology by using ideologically loaded concepts such as intelligibility (with its reference point still being the NS ideal) through which “the figure of the native speaker creeps back in, only this time through the back door and that too most stealthily” (Rajagopalan 2010: 468).

ELF researchers seem to be unimpressed by these charges, presenting themselves as researchers on the cutting edge of globalisation, dedicated to a mission of enlightenment, as can be seen for example in the introduction to Seidlhofer’s (2011) monograph on ELF, where she explains that the purpose of her book will be achieved if

[...] readers who came to it with very categorical ideas about the impermeability of Kachru’s circles and the advantages of native speakers of English feel the need not just to question the validity of these categories but to **perform a much more radical shift of orientation commensurate with new perspectives** – and new problems, inevitably – that the globalized world presents us with. (Seidlhofer 2011: 6f., my emphasis)

ELF researchers rarely fail to mention the rapid and exponential growth of their field of research which is seen as “little short of phenomenal” (Jenkins 2013: 24). Research interest in ELF has increased “dramatically” (ibid.) and led to an “avalanche” of publications by a continuously growing number of ELF scholars (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 283).⁴⁰ However, perceptions of the impact of ELF research are somewhat contradictory. While some believe that ELF (research) has become “a major focus of discussion among applied- and socio-linguists” (Jenkins 2013: 24), others deplore the lack of interest in ELF. “Oddly enough”, ELF appears to be excluded from most of current research and debate in sociolinguistics and variational linguistics, although

[t]he unprecedented and accelerated spread of English and the resulting variation and change would seem to be precisely the kind of phenomenon that should interest (socio)linguists. But **perversely, ELF is left out of account**. (Seidlhofer 2011: 70, my emphasis)

I assume that the limited appreciation of ELF research in sociolinguistics is partly caused by a number of methodological shortcomings. To begin with, a large number of ELF studies emphasise ELF users’ orientation towards communicative success, effectiveness or efficiency (the latter terms often being

⁴⁰ I suspect that the growing number of ELF scholars is partly due to established ELF scholars’ extensive and successful recruitment of PhD students, since the number of locations (i.e. research institutions) where ELF research is being carried out is somewhat unproportional in comparison with the number of ELF scholars.

used interchangeably, e.g. in Jenkins 2012), but we rarely find definitions of what these terms precisely refer to. Hülmbauer (2007) is one of the few exceptions where “successful communication” is defined with reference to Milroy (1984) as referring to a speaker’s assumption that the listener has understood his or her utterance including its illocutionary force (Hülmbauer 2007: 10).

As regards the notions of efficiency and effectiveness, ELF researchers frequently claim that ELF users “prioritize communicative efficiency” (Jenkins 2012: 489) and that non-conformity to NS norms can enhance “functional effectiveness” (Seidlhofer 2011: 127). Apart from the fact that these terms often lack proper definitions in ELF research, there is experimental evidence that ELF use, at least in task-based interaction, can lead to less effective communication than ‘non-ELF use’ (Hendriks & van Mulken 2012).⁴¹

A further general shortcoming of empirical ELF research is its bias towards educational settings and specifically towards linguistically informed female language teachers as participants (Ehrenreich 2010: 9). Sampling criteria for participant selection sometimes seem to be inspired by the researchers’ professional environments with various studies focusing precisely on students of (applied) English linguistics aspiring to become teachers of English (e.g. Jenkins 2007, Erling 2005, 2007). While principally anyone can be an ELF user (given a certain threshold proficiency) students of English cannot be considered representative ELF users as they are usually performing a double identity: they are at the same time language users and language learners which has particular influence on their attitudes towards ELF (Ehrenreich 2010: 16; see also Albl-Mikasa 2009: 110).⁴²

A third shortcoming of empirical ELF research lies in its focus on naturalistic data and impressionistic interpretation. Although analyses of ELF use proper can bring about elucidating results, interpretations of pragmatic strategies are somewhat elusive if not informed by an emic perspective. Some ELF scholars have already commented on this caveat (e.g. Smit 2010: 76) and extended the scope of their methodology to include metadiscursive data (e.g. through retrospective interviews with participants as part of the TELF corpus; cf. Albl-Mikasa 2009, 2013) or ethnographic data (e.g. Smit 2010, Ehrenreich 2009, 2010; Kalocsai 2009, 2013; for a more detailed discussion of their studies, see Chapter 4.1).

⁴¹ Hendriks and van Mulken (2012) conducted an experimental study comparing the effectiveness of L1 and L2 (ELF) use in a task with referential conflicts (‘spot the differences’ task) through computer-mediated communication (chat). Effectiveness was operationalized by the number of words and turns needed to accomplish the task within a time limit and by the measurable outcome of the task. Data was collected from four different dyadic constellations: L1-L1 (i.e. same native language), L1-L2, L1r-L1r (‘receptive multilingualism’, interlocutors using their different native languages each) and L2-L2 (i.e. ELF). The results show that effectiveness is highest in native L1 interaction, while ELF use turned out to be least effective.

⁴² Students of English (linguistics) at tertiary level do not only study the English language as subject, i.e. from a scientific perspective, but they commonly also receive English language training as learners.

Last but not least, ELF research to date is almost exclusively concerned with spoken language. Although ELF research envisages expanding analysis to written use with a corpus of written academic ELF currently being compiled at the University of Helsinki (Jenkins 2013: 63), a lacuna in ELF research still remains: despite the ever growing importance of computer-mediated communication (CMC) in the 21st century, to my knowledge there is just a single study which assesses web-based ELF interaction in personal blogs (Vettorel 2014) and no studies yet that investigate ELF interaction as found in web chats or forum discussions.⁴³

Analyses of ELF CMC interaction would not only be interesting for their own sake, but would also allow comparison with current findings for spoken ELF use as well as for globalising ESL or ENL vernaculars. This way, ELF research could potentially also increase its significance in current sociolinguistics. These methodological shortcomings, however, are not so severe as to render ELF research meaningless or esoteric. Despite the inappropriate missionary zeal it sometimes professes, ELF research makes a valuable and illuminating contribution to current sociolinguistic and applied linguistic debates.

2.3.6 Summary: The role of the native speaker in ELF research

The previous sections have shown that the NS only plays a marginal role in ELF. Native speakers as human participants in interaction are not generally excluded from ELF research, but their presence is restricted to a certain threshold in ELF data collections. In turn, NNS ELF users do not only outnumber NS ELF users world-wide, but they are also believed to be more ‘successful’ and ‘effective’ in communication in intercultural settings. Thus there is no need for them to submit to NS norms of correctness since native English (as spoken in ENL environments) has only restricted relevance for ELF. For NNS, communicative success and efficiency are of higher importance and relevance than conformity to native speaker norms and they employ various communicative strategies to foster and enhance mutual understanding in (at least non-competitive) ELF interactions. NNS in ELF research are thus not conceived of as language learners but as language users and deviances from NS norms in their language use are not considered as L1-influenced deficiencies or errors, but as variations, innovations or preferences.

As a consequence, the NS do not set the linguistic ‘agenda’ in ELF, but instead have to acquire ELF skills to be able to communicate effectively with non-native ELF users. They are no longer considered as linguistic authorities, some even seeing them as unwilling or unable to fulfil this role in ELF communication. ELF research thus argues that it is high time for ELT to take

⁴³ Meierkord already mentioned this lacuna in 2006, but to my knowledge no one has yet empirically scrutinized her claim that the growing spread of web-based communication and the consequentially growing exposure to localized varieties of English (as well as to globalizing registers, I should add) exerts considerable influence on ELF (Meierkord 2006).

account of the linguistic diversity and ongoing language change in English and of the changing relationship between NS and NNS. ELT theory and practice need to abandon the NS ideology in favour of an equal appreciation of ELF alongside ENL to allow language learners to make informed choice of the language learning target most appropriate for their needs. ELF research thus contradicts and counteracts traditional SLA and ELT research as presented in Chapter 2.2. and makes a plea for raising awareness to linguistic diversity and for integrating an ELF-informed perspective into ELT pedagogy.

ELF researchers are fairly optimistic about the impact of their contribution to (applied) linguistics and assume that ELF will gain in acceptance with a generational shift in ELT, when the younger ELF-informed generation takes over. For the time being, it seems rather unlikely that educational advertisement will lead to a shift in orientation and departure from the NS-NNS dichotomy in ELT in the near future, taking into account research findings on language learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the NS model (cf. Chapter 2.2.3 and 2.2.5). Nonetheless, it is principally conceivable that the ELF paradigm will gain currency in educational settings where English is used for instructional purposes only without reference to (foreign) language learning, as is the case in EMI in higher education (cf. Chapter 3).

3. ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION (EMI)

While the vast majority of applied linguistics studies with focus on learning and teaching contexts are concerned with the purpose of learning (ESL, EFL, ESP, etc.) and ways how to implement it in practice (ELT, TESOL, etc.), only a small number of studies actually focus on the setting and medium of learning. The topic EMI in applied linguistics studies is still scarce, owing to the relative paucity and specificity of EMI settings (as opposed to EFL settings which do not necessarily involve teaching contexts) and the relative recency of its spread.

Research interest in EMI as a phenomenon worth investigating emerged in the first decade of the new millennium. In 2002, two comprehensive surveys of the role and spread of the English language in tertiary education (Ammon & McConnell 2002; Maiworm & Wächter 2002) laid the ground for a rising research trend in applied linguistics. To date the most comprehensive overview of the role and use of English in higher education is Coleman's meta-study (Coleman 2006). The following subchapters describe the different shapes of EMI in higher education (Chapter 3.1) and provide an overview of current themes and findings in research concerned with EMI (Chapter 3.2). The chapter ends with a summary of the state-of-the-art in EMI research (Chapter 3.3).

3.1 Disambiguating EMI

A general problem of research on EMI is that there is not yet a common ground definition of EMI. Instead, the label EMI is often used as an umbrella term to include several but very distinct instructional and linguistic settings (cf. Wilkinson 2008:170f. and Unterberger & Wilhelmer 2011), while only very few studies focus on EMI in narrow sense (cf. Chapter 1.2 for a working definition of EMI in this sense).

3.1.1 *EMI vs. content and language integrated learning (CLIL)*

What all uses of the term EMI imply is reference to a classroom setting where the English language is used as means of communication between instructor and learners - as opposed to an ELT classroom where communication and instruction could also proceed in another language (e.g. the teacher using a local language to explain English grammar). Definitions of EMI become blurred when it comes to the purpose of using English as means of communication. Many if not most publications on EMI refer to instructional settings where the use of English is linked to a language learning goal. In such contexts, the use of English often fulfils the purpose of practicing and enhancing language skills,

alongside with content learning.⁴⁴ In other words: language learning is an end in itself, resembling the didactic concept referred to as *content and language integrated learning* (CLIL) which is most widespread in secondary education⁴⁵ and also most investigated in that context (Unterberger & Wilhelmer 2011: 94f.; see also Studer, Pelli-Ehrensperger & Kelly 2009). This might be the reason why the term CLIL is not very popular in tertiary educational contexts as many applied linguists seem to prefer the use of the term EMI to refer to CLIL at tertiary level (i.e. understanding EMI as a specific type of CLIL).⁴⁶

Unterberger and Wilhelmer propose the use of the acronym ICLHE (short for *integrating content and language in higher education*) to refer to CLIL-oriented approaches in tertiary education arguing that “CLIL is not appropriate for most forms of English-medium education at university level, because the fundamental principle underlying the approach is not realised, namely that content and language learning are of equal importance” (Unterberger & Wilhelmer 2011: 95). ICLHE programmes typically contain parallel or preparatory language courses (usually ESP) and regular language assessment, with some explicitly assessing exit language competence (cf. Kling 2006). Thus, English has a target rather than an instrumental function here and the students’ role is for the most part that of a learner and not that of a user.

Such a setting is completely different from the EMI setting discussed in this study which is representative of EMI in narrow sense. Here, EMI refers to an instructional setting where English is used as a lingua franca among multilingual speakers for whom English is the only language shared by all speakers involved. The use of English is independent from the subject matter (i.e. theoretically any other language could fulfil the same purpose), no traditional EFL or ESP instruction is involved (i.e. subject matter and language of instruction do not coincide) and language learning not a learning objective and thus not included in the curriculum or the description of learning outcomes.

3.1.2 Top-down vs. bottom-up implementation of EMI

The above-mentioned definition of EMI would suffice, one could think, but dissociating EMI from CLIL/ICLHE is only half of the story. What is more, EMI

⁴⁴ Academic programmes where English is the subject of study (e.g. English linguistics, British literature, etc.) represent a special case and are excluded here since language learning in these programmes is not only an aim in itself but also compelling in order to be able to study content materials.

⁴⁵ In (upper) secondary education in Germany, CLIL is either implemented in individual subjects (so-called *bilingualer Sachfachunterricht*, e.g. biology being taught in English instead of German) or in entire curricula (so-called *bilinguale Züge*, cf. Hoffmann 2000: 17). The use of the term *bilingual* is misleading, though, as it does not imply the simultaneous co-occurrence of two languages in the classroom, but rather the use of a foreign language (usually English) in place of another (the local L1).

⁴⁶ For contributions to CLIL research with focus on tertiary education, see for example Wilkinson & Hellekjær 2003 on the advantages of CLIL as opposed to EMI in narrow sense; Klaassen 2003 on CLIL language policies; Wilkinson & Zegers 2006 and Kurtàn 2006 on language assessment in CLIL.

as defined above can still appear in different shapes regarding setting and stakeholders, as we shall see in the following. Broadly speaking, EMI can be the result of two different implementation strategies, namely top-down vs. bottom-up approaches to its implementation. If HEIs aim to increase their international visibility and outreach, they usually employ language policies that foster the use of English as instructional language. EMI then is the result of a top-down implementation strategy. In most cases, HEIs do not formulate a universal language policy, but leave this decision to their faculties or even to a level further below, to individual departments.

An example of top-down implementation of EMI is the current language policy of the Department for Industrial Ecology at the Norwegian University of Technology and Science in Trondheim (Norway) which has resulted in a complete shift from Norwegian to English medium instruction (Ljosland 2011). Such top-down implementation of EMI does not necessarily lead to a complete replacement of the local language, but can actually retain or even enhance its status. For example, the current language policy of the University of Antwerp (Belgium) explicitly promotes the use of the local language (here: Flemish) alongside the use of English as medium of instruction, which in practice means that students can for example choose to write their exams in English or in Flemish (cf. Van Splunder 2009: 128).

I assume that a top-down implementation of EMI can even foster linguistic equality in officially multilingual countries such as Switzerland or Belgium where HEIs commonly employ the local majority language as institutional language. Other official languages might be included in a language policy, but in practice the local majority language is usually the dominant language serving all communicative purposes (from instruction to administration, both in speaking and writing) while other national languages fall behind.

By implementing English as a politically neutral⁴⁷ institutional language, HEIs can reduce linguistic inequalities and the *othering* of local minority language speakers within their institution. For example, at ETH Zurich, located in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, the use of English as means of communication among L1 speakers of Swiss-German and L1 speakers of Swiss-French has been reported common practice as L1 speakers of Swiss-French frequently feel more comfortable using English instead of L2 Swiss-German (personal communication from a Swiss researcher at ETH Zurich).

By contrast, in HEIs with a bottom-up implementation of EMI, the English language does not have official status in the institution's language policy (provided that a policy even exists).⁴⁸ In such institutions, EMI is context-

⁴⁷ Neutral here in the sense that English does not play a role in the identity construction of any of the speech communities of the national languages.

⁴⁸ For example, German HEIs are not (yet) required by law to formulate institutional language policies. The *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* (HRK – German Rectors' Conference) however recommends “fostering an increased awareness for language policy issues and thus a sensible implementation of different languages in the daily practice of higher education institutions“ (Hochschulrektorenkonferenz 2011: 4; my translation). As a consequence, linguistic research

specific and exceptional as it is employed in courses with a clear international focus (i.e. with focus on international contents or international participants or both) while mainstream tuition is still carried out in the local language(s). Such EMI courses are specifically aimed at international participants and frequently even employ a rigid maximum quota for local students.

The EMI programme discussed in this study has come into being through a bottom-up implementation strategy and is thus representative of most EMI settings in Germany: tuition is entirely in English as there is a need for a shared lingua franca due to the internationality of students, language learning goals and language training classes are not part of the curriculum, and academic contents and language of instruction are completely independent (i.e. instruction could theoretically be carried out in any language without affecting the contents) (cf. Chapter 4.2).

In sum, we can say that the top-down implementation of EMI represents a primarily inward-oriented internationalisation strategy that focuses primarily on preparing local students for global (academic) realities (though with the idea to eventually also attract foreign students), while the bottom-up implementation of EMI can be seen as outward-oriented internationalisation strategy primarily aiming at increasing the share of international faculty and promoting international contacts.

3.1.3 *Exclusive vs. partial use of English in EMI*

Last but not least, a third disambiguation of EMI has to be undertaken with regard to its practical implementation at course and departmental level. In most cases, the term EMI refers to programmes where English is the only language of instruction (often advertised as *English-only* or *100% English* programmes). However, EMI is also used to refer to programmes that are only partly taught in English, i.e. bilingual programmes where tuition is carried out both in English and the local language. Bilingual programmes are frequently characterised by a sequential use of languages, starting with English only, and then reducing instruction in English and introducing the local language and ending up with instruction in the local language only. Such programmes are accompanied by – usually obligatory – foreign language training courses for those who do not yet speak the local language. EMI thus serves as a provisional bridge for the period when international participants still have to acquire sufficient language proficiency for studying in the local language (cf. Voegeli 2005 and Dunst 2005 for practice reports of such EMI programmes at German HEIs). At departmental level, EMI can be employed in particular programmes (usually newly introduced programmes) or in parallel programmes, where an established programme is split into two programmes with identical contents but different languages of instruction, e.g. the parallel Master's courses in microsystems

on institutional language policies in higher education in Germany is still scarce (for an exception see e.g. Earls 2012).

engineering at the University of Freiburg where one course is taught in German, the other in English. Tange calls this *Parallel Languages organisation* (Tange 2012: 8f.).

Besides these uses, EMI can also be applied in individual classes within a programme otherwise taught in the local language (referred to as *Single Course organisation* by Tange (2012: 6f.) or in additional extra-curricular modules (as for example in Mariotti 2009). The main difference between settings is that EMI is the only choice and thus compulsory in the first case, while it is optional in the latter cases, implying that students studying a parallel EMI programme or taking part in a single curricular or extra-curricular EMI course have made a deliberate choice to do so (instead of avoiding the EMI programme/course). To sum up the disambiguation of different uses of the term EMI, we need to bear in mind that not every study labelled as EMI research actually deals with EMI in narrow sense since targets, settings and realizations can be very different.

3.2 Research perspectives on EMI

Applied linguistic research on EMI broadly divides into four categories: descriptive approaches to the EMI phenomenon, ideological complaints about its spread, practical solutions how to deal with the challenges posed by EMI and affirmations that EMI “works”.

3.2.1 Descriptive approaches to the rationale and spread of EMI

The first category is concerned with documenting the spread of EMI in higher education institutions. First overviews of the spread of EMI in Europe were published in 2002 (Ammon & McConnell 2002; Maiworm & Wächter 2002). To date, the most comprehensive overview of EMI as a rising trend in higher education is Coleman’s status-quo survey of EMI in Europe (Coleman 2006). Macro-studies of the spread of EMI in German-speaking countries are still relatively scarce, the few exceptions including overviews of EMI in Germany (Soltau 2007, 2008) and in Switzerland (Studer, Pelli-Ehrensperger and Kelly 2009).

The emergence and spread of EMI is generally attributed to HEIs’ efforts in striving for internationalization since “the recruitment of international students and international staff, which English facilitates, leads to enhanced institutional prestige, greater success in attracting research and development funding, and enhanced employability for domestic graduates” (Coleman 2006: 5; cf. Chapter 1.2). Alexander (2008a, 2008b) argues that EMI serves as “gatekeeper” for internationalisation. Yet, the strive for internationalisation of higher education is not so much a voluntary act, but rather a consequence of “broader commercial trends”: “Clearly, science and scholarship in a market economy are responsible to their paymasters” (Alexander 2008a: 91). Research from this first category

represents primarily descriptive perspectives on EMI with focus on (language) policies.

3.2.2 *Ideological discussions of the spread of EMI and its impact on local languages*

The second category of EMI research is concerned with the impact on local languages in light of the general spread of English in international academia. The prevalence of English in academia raises the question whether English is a “catalyst or barrier” (cf. Gnutzmann, ed. 2008) as it is often seen as “a top-down factor disadvantaging non-Anglophone researchers” (Schaller-Schwaneer 2009: 261; see also Gnutzmann & Bruns 2008). The majority of publications concerned with this question are of a theoretical nature, while empirical studies are rather scarce. An exception is for example Ljosland’s case study which reveals a quasi-diglossic situation in Norwegian academia with English enjoying high prestige and local languages enjoying low prestige (Ljosland 2007).⁴⁹

With regard to the *Englishization* of higher education, some fear that a shift towards EMI may lead to domain loss (cf. Bolton & Kuteeva 2012) and eventually threaten the usability of local languages (cf. Ammon 2008; Gnutzmann 2008; Gnutzmann & Lipski-Buchholz 2008). Phillipson blames the Bologna reforms for the spread of EMI and – as in his other publications – warns against the colonializing power of the English language that can threaten “social cohesion and the vitality of a [local] language” (Phillipson 2008: 3). The fear that the English language would undermine the status of the local language is especially prominent in German academia where German has largely lost its status as language of research publications, especially in natural sciences and medicine, to English (cf. Ammon 1998, 2005, 2008; see also Motz 2005).

Critics of EMI not only claim that EMI entails domain loss in the local L1 among local researchers and students, but also an unwillingness to learn the local language among foreign students. The latter claim is especially pronounced by those holding stakes in the German language, i.e. scholars specialised in German linguistics and German as a foreign language teaching practitioners, as they seem to fear a threat to their profession. These fears had been echoed by various German HEIs which apparently considered voluntary learning of German unlikely in EMI programmes and thus directly implemented bilingual programmes where tuition only starts as 100% English but gradually shifts towards 50% English – 50% German (for a description of bilingual

⁴⁹ In interviews with PhD students at a Norwegian university, Ljosland (2007) found that the overwhelming majority chose to write their theses in English instead of in the local language. Applying Fishman’s (1967) extended definition of diglossia to the domain of thesis-writing, she concludes that for young scholars Norwegian has the status of L variety while English has the status of H variety.

programmes in practice see Dunst 2005 and Voegeli 2005).⁵⁰ Empirical evidence supporting the claim that foreign students in EMI programmes do not (sufficiently) learn the local language exists, but to my knowledge not in the German context.⁵¹ Quite the contrary, Soltau's case study of language use in a German EMI programme has shown that the majority of foreign students in an English-taught programme do in fact learn German (Soltau 2008; for similar results see also Smit 2010 and Fandrych & Sedlaczek 2012).

Ammon assumes that learning German is not only perceived as a practical survival skill by international students, but also as a "valuable additional qualification" and thus infers that EMI programmes "may have the net total effect of boosting studies of German as a foreign language rather than undermining them" (Ammon 2010: 25).

In sum, the second category of EMI research is closely linked to the ideologically flavoured debate of the role of English in academia, very vital in the German context and mainly driven by researchers and practitioners with stakes in the promotion of the German language. The underlying mission of EMI research in this category is to defend and strengthen the position of the local language / German in higher education.

3.2.3 *Language teaching centres' contributions to quality management in EMI*

The third category of EMI research is the most productive in terms of quantity of publications. Its focus lies on monitoring and assessing the quality of learning and teaching in EMI programmes with regard to language proficiency and use. The majority of these studies represent best-practice reports published by language teaching practitioners and institutional units in charge of linguistic support for EMI, usually universities' language centres.

At many HEIs, especially in Scandinavia and the Netherlands, linguistic support for EMI is considered essential since English is a foreign language for many students and for the vast majority of lecturers involved in EMI

⁵⁰ Only very recently do these bilingual programmes seem to have gone out of fashion since the majority of recently established EMI programmes in Germany are entirely taught in English from the start (cf. DAAD database; see also Chapter 1.2.2).

⁵¹ For example, a Scandinavian study of exchange students' language use and proficiency found that exchange students participating in EMI programmes in Denmark and Sweden increased their language proficiency level in English over the time of their exchange year, but hardly ever progressed in acquiring the local languages Danish and Swedish respectively (Caudery, Petersen & Shaw 2007). The authors conclude that institutions wishing to promote learning of the local language would need to rethink their policies and introduce or strengthen language learning opportunities as for example through pre-sessional courses (ibid.: 248). The linguistic situation in Scandinavia is however not comparable to the German situation for several reasons: German is a first language for far more people than Danish or Swedish are. The German language also prevails in more domains of public and private life than Danish or Swedish do. Moreover, German still enjoys an acknowledgeable status as international language of science in several disciplines (e.g. in philosophy) as opposed to Danish and Swedish.

programmes. The University of Copenhagen, a HEI with a strong commitment to internationalisation, has even established a specific research unit for this purpose, the *Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use* (CIP for short) which

[...] develops the University's strategy for enhancement of language skills and carries out target group specific needs analyses and diagnostic language tests which leads to research-based language courses in Danish and English which are tailored to the individual's professional requirements, existing language skills, career development, teaching and mode of academic publication. (CIP webpage)

Research in this category includes empirical studies of students' and/or lecturers' practical experiences with studying and teaching in English. A survey of the CIP reports on the experiences of 1043 lecturers at the University of Copenhagen (Jensen, Stæhr & Thøgersen 2009). The majority of lecturers in this survey (roughly 75%) do not feel challenged by teaching in English and do not report any problems. The survey also reveals that positive attitudes towards EMI correlate with teaching load (the more English-taught classes offered, the more positive the attitude) and age of the lecturer (the younger, the more positive about EMI).⁵²

Detailed surveys of students' and lecturers' practical experiences with EMI in Germany include a case study of an international EMI programme at the University of Freiburg (Arbin 2007), a comparative case study of two EMI Master's programmes at HEIs in the North of Germany (management and engineering, host HEIs not further specified) (Soltau 2008) and Ammon and McConnell's in-depth survey with engineering students and lecturers from the Universities of Duisburg and Aachen (Jülich) (Ammon & McConnell 2002).

However, the majority of publications in this third category are based on field observations as many authors discuss the practical implications and challenges of EMI drawing on their own experience as English language trainers for lecturers in EMI programmes (e.g. Wilkinson 2008; Clear 2005; Lehtonen, Lönnfors & Virkkunen-Fullenwider 2003). Language teaching practitioners are often in charge of monitoring the (linguistic) quality of teaching in EMI programmes where "[t]he vital question to ask is whether the teaching of English is good enough" (Clear 2005: 202).

Since language teaching centres in higher education often display a strong NS bias in their staff recruitment (favouring NS teachers up to excluding NNS teachers) and foreign language teaching practice (NS norms as learning target), normative views in evaluating EMI lecturers' English can be expected.

In their in-depth study of a Finnish EMI course⁵³, Lehtonen, Lönnfors and Virkkunen-Fullenwider – all of them language teaching staff at the Helsinki

⁵² For similar results from a Belgian context, see also Van Splunder (2010).

⁵³ The Boreal Animal Ecology programme (BAE; now called Boreal Biota and Ecology BBE) at the University of Helsinki had been established in 1993 and probably presents the first EMI venture in higher education in Europe. It is not a degree programme, but an extracurricular 40-ECTS programme open to students at advanced Bachelor's and Master's level. For further information see <http://www.helsinki.fi/biosciences/bbe/>.

University Language Centre and involved in the *TTE* (= Teaching Through English) *Support Project* – observed that the lecturers' English was fluent but “not always accurate” (Lehtonen, Lönnfors and Virkkunen-Fullenwider 2003: 111) and they were surprised “to hear how ‘contagious’ some mispronounced terms were” (ibid.: 116). Their authoritarian judgements on the lecturers' language proficiency are especially evident in the following comment overriding the students' perception:

Even though the students [...] reported no problems in understanding their instructors' pronunciation, our observations suggest that there were difficulties with word stress and tone patterns. Also, the speed of speech and a monotonous tone of voice caused a variety of problems. (ibid.: 112)

Others are more diplomatic in describing their observations of EMI lecturers' English. For example, Clear, a native speaker English language trainer at the University of Applied Sciences Mannheim, asserts that most German EMI lecturers at his institution “do not usually have the breadth and variety of vocabulary native speakers can call on, and are thus restricted in how they can present information” (Clear 2005: 196). Therefore, various types of ESP courses are offered to enhance improvement of NNS lecturers' proficiency in English. According to Clear, these tailor-made language training opportunities had and continue to have positive effects on lecturers' teaching performance as students' complaints about lecturers' English have decreased considerably over time (ibid.: 202).

EMI-specific (NS-instructed) language training courses have also been established at other HEIs. The University of Tartu in Estonia offers a training programme geared towards EMI lecturers and administrative staff involved in EMI programmes (Vihman & Uhler 2009) and the Delft Technical University in the Netherlands has developed a comprehensive training programme focusing not only on language proficiency but also including didactic and intercultural skills (Klaassen 2008). The University of Veszprém in Hungary offers a staff development course in cooperation with the British Council emphasising not only language skills but also the non-linguistic requirements of teaching in a multilingual international classroom (Kurtán 2003). Such specific requirements include for example the need to explain plagiarism since this is not a culturally universal concept (cf. Wilkinson 2008: 177).

While acknowledging the need for language training courses for academic and administrative staff involved in EMI programmes, Wilkinson nevertheless stresses that in the first place it is the institution's responsibility

[...] to ensure that it has the staff available to deliver the programmes effectively in English. This does not simply mean giving lectures in English, but all other possible instructional and administrative responsibilities such as writing instructional materials, devising and assessing tests and exams, guiding and monitoring tutorials and seminars, giving effective feedback including on written work, and handling meetings with students and staff. (Wilkinson 2008:175)

He admits that testing the language proficiency of the entire teaching body is not impossible, but impractical, most of all for the reason that existing standardized language tests such as the TOEFL or IELTS tests are not suitable for assessing teaching competence (ibid.). The quality of teaching in EMI programmes at the University of Maastricht, where Wilkinson worked as English language teacher, is thus indirectly monitored by top-down measures, viz. through “stimulating staff who do not feel competent in teaching through English to leave or be reassigned and by recruiting competent teaching staff from outside” (ibid.). It remains unclear how competence in this respect is defined.

Klaassen and Räsänen also discuss assessment instruments for monitoring EMI lecturers’ language competence (Klaassen & Räsänen 2006). For similar reasons like Wilkinson (2008) they consider standardized language tests like the TOEFL or IELTS tests inappropriate in an EMI context. Tailor-made intra-institutional language tests could be adapted to EMI-specific needs, but development and continuous performance are cost intensive (i.e. additional staff and/or work load required) and they are characterized by restricted local validity (i.e. test results are not comparable to results from other national and international HEIs). The authors therefore suggest the “development of a European assessment tool [...] for the appropriate contextual setting” (Klaassen & Räsänen 2006: 249). Drawing on their own experience of staff assessment and quality monitoring at Delft University of Technology in the Netherlands, they conclude that the best solution to enhance quality teaching is to aim for bottom-up implementation of EMI where “lecturers are likely to be open to any type of assessment and/or staff development related to their initiative” (ibid.: 250; see also Klaassen & Bos 2010).

Suggestions for an adaptation of standardized testing criteria for screening EMI lecturers’ language proficiency have been proposed in a study by Pilkinton-Pihko (2013). Her case study of Finnish EMI lecturers’ self-assessment of their (spoken) language skills has shown that the general assessment criteria of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR; cf. European Council 2001) are not considered relevant by lecturers (cf. Pilkinton-Pihko 2013: 179). The CEFR is thus inappropriate for testing EMI lecturers’ language proficiency for teaching:

[T]he descriptors [of the CEFR; SG] aim to assess general language abilities and lack strong performance measures rooted in real-world criteria that are necessary for assessing professional English in work-related tasks. This drawback results in scales that de-contextualize the ‘learner’, exclude situational appropriateness, omit communities of practice, minimize professional (i.e. specialized) vocabulary, and overlook indigenous assessment criteria. (Pilkinton-Pihko 2013: 180)

Pilkinton-Pihko suggests a remodelling of the CEFR scales to capture competences relevant to teaching in English (and dismiss those which are deemed irrelevant, e.g. native-like pronunciation). The revised and/or additional criteria include *perceived intelligibility, coherence and cohesion*, and *field-specific terminology*, besides others (ibid.: 184f.).

While assessment and improvement of EMI lecturers' language proficiency play a central role in this third category of EMI research, students' language proficiency is hardly ever addressed. The few studies explicitly discussing students' entry language competences all relate to CLIL-oriented degree programmes at Bachelor's level (Hellekjær 2006; Wilkinson & Zegers 2006; Kurtán 2006). However, language proficiency has an entirely different role in this context where language learning is a target learning objective with proficiency assessment as integral part of the curriculum.

By contrast, language proficiency in EMI programmes in narrow sense is solely treated as a prerequisite for studying and is not further assessed in the course of the programme. Nevertheless, the implementation of EMI degree courses requires context-specific recruitment procedures and admission criteria, especially so if the student body is international and secondary level degrees and/or previous tertiary level degrees are not comparable.

Language proficiency in English is commonly tested by means of a standardized language test, viz. TOEFL or IELTS. Wilkinson cautions that these tests had been designed to assess "adequate linguistic competence for entry to a university-course in an English-speaking country" and might not be suitable for entry to EMI programmes in non-English speaking environments (Wilkinson 2008:174). He admits, however, that for the time being TOEFL and IELTS represent the only available choice for HEIs as there are not yet any internationally acknowledged and accredited language tests for EMI purposes (*ibid.*). In other words, testing students' language proficiency is considered inevitable and TOEFL and IELTS are the default tools.

To my knowledge (and surprise) there are no research studies questioning the validity of language test scores as admission criteria in EMI programmes (neither the general validity nor the validity of arbitrarily defined threshold scores or bands). A related lacuna is the absence of discussions of assessment practices in EMI programmes. Wilkinson only mentions that EMI entails extra efforts in writing assignments on part of the students as well as on part of the assessor and warns of the risk of replacing writing assignments by other assessment types for reasons of practical convenience (Wilkinson 2008: 177).

Yet, assessment in EMI is not only a challenge with regard to work load, but also – and probably even more so – with regard to assessment criteria and feedback. Unterberger's interviews with Austrian EMI teaching staff reveal that lecturers have difficulties in assessing their students' work:

One interviewee emphasised that even if content knowledge cannot be separated from language skills, he feels that he is not qualified to assess the latter and therefore tries to focus primarily on the quality of content in students' contributions. Here the question arises whether or not subject experts should be able to provide language feedback. (Unterberger 2012: 93)

If language learning is not an objective in EMI, the assessor does not need to (and should not) grade language competence in students' work. At the same time, it is however difficult to separate content and form in assessment, especially in written assignments. The question how to assess content without

being influenced by the form (i.e. language use) in which it is conveyed remains unanswered.

These gaps in EMI research can only be explained by the fact that most research on EMI is conducted by language teaching practitioners who understandably enough do not want to challenge their *raison d'être* and also by the fact that ELF research with focus on EMI settings has a different agenda, as we will see in the following (see also Chapter 2.3 for an overview of the ELF research agenda).

3.2.4 Empirical approaches to interaction in the EMI classroom

The last category of EMI research is concerned with the question how interaction in the EMI classroom works. The underlying research agenda pursues to demonstrate that ELF interaction in an academic classroom works equally well if not better as L1 interaction (L1 referring to the local language or to NS English). Research in this category represents empirical perspectives on EMI and is largely conducted by Scandinavian researchers with a strong affinity to the ELF Movement.

Several studies investigate whether or not study achievement in EMI courses is reduced in comparison with L1 instruction. A comparative survey of students' self-assessment of lecture comprehension in English and in their L1s (Norwegian and German respectively) reveals that many students have difficulties in following lectures, but these difficulties occur nearly to the same degree in EMI lectures as they do in L1 lectures (Hellekjær 2010). The author concludes that serious attention should be paid to teaching skills in both EMI and L1-instruction settings (ibid.: 23).

Similar results are found in Airey's experimental study of students' ability to express content knowledge in English and in their L1 Swedish (Airey 2010). Airey asked students to orally describe scientific concepts of their discipline and evaluated their utterances in terms of fluency, code-switching and scientific correctness. Regarding the latter parameter, the results show that there are no significant differences in students' descriptions in English and Swedish: "Above an initial lower threshold of competence in disciplinary English, students give descriptions with similar levels of disciplinarity in both English and Swedish, regardless of the language used to teach them" (ibid.: 44). Only students with insufficient proficiency in English had problems in carrying out the task. With regard to fluency, the results reveal that students speak considerably slower in English than in their L1 (as could be expected). Taking into account both findings, Airey cautions that reduced fluency must not be mistaken with reduced content knowledge (ibid.: 45).⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Suviniitty also analysed students' study achievement in English and their L1, but the methodology applied is problematic. She compared students' course grades in EMI and L1-taught courses and concludes that achievement rates are similar in both groups (Suviniitty 2008). In her PhD thesis, focusing primarily on interactional features of ELF in an EMI

Other studies in this category of EMI research describe and compare pragmatic features of ELF interaction in the EMI classroom. Kelly and Studer's comparative case study of lecturers' pragmatic strategies in EMI and L1 Swiss German lectures show that EMI lectures are characterized by "a wider range of a number of devices as well as a greater frequency of use of some devices [...]" (Kelly & Studer 2010: 12). These devices include the use of elaboration techniques such as paraphrasing or repetition and the use of deictic references as metadiscursive devices such as the use of first person pronouns (e.g. *Let us now see ...*).⁵⁵ The use of such devices is interpreted as strategy to facilitate students' understanding of complex information, implying that (presumed) comprehension difficulties determine the frequency of their occurrence. In other words: the more a lecture feels that students do not understand the "message", the more s/he will employ elaboration techniques and framing strategies. The authors conclude that an increased use of such devices takes more time and thus lecturing in English proceeds more slowly than in the L1 as EMI lecturers "may well need longer to convey the same information satisfactorily in the L2 than in the L1" (ibid.: 12f.).

Suviniitty (2012), Hynninen (2011) and Björkman (2010, 2011, 2013) interpret the use of such pragmatic strategies in EMI lectures from an ELF research perspective, arguing that an increased use is a sign of successful accommodation towards the audience and the specific lingua franca setting in the EMI classroom.

Suviniitty (2012) analysed 21 EMI engineering lectures at a Finnish university for interactional features (such as questions and repetitions) and compared the findings with students' evaluations of these lectures with regard to accessibility. The students' immediate feedback on their lectures (provided upon leaving the lecture hall) was used to determine the degree of accessibility of the lectures (scalar division with dividing line between "accessible" and "challenging"). Lectures rated as accessible displayed a significantly larger number of interactional features, especially with regard to a specific question type that Suviniitty calls *didactic elicitation*, while any of the interactional features analysed in this study occurred less frequently in lectures rated as challenging. The overall results show that the type and frequency of interactional features in lectures determines how students evaluate the lecture (ibid.: 186). Interestingly, the lecturer's English language proficiency did not correlate with students' evaluations of lectures. Suviniitty concludes that the

classroom, she takes up these findings but admits that the degree of interdependence between student performance and lecture comprehension is controversial: "Comprehension is such a complex issue it would be too simplistic to connect comprehension with performance" (Suviniitty 2012: 75).

⁵⁵ In my opinion, it is doubtful what frequency counts of personal pronouns can tell us, since the higher frequency of first person pronouns in English is distorted by the fact that the impersonal third person pronoun *man* in German does not have a direct translation equivalent in English. However, Kelly and Studer do not interpret the difference in frequency as general cross-linguistic difference, but as cross-cultural difference with regard to academic rhetoric "as speakers and writers in relatively formal contexts in German have a tendency to place themselves in a less prominent position in the text" (Kelly & Studer 2010: 12).

benefits of using and extending interactional strategies in the (EMI) classroom should be particularly emphasised in didactic training for lecturers (ibid.: 188).

Hynninen's analysis of a series of EMI lectures focuses on *mediation* as discursive strategy to reduce miscommunication. The lecturers in her study frequently use *mediation*, defined as "a form of speaking for another where a coparticipant intervenes in the course of the interaction by rephrasing another participant's turn that was addressed to a third party" (Hynninen 2011: 965). Such paraphrasing interventions are not interpreted as authoritative discourse management strategies, but as face-saving co-operative strategies facilitating mutual understanding. Hynninen reasons that mediation as interactional strategy contributes to "communicative success" in the lingua franca EMI classroom and recommends raising awareness of its potential (ibid.: 976). Unfortunately, in the absence of a definition it remains unclear what Hynninen means by "communicative success".⁵⁶ Inferring from her interpretation of *mediation* as "a means to engage participants who otherwise may not be able to participate in the interaction" (ibid.: 965), she probably defines communicative success as absence of misunderstandings and as active involvement of speakers who initially did not contribute to the interaction.

With "communicative effectiveness", Björkman (2010) uses a similar antonym of miscommunication. Björkman analysed the different pragmatic strategies used by lecturers in four EMI lectures.⁵⁷ These strategies include questions, repetitions and meta-commentary, among others. According to Björkman (2010: 85), "monologic events, where the listener has very few opportunities, if any, to check his/her own understanding, are where misunderstandings and general comprehension problems are most likely to occur". She argues that frequent use of pragmatic strategies on the part of lecturers increases interactivity in the classroom which in turn increases lecture comprehension on the part of students. "Communicative effectiveness" is thus understood as the result of a speaker's effort to offer ample "opportunities for the negotiation of meaning and clarification" (ibid.) in order to avoid disturbance and miscommunication, similar to Hynninen's concept of "communicative success".

In Björkman's words, a speaker is effective if s/he "employs appropriate pragmatic strategies frequently in his/her speech to create transparency for the listener" (ibid.: 87). This assumption is based on the findings of a previous study revealing that overt disturbance, that is perceived miscommunication, is rare in student-to-student interaction in EMI, despite students' linguistic heterogeneity and non-standard use of English (Björkman 2009).

In a follow-up study, Björkman compared the occurrence and frequency of pragmatic strategies in EMI lectures and students' group work activities and

⁵⁶ The use of this term without definition is fairly frequent in research studies within the ELF research paradigm (cf. Chapter 2.3.5).

⁵⁷ Björkman de facto recorded 21 EMI lectures with a total length of nearly 43 hours. These data were used for her analysis of morphosyntactic features in spoken ELF interaction (cf. Björkman 2009, 2013), while her analysis of pragmatic strategies is only based on an in-depth analysis of 4 of these lectures (Björkman 2010: 79).

found that students use far more such strategies than their lecturers (Björkman 2011). Björkman infers that the scarcity of perceived miscommunication among students is due to the frequent use of pragmatic strategies in student-to-student interaction and comes to the reverse conclusion that lecturers' lower use of such strategies entails the risk of covert disturbance (ibid.: 950). Like Hynninen, Björkman emphasises the added value of using pragmatic strategies in instructional settings (in general and specifically in EMI settings) which should be encouraged and promoted not only in EMI courses but also in specialised ELT: "Along with prioritizing function when teaching form, EAP/ESP programs should aim for familiarizing learners with appropriate pragmatic skills, which seem to play a pivotal role in achieving communicative effectiveness" (ibid.: 962).

Preisler takes a different view on undisturbed communication in the EMI classroom, arguing that language use (including pragmatic strategies) is symptomatic of audience design and of a lecturer's identity construction (cf. Preisler 2008). Preisler analysed EMI lectures with regard to language use and lecturer's linguistic and professional *authentication* (understood as "behaviour through which individuals [...] construct themselves as authentic", ibid.: 119). The analysis of three lecturer's teaching personae as observed and recorded in lectures shows that their different ways of authentication are based on different accommodation strategies. More specifically, it shows how audience design as expressed through language use and communicative styles can foster or hinder understanding and integration. The lecturer in the first example authenticates himself as a local L1 speaker and diverges from his audience by using English in a way that "signals no degree of empathy, let alone identification with, non-[local L1] speakers" (ibid.: 113). The second lecturer authenticates himself as NS authority, using partly unintelligible pronunciation and American idioms and thus "showing no awareness that his audience is not a 'homogeneous' American audience, but an extremely heterogeneous international one" (ibid.: 116). In contrast, the third lecturer's English is fluent, formally correct and his performance geared specifically towards an international NNS audience:

There is no use of obscure culture-specific idioms or slang, so that any student, regardless of national origin, who has been taught English in school on the basis of standard EFL at the appropriate level, will be able to understand him easily and will not be distracted by any "noise" in the communication. (ibid.: 117)

According to Preisler's observations, fostering mutual understanding in the EMI classroom requires an EMI-specific audience design expressed through "un-native" language usage (rather than relying on specific pragmatic strategies as proposed by Suviniitty, Björkman and Hynninen).

Following Preisler's argument for EMI-specific audience design, we need to bear in mind that the EMI classroom is not only linguistically heterogeneous, but typically characterized by cultural diversity. Furthermore, we also need to consider that pragmatic strategies are not necessarily universal, but culturally constrained. Knapp's example of failed conflict management in an EMI lecture

raises the question of “pragmatic appropriateness” in a lingua franca EMI context (Knapp 2011). Knapp argues that the benchmark for pragmatic appropriateness is difficult to define in an EMI setting, as neither NS norms nor local L1-based norms seem appropriate (given that the majority of participants involved belong to neither speech community). The joint negotiation of context-specific pragmatic norms is problematic, too, as it is “a very demanding task [...] requiring communicative awareness as well as fairly advanced abilities in using ELF. Moreover, any form of explicit negotiation may be subject to the very problems that it is meant to solve” (ibid.: 987). The author suggests introducing a combination of local and context-specific pragmatic rules with the flexibility to introduce further pragmatic conventions as they emerge from the EMI community of practice (ibid.).⁵⁸

3.3 Summary: The state of the art in EMI research

In the overview of EMI research we have seen that EMI is not a straightforward concept as purposes and settings can differ greatly, from CLIL-oriented approaches to “pure” EMI in narrow sense, from bottom-up to top-down implementation and from partial to exclusive use of the English language. Research on EMI is carried out from four different perspectives. The first perspective is concerned with descriptive accounts of the spread of EMI providing the basis for discussions of EMI language policies.

The second perspective takes a look at the broader picture of the general spread of English in academia and comprises ideological discussions of its impact on local languages. Research from this perspective is largely driven by experts with stakes in the preservation and promotion of local languages and is especially vital in Germany.

By contrast, research addressing the third perspective is carried out by experts and practitioners involved in the promotion of the English language. The focus here lies on practical recommendations for monitoring and assessing (linguistic) quality in EMI.

The fourth perspective sheds light on interactional practices in EMI and seeks to explain whether and how communication in lingua franca EMI settings ‘successfully’ or ‘effectively’ works.

Remarkably, EMI research is not concerned with the NS concept and its implications as there is not any study explicitly addressing the role of the NS in an EMI setting. The NS as person is only mentioned in descriptive accounts of EMI (e.g. mentioning the number of NS and NNS staff). If at all, NS norms are mentioned *ex negativo* in discussions of non-standard uses of English and the

⁵⁸ The *MuMis* project (*Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität im Studium*; multilingualism and multiculturalism in university studies), a research cooperation between the universities of Hamburg, Siegen and Kassel, seeks to identify potential linguistic and intercultural challenges in the international EMI classroom and to provide training materials in order to prepare students and lecturers for these challenges. For further information refer to the *MuMiS* webpage.

few studies addressing EMI students' language proficiency levels do not call the validity of NS norms as benchmark into question. Especially striking is the scarce research interest in linguistic admission criteria in EMI contexts. If mentioned at all, no connection is made to discussions of the perpetuated NS ideology in these criteria.

A further lacuna in EMI research is the discussion of assessment in EMI. From my own teaching experience with EMI (albeit not EMI in narrow sense) I know how problematic it is to assess content and language separately in students' (written) work. It is remarkable that the specific challenges of assessment in EMI and with it the definition of (linguistic) assessment criteria are neither addressed by those in charge of training EMI lecturers (third category of EMI research), nor by EMI lecturers themselves in any of the surveys on their experiences with EMI. Nevertheless, I believe that this issue plays a significant (even if unconscious) role in EMI practices and its absence in EMI research is merely due to methodological constraints and bias (no question yields no answer).

As a conclusion one can say that the NS is ignored as subject of investigation in EMI research, but vital as implicit benchmark, both in EMI practice (e.g. in admission criteria) and in research (e.g. in studies with focus on lecturers' use of English).

4. DATA AND METHODS

This chapter introduces the methodology applied in the present study, the case study setting and the data available to analysis. After a brief overview of ethnographic approaches in ELF and EMI research, the first section describes the underlying *grounded theory*-inspired methodology and its advantages in investigating a novel and still emerging phenomenon like EMI (Chapter 4.1). The following section then introduces the EMI community under investigation, i.e. the Renewable Energy Management Master's programme at the University of Freiburg⁵⁹, by explaining case selection criteria and outlining relevant background facts (Chapter 4.2). What follows is a comprehensive review of the fieldwork undertaken in the case study setting, giving account of procedural alterations, shifting foci and ethical considerations (Chapter 4.3). The chapter ends with a systematic classification and overview of the nine different data sets available to analysis (Chapter 4.4) and a general note on the presentation of the data and research findings in subsequent chapters (Chapter 4.5).

4.1 Methodological background

4.1.1 Preliminary considerations

The methodology applied in this study represents a *grounded theory* approach at the cross-roads of ethnomethodology, ethnography and discourse analysis.

Ethnomethodology originates from the social sciences with sociologist Garfinkel (1967) as its founding father (Psathas 2006: 253), while ethnography as research framework originates from anthropology (e.g. Geertz 1973). Both approaches have inspired sociolinguistic research in the frameworks of the ethnography of speaking (e.g. Hymes 1971), conversation analysis (e.g. Schegloff 1972) or interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz 1999, Tannen 1984), to name but a few.

What ethnographic and ethnomethodological approaches both have in common is their research interest in understanding social reality, how it is constructed (ethnography) or how it is accomplished (ethnomethodology, cf. Kallmeyer 2004: 979). Linguistic studies inspired by these approaches are thus concerned with analysing and describing how social reality is constructed or accomplished through communicative practices by the people involved. This means that the research focus lies on analyses of naturally occurring (spoken)

⁵⁹ As of October 2014, the programme is called *Renewable Energy Engineering and Management*.

language use since “[e]thnography is especially interested in those aspects of meaning that cannot be elicited directly by questioning informants” (Erickson 2004: 1200). Traditional research methods involve participant observation, conversation analysis and narrative interviews, often in combination with other methods such as text analysis.

Further approaches to understanding how a community constructs its social reality include (critical) discourse analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1992, Gee 1999, Johnstone 2008). The focus here lies on analysing discourses not only at conversational level, but also in their broader context, as “type of social practice” (Fairclough 1992, in Schiffrin 2004: 89).

A combination of ethnographic and discourse analytical methods is particularly fruitful for the study of communicative practices and discourses in a community, as this combination allows a description of these practices from an emic perspective. This means that analytical categories derive from primary and secondary data and represent precisely those categories which are relevant for the stakeholders involved (as opposed to applying categories which were established a priori by the researcher).

As we have seen in Chapters 2.3 and 3.2, the bulk of empirical studies of ELF use, and particularly of ELF use in EMI, either focus on conversation analyses of naturalistic language use data or on qualitative analyses of attitudinal data from questionnaires and interviews. Few studies combine both perspectives (e.g. Albl-Mikasa 2009) and even fewer include an emic perspective on ELF and/or EMI based on ethnographic data (e.g. Smit 2010).

In order to get a comprehensive understanding of what is happening in an EMI community of practice, linguistic analyses of primary language use data alone do not suffice. By not taking into account the social dynamics and the situational context of interaction, such analyses are prone to over- or even misinterpretation⁶⁰ and largely restrain the validity of research findings, especially with regard to popular themes in ELF research like ‘communicative success’ or mutual intelligibility (cf. Chapter 2.3.3):

Verbal data alone cannot suffice for a definite estimate of how successful a certain stretch of exchange is experienced as being at a certain time, and the ongoing interaction is all that is available to researchers of naturalistic data. This means that the degree of understanding based on discourse alone is limited to what interactants realize in the ongoing interaction [...]. (Smit 2010: 76)

In-depth investigations of ELF use (in EMI or other contexts) thus require “clearly situated qualitative studies with a strong ethnographic element” (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006: 21). Up to now, only few ELF scholars have followed this call and integrated an ethnographic perspective in their studies. The few exceptions include Ehrenreich’s study of ELF in a business setting (Ehrenreich 2009, 2010, 2011), Kalocsai’s study of ELF in an Erasmus

⁶⁰ For an example of over-interpretation see for instance Breiteneder 2009 (as discussed in Chapter 2.3.3).

exchange students' community (Kalocsai 2009, 2013) and Smit's longitudinal study of ELF use in an EMI programme in Austria (Smit 2009, 2010).

The ethnographic perspective in these studies is covered by the researchers' observations of (and participation in) the community of practice under investigation, supplemented by ethnographic interviews with community members. For example, Kalocsai's study of ELF use and attitudes in an Erasmus exchange students' community of practice at the University of Szeged is largely based on data derived from Kalocsai's active participation in various socializing events of the community (such as pub crawls, private parties and the like) (cf. Kalocsai 2009: 31).

As we have seen in Chapter 3, EMI is generally under-researched and even more so with regard to stakeholders' perspectives on EMI. Smit's (2010) exhaustive study of ELF use in an Austrian EMI programme is to date the only study that also looks at EMI from an emic perspective. Her longitudinal case study contains both ethnographic data as well as primary language use data from an English-taught hotel management programme in Austria. Smit observed and recorded 126 lectures over the course of two years and collected substantial amounts of ethnographic data through participant observation, questionnaires, and individual and group interviews. The insights gained from the ethnographic approach helped to develop a typology of analytical categories for the conversation analysis of naturally occurring language use data (based on transcripts of 23 of the 126 lectures) which ultimately focused on repairs and directives in the EMI classroom (Smit 2010: 88). A triangulation of the results allowed comprehensive insights into the dynamics in an EMI programme (cf. Chapters 8.1 and 8.2). Thus, the methodology applied in Smit's study proved to be particularly suitable for an investigation of EMI:

By giving full recognition to the intimacy of the classroom and the continuity of classroom talk within a specific community, such a methodology offers insights into the dynamics of classroom communication, which largely remain hidden from the more wide-spread cross-sectional studies of classroom as well as ELF discourse. (Smit 2010: 379)

Regarding the methodological approaches applied in the aforementioned studies, it is conspicuous that the authors use different labels for very similar approaches. Smit refers to the ethnographic element of her study as an ethnographic approach based on emic data (Smit 2010) and Ehrenreich similarly situates her study in a contact linguistic framework based on an "ethnographic multi-method approach" (Ehrenreich 2010). By contrast, Kalocsai describes her methodology as a "language socialization approach" based on "inductive data analysis" which involves "transcribing, coding, generating, and refining hypotheses, and reflective journal writing" (Kalocsai 2009: 31). Despite the different methodological labels, what these studies have in common is the primacy of data-driven categories that inform their analyses (as opposed to hypothetical categories predetermined by the researcher).

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of the linguistic and social dynamics in an EMI community of practice, the present study aims to follow their example but goes even further by extending the methodological scope. It combines ethnographic and discourse analytical methods with an ethnomethodological framework, concretely with a *grounded theory* approach, in order to get a holistic picture of the linguistic and social dynamics in an EMI community of practice. Instead of only deriving analytical categories from an emic perspective, it also let stakeholders inform the research methods and procedures in order to find out more about how they accomplish their linguistic and social reality. In other words, the data also informs (and if necessary changes) the direction of research and the respective data gathering techniques and procedures. The benefits of this approach will be explained in the following subchapters.

The idea of applying a grounded theory approach is not entirely new in ELF/EMI research as for example Ehrenreich already noticed that “it is only after a close examination of individual ELF-using groups that we will be able to come up with ‘grounded’, i.e. data based (cf. Glaser & Strauss 1967) conceptualizations of what constitutes ELF speech communities” (Ehrenreich 2011: 18). However, none of the existing studies with ethnographic elements seriously applied a *grounded theory* approach. The present study thus aims to demonstrate the feasibility of a grounded theory approach in an ELF/EMI context and to provide an example of its practical application.

4.1.2 *Grounded Theory*

A *grounded theory* approach is particularly fruitful for the subject under investigation as it has several advantages over other research designs. While conventional empirical studies (be they quantitative, qualitative or both) usually start off with hypothesis building, followed by a rigid operationalization of research instruments and predefined data collection routines, a grounded theory approach deliberately avoids hypothesis building and predetermined research routines:

[T]heory-building research is begun as close as possible to the ideal of no theory under consideration and no hypotheses to test. Admittedly, it is impossible to achieve this ideal of a clean theoretical slate. Nonetheless, attempting to approach this ideal is important because preordained theoretical perspectives or propositions may bias and limit the findings. (Eisenhardt 1989: 536)

Instead, it starts off with a research question as open as possible and subsequently pursues this question in a research setting that serves as case study.

Grounded theories are based on ethnomethodological fieldwork through which the researcher tries to get a holistic understanding of the setting, the participants and all processes involved through participant observation. While

traditional ethnographic fieldwork aims to describe what participants are concerned with (e.g. what their actions, beliefs or discourses are about), ethnomethodological fieldwork seeks to understand what these actions, beliefs or discourses accomplish in or for their community.

The objective of fieldwork is to gather rich data that “get beneath the surface of social and subjective life” (Charmaz 2006: 13) through combining participant observation with other research instruments such as interviews, questionnaire surveys and other (cf. Glaser & Strauss 1967). The initial question for gathering rich data is “What’s happening here?” (Glaser 1978 quoted in Charmaz 2006: 20), a broad question that helps the researcher to be on alert to any occurrence in the research setting that might be relevant to analysis. In this respect, Charmaz asserts that “[w]e try to learn what occurs in the research setting we join and what our research participants’ lives are like. We study how they explain their statements and actions, and ask what analytic sense we can make of them” (Charmaz 2006: 2f.). In other words, the researcher does not merely collect empirical data, but aims to gain insight into the processes involved in the phenomenon under scrutiny through the research participants’ perspectives.

In contrast to conventional empirical studies, data gathering and data analysis are not treated as separate phases in the research process, but are interrelated (cf. Corbin & Strauss 1990: 6ff.). Interim analyses are pivotal since “[t]he logic of grounded theory entails going back to data and forward into analysis. Subsequently you return to the field to gather further data and to refine the emerging theoretical framework” (Charmaz 2006: 23).

In practice, this means that interim analyses in the data gathering process lead the way to identifying categories for the grounded theory. Data analyses first lead to initial codes (paraphrases of the data), then to focused codes, axial codes and concepts. By continuously adjusting and refining research instruments and methods and/or by gathering further data, the concepts eventually become more focused. In subsequent analyses, data sets and concepts are compared and triangulated in order to identify categories among concepts.⁶¹ Ultimately, these categories form the basis of the grounded theory:

The procedures of grounded theory are designed to develop a well integrated set of concepts that provide a thorough theoretical explanation of social phenomena under study. A grounded theory should explain as well as describe. It may also implicitly give some degree of predictability, but only with regard to specific conditions. (Corbin & Strauss 1990: 6)

The cyclical nature of grounded theory procedures has an edge over linear research procedures, especially when doing ethnographic fieldwork, as it helps the researcher to avoid “1) accusations of uncritically adopting research participants’ views, 2) lengthy unfocused forays into the field setting, 3) superficial random data collection, and 4) reliance on stock disciplinary categories” (Charmaz 2006: 23).

⁶¹ For a detailed description of the coding processes, see Corbin & Strauss (1990: 12-15).

4.1.3 Gathering rich data

The key advantage of a grounded theory approach in investigating a fairly recent and to date still under-researched phenomenon like EMI is that the investigation is not based on a hypothesis, but allows asking open questions. The following are obviously interesting questions when investigating how lingua franca communication in English takes concrete shape in an EMI setting: Why do students choose to study an EMI programme? What languages do they use in- and outside the classroom? How does communication among them and with their lecturers work? Do students and lecturers actually reflect on the lingua franca situation and language use at all? Answering such questions requires ethnomethodological fieldwork which provides rich data – the adjective *rich* referring to the quality and density of data, not to the mere quantity.

Traditional ethnographic studies primarily (or even exclusively) work with qualitative data gathered from participant observation and (narrative) interviews with the aim to gain a thorough understanding of the phenomenon in question (cf. Glaser & Strauss 1967). Nonetheless, quantitative data can be a valuable source for analysis:

Quantitative evidence can indicate relationships which may not be salient to the researcher. It also can keep researchers from being carried away by vivid, but false impressions in qualitative data, and it can bolster findings when it corroborates those findings from qualitative evidence. (Eisenhardt 1989: 538)

The present study aims to look at EMI from an ethnomethodological perspective and uses mixed methods, i.e. it combines qualitative and quantitative data analyses in order to provide a holistic description of EMI in the case study setting. As mentioned before, the cyclic nature of the research process in grounded theory-inspired ethnomethodological fieldwork requires continuous adjustment, addition and dismissal of data gathering procedures.

In my case study these continuous interim analyses had inspired the modification of data gathering methods (here particularly the focus of my observations), the addition of further research instruments (such as a verbal guise listening experiment)⁶² and the reduction of methods that lead to unfocused data (such as audio recordings of classroom interaction). The flexibility of research routines enabled me to extend the scope of the case study with regard to research participants and the broader context and conditions of the setting (e.g. cultural implications; cf. Corbin & Strauss 1990: 11). These alterations have not been done randomly, but systematically since the flexibility of data gathering can be understood as “controlled opportunism in which researchers take advantage of the uniqueness of a specific case and the emergence of new themes to improve resultant theory” (Eisenhardt 1989: 539). In this respect, the present study exceeds the scope of coverage of other studies investigating ELF and/or EMI communities of practice (cf. Chapter 4.1.1).

⁶² The experiment represents an adaptation and extension of the experimental design used in Lambert et al. (1960).

The longitudinal fieldwork with its extensive scope – including mixed methods, continuous methodological adjustments, close encounters with two generations of students as well as lecturers and insights into academic and private life – yielded a substantial amount of rich data for building a grounded theory of EMI. The grounded theory approach proved to be fruitful since the primacy of the data in shaping the analytical process widened the scope of investigation and allowed insights into the ‘unexpected’ as can be seen in the analysis chapters 5 to 7.

Although other studies of (ELF use in) EMI are frequently based on a variety of data sets (e.g. Jenkins’s (2013) study of ELF in higher education, comprising attitudinal data obtained from questionnaires and interviews as well as an analysis of webpages) or examine ELF interaction from different perspectives (e.g. Smit 2010) and undoubtedly yield illuminating results, they usually cannot answer if and in which way linguistic and social behaviour and language attitudes are connected. By its solid foundation on discursive (spoken and written), ethnographic, attitudinal and experimental data, the present study seeks to fill this gap and contribute to ELF and EMI research with unprecedented findings from an emic perspective and hopes to inspire future EMI research with regard to methodology.

4.2 The case study: MSc Renewable Energy Management (REM)

4.2.1 Case selection criteria

An ethnographic case study within a grounded theory framework aims to understand the processes and dynamics of a given phenomenon. In contrast to traditional linguistic case studies, the research focus is not on investigating a particular population or speech community for its case sake, and thus the representativeness of the setting – not of the population – is crucial for case selection (see also Charmaz 2006: 6 and Corbin & Strauss 1990: 9). Essential criteria for case selection had been established in advance in order to develop a grounded theory with as much transferability as possible (cf. Table 4.1).

ELF selection criteria	EMI selection criteria
✓ Lingua franca indispensability	✓ Institutional exceptionality
✓ ELF supremacy	✓ Compulsory exclusivity
	✓ Non-linguistic orientation

Table 4.1: Sampling criteria for case selection

As mentioned earlier in the introduction, the aim of my study is to bring together research on ELF and EMI by investigating ELF use and attitudes in an EMI setting in Higher Education (cf. Chapter 1.3). Thus, the case study should

present a setting that qualifies as ELF and EMI at the same time, in other words: a setting where ELF is used in EMI.⁶³

The sampling criteria with regard to ELF were lingua franca indispensability and ELF supremacy, i.e. the case study participants should speak (several) different L1s to really have a need to use a lingua franca and English should be the lingua franca shared by all participants involved.

The sampling criteria related to EMI were institutional exceptionality, compulsory exclusivity and non-linguistic orientation, i.e. English should not be the default language of instruction of the HEI and its surroundings, but it should be the only language of instruction within a degree course – thus excluding parallel language EMI programmes – and (applied) linguistics should neither be part of the syllabus nor part of the career opportunities for graduates (cf. Table 4.1).

4.2.2 EMI at the University of Freiburg

The University of Freiburg, a comprehensive university with a long tradition (founded in 1457) and respectable international reputation⁶⁴, represents a suitable habitat for investigating EMI as an innovative and emergent trend in higher education. In the academic year 2014-15, the University of Freiburg offers 230 degree courses at undergraduate and graduate level, 16 of which are taught in English as EMI courses proper (cf. Table 4.2).⁶⁵

Excluding the MA programmes hosted by the English Department – where English is the default language of instruction and where students receive linguistic and practical language training in English – the total number of EMI programmes is 13, representing 5.7 % of all courses offered at the University of Freiburg. As can be assumed from the comparably low percentage of EMI programmes at the University of Freiburg, the dominant language of instruction and administration is the local language German.

The majority of these EMI programmes have been introduced fairly recently, only one of them (MSc Environmental Governance) can look back to ten years of practice yet.

⁶³ For reasons of readability I decided against coining a new acronym ELFMI.

⁶⁴ Rank #102 in the QS World University Rankings 2013 (cf. QS Top Universities webpage) and rank #152 in the Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2013-14 (cf. Times Higher Education webpage).

⁶⁵ Bilingual degree courses (of which there is a considerable amount) and degree courses with optional instruction in English are not considered here, but only programmes where English is the exclusive language of instruction.

FACULTY	DEGREE	EMI PROGRAMME
Faculty of Economics and Behavioural Sciences	MSc	Economics
Faculty of Engineering	MSc	Computer Science
	MSc	Microsystems Engineering
Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources	MSc	Crystalline Materials
	MSc	Environmental Governance
	MSc	Environmental Sciences
	MSc	Forest Sciences
	MSc	Renewable Energy Management⁶⁶
Faculty of Humanities	MSSc	Global Studies
	BA/BSc	Liberal Arts
	MA	Modern China Studies
Faculty of Mathematics and Physics	MSc	Physics
Faculty of Philology	MA	British and North American Cultural Studies
	MA	English Language and Linguistics
	MA	English Literatures and Literary Theory

Table 4.2: EMI programmes at the University of Freiburg (as of academic year 2014-15)

In 2008, by the time of searching for a suitable case for my investigation, an article titled “Klimawandel füllt Hörsaal” (climate change fills lecture hall; SG) in a local newspaper caught my attention (cf. Kitzler 2008). It announced the launch of a new international English-taught Master’s degree course called *Renewable Energy Management* (REM) at the University of Freiburg. Since renewable energies are a topic of global interest, this programme had attracted applicants from nearly all continents, as stated in the article. Thus the programme participants are speakers of different L1s with a clear need to use English as a lingua franca, i.e. both my ELF selection criteria could be met. The EMI selection criteria are also met by the fact that instruction in this programme is entirely in English and no language courses or other (applied) linguistic contents are involved. The programme is offered by the Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources where the predominant language of instruction and administration is still the local language German, despite running four EMI Master’s programmes.

In sum, the REM programme met all my selection criteria and furthermore allowed me to document language practices in the early stages of the programme when many routines would be negotiated. After initial e-mail and telephone contact with REM programme management, I was invited to an informal meeting to present my research idea. Fortunately, the programme director and manager expressed great interest in my project and gave me their approval. I subsequently presented my project proposal at the second REM meeting⁶⁷ and asked students for their consent. REM students were equally

⁶⁶ In 2014, the programme was renamed into *MSc Renewable Energy Engineering and Management*. Since the case study was conducted prior to renaming, the former name *MSc Renewable Energy Management (REM)* will be used henceforth.

⁶⁷ REM meetings are obligatory meetings between REM management (= director and manager) and REM students to discuss programme-related matters. There is no fixed cycle for these

appreciative of my project and agreed to participate. Thanks to their and REM management's readiness to support my research the basis for my case study was set.

4.2.3 REM mission, admission and structure

The REM programme is hosted by an interdisciplinary cross-faculty research centre called *Zentrum für Erneuerbare Energien* (ZEE; Centre for Renewable Energy) which now also hosts an online Master's programme on photovoltaics and a post-graduate school on small scale renewable energy systems. REM was launched in October 2008 with the aim

to close the strategic gap between technical aspects of renewable energy and the vision of sustainable development. [...] Providing pivotal management skills for practical business purposes, the REM programme offers application oriented specialization in four different fields of renewable energy: solar energy, geothermal energy, biomass or energy efficiency. (REM webpage > mission)

REM is a non-consecutive Master's course inviting applications from students of various disciplines (see Table 4.3). Applicants need to hold a Bachelor of Sciences degree or a German diploma degree in engineering, natural sciences or applied life sciences with an above average final grade.⁶⁸ In addition to their academic qualification, applicants also need to provide certified evidence of "very good English language skills" as REM is entirely taught in English (cf. REM webpage > Admission requirements). Unless their native language is English or the previous academic degree was obtained in an EMI course, official TOEFL or IELTS test scores are required.⁶⁹

REM is specifically advertised as international programme and invites applications from students of any country worldwide.⁷⁰ There is no predetermined quota for international applications, but an equal share of

meetings, but they usually take place every 3-6 weeks. The reason why I was invited to the second meeting (instead of the opening first one) was that REM management did not want to overwhelm students at the start of the programme without knowing neither them nor myself well enough.

⁶⁸ Besides their degree certificates (certified translation necessary if not issued in English or German), applicants need to provide a letter of motivation (1-2 pages) and a detailed curriculum vitae (2-3 pages) and include an official transcript of records and two letters of reference from prior supervisors (academic or occupational).

⁶⁹ The minimum required TOEFL (*Test of English as a Foreign Language*) score is 100 points in the internet-based test, 250 points in the computer-based test or 600 points in the paper-based test (for general information on the TOEFL, see TOEFL webpage). The minimum required IELTS (*International English Language Testing System*) band is 7, equivalent to level C1 in the CEFR (*Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*) (for general information on the IELTS, see IELTS webpage).

⁷⁰ In 2008, when REM was offered for the first time, a total number of 74 complete applications from 30 different countries arrived, 38 of which were granted admission, according to the written self-documentation of REM as part of the accreditation procedure (text part of data set SM). In 2009, the total number of complete applications has more than doubled to an amount of 160 applications, 38 of which were granted admission (information part of data set PC).

students from each continent is envisaged, as well as an appropriate gender balance (cf. REM webpage > FAQ).

MSc Renewable Energy Management (REM)	
✓	English medium instruction (100% English)
✓	Proof of English language competence (TOEFL or IELTS scores)
✓	International (applicants from all over the world)
✓	Non-consecutive (heterogeneous disciplines / previous degrees)
✓	Interdisciplinary (natural, technical and social sciences)
✓	Non-linguistic (no linguistic / language training included)
✓	2 years duration (120 ECTS points, modular structure)

Table 4.3: Characteristics of the REM programme

Regarding the structure of REM, the Master's programme comprises four semesters including an obligatory internship with a minimum duration of seven weeks between the 2nd and 3rd semester and finishes with the completion of a Master's thesis during the 4th semester. Course contents are taught in a modular structure with graded assessment at the end of each three-week module. Assessment is done by various means (written examinations, reports, essays, portfolios or oral presentations), the total amount of coursework in REM adding up to 120 ECTS points. REM modules are planned and organized by individual module coordinators (professorial staff as a general rule) and taught by teams of lecturers consisting of both in-house staff from various faculties of the University of Freiburg and external guest lecturers from partner (research) institutions.

It has to be emphasised that the English language in REM only serves as means of communication and is not connected to the study contents. This means that it exclusively has a lingua franca function which could theoretically be fulfilled by any other language, too, as it does not stand in any contextual relation to the study of renewable energies.⁷¹

4.3 Ethnographic Fieldwork

Data for the case study has been gathered primarily (though not exclusively) by means of ethnographic fieldwork over a period of 24 months, starting at the beginning of winter term 2008-09 and ending at the end of summer term 2010.

⁷¹ In this respect, the REM case setting is essentially different from Smit's case setting of a hotel management EMI programme where English is not only the classroom lingua franca, but also has subject-specific relevance for the study contents since English is also the lingua franca of the hospitality domain (cf. Smit 2010). It can be expected that students in this programme approach EMI with different motivations and attitudes than students in the REM programme.

4.3.1 Building rapport

Ethnographic fieldwork is only fruitful if the researcher manages to establish rapport with research participants. Therefore the first phase of fieldwork is most decisive for the progress and eventually also the outcome of the entire project. Rapport and mutual trust can only thrive if research procedures are transparent, and more importantly, if research participants are treated with respect (Charmaz 2006: 19). In order to aim for as much transparency as possible, I introduced myself and my project idea in person and provided project information leaflets for all people involved in the REM programme. After an explanation of what fieldwork would look like, i.e. which research instruments I was planning to use, students and lecturers could ask questions.

The fact that there were hardly any concerns about confidentiality and data privacy protection facilitated my work considerably. I clarified that participation in my project was entirely voluntary, that withdrawal was generally possible at any time and that any information gathered would be treated with full confidentiality (cf. Chapter 4.3.5).

REM students were given a consent form (see Appendix A.1) and a few days to digest it in order to make an informed choice. Fortunately, all REM students unanimously agreed to participate and signed the consent forms. During the first few weeks of fieldwork, I restricted myself to participatory observation⁷² until I felt that my presence in the REM community was taken for granted and students felt at ease in informal conversations with me.

Indeed, from the very beginning, REM students were very welcoming and treated me as a peer rather than an observer-researcher. This was presumably due to external factors such as the insignificant age difference between students and me⁷³ and my casual appearance, but also due to my commitment, i.e. my readiness to join socializing events on evenings and weekends as well as my authenticity and personal involvement in communication instead of pretending to be a neutral observer. As a result, it took me little time to establish rapport with REM students. They added me to their REM e-mail newsgroup⁷⁴ without hesitation, chatted with me in their breaks and invited me to lunches at the student canteen, private parties at their homes or pub crawls on weekends. Their readiness to integrate me into their community proved to be enormously helpful for the fieldwork.

REM lecturers received an information leaflet about my project in an e-mail by the REM director at the beginning of the REM course in November 2008.

⁷² I prefer to use the term *participatory observation* instead of *participant observation* as the former in my view better conveys the idea of active involvement on part of the researcher.

⁷³ I was three years older than the average of students in the first generation (Ø 25 years at the beginning of the second term in February 2009; two students being even older than I am) and only 4 years older than the average of students in the second generation (Ø 25 years at the beginning of the second term in February 2010).

⁷⁴ This Google group had been created by students for student-to-student communication. Its use had soon been expanded to staff-to-student communication as REM management and lecturers used the group address for e-mails to all REM students.

Additionally, I introduced myself and my project informally to every lecture prior to each classroom event I was going to participate in and asked for their verbal consent. Despite some degree of initial hesitancy – caused by lecturers' fear that my research focus was on judging and criticizing their English language competence – all REM lecturers supported my fieldwork, some even to a far greater extent than I had ever expected (e.g. by passing on information or written material without being explicitly asked for).

The fact that I was not only a doctoral student, but also working as research assistant and lecturer at the English Department presumably increased the credibility of my expertise as researcher as I am not only trained in linguistics theoretically but I also have practical experience in working in an academic setting and thus was considered an 'academic peer'. My previously mentioned readiness to interact genuinely instead of acting in a neutral linguistic expert role also greatly helped to create an atmosphere of trustworthiness. All REM lecturers I talked to personally (during classroom visits and excursions and/or in interviews) trusted in my assurance of confidentiality and revealed sensitive information without hesitation.

In sum, the initial rapport phase took less time and was much easier than I had ever expected. Being authentic in interpersonal encounters proved to be a key factor for establishing positive relationships with the individuals involved in the research setting. The only restraint I maintained during fieldwork was being reticent about my personal view on language-related issues as it was essential to keep my influence on research participants to a limit.⁷⁵ In practice, this meant that I strictly avoided any mentioning of concepts that emerged during my fieldwork, such as the labels native / non-native speaker, and that I only gave cryptic responses when asked to make judgements on someone's language use.

4.3.2 Chronology of fieldwork

Data gathering among the first generation of REM students (REMO8 hereafter) went similarly smoothly as the building rapport phase (for an overview of the time line see Table 4.4). In the initial stage of my project, I restricted my data collection to fieldnotes from participatory observation (PO) and personal communication (PC) as well as to collecting extant texts⁷⁶, i.e. e-mail communication (EC) and study materials (SM) both from students and lecturers.

⁷⁵ In ethnographic fieldwork, the so-called *observer's paradox* (Labov 1972) is complex, as the researcher's presence does not only affect research participants' language use but also their choice of conversational topics and their behaviour in general. A researcher engaging in fieldwork and claiming to have no influence on his/her research participants would be missing the point of grounded theory. Thus, continuous self-reflection on part of the researcher is necessary in order to understand the potential impact of his/her presence in the field.

⁷⁶ Extant texts refers to any written text "the researcher had no hand in shaping" (Charmaz 2006: 35).

	Winter term 2008/09					Summer term 2009					Winter term 2009/10					Summer term 2010					O				
	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M		J	J	A	S
PO				x					x	x						x					x	x			
PC				x					x	x		x				x					x	x			
EC				x					x	x						x					x	x			
SM				x					x	x						x					x	x			
CR				x					x	x						x					x	x			
QO																									
QC																									
PI				x												x						x			
LE																x						x			

Table 4.4: Time line of data collection

After two months, I additionally recorded classroom interaction (CR) during lectures, meetings and student group work, mostly with a simple mp3 recorder with a built-in microphone, occasionally also with a professional recording kit including amplifier and directional microphones. Within three months I already had a sizable amount of data. By the end of the fourth month, I administered a questionnaire (QO) asking REM students about their sociolinguistic background and their overt attitudes towards language use in the REM programme.

Meanwhile, I also conducted a pilot interview with a REM lecturer. Interim analyses of these five data sets (PO, EC, SM, CR, QO) and the pilot interview showed that my research participants were concerned with language use and perceived linguistic differences where there hardly were any, at least not in the way or place they appeared to notice them. At this point, I shifted the focus of my data collection towards attitudinal data and reduced the collection of language use data.

A few months and analyses later, I administered a second questionnaire (QC) designed to elicit students' covert attitudes towards language use, a verbal guise listening experiment (LE) with the aim to test correlations between students' attitudes and their actual listening comprehension, and I conducted individual face-to-face interviews (PI) with all REM08 students and nine REM lecturers. Together with the fieldnotes, the interviews informed the core categories of the grounded theory to be discussed in this study.

4.3.3 Extending the scope

After nearly one year of fieldwork in the REM programme, I realized that it would be fruitful to extend the scope of my case study by doing fieldwork also with the newly arrived second generation of REM students (REM09 hereafter). Thus, as of October 2009, data gathering methods had been repeated to eventually get an even larger and 'richer' data base available to analysis. The procedures largely followed those already employed with REM08, with the exception that fieldwork and data collection among REM09 was more focused from the start as I was able to build on previous experience and interim results. This holds especially for the personal interviews (PI) with REM09. I reduced the number of classroom audio recordings, collected only selected written material

and specifically pursued codes and concepts that had emerged from interim analyses.

The inclusion of REM09 into my fieldwork proved to be very beneficial as it allowed further insights into the dynamics of EMI and brought up new concepts that would otherwise have gone unnoticed. As grounded theory methodology is not about describing populations but understanding processes and dynamics, it is important to stress here that REM09 is not treated as control group of REM08. REM09 data had not been collected for cross-group comparison, but for gaining insight into the inter- and intragroup dynamics in REM invoked by the arrival of a further generation of students (e.g. the transition of former first generation newbies to experienced seniors).

4.3.4 *Participating in different roles*

Participatory observation entails the researcher's active involvement in the case setting and community under investigation. Active involvement ideally means that the researcher aims to participate in any naturally occurring activity in the field in order to experience these activities first-hand and get a thorough understanding of what is going on there. Nonetheless, participation has of course only an as-if character - unless the researcher is an ordinary member of the community - and the researcher needs to critically reflect on his/her role as outsider.

In the present study, I openly communicated my role as outsider to the people involved in REM, i.e. everyone knew that I was a student of linguistics, based at the English Department of the University of Freiburg and working on a dissertation project. They also knew that I was neither enrolled as student in the REM programme nor part of REM teaching or administrative staff. Thus, the default active role I performed in the REM environment was that of 'external PhD researcher'. Yet, as I had a great rapport with all REM participants, this outsider role faded with time and I was not only able to participate in REM activities, but also to take on different action roles.

The predominant role I took was that of 'peer'. For example, in the classroom, I always chose a seat among students (instead of taking an observer's position in a rear corner of the room), joined them to the nearby bakery during breaks to buy a coffee-to-go, went to pubs and parties and chatted with them about private life matters, and so on and so forth, in brief: I presented myself to them as a person and not merely as a linguistic expert.

A further action role I was occasionally able to take was that of 'student'. As I am trained in linguistics and do not have any engineering or natural sciences academic background, I hardly knew anything about renewable energies before. However, I was generally interested in the topic and thus tried to obtain at least superficial knowledge of the basics while doing my fieldwork. During lectures, I occasionally allowed myself to contribute to a classroom discussion, and on excursions I sometimes also posed questions to the field trip leader or to REM

students.⁷⁷ Whenever appropriate, I generally tried to conform to the requirements for students, which did of course not include my participation in exams or presentations, but non-academic requirements such as for example on special occasions like the faculty's annual Christmas party for Master's students where I also brought a home-made contribution to the international buffet.

On the occasion of a two-day field trip, I was able to perform yet another active role, namely that of 'colleague', by officially being field trip attendant.⁷⁸ This meant that during the excursion, I shared part of the responsibilities and duties with the lecturer who organized the field trip and was involved in organizational matters, such as leading students to meeting points, monitoring the schedule or managing the allocation of rooms at the youth hostel. The experience of acting as field trip attendant did not only help my analyses, but was also truly enriching on a personal level.⁷⁹

By and large, switching between the complementary roles 'PhD researcher', 'peer', 'student' and 'colleague' proved to be extremely helpful not only for getting further insights into the dynamics of an EMI programme, but also for critically assessing interim findings from participatory observation and reflecting on the potential impact of the respective role I had taken.

4.3.5 *Research ethics*

The ethical guidelines of my research are based on four principles, namely transparency, reliability, respectfulness and confidentiality.

Transparency was achieved by making sure that research participants knew at any time what I was doing. Before starting the fieldwork, they received an information leaflet about my project and a written consent form explaining what participation in my project entailed (see Chapter 4.3.2). Additionally, I announced and explained the modalities of each research instrument when introducing it for the first time (e.g. announcement that I was going to distribute a questionnaire).

Reliability was assured by my compliance with arrangements made between research participants and myself (e.g. through being punctual or approachable at any given time).

Respectfulness is actually a matter of course not deserving special mention. In the fieldwork context this included for example sensitive language use (e.g.

⁷⁷ I always made sure, however, that my contributions did not slow down the pace of learning and teaching in the REM classroom. When I felt that the lecturer wanted to continue or that a large number of students wanted to contribute already, I remained silent.

⁷⁸ I am very grateful to the lecturer who organized the field trip and also to REM management whose unbureaucratic support enabled me to participate in this field trip and made my fieldwork a truly inspiring multi-perspective experience.

⁷⁹ Other than on this field trip, the colleague role had no further active application in my fieldwork in the REM setting. However, since I am also working at the University of Freiburg, I coincidentally was in a colleague role in other work-related situations, for example when participating in a training workshop on higher education didactics together with Dr. Ahorn and Professor Kiefer.

avoiding ethnic stereotyping) or deference to religious practices (e.g. providing vegan food for a buffet so that everyone could eat it).

Regarding confidentiality, research participants were guaranteed that no personal data will be published and that any information they would give me would be treated with confidentiality. Sensitive information (e.g. regarding personal issues) is excluded from analysis and personal data is encrypted either through corresponding hyperonyms in square brackets (for place or institutional names, e.g. [company]) or through pseudonyms for personal names (see Appendix A.2. for complete lists of pseudonyms).

For reasons of readability and representativeness, I decided against assigning standardized numerical pseudonyms (such as student04 or S16) for research participants and applied real human names instead. I believe the use of human names represents a livelier image of the dynamics in the REM community than standardized speaker identification could do. Furthermore, the student research participants were very pleased with the fact that they could select their pseudonyms themselves, complying with predefined criteria: each pseudonym must represent the same language and gender as the real name and must not be a fantasy name. Student pseudonyms represent first names which are commonly used in the students' first languages and/or correspond to the language of the students' real names respectively. In order to facilitate students' choice of pseudonym, I provided a list with three suitable pseudonyms per person and let them choose to either select one from my list or create their own pseudonym based on the above-mentioned criteria.

By contrast, REM lecturers' pseudonyms had all been assigned by myself to avoid traceability of their real identities as this would probably have more severe consequences than for students. For this reason, the degree of uniformity in lecturers' pseudonyms does not represent reality: the default language for REM staff pseudonyms is German (with the only exception of lecturers with L1 English who were assigned an English pseudonym) and does not in all cases represent the lecturer's first language. In addition, pseudonyms here represent last names only, regardless of the fact whether some staff members habitually use their first name, too, in the REM community. Academic titles are maintained. Since the REM community is based at the *Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources*, lecturers' pseudonyms fittingly represent shrub and tree species (coniferous trees for professorial staff, deciduous trees for those with a doctoral degree as their highest degree, and shrubs for those with a Master's degree or diploma).

Not only during the 24-month period of fieldwork but also afterwards did I comply at any time with my guidelines of transparency, reliability, respectfulness and confidentiality. My research participants never uttered complaint neither during fieldwork nor in the aftermath, but instead were pleased with their participation, with some even enjoying it.⁸⁰ I am deeply grateful to the REM community for supporting not only my research but also for

⁸⁰ Evidence from a project evaluation questionnaire distributed among REM08 students in February 2010. For further results, see Appendix A.7.

making the fieldwork a truly inspiring and exceptionally positive experience for me.

4.4 The data

After a general overview of the characteristics of the available data, the subsequent sections outline the different data set individually. Each description starts with a nutshell summary of the data set and comprises information on the respective research instrument and its application in the field, and comments on the amount and quality of the data.

4.4.1 Classification of the data sets

As this study is based on a grounded theory approach, research routines and thus the use of different data gathering techniques had not been defined a-priori, but emerged during fieldwork and informed and inspired each other. The data sets can be classified by several characteristics (Table 4.5).

Data sets		PO	PC	EM	SM	CR	QO	QC	PI	LE
Timing	continuous	■	■	■	■					
	selective					■	■	■	■	■
Source	spoken	■	■			■			■	
	written			■	■		■	■		■
Data origin	emergent/spontaneous	■	■							
	extant/regular	■		■	■	■				
	elicited						■	■	■	■
Setting	University	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■
	other	■	■	■				■	■	
Group	students	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
	lecturers	■	■	■	■	■			■	

Table 4.5: Classification of data sets

Selective data sets are those that had been collected at given points in time during the fieldwork process, as opposed to continuous data which had been gathered en passant throughout the entire fieldwork period. The source of the original data is either spoken or written, with the data either originating from emergent situations, representing extant texts or having been elicited by the researcher. The site of data collection (setting) was primarily the University of Freiburg, i.e. lecture halls and surrounding facilities such as the student canteen, but some data was gathered in other settings (excursions as part of the curriculum or socializing events as leisure time activities). All data sets had been informed by REM students and a large part also by REM lecturers.

In the following sections, the data sets are presented according to their order of application in the field (cf. Table 4.4 in Chapter 4.3.2). The reader shall remind, however, that in the analysis chapters, data sets will not be discussed

neither according to the above categorization nor in chronological order as this would go against the grain of grounded theory.

4.4.2 *Fieldnotes from participatory observation (PO)*

PO = PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION

- observations from study-related events and informal socialising events
 - 265.5 hours of documented participation
 - Multi-perspective insights due to different participatory roles (cf. Chapter 4.3.4)
-

PO data represent the basis of my research and shaped the way how fieldwork proceeded. Participatory observation was conducted as described in detail in chapter 4.3. Due to the fact that I speak three languages fluently, I was also able to overhear and/or join conversations in German and Spanish, the fieldnotes thus also include comments on communicative events that happened in languages other than English.

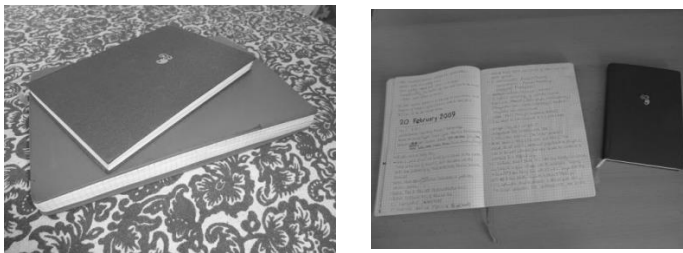


Figure 4.1: Logbooks used for PO fieldnotes

All observations were documented on the spot (where possible) or subsequently in two logbooks (separate logbooks for REM08 and REM09, see Figure 4.1). The use of traditional paper notebooks instead of a digital device proved to be particularly advantageous in situations outside the classroom as logbooks ‘function’ under all circumstances, e.g. also under adverse weather conditions on field trips to the Black Forest.

4.4.3 *Personal communication (PC)*

PC = PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

- personal communication initiated by research participants (when not doing participatory observation)
 - documented in text files
-

PC is a small data set but of vital importance for analysis as it documents REM participants’ attention to certain topics and also indicates how serious they took my research. Every now and then I had interesting conversations initiated by research participants in situations where I was not officially doing participatory observation (e.g. when incidentally meeting in town). These communicative

events had subsequently been documented in text files. The difference between data from PO and from PC is that the latter imply research participants' initiative in drawing the researcher's attention to a certain topic or issue.

4.4.4 *E-mail communication (EC)*

EC = E-MAIL COMMUNICATION

- digital compilation of e-mail communication among research participants
 - group mails (student-to-students or lecturer-to-students)
 - extant texts (not elicited by the researcher)
 - >3000 emails
-

This data set covers informal written ELF interaction in the EMI community. Both REM student generations operate a self-organized mailing list (so-called Google group) for intragroup communication to which they readily added my e-mail address in the very beginning. The majority of messages from the mailing list represent intragroup communication among students, while a smaller proportion of e-mails consists of messages from individual lecturers to the group. The mailing list was used for both study-related matters (e.g. for the distribution of module schedules) as well as for organizing leisure time activities (e.g. invitations to private parties). Occasionally, I made active use of the mailing list for organizational matters (e.g. to inform students about the interview schedule). All emails from this list have been downloaded and stored in an e-mail client software and are sorted according to author.⁸¹ Both mailing lists are still in use, albeit with a low frequency of messages since REM students of both generations successfully completed their studies already and now only occasionally use these lists for professional networking purposes.

4.4.5 *Study materials (SM)*

SM = STUDY MATERIALS

- compilation of study materials from REM participants
 - extant written texts (digital or print format)
 - authored by students (essays, presentations, CVs, etc.) and lecturers (teaching materials)
 - >250 documents
-

Data in this set represents lingua franca writing in and for the EMI classroom. From the very beginning of fieldwork, I had been collecting any available study materials from the REM programme. These materials consist of extant written texts in digital and occasionally also print format and represent both student

⁸¹ A conversion of the data in the EC data set to a format compatible with corpuslinguistic software would have been feasible, but was not undertaken as quantitative linguistic analyses in narrow sense (analyses of primary language use data) are not the central concern of this study.

writing (essays, PowerPoint presentations, students' CVs, etc.) and lecturers' teaching materials (PowerPoint presentations, handouts, circulars, information sheets, etc.). The original formatting of the texts is maintained (e.g. power point slides) as the structural characteristics of these texts, e.g. the use of graphic material, can shed light on intercultural differences relevant to an EMI context.

4.4.6 Classroom recordings (CR)

CR = CLASSROOM RECORDINGS

- audio recordings of interaction in the REM classroom
 - recordings of lectures, students' presentations, group work, meetings
 - >38 hours of recorded classroom interaction
-

The audio recordings in this data set document ELF use and communicative practices in the EMI classroom and shed light on the conversational dynamics in this EMI community (e.g. evidence who contributes most often to discussions).

Classroom recordings were largely done by means of a portable mp3 recorder, which was either placed on the lecturer's desk when the focus of the recording lay on the action going on at the centre of the room (e.g. when students were giving oral presentations) or on a desk at the back of the room when I wanted to capture interaction in the classroom as a whole. When possible, I joined smaller groups of students when they were doing group work. On five occasions, I recorded classroom interaction with a high quality recording set comprising four directional microphones and a mixing desk. All recordings were listened to and relevant sections were transcribed using a simplified conversation analysis transcription scheme.

4.4.7 Questionnaire on sociolinguistic background and overt beliefs (QO)

QO = QUESTIONNAIRE (OVERT BELIEFS)

- written questionnaire distributed electronically among REM students
 - sociolinguistic background, self-assessment of English language use and general satisfaction with REM programme (personal inference possible)
 - 64 response sheets
-

The data set QO contains data elicited from a questionnaire that asked REM students about their sociolinguistic background (specifically about their language acquisition biography and exposure to English), their opinions about English language use in the REM programme and their general satisfaction with the programme (cf. Appendix A.3). It was distributed electronically in February 2009 (REMO8) and in a slightly revised⁸² version in February 2010 (REMO9). The students' responses are confidential, but not anonymous, i.e. the data is

⁸² Revision was necessary as some items proved to be ambiguous and the wording of some questions misleading due to intercultural differences (e.g. differences in educational systems).

retraceable to the respective respondent. This was done on purpose – with respondents’ knowledge, of course – in order to triangulate person-based biographical data with other data sets.

4.4.8 Questionnaire on covert attitudes (QC)

QC = QUESTIONNAIRE (COVERT ATTITUDES)

- written questionnaire distributed in print format among REM students
 - attitudes towards (accents of) English and language use
 - 64 response sheets
-

This second questionnaire (QC) elicited REM students’ covert attitudes towards accents of English and English language use (see Appendix A.4). It was distributed in October 2009 in print format among REM08 and REM09 students. The responses are confidential but can be traced back to individual respondents. Data from this set are particularly important for comparison with LE data (see Chapter 6).

4.4.9 Personal interviews (PI)

PI = PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

- individual face-to-face interviews with REM students and lecturers
 - semi-structured and varying in length (between 30 and 90 minutes per person)
 - time, setting and language choice options for all interviewees
 - 60 interviews with REM students
 - 9 interviews with REM lecturers
 - nearly 43 hours of recorded interviews
-

The core data of this study derives from personal interviews with REM students and lecturers.⁸³ Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured way following rough guidelines for questions, but interviewees were free to raise any other topics and narrative sequences were particularly welcome.

Students could choose their preferred interview slot in a schedule covering a time span of three weeks (Nov-Dec 2009 for REM08 and July-August 2010 for REM09), so that the interviews would not interfere with their student work. In total, I interviewed 60 students, 26 students from REM08 (100%) and 34 students from REM09 (90%).⁸⁴ For the student interviews, 30 minutes per person were envisaged, the average length of recording being slightly longer with 35:02 minutes. Few interviews were finished after 15 minutes, while some

⁸³ I am very grateful to REM students and REM lecturers particularly for devoting time to volunteering in these interviews which offered insights into EMI not observable otherwise. Without their readiness to participate in personal interviews, the available data sets would probably have generated a lopsided and marginal theory.

⁸⁴ Four students from REM09 were not available for an interview due to time constraints owing to an increased workload at the time of interviewing (exam preparations or part-time jobs).

took more than 60 minutes (one even more than 90 minutes). The total length of all student interviews is 35 hours (precisely 35:01:35).

All interviewees were free to choose between English and German as interview language (one fifth of student interviews (=12 out of 60) had been conducted in German). This decision was made to stress the fact that the interviews were not conducted to assess the interviewee's language proficiency in English but only for discourse analytical purposes in broader sense. As a side effect, the availability of language choice options would allow German NS to avoid the potentially awkward situation of talking to a German NS interviewer in another language. However, several German NS chose to be interviewed in English.

REM students could also choose the place of the interview (in an empty office or a group workplace at their faculty or alternatively in the kitchen at my home). All of them were offered drinks (juice, soft drinks, tea or coffee) and treats (biscuits, chocolate or jelly bears) during their interviews, both as a reward for volunteering and also to create a relaxed interview atmosphere.

In the interviews, I took particular care to avoid the use of labels such as 'native speaker' (or 'Muttersprachler' respectively) in my questions since I was interested in finding out whether and in which context my interviewees would use such labels at all.

Interviews with lecturers took place at their respective offices and were arranged according to their schedules. Since lecturers are generally busy, these interviews had been conducted over a larger time period (one pilot interview in February 2009 and eight further interviews from December 2009 to April 2010). As it was not feasible to interview all REM lecturers (of which there are 43), I selected a representative sample of in-house⁸⁵ lecturers covering different institutional positions (from doctoral student teaching assistant to full professor), different intra-institutional affiliations (working at the Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources or at other faculties), different fields of expertise (natural or social sciences) and different teaching loads in the REM programme. In total, I interviewed nine lecturers. Interviews with lecturers took nearly 53 minutes on average (00:52:51), summing up to a total of nearly eight hours (precisely 07:55:51) of recorded interviews (for an overview, see Appendix A.6).

All interviews were transcribed orthographically and double checked by the author. For the non-German speaking readers' convenience, all quotes from originally German material in the following case study chapters (Chapters 5 to 7) have been literally translated into English (represented in italics below the original) by the author.

⁸⁵ In-house means that these lecturers are employed by the University of Freiburg and have regular teaching duties to fulfil (as opposed to external lecturers from other institutions who only have guest lecturer contracts for specific courses in the REM programme).

4.4.10 Verbal guise listening experiment (LE)

LE = LISTENING EXPERIMENT (VERBAL GUISE TEST)

- Verbal guise test with two parts (map task and social attractiveness judgement)
- Performed in both generations of REM students
- 51 response sheets
- additionally 8 response sheets from a pilot experiment (LE-pilot)

The data in this set derives from a verbal guise experiment which I conducted with REM students (80%) in January 2010 (REMO8) and March 2010 (REMO9).⁸⁶ The experiment consisted of two parts (“treasure hunt” and “wizard story”), whereby part one assessed participants’ actual and perceived comprehensibility of different native and non-native accents of English in a map task, while part two consisted of an evaluation of the social attractiveness of different NS and NNS reading aloud a literary text (see Appendix A.5).

The experiment took 25 minutes during which participants were required to refrain from any verbal and non-verbal interaction with other participants. The verbal guises were six female speakers who at the time of recording were (exchange) students at the Faculty of Philology at the University of Freiburg. They were all fluent speakers of English (one of them being a first language speaker) with different degrees of non-standardness in their accents and had five different L1s (English, German, Chinese, Greek and Italian). These six speakers appeared in both parts of the experiment, yet in a different order of appearance to avoid a distortion of results by simple order effects.

In part one of the experiment, the “treasure hunt”, participants were presented with a map of an imaginary island and listened to one speaker after another (A-F) who gave them directions where to find a treasure on that island (each speaker gave directions to a different location). Participants were asked to draw these directions on the map and mark the hidden treasure with a cross while listening to the recording. Between each speaker they had 30 seconds time to evaluate every speaker’s performance in terms of comprehensibility of directions, speed of speech, fluency and intelligibility of their pronunciation.

In part two of the experiment, the “wizard story”, the same six speakers were reading aloud an extract of a literary text, this time in a different order than in part one.⁸⁷ While listening to the speakers’ voices, participants were asked to rate their personalities and social attractiveness on semantic differential scales and indicate their preference of each speaker in a particular role (teacher, friend, etc.) on Likert-type scales. Additionally, they were asked to guess which country or region the speaker is from.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ A pilot experiment was performed in August 2009 with a group of eight volunteers from REMO8. The pilot experiment was designed as matched guise experiment. For details about the pilot experiment, see Chapter 6.1.6.

⁸⁷ All speakers read the same literary text (extract from the novel *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone*, Rowling 1997: 77-8).

⁸⁸ At the end of part two, participants were asked to complete part three, which consisted of multiple choice questions about the content of the text extract read aloud by the speakers in part two and meta-questions on how they evaluated their participation in the experiment (cf. Appendix A.5). This third part was not intended for analysis, but only for participant

4.5 Data representation and representativeness

To give full credit to the grounded theory approach pursued in this study, the following three chapters discuss the case study findings from an emic perspective. In other words, I give full account of the categories and themes that emerged from my data and let the data ‘speak for itself’ in Chapters 5 to 7.

This decision is most sensible not only in terms of compliance with the underlying grounded theory approach, but also with regard to the impartiality towards the results. As mentioned earlier (cf. Chapter 2.3.5 and 3.2), empirical research on ELF and EMI is often biased by implicitly (or even explicitly) addressing themes that are primarily relevant to the researcher rather than to the research participants. For example, Jenkins’s research participants (university lecturers and students) did not show any awareness of the ELF concept (except for the few who were working in the same field) and only expressed their opinions and attitudes towards ELF after Jenkins introduced them to it (Jenkins 2013). In order to avoid bias, the case study findings stand for themselves and will only be discussed in light of current research on ELF and EMI in the subsequent conclusion (Chapters 8.1 and 8.2).

Before turning to the case study findings, a few preliminary remarks on the representativeness and representation of qualitative data are in order. The case study findings are chiefly based on qualitative data, meaning that light is principally shed on any interesting incident, belief or attitude, regardless of their frequency of occurrence. Nonetheless, most incidents are of course not extraordinarily rare events and hardly any belief or attitude represents an individual position claimed by one participant only. Quite on the contrary, behavioural or attitudinal patterns are most often found among various participants.

The case study findings are illustrated by exemplary quotes from the respective data sets. The number of quotes per finding is however by no means representative of their distribution across participants or their frequency of occurrence. If not indicated otherwise, illustrative quotes represent just one of several tokens of the same type. If reasonable, peculiar findings from qualitative analyses are complemented by quantitative information from within the same data set, e.g. the number or percentage of participants following a certain pattern.

In the following chapters, all examples from spoken data sets represent verbatim quotes, i.e. non-standard uses of grammar, lexis etc. are represented as they appear in the original. With regard to PI data, I have to stress that due to their nature as spoken data they feature all sorts of characteristics of spoken

distraction. I anticipated that some participants would complete part two earlier than others and would start talking to each other about the experiment which could then influence other participants. By employing a third part that required participants to activate their subconscious memory, I was able to avoid such interferences. The participants’ evaluation of the experiment as a whole was used to review their contentment with participating in my research project; had anyone replied that they were displeased or feeling uncomfortable, I would have taken countermeasures and consequences.

language, e.g. disrupted sentences, hesitation markers, etc. and the reader should bear in mind that ungrammaticalities are largely owed to the spoken medium and are not necessarily indicative of a speaker's language proficiency level.

For the non-German speaking readers' convenience, original data in German had been translated into English by the author. These translations are meant to authentically represent the original utterance, i.e. interjections, disruptions and similar are maintained and lexical expressions are translated as literal as possible rather than aiming for an idiomatic equivalent in English.

5. ELF INTERACTION IN THE MSC RENEWABLE ENERGY MANAGEMENT (REM) PROGRAMME

This chapter describes how ELF interaction in an EMI classroom works. It starts with an introduction to the students and lecturers involved in the REM case study and their sociolinguistic backgrounds and language acquisition biographies (Chapter 5.1). The subsequent subchapter (Chapter 5.2) outlines students' and lecturers' motivation for EMI and the generic challenges and opportunities of learning and teaching in English from an emic perspective, i.e. as expressed by students and lecturers. The remaining subchapters describe lingua franca interaction among students (Chapter 5.3), lecturers' ELF use in teaching (Chapter 5.4) in teaching, and ultimately the interactional strategies employed by both stakeholders to prevent or negotiate disruption in communication and make EMI work (Chapter 5.5).

5.1 The sociolinguistic background of REM students and lecturers

Students, lecturers and the hosting institution of REM are highly dissimilar stakeholder groups with regard to their sociolinguistic characteristics, with the former group being highly heterogeneous, the latter two being largely homogeneous.

5.1.1 *Pluriversity in the student body*

The student body in the REM case study comprises 64 students in total, i.e. 26 students in the first generation of REM students (REMO8 hereafter) and 38 students in the second generation (REMO9 hereafter). While the ratio between male and female students in REMO8 is roughly 4:1, the gender distribution is slightly more even in REMO9 with a ratio of roughly 2:1.⁸⁷ The generally low proportion of female students is symptomatic of study programmes in the field of technical and natural sciences and is thus not specific to REM.⁸⁸ The average age of REM students when starting the REM programme is twenty-five (25.0 years in REMO8 and 25.8 years in REMO9).

Regarding academic backgrounds, REM students are highly heterogeneous (see Table 5.1). As REM is a non-consecutive Master, it is offered to students

⁸⁷ In REMO8, there are 21 male students (81%) and five female students (19%). REMO9 includes 24 male students (63%) and 14 female students (37%).

⁸⁸ In 2010, 21.9% of all graduates from higher education engineering programmes in Germany were female, in Baden-Württemberg even fewer (cf. Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 2013: 42).

with a variety of previous degrees in the fields of engineering, natural sciences or applied life sciences (cf. Chapter 4.2.3). The majority of REM students – nearly 75% in both groups – hold a Bachelor’s degree in engineering, but the range of their specializations is large. Considerably fewer students had studied natural sciences, applied life sciences or other related disciplines before entering the REM programme.

This academic heterogeneity implies that some students are already experts in certain REM-related topics (e.g. thermodynamics) which are entirely new to others and vice versa. In other words, the students’ prior content knowledge is diverse. For teaching in REM this means that lecturers can rarely assume common ground and are confronted with varying levels of expertise which require *internal differentiation*⁸⁹ in the classroom.

	REM08 (n=26)	REM09 (n=38)
Engineering	1. Agricultural Engineering (2) 2. Computer Science Engineering (1) 3. Electrical Engineering (1) 4. Electro Technology (1) 5. Electromechanical Engineering (1) 6. Engineering (1) 7. Environmental Engineering (3) 8. Material Science Engineering (1) 9. Mechanical and Electrical Engineering (1) 10. Mechanical Engineering (4) 11. Non-traditional and Renewable Energy Sources (1) 12. Process and Environmental (1) 13. Process Engineering (1)	1. Applied Mathematics (1) 2. Chemical Engineering (4) 3. Computer Science Engineering (1) 4. Electrical Engineering (6) 5. Energy Resources Management (1) 6. Engineering (1) 7. Environmental Engineering (1) 8. Heat Power Engineering (1) 9. Industrial Engineering (5) 10. Mechanical Engineering (3) 11. Process Engineering (1) 12. Production Engineering (2) 13. System Design Engineering (1)
Natural Sciences	14. Chemistry (1) 15. Geography (1) 16. Mathematics (1)	14. Biology (1)
Life Sciences	17. Environmental Sciences (2) 18. Forest Science (1)	15. Biological Resources (1) 16. City and Regional Planning (1) 17. Environmental Science (2) 18. Forestry (2) 19. Life Science (1) 20. Wood Science (1)
Other	19. Energy Economics (1)	21. Global Resource Systems (1)

Table 5.1: REM students’ academic backgrounds (numbers in brackets indicate the number of students per degree)

Since REM is an international programme, the students’ cultural backgrounds are even more heterogeneous than their academic backgrounds. REM students represent various nationalities, ethnicities, religions and cultures. As these are all highly sensitive categories and rather dependent on an

⁸⁹ *Internal differentiation* (in German *Binnendifferenzierung*) refers to a didactic approach which essentially consists in offering individualized support and learning opportunities within a heterogeneous group of learners, with the aim to constructively support heterogeneity in the classroom instead of suppressing it (cf. Hess 2001; Kelly & Murakami 1981).

individual's self-identification than on the researcher's categorization, I will restrict my description here to an overview of students' countries of origin and to world regions they have spent most of their lives (QO data).⁹⁰ In Figure 5.1, we see that REM students virtually come from all over the world from a range of twenty-seven different countries altogether. Only German and Indian students have more than three peers coming from the same country.

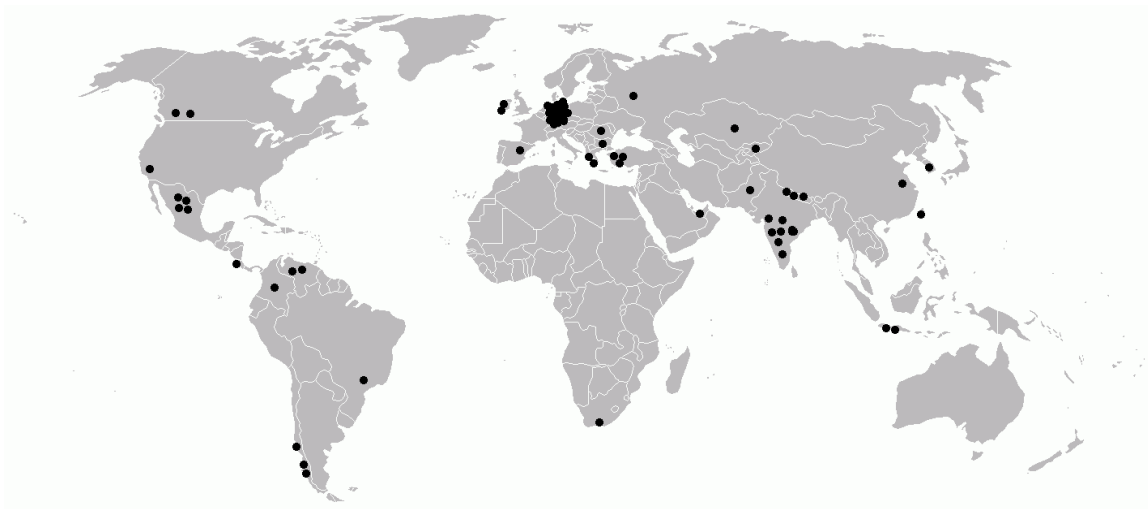


Figure 5.1: World map showing REM students' countries of origin (REMO8 and REMO9)

The students in REMO8 come from fifteen different countries, the largest national group being Germans (30.7%), followed by Indians (15.4%). The ratio between students and nationalities in REMO8 is 1.7, implying that a lot of nationalities are represented only once. This ratio is nearly the same in REMO9 (1.8). Among the twenty-one different nationalities in REMO9, the largest group is again German (26.3%) followed by equally sized groups of Indian, Mexican and Chilean students (7.9% each).

Table 5.2 shows the distribution of students' countries of origin by world (sub)regions (the largest groups being highlighted in bold). Adding up figures from REMO8 and REMO9, we can infer that the REM programme is especially attractive to Central Europeans (Germans, that is), followed by South Asian and South American students.

⁹⁰ It should be noted, however, that these overviews are simplistic and do not take into account individual migration biographies or other factors shaping an individual's cultural identity such as growing up in a binational family for example.

<i>C = countries of origin, St = students</i>		REM08		REM09		Total	
		C	St	C	St	C	St
EUROPE	Southern Europe	2	2	1	1	2	3
	Central Europe	1	8	1	10	1	18
	Northern Europe	1	1	1	1	1	2
	Eastern Europe	1	1	1	1	2	2
ASIA	Middle East	2	2	1	2	3	5
	Central Asia	1	1	1	1	2	2
	Northern Asia			1	1	1	1
	South Asia	2	6	3	5	2	11
	Southeast Asia	1	1	1	1	1	2
	East Asia			3	3	3	3
LATIN AMERICA	South America	1	1	3	6	4	7
	Central America	2	2	1	3	2	5
NORTH AMERICA	North America			2	3	2	2
AFRICA	Southern Africa	1	1			1	1
total		15	26	21	38	27	64

Table 5.2: REM students' origin by world (sub)regions

Although all REM students have experience with academic culture and practices in general, their culture-specific academic and non-academic backgrounds vary greatly. We can conclude that the REM classroom is highly dissimilar with regard to academic and cultural backgrounds.

Yet, the REM classroom is not only academically heterogeneous and multicultural, but linguistically very diverse, too (cf. Figures 5.2 and 5.3). Across the two student generations we find seventeen different mother tongues. Less than one quarter of students in each group (18% in REM08 and 24% in REM09) speak a common mother tongue.⁹¹ Lingua franca use is thus inevitable.

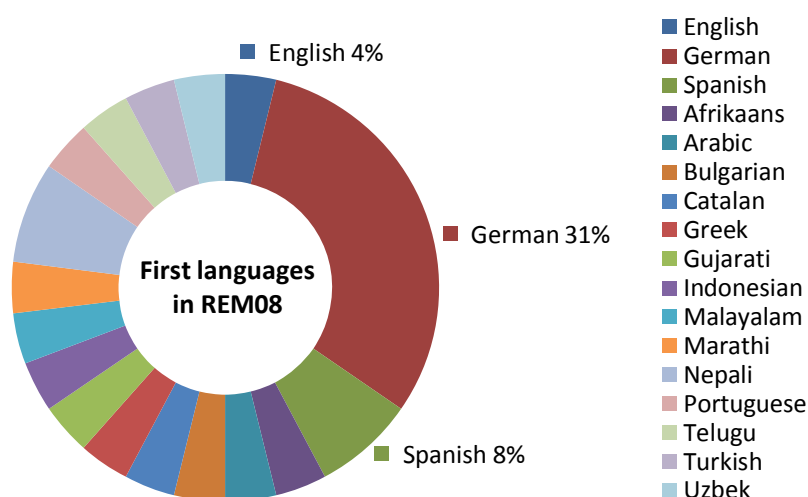


Figure 5.2: REM08 students' first languages (n=26)

⁹¹ Figures and results are based on students' self-report in a questionnaire (QO, item 5).

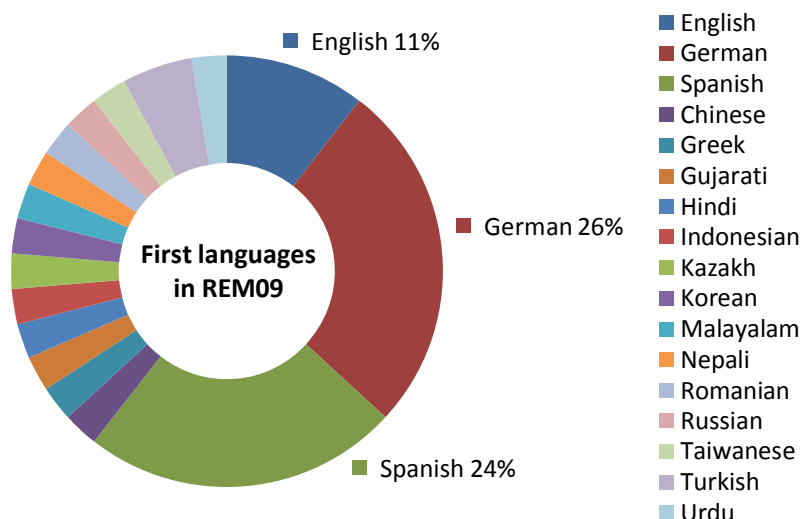


Figure 5.3: REM09 students' first languages (n=38)

With regard to the proportional distribution of first languages in the multilingual REM classroom, REM08 and REM09 are largely different, as can be seen in Figures 5.2 and 5.3. In REM08, German is the most frequently spoken first language and at the same time the only first language shared by more than three students (30.8% of all REM08) while any of the other first languages are spoken by one or two students only. In REM09, the distribution is considerably different, as there are three first languages with sizeable groups of speakers. Again, German is the most frequently spoken first language (26.3%), but closely followed by Spanish (23.7%), and English is the native language of four students (10.5%). This difference in distribution of first languages accounts for different language choice patterns in informal communication in both REM groups (cf. Chapter 5.3.2).

Although the REM student body is linguistically heterogeneous with regard to native languages, many of its members share a common characteristic: nearly all claim to speak more than one language fluently and a considerable proportion of students even experienced long-term multilingual immersion.

Nearly all REM students have acquired at least one modern⁹² foreign language (FL) – English in most cases – through formal instruction at school or university. More than one third (37.5%) have learnt two foreign languages and nearly one quarter have even learnt three or more foreign languages (23.4%). Moreover, a considerable number of REM students are used to speaking more than one language on a regular basis. More than one third of REM students (35.9% altogether, 38.5% in REM08 and 34.2% in REM09) have been exposed to bi- or multilingualism through immersion. Many come from officially multilingual countries (India, Pakistan, South Africa, Spain and Taiwan), others are minority language speakers in their home countries or migrated to a country where a language other than their native language is spoken, and more than half

⁹² Modern here refers to languages with existing speech communities (as opposed to historical languages like Latin or Ancient Greek).

grew up in bilingual families (18.6% of all REM students in total).⁹³ Regardless of their language acquisition background, nearly all REM students claim to be fluent speakers of at least two languages. More than half (56.3%) are fluent in their mother tongue and English, 31.3 % are fluent in three languages and 6.3% speak four or even five languages fluently.⁹⁴

With regard to lingua franca options, English is the only language shared by all REM students, while German would serve as lingua franca for 54% in REMo8 and for 39% in REMo9 (both percentages including native speakers of German) and a small proportion of students could use Hindi or Spanish as lingua franca.⁹⁵ Both groups elected an English NS and a German NS as student representatives.

In sum, the REM student body is characterized by pluridiversity with regard to their academic, cultural and (socio)linguistic backgrounds.

5.1.2 Homogeneity in the teaching body

The teaching body of REM is essentially different from the student body if we look at linguacultural backgrounds. During the fieldwork period, thirty-seven lecturers⁹⁶ were teaching in the REM programme. The gender distribution is roughly 3:1, i.e. nine out of thirty-seven lecturers are female.⁹⁷

A special characteristic of the REM programme is its interdisciplinary orientation and its close connection to practice. This means that not all lecturers are ordinary academic staff at the host faculty or other faculties or institutes of the University of Freiburg. In addition to the in-house lecturers, there are

⁹³ However, only three students consider themselves as bilinguals with two mother tongues (Patricio, Chao and Muiris), while the remaining nine (Bulat, Cai, Dan, Dhiraj, Joy, Kosimo, Maya, Mario and Pramod) consider only one language their mother tongue, but report habitually speaking two languages with their family members. This shows that for the majority of bilingual REM students the concept *mother tongue* is not tied to actual usage, but rather to identification with a language and its speech community.

⁹⁴ Those who claim to be fluent in their mother tongue only are native speakers of English (Cai, Colin, Joy and Naomi). I assume that this self-evaluation is due to a critical understanding of fluency as I know from other sources (PO, PI, other items in QO) that Cai and Joy speak another language with their larger families and Colin also reported on conversing in another language.

⁹⁵ Hindi could be used by 15% of REMo8 students and 11% of REMo9 students, and Spanish would serve as lingua franca for 11% of REMo8 students. In REMo9, Spanish is the second most spoken first language (spoken by 24% of REMo9) and only one non-native speaker of Spanish claims to speak Spanish fluently. Thus Spanish would serve as lingua franca for 26% of students here, but under highly unbalanced conditions.

⁹⁶ The term *lecturer* is to be understood as cover term for individual members of the teaching body, regardless of their institutional position or affiliation (i.e. it includes doctoral teaching assistants, external guest lecturers, etc.) and regardless of the didactic approach they use in their teaching (i.e. not restricted to lecturing in narrow sense).

⁹⁷ It is important to stress here that all background facts about REM lectures represent a snapshot of the situation in REM in its early stages. Frequent turnover of (non-professorial) academic staff is common in German academia and a number of lecturers who I met in my case study left the University of Freiburg after (or even during) my fieldwork. In other cases, modules and their contents have been reorganized, guest lecture contracts have not been renewed and so on.

lecturers from a nearby university of applied sciences, from an external research institution (a local *Fraunhofer* institute), and various experts from NGOs or consultancies working in the field of renewable energies. Furthermore, occasional guest lectures are given by researchers who are working on REM-related topics (both in-house researchers and international guest researchers).⁹⁸ Figure 5.4 shows the distribution of REM lecturers by affiliation. As we can see, nearly one quarter of REM lecturers consists of external researchers and experts without affiliation to the host university. Such a distribution is extremely rare in comprehensive universities in Germany and more typical of universities of applied sciences. Aiming for transferability of the results to other EMI programmes in Germany, the lecturer data gathered in this study derives only from ordinary universitarian lecturers.

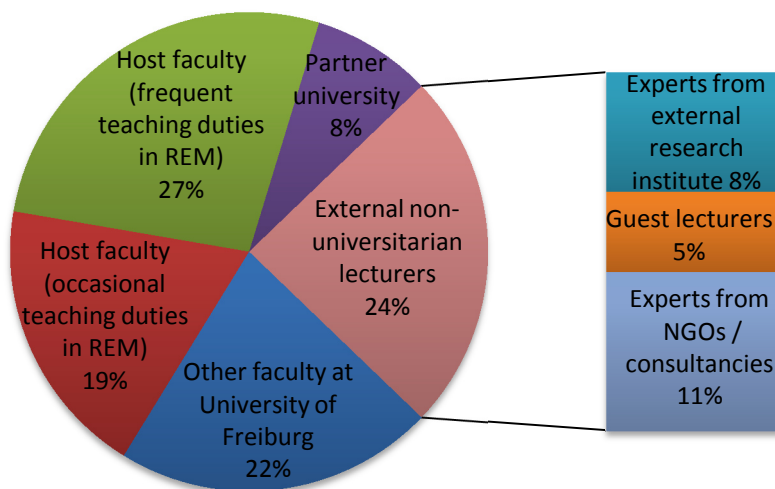


Figure 5.4: Distribution of REM lecturers by affiliation (n=37)

Regarding REM lecturers' highest academic degrees, fifteen are professors, thirteen hold a PhD degree and nine hold a Master's degree or diploma. Personal interviews were conducted with nine lecturers representing a cross-section of ordinary Freiburg-based REM lecturers, either affiliated with the Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources or other faculties of the University of Freiburg, and representing different institutional positions, i.e. interviews were conducted with two professors (Professors Tanne and Kiefer), five post-doc researchers (Dr. Ahorn, Dr. Birke, Dr. Buche, Dr. Eiche and Dr. Ulme) and two doctoral researchers (Mr Ginster and Mr Liguster).

More than two thirds of REM lecturers are native speakers of German (76%) while only 24% are speakers of other first languages (Italian, French, Russian, Spanish, Greek and English). If we subtract the number of occasional guest

⁹⁸ In raw numbers, there are 17 lecturers from the Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources, 10 of whom regularly and frequently teach in REM, 8 lecturers from other institutions and faculties of the University of Freiburg, 3 lecturers from a partner university, another 3 lecturers from an external research institution, 4 experts from NGOs and consultancies and 2 guest lecturers from other universities.

lecturers, we see that nine out of ten REM lecturers are native speakers of German (Figure 5.5).

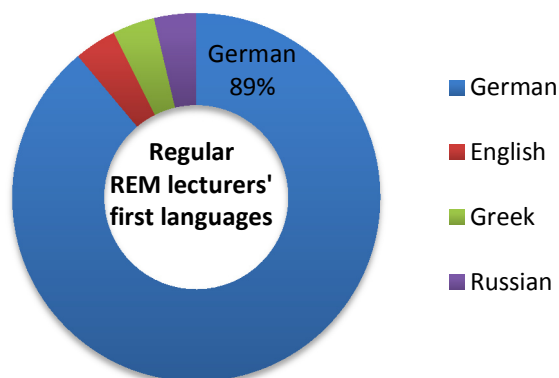


Figure 5.5: Regular REM lecturers' first languages (n=27)

The vast majority of REM lecturers speak German as native language, the teaching body can thus be classified as essentially monolingual – and monocultural, too, as all but one German native speaker are of German origin. In sum, the teaching body in REM comprises a linguistically and culturally rather homogeneous group.

5.1.3 The monolingual host environment

The REM programme is organized and offered by the *Zentrum für Erneuerbare Energien* (ZEE; Centre for Renewable Energy), an interdisciplinary research centre hosted by the Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources at the University of Freiburg. The ZEE is directed by an interdisciplinary board and managed by a programme coordinator who is supported by a secretary and a student assistant, all of whom are German (speaking) natives.

Communication with REM students is carried out in English and relevant administrative documents (such as legally binding examination regulations) are available in English, while ZEE-internal communication (e.g. board meetings) is done in German as there is no need for lingua franca use among only German native speakers. By the time of data collection, the Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources hosted three EMI Master's programmes⁹⁹, REM being one of them, as well as a considerable proportion of international PhD students and various researchers with non-German backgrounds. At this faculty, ELF is thus not only used in the ambit of the three EMI programmes, but also in communication with and among non-German speaking staff members, and the

⁹⁹ In 2013, their number has increased to five. Additionally, the Faculty of Environment and Natural Resources offers two BMI Master's programmes with language choice options between German and English. Only three Master's programmes are offered exclusively in German.

relevance of the English language at this faculty can also be seen in its web presence (bilingual for the most part).

Despite habitual and expanding uses of ELF, the local language German is nevertheless the dominant language at the host faculty of REM, both in terms of visibility and institutional importance. Signage in the faculty's building is for the most part monolingual¹⁰⁰ as are work contracts for student assistants, administrative staff at the examination office are German speakers, to name but a few examples with relevance for students in EMI programmes. We can conclude that REM students for the most part have to interact with Germans at their host faculty, albeit not necessarily in German. Thus, the third stakeholder group in REM, the host environment, can be described as largely homogeneous with regard to linguistic and cultural set-up.

5.1.4 Previous exposure to the English language and to EMI

Both REM student generations comprise native and non-native speakers of English with diverse experiences of exposure to the English language.¹⁰¹ If we consider only those students as native speakers of English who grew up in an *Inner Circle* English speaking country (cf. Chapter 2.1) and/or in an English speaking family, the number of English native speaker students in both REM generations is considerably low (two students in REM08 and four students in REM09). If we also include the nine students from countries where English is spoken as a second language (India, Pakistan, South Africa), the proportion still remains low (27% ENL and ESL speakers in REM08 and 21% ENL and ESL speakers in REM09).

The majority have acquired their English language skills predominantly through formal instruction. However, every third (REM08) or even every second (REM09) NNS student also experienced exposure to English through immersion in an ENL country (in the United States or the United Kingdom) during a stay abroad with durations ranging from four weeks up to twelve months or more.¹⁰²

Various students also have lingua franca experience with the English language through staying abroad in non-English speaking countries or because English used to be the common work language and lingua franca in a previous job (23% in REM08 and 24% in REM09). Furthermore, all REM students claim

¹⁰⁰ This occasionally inspires grassroots approaches to bilingualism. For example, the door to the bathrooms next to REM students' main lecture hall used to show only the door label *D* (abbreviation for German *Damen*) but an anonymous author added a handwritten note in English with a translation (*ladies*) and the additional information that the gents' bathroom can be found one floor upstairs.

¹⁰¹ As elsewhere in this study, the categorization of speakers as *native, non-native, monolingual, bilingual or multilingual speaker* is based on the speakers' self-categorization and does not always reflect their actual level(s) of competences in the respective language(s).

¹⁰² The percentage among NNS (i.e. excluding ENL and ESL speakers) is 32% for REM08 and 50% for REM09 (QO data).

to be using English on a daily basis in their spare time, not only receptively (reading books, newspapers or magazines; watching films or TV; listening to the radio or music) but also productively (communicating on Facebook, Skype or other social media).

Considering the age at which REM students started to learn English, the majority in both groups did not acquire any English language skills before starting secondary education (cf. Figure 5.6). Regardless of when and how they started to learn English, all students had English as a school subject in secondary education.

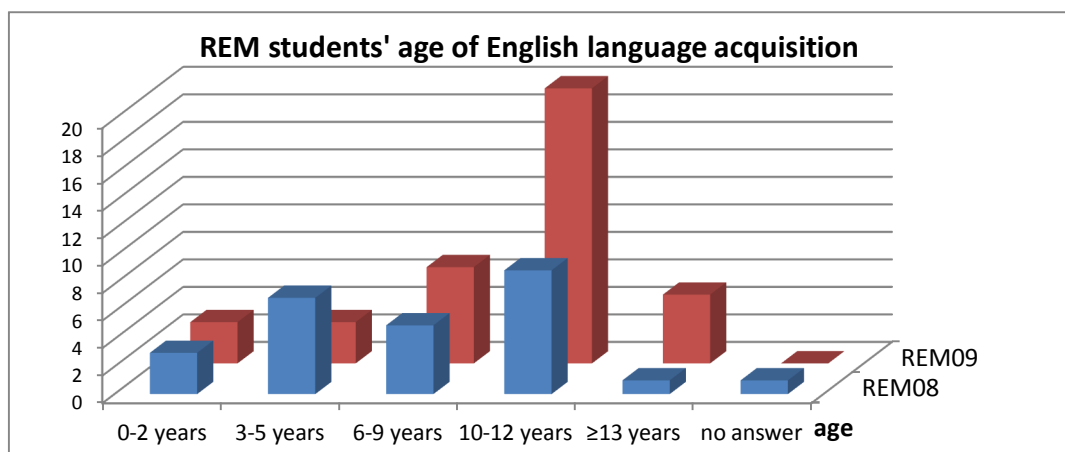


Figure 5.6: REM students' age of English language acquisition

Regarding REM students' experience with English as medium of instruction, only few of them received instruction in English throughout all education levels, i.e. from primary school through to university. These include the six NS students and five students from ESL (India, Pakistan) and ESL-neighbouring (Nepal) countries. At tertiary education level, some more students have EMI experience. All together more than one third (38% in REM08 and 32% in REM09) had studied an English-taught Bachelor's course in the United States, Canada, Ireland, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Germany, Turkey or the United Arab Emirates, and a small number of students occasionally experienced EMI lectures in their previous (non-EMI) degree courses.

If we take a closer look at the conditions of these previous EMI experiences, we see that the majority studied either in an ENL environment where English does not have lingua franca status but is actually the dominant local language, or in an ESL environment where English serves as the default language of teaching at any educational level. Thus, EMI experience comparable to the situation in REM, i.e. where ELF use is more or less restricted to the confines of the classroom and only has marginal application in the host environment, is scarce among REM students. We can conclude that EMI as offered in REM is a linguistically new experience for the majority of students.

For many REM lecturers, on the other hand, REM is not their first experience with EMI. Nearly all lecturers have teaching duties in other EMI programmes as well and EMI often constitutes up to half of their teaching

load.¹⁰³ Lecturers' experiences with EMI are thus not specific to REM, but based on other EMI programmes as well, which eventually strengthens the transferability of the case study findings.

Prior to teaching in REM or any other EMI programme at the University of Freiburg, all REM lecturers have been exposed to the English language in various ways. As can be expected from German academics, all had at least seven years of formal EFL instruction in secondary education.¹⁰⁴ In addition, all lecturers have been exposed to English (ENL or ELF) in immersion settings over periods of several months.¹⁰⁵

Exposure to ENL predominantly occurred in the USA, less so in the UK, in the context of a stay abroad as guest researchers or in the context of a student exchange programme during secondary or tertiary education. Those with experience in staying in an *Inner Circle* English-speaking country unanimously claim that their stay abroad had boosted their general language proficiency in English and strongly recommend spending time in an ENL country to all lecturers with teaching duties in EMI programmes (cf. Chapter 7.6).

Exposure to ELF either occurred in the context of research stays in *Expanding Circle* EFL countries (China and Brazil) or in the context of student exchange programmes or international degree programmes during tertiary education. The latter cases are particularly interesting as they imply that some lecturers had first-hand experience with EMI as students and are thus familiar with both perspectives in the EMI classroom. Mr Liguster, for example, participated in a student exchange programme in Sweden, where he attended EMI courses¹⁰⁶ and Dr. Ulme obtained her Master's degree from an international EMI programme in Germany. Prior EMI experience as student does however not necessarily lead to tolerant let alone positive attitudes towards ELF use (cf. Chapter 6.1.2 and following).

Exposure to English also occurs in other areas of REM lecturers' academic lives, e.g. when attending international conferences with English as conference lingua franca and giving talks in English, reading and publishing research papers in English and interacting with non-German speaking colleagues and supervisees in English.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, interaction at their workplaces in Freiburg habitually takes place in German (staff meetings, office hours,

¹⁰³ Dr. Ulme is the only exception as she had only taught in German before and REM was her first experience with EMI.

¹⁰⁴ Professor Tanne is an exception here. He only had five years of formal EFL instruction during secondary education as he had first learnt French as foreign language. He recounts having been more fluent in French in his twens, but now considers himself more fluent in English due to the very limited exposure to French in his professional and private life (PI Tanne).

¹⁰⁵ Immersion here refers to spending time in one place for at least two months, i.e. excluding travel experience during regular holidays.

¹⁰⁶ Mr Liguster reports having visited mainly EMI lectures in the beginning of his stay until his Swedish language skills had reached a level that allowed him to follow Swedish L1 lectures.

¹⁰⁷ Professor Kiefer emphasized, however, that he would always try first to speak in German to non-German supervisees in order to motivate them to learn German. Switching to English only occurs if the supervisees' level of German is not sufficient or if talking in German produces misunderstandings (PI Kiefer).

administrative tasks, etc.). In terms of frequency, exposure to (lingua franca) English is rather rare in lecturers' daily routine and very much restricted to the EMI classroom and to reading and writing research literature. Those who want to practice their English more frequently seek further opportunities in their spare time. Dr. Ahorn often watches films or reads fiction in the original English version and Professor Tanne regularly talks to English-speaking friends, which helps him maintain and develop fluency in English (1).

- (1) “Ich hab regelmäßig Kontakt nach Amerika, also ich ruf drei- bis viermal die Woche da an und hab so eine Stunde Telefonat und hab dadurch auch einen gewissen englischen Sprachfluss.“ (PI Tanne)
(I have regular contact to the United States, I make phone calls three or four times a week and have a conversation for about an hour and this way I have a certain fluency in English.)

A further option is seeking language practice through formal language training. At the time of data gathering, there were no EMI-specific language training opportunities offered for lecturers at the University of Freiburg. Apart from a small number of conventional language courses aimed primarily at administrative staff and starting at a relatively low entry level (B1 or below), there was only one conversation course offered, starting at a higher competence level (B2/C1) and restricted to fifteen participants, one of whom was Professor Tanne.¹⁰⁸

We can conclude that the English language plays an important role in lecturers' academic lives, but is clearly outnumbered by German language use in daily routine tasks and interaction in the institutional environment.

5.1.5 Previous exposure to the language and culture of the German host environment

As discussed earlier, EMI is often accused of supplanting the role of local languages in academia, and international¹⁰⁹ EMI students are suspected of not being bothered to learn the local language if they can get by with ELF – imputations with particular salience in German academia (cf. Chapter 3.2.2). Considering the information for prospective students provided on the official REM webpage, we could assume that these imputations are not entirely

¹⁰⁸ By 2013, the number of English language courses offered through the *Freiburger Akademie für Universitäre Weiterbildung* (FRAUW, academy for continuing education at the University of Freiburg) has noticeably increased and now includes different course types for different competence levels and target groups. Furthermore, an EMI-specific language support programme for lecturers was launched at the *Sprachlehrinstitut* (Language Teaching Centre) in winter 2011.

¹⁰⁹ The label ‘international’ should be understood as antonym of the label ‘local’ and thus applies to those students who have not permanently lived in Germany prior to studying their EMI degree programme and/or do not hold German citizenship. Note that in Anglophone contexts the label ‘international’ often has a different connotation, referring to overseas students and, specifically in the UK, excluding mainland Europeans (cf. Jenkins 2013: 19, note 1).

unrealistic: in the *Frequently Asked Questions* section on the REM webpage we find the information that German language competence is not necessary for studying REM, but low level skills are recommendable for life outside the classroom:

2. Do I need German language skills for the M.Sc. REM? No, the course is held completely in English. For your life in Germany it is advisable to speak a little German. (REM Webpage > FAQ)

Both student groups have a considerable share of native speakers of German, 31% in REM08 and 26% in REM09. The remaining non-native speakers of German have a wide range of proficiency levels in German with a similar distribution in both groups (cf. Figures 5.7 and 5.8).

Among the eighteen NNS of German in REM08, three are fully fluent speakers of German for family reasons (two of them even chose to be interviewed in German), eleven have already taken German language lessons of varying duration before coming to Freiburg and the remaining four are enrolled in a German language course for beginners at the university's language teaching centre. Thus, in REM08 everyone without exception is either learning or already speaking German (Figure 5.7).

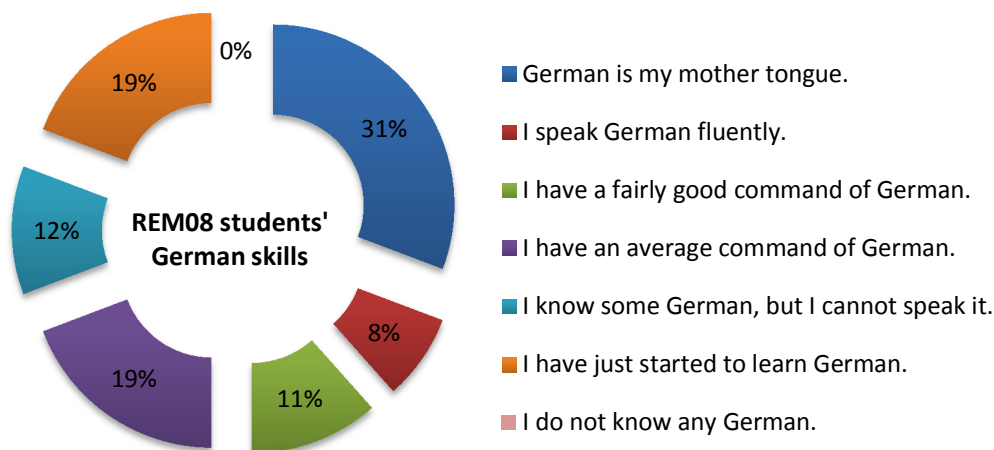


Figure 5.7: REM08 students' self-attested German language proficiency (QO)

In REM09 all but two students are learning or speaking German (Figure 5.8). REM09 comprises ten NS of German, two bilingual speakers fluent in German (who are fluent in German for family reasons but do not categorize themselves as (bilingual) native speakers of German) and twenty-six non-fluent non-native speakers of German. The majority of the latter group have already learnt German before coming to Freiburg, some of them for several years even, and eight are taking German language lessons parallel to their REM studies. Only two of them are not enrolled in any language course at the time of gathering QO data, but these two are not complete beginners, but actually have a basic command of German or understand some German, but cannot speak it.

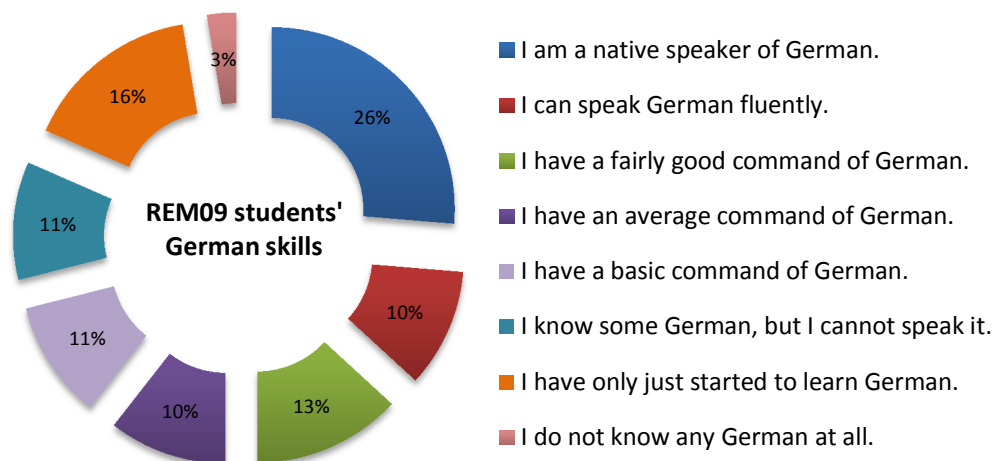


Figure 5.8: REM09 students' self-attested German language proficiency (QO)¹¹⁰

In sum, we see that German language competence levels among REM students are highly dissimilar, ranging from absolute beginner's level to native competence. What we also see is that there is no evidence for the imputation that EMI decreases students' motivation to learn German as all REM students have at least operational skills in German or are on the way to obtaining them.

REM lecturers are all fluent speakers of German, the majority being native speakers of German (89%; cf. Chapter 5.1.2). The default language used for interaction among REM lecturers is German as there is no need for using English as lingua franca. All REM lecturers are fluent speakers of German, regardless of their personal linguistic background. This is not only due to practical reasons (working and living in a German speaking environment requires at least some knowledge of the local language) but is also institutionally encouraged and expected. The University of Freiburg (although not explicitly) demands suitable German language competence from all staff members since internal communication (e.g. mailing lists, circulars and the like) is generally German and administrative issues (major ones such as setting up a work contract, but also minor ones like booking a lecture hall) are generally dealt with in German only.

¹¹⁰ Note that the respective questionnaire item is different with regard to the scale. While there are seven options to choose from in the REM08 QO, there are eight in the REM09 QO, i.e. a further option "I have a basic command of German" had been added. When analysing the QO data from REM08, I realized that the distribution of options is uneven since the relative distance between "I have an average command of German" and "I know some German, but I cannot speak it" is too far compared to the other options and therefore I included a further option in the REM09 questionnaire. If we assume that self-attested German language proficiency levels in REM08 and REM09 are distributed similarly (inferring from the overall results in both groups), we see that the proportion of those with "average command" in REM08 and those with "average command" and "basic command" together in REM09 is roughly equal. Thus, including "I have a basic command of German" as scalar option between "average command" and "I know some German, but cannot speak it" proved to be sensible.

5.2 Emic perspectives on EMI in REM

5.2.1 Personal motivations for EMI

REM students chose to study REM for various reasons (PI). Obviously, the principal reason is of an academic nature as all REM students have a strong interest in renewable energies. REM students particularly appreciate the interdisciplinary nature of the REM programme with its unique combination of natural sciences, technology and managerial contents, and several students also mention the cooperation with external research institutions and experts with practical experience from the field as a decisive factor for their choice.

Nevertheless, the academic content and structure of the REM programme are not the only factors informing students' choice. More than one fifth of REM students explicitly mention career-related reasons, referring to the subject of studies (renewable energies as a growing market with increasing job opportunities), but even more so to the location of studies. Studying in Germany is perceived as career booster not only because of Germany's leading role in renewable energy technologies, but also because of the international reputation of German Higher Education. An international degree is generally considered beneficial for future career perspectives ("[I]t's always good to have some international degree [...], because that's very respectful if you go somewhere in Europe or the States or Australia." PI Daksha) and even more so if the degree is issued by a "very reputed university" (PI Nishant) with an 'excellent'¹¹¹ reputation ("Freiburg was the first one, the, the best uh ranked on this list", PI Kosimo). In terms of perceived quality of education, German EMI programmes are competing here with programmes in English native speaker countries. This high regard of German education is not only apparent in students' career-oriented reasons for choosing REM, but also in financial and admission-related reasons (cf. Examples 2 and 3). Several students report that they looked and/or applied for Master's programmes in the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany at the same time. Their choice of a German programme instead of studying at a British or American university was most often based on financial criteria with German tuition fees being "very nominal" (PI Sayyid) compared to the United States or the United Kingdom ("They are a bit expensive and stuff like that", PI Teo). Hence, EMI in Germany is perceived as a low-cost¹¹² alternative to receive an international degree:

¹¹¹ Excellent here appears in quotation marks as it is meant to refer to the public use of the term in connection with the award as 'elite university' which the University of Freiburg received in 2007 as one of the winners in the government-funded incentive competition *Exzellenzinitiative des Bundes und der Länder zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Forschung an deutschen Hochschulen* (Federal and State-governed Excellence Initiative to Support Science and Research at German Universities).

¹¹² At the time of data collection (2008-10), tuition fees in the REM programme (as well as any other degree programme at the University of Freiburg) were 500 € per semester, thus adding up to a total amount of 2000 € for the entire REM degree course.

- (2) “I was quite surprised uh, in a positive way when I learned that there are Master courses in English in Germany, because I couldn’t afford to go to the UK or the US and, uhm, but here I could afford to go.” (PI Oksana)
- (3) “And I thought like, if my aim and all objective is to study, why should I pay that high tuition fee? I can get quality educations in Germany without paying tuition fee” (PI Daksha).

Apart from the assumed quality of German education and the positive side effect of considerably low tuition fees, studying REM provides further benefits. While international students welcome the opportunity of living in Europe and getting to know a new culture and possibly even a new language (PI Andrés), local students and those international students who already lived in Germany appreciate the internationality of REM as convenient alternative for studying abroad (4).

- (4) “[I]ch hatte eigentlich überlegt, beim Master entweder ins Ausland zu gehen oder, ähm, das Ausland zu mir kommen zu lassen. [...] das war für mich ‘ne gute Kompensation, in Deutschland bleiben, aber dafür ‘n internationalen Kurs machen.“ (PI Maya)
(Actually I had thought for my Master’s to either go abroad or uhm ‘summon abroad to me’. This was a good compensation for me, remaining in Germany but doing an international course.)

Additional reasons for choosing REM are personal and convenience reasons. Some students wanted to follow up on previous positive experiences studying in Germany (PI Gavrilis), others chose to live and study in Freiburg in particular because they liked the city and region, because they had friends, family or partners here, or because they had simply been living in Freiburg before and did not plan to move.

All student interviews started with the question *Why did you choose to study REM?* Only seven students (five thereof with an EMI necessity) mention EMI as factor for their choice of REM here. When directly asked whether EMI was a factor for their choice, some students explicitly claim that EMI was not a factor in their programme choice, as they would have chosen REM also if instruction was in German medium.¹¹³ Others chose REM because of its international orientation and consider EMI simply a by-product of an international setting. However, seventeen REM students explain that they have a clear EMI necessity as their German skills are too low (or even inexistent) to be able to study in German medium. Nearly as many others claim to have chosen an EMI programme for strategic reasons to support their professional career. A degree from an EMI programme is not only a valuable asset to the CV

¹¹³ Not only German students claim to have chosen REM if it was offered with German-medium instruction, but also two non-Germans (Adriana and Patricio, both with fluent or bilingual competence in German, though).

(“a point which distinguishes you [...] from maybe others”, PI Knut), but EMI itself is considered a booster of career opportunities both in academia and the global market as it presumably entails improvement of English language skills (“I thought that it could be a good chance to [...] just work out a little bit my English or improve it or somehow”, PI Manel). Improvement is not considered a matter of individual ambition, but rather a necessity in order to be linguistically prepared for working in an international context (5).

- (5) “I just want to probably work in a international organization and that, there you, for, for sure you would need or I would need the English and a very good English to express myself and, I don’t know, to do some speeches or whatever.” (PI Máximo)

Contrary to some linguists’ beliefs (e.g. Ammon 1998, 2005, Phillipson 2008; cf. Chapter 3.2.2) and supporting Soltau’s (2008) findings, REM students’ motivation to study an EMI programme does not imply that they are not interested in learning the local language. Quite on the contrary, the opportunity to learn a new language frequently is frequently mentioned as additional motivation for choosing an EMI programme in Germany and limited progress in learning German is often considered a downside of EMI (6-7).

- (6) “I wanted something in English to, to improve my English on the one hand, [...] and on the other hand also learning a new language and hang around with German people so you have the opportunity to train a little bit.” (PI Teo)
- (7) “[O]ne negative thing about studying in English in Germany is that your German is going very very slowly. I think it’s a disadvantage. I mean I was thinking it would be great to study in Germany because I speak English anyway, so German would be a second language to me. But uhm here you speak – because you are studying in English with your friends even though they’re German you always speak in English.” (PI Derya)

In sum, we can see that students’ reasons for choosing the REM programme are not language-driven in the first place, but rather informed by academic, career-oriented, financial or personal reasons. The perceived reputation of Higher Education in the host country Germany plays a major role in their choice. While some regard EMI a dispensable by-product of the programme’s international orientation, for others it is a bare necessity and/or a unique chance to enhance future career opportunities through improvement of language skills.

REM lecturers became EMI lecturers because of top-down decisions rather than through their intrinsic motivation. They simply teach in English because they were asked to by their superiors. Recruitment¹¹⁴ of lecturers for the REM programme is solely based on academic expertise in the respective topics and

¹¹⁴ Recruitment here refers to REM management’s inquiries among in-house staff and external staff who could teach which lectures in which modules; it does not refer to hiring staff for job positions.

time availability. In contrast to REM students, who have to prove advanced English language proficiency through TOEFL or IELTS test results for admission to the REM programme (cf. Chapter 4.2.3), REM lecturers are not required to prove their English language competence for teaching. A point raised several times in the lecturer interviews was the underestimation of EMI by superiors. REM lecturers, regardless of their position, unanimously criticise that EMI competence is often taken for granted. Superiors usually assume that researchers with experience in using English for research purposes (giving conference talks, reading and publishing in English) are by default capable of teaching in English. Professor Kiefer and Dr. Ulme both stress, however, that research-oriented language competence is not sufficient for EMI and that EMI requires more than just knowing subject-specific terminology in English. Dr. Birke reports to have mentioned doubts about the quality of her English to her superior when asked to teach in the REM programme, but was not taken seriously. While doctoral and post-doctoral staff members are simply requested to teach in English if necessary, professorial staff seems to have a choice in accepting or refusing teaching duties in EMI programmes if they do not feel comfortable with it (8).

- (8) “Also ein Kollege hat mir gesagt, dass er sich diesen Stress nicht antut, dass er englische Vorlesungen macht, weil das ist eine **ungeheure Belastung** für ihn.“ (PI Tanne)
*(A [professorial] colleague told me that he was not going to force the stress on him to give lectures in English because that would be an **immense burden** for him.)*

5.2.2 *Self-evaluation of English language competence*

REM students evaluate their English language skills in speaking and in writing as fairly high (QO). The majority of REM08 students (69%) claim to have (near-)native competence in English or at least to be able to express themselves well without difficulties (cf. Figure 5.9). Only one student admits that she cannot always make herself understood when speaking in English. Figures are similar in the REM09 group, with 71% rating their speaking skills as (near-)native or fairly good and even 76% rating their writing skills as (near-)native or fairly good. None of the REM09 students judge their English language skills as poor with persistent difficulties.

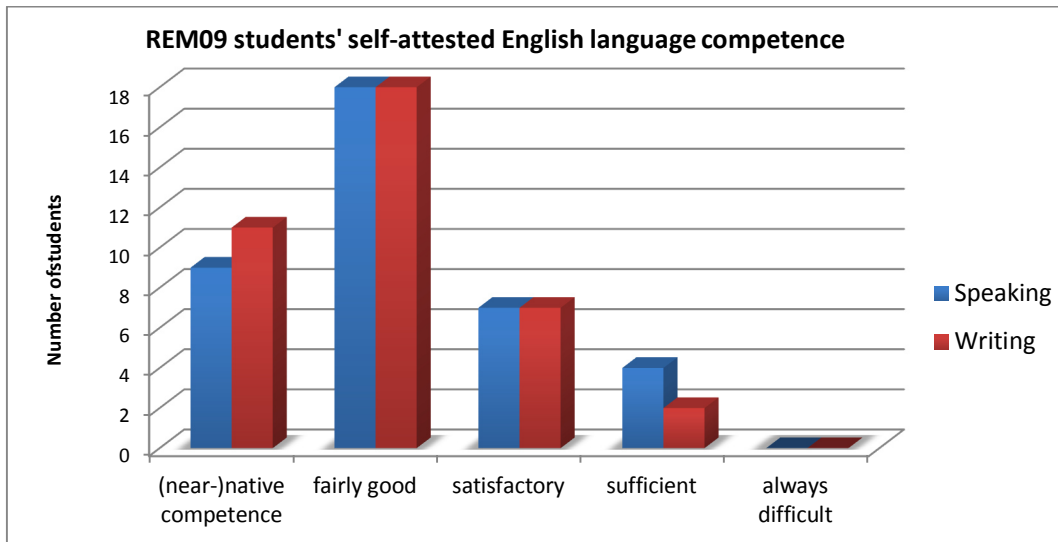


Figure 5.9: REM09 students' self-attested English language competence (QO)

When asked to rate their speaking skills in comparison with their peers, figures are slightly different in both groups. Nearly two thirds of REM08 students consider themselves belonging to the upper half of their group with regard to their speaking skills and 84% believe to be among the good or most competent writers in their group (cf. Figure 5.10). REM09 students seem to show more modesty as only slightly more than half of the group believe themselves to be among the (most) competent speakers and writers in their group (cf. Figure 5.11).

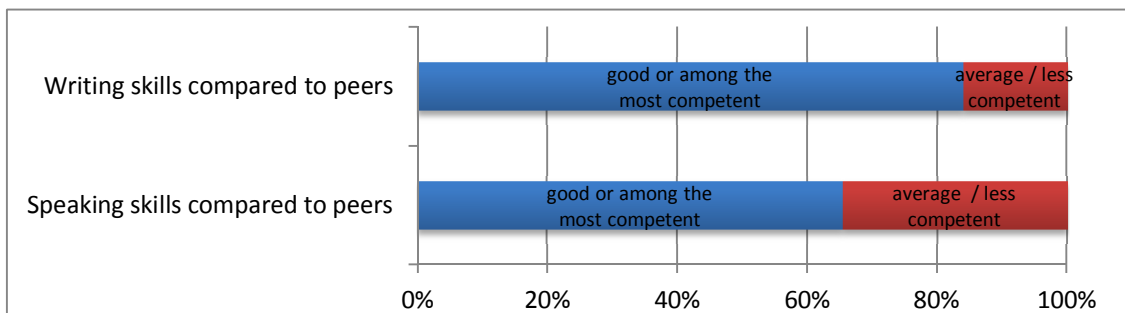


Figure 5.10: REM08 students' self-attested proficiency in comparison with their peers (QO)

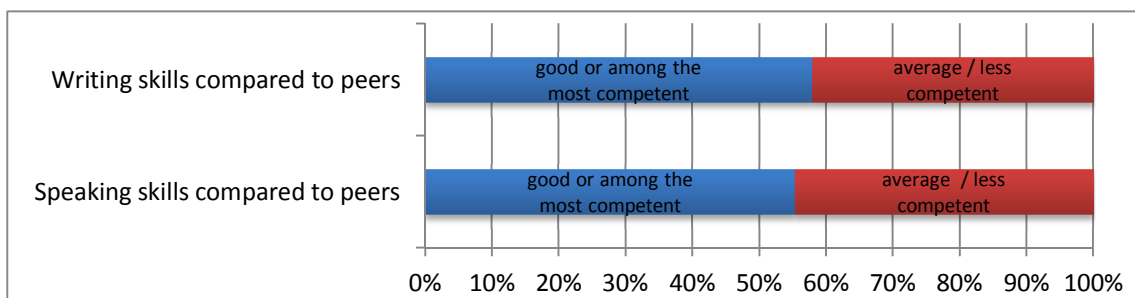


Figure 5.11: REM09 students' self-attested proficiency in comparison with their peers (QO)

The different results in both groups are by no means arbitrary or simply due to different personalities in both groups. In Chapter 6, we will see that students' evaluation of their English skills in comparison with their classmates is closely related to their attitudes towards native and non-native English and to the roles ascribed to their native speaker peers (cf. Chapters 6.1.4 and 6.1.9). Thus, the relative downgrading of REM09 students' English skills is likely to be influenced by the fact that there are more native speaker students in this group than in the REM08 group, not by different underlying attitudes towards (non-)native English.

Despite REM students' positive evaluation of their English language proficiency for studying REM, their self-evaluations of their general English skills are far more critical (PI). To my surprise, only few students use positive or neutral descriptions. The majority describe their English skills as fully functional (being able to express themselves) but limited by certain deficiencies, which they perceive in the areas of grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation or fluency (9-13).

- (9) “Also ich glaub, ich kann mich schon sehr gut ausdrücken, was ich sagen will, mach wahrscheinlich ab und zu schon ein paar, ähm, äh, ganz ordentliche [...] grammatikalische Fehler oder so.“ (PI Silvan)
(I believe I can express very well what I want to say, from time to time I probably make some uhm proper grammatical mistakes or so.)
- (10) “[I]ch kann mich komplett verständigen, auch flüssig, allerdings mit Fehlern.“ (PI Ferdinand)
(I can completely express myself fluently, but with errors.)
- (11) “[I]ch sprech ganz gut Englisch, oder gut genug, um mich irgendwie [...] verständigen zu können, aber hab nicht so den großen aktiven Wortschatz [...]“ (PI Bernd)
(I speak English fairly well, or well enough to somehow express myself, but I do not have a very large active vocabulary.)
- (12) “I have difficulties with some words and maybe to pronounce some words. [...] to go more deeply into details, it's a little bit hard for me, but I can explain myself most of the time.” (PI Patricio)
- (13) “[...] I am the worst speaker in my class because I can't speak very fluent in English. Yeah, I, I, when I speak, I came to know that I am doing a grammatical mistake while speaking, but I can't stop because it, I have to speak fluently.” (PI Nirav)

Being able to communicate in English and being understood by others is considered functionally sufficient, but with room for improvement and far from being labelled as good (14-15).

- (14) “I can just communicate. I cannot make [...] such an impression that uh Nishant is better English speaker or he can speak very well English, but I

can just communicate. So, yeah, medium I can say. My English is moderate.” (PI Nishant)

- (15) ”I just say that it is understandable. [...] At least people will understand but I don’t uhm say it is very good or so. It is understandable.” (PI Sunil)

In sum we can say that REM students are generally rather pleased with their English skills in the context of their studies, but tend to be more critical towards their general English language skills which they perceive as functional but limited by deficiencies.

REM lecturers’ self-evaluation of their English language proficiency varies and has a strong influence on their attitudes towards EMI. We can distinguish two groups here: lecturers with a very positive view of their English who enjoy or even prefer EMI, and lecturers with a critical view of their English who would rather prefer to teach in German.

Professor Kiefer, Dr. Ahorn, Dr. Eiche and Mr Liguster belong to the first group. They are all satisfied with or even proud of their English skills and do not care in which language they have to teach. They claim that preparation time for their lectures is the same in L1 German and in English. Dr. Ahorn emphasises that he even prefers EMI because the (international) students in EMI programmes appear to be more motivated than the (local) students in German-taught programmes.¹¹⁵ Mr Ginster also prefers EMI because the switch to English makes it easier for him to switch roles from PhD student to lecturer and because social conventions with regard to addressing students are less complicated in English as there is no distinction between formal and informal personal pronouns in second person.¹¹⁶ Lecturers in the first group often describe EMI as fun (“macht Spaß, PI Ginster) and more exciting than L1 teaching because of the internationality and different cultural backgrounds of students in such programmes.

The second group comprises lecturers who are rather critical towards their English language skills. Professor Tanne and Dr. Buche are very much concerned (and busy) with improving their language skills and consider EMI as rather stressful. Dr. Buche admits, however, that EMI in REM fortunately is not too challenging because the pressure to perform well in English is lower if teaching a group with mainly NNS than if teaching with a group of predominantly NS. Dr. Ulme and Dr. Birke are even more critical towards their

¹¹⁵ Dr. Ahorn explains this impression with his observation that attendance rate in his lectures on sunny days is higher in EMI programmes than in German-taught programmes (PI Ahorn).

¹¹⁶ Mr Ginster reports to have difficulties addressing students in German lectures. The institutional etiquette requires the formal address “Sie” in communication between lecturer and students. With some students, however, he is on first name terms (because they are working as student assistants in his research project or because he supervises their Bachelor’s theses) which implies the use of the informal address “du”. In order to avoid disparity in the classroom, he has to concentrate hard to always use the formal address “Sie” with all students. As this distinction is no longer linguistically expressed in the English language, he perceives EMI as less complicated than L1 teaching (PI Ginster).

own English, questioning whether it is good enough for EMI (PI Birke)¹¹⁷ and considering it reasonably functional but with much room for improvement (“[...] ich kann damit umgehen, es haut so einigermaßen hin, aber es gäb natürlich noch viel Potenzial da irgendwas zu verbessern.” PI Ulme).¹¹⁸ As a consequence, lecturers belonging to this second group perceive EMI as more exhausting than L1 teaching because it requires more concentration (PI Birke) and also more preparation time than teaching in their L1 German (PI Ulme). We can conclude that the more concerned lecturers are with their language competence in English, the more stressful EMI is perceived, and vice versa.

5.2.3 Challenges of studying and teaching in English

Studying in a language which is neither students’ nor lecturers’ native language is challenging. REM students report several challenges attributed to EMI. Firstly, studying in English is more time-consuming than studying in one’s native language. Particularly reading comprehension of academic texts in English requires more effort and often also the use of additional resources (16-18).

- (16) “[S]ometimes you have to really have the, the lexicon open and search for the words and spend some time for that but it’s not like a disaster or something.” (PI Gavrilis)
- (17) “Lots of terms are very new so I always use a dictionary during the class and look for many words.” (PI EunHee)
- (18) “Ich hab zu Beginn auch versucht, ja, sozusagen meinen Wortschatz zu erweitern, indem ich immer die Vokabeln, die ich in irgendwelchen Texten jetzt oder auch im, im Unterricht nicht verstanden habe, mir aufgeschrieben hab.“ (PI Sören)
(*At the beginning I tried, yeah, to expand my vocabulary so to say, in that I always wrote down the words which I did not understand in any texts or also in lectures.*)

Studying in English also requires more time for negotiating meaning in spoken interaction which is especially evident in group work tasks and does not only affect non-native speakers of English, but also native speakers (19). Secondly, EMI also requires more concentration than studying in one’s native language, not only with regard to reading tasks, but also with regard to understanding other non-native speakers (20-21). Thirdly, students feel that it is more difficult

¹¹⁷ Dr. Birke asked me explicitly to judge her English: “Geht das so mit meinem Englisch?” (lit.: *Does it work with my English?*) (PO)

¹¹⁸ Dr. Ulme was initially very worried about my classroom observations as she suspected that my observations would focus exclusively on the quantity and type of errors in lecturers’ English and I had to explain twice that I would not assess her English and that the aim of my research is not an error analysis of EMI lecturers’ English (PO).

to express their thoughts in a non-native language, not so much in oral assessment, but rather in written assessment (22-23).

- (19) “[I]t takes, I personally feel, just a bit, just a bit longer to get to that conclusion or an agreement within a group so that everyone is, understands everything correctly and, yeah, it’s, it’s a bit extra work.” (PI Cai)
- (20) “[D]iese ganzen Präsentationen, wenn du dann zehn verschiedene Akzente hast, ja, ist ja auch anstrengend, sich da drauf zu konzentrieren [...]” (PI Bernd)
(All these presentations, when you then have ten different accents, yeah, it’s exhausting to concentrate.)
- (21) “I had to adapt to the different accents of everyone and, yes, actually I think that was the worst part, to, to try to understand the different accents.” (PI Jimena)
- (22) “[F]or me it gets complicated when I have to write a paper [...]” (PI Justus)
- (23) “[I]n der Klausur denk ich über jeden Satz zweimal nach [...]“ (PI Silvan)
(In exams, I think twice about every sentence.)

Many students believe that high proficiency in English is an advantage in assessment. (Near-)native speakers “are starting from another level” (PI Teo), have a ‘speed advantage’ (“Geschwindigkeitsvorteil”, PI Silvan) in understanding and answering exam questions and have more (lexical) resources to express themselves (PI Svenja). Various students suspect that lecturers are biased by language use which can affect their grades. Native competence in particular is supposed to lead to a better impression of students’ academic performance which eventually leads to better grades (24).

- (24) “I mean, come on, it’s obviously, they have more advantages, so I think it should affect the grades also in a better way because it’s their own language.” (PI Derya).

The reverse is, however, not applicable and it is remarkable that none of the non-native students feel particularly disadvantaged in graded assessment. Native speaker advantages are taken for granted but do not affect individual achievement (25). Various students – particularly native speakers and those with lower proficiency¹¹⁹ in comparison with their peers – also emphasise that high proficiency does not automatically lead to good grades (26-27). Others stress that high proficiency only entails better performance in written examination, but not in oral assessment in presentations where the quality of

¹¹⁹ Lower proficiency here does not refer to a low level of proficiency in general, but to students’ perceived differences within the same group. All non-native speaker REM students are advanced speakers of English, but there are still noticeable differences in their language use.

performance is rather dependent on a speaker's personality (PI Gavrail) or self-confidence in speaking (PI Manel).

- (25) “[A]ctually I don’t care. I mean, they can understand better, they can speak better, they can have better grades, it has nothing to do with my progress about the programme [...]” (PI Dilara).
- (26) “I speak English as a native speaker but it doesn’t mean I get the best grades. And I know people who uhm don’t, aren’t as confident or maybe have an accent in English and they get ones¹²⁰ all the time.” (PI Joy)
- (27) “I found that the people that can understand English very good, uh, also have some troubles to understand the lesson.” (PI Sari)

All in all, REM students are not really concerned about assessment and grading in REM, despite their perception of unequal chances, and do not express any preference or disfavour of one assessment format over another. Mr Ginster is convinced that written examination is disadvantageous in EMI programmes as it gives an edge over those with high proficiency in English because they can better express themselves (“[D]a haben die, die ein besseres Englisch sprechen, einen Vorteil, einen implizierten Vorteil dadurch, dass sie sich besser ausdrücken können”, PI Ginster). Students with lower proficiency in English are at disadvantage because the lecturer might have problems to linguistically understand what they wanted to express in writing. Since the lecturer cannot ask for clarification in written examination, s/he might rate their answers as insufficient and thus runs the risk of underestimating their academic performance. Mr Ginster hence suggests that oral assessment in form of presentations should be the preferred assessment format in EMI programmes as this would allow the lecturer to ask for immediate linguistic clarification if necessary.

REM lecturers recognize a variety of challenges in their EMI practice. The most general challenge of EMI for lecturers is being a non-native speaker with imperfect language skills. All lecturers unanimously stress that EMI is a challenge for NNS lecturers and there is a strong belief that NNS lecturers are by default linguistically less competent and cannot express complex ideas in as much detail as NS could (28-29).

- (28) “[...] ich bin ja kein *Native Speaker*, also da kann ich auch kein sehr gutes Englisch haben.” PI Ginster
(*I am not a native speaker, therefore my English cannot be very good.*)
- (29) “[...] wenn’s um nuancierte Ausdrucksweisen geht, ja, wenn’s drum geht Ideen zu entwickeln und detailliert zu diskutieren, ja, da bin ich eben kein Muttersprachler” (PI Kiefer).

¹²⁰ “One” is the highest grade in the German grading system on a grading scale from 1 (excellent) to 5 (fail).

(When it comes to nuanced expressions, yeah, when it comes to developing ideas and discussing them in detail, yeah, well, I am simply not a native speaker.)

Professor Tanne feels deprived by EMI because he is used to making jokes and telling anecdotes in his German lectures to make them more interesting, but cannot do so in his EMI lectures because he does not have the same lexical and pragmatic fluency in English (PC Tanne Oct 2009). Whether being a NNS lecturer is perceived as challenge in EMI largely depends on lecturers' confidence about their English skills (cf. Chapter 5.2.2). Some lecturers initially had doubts whether their English skills were sufficient for EMI. Such insecurity is particularly strong if the lecturer feels that his or her English language proficiency is lower than the students' proficiency (30). In turn, positive reinforcement through NS feedback serves as confidence booster and resolves all doubts (31; cf. Chapter 6.1.7).

- (30) “[I]st da jetzt jemand mir gegenüber, der viel besser spricht als ich? Und ich merk oft als Dozent, okay, ähm, da hab ich Defizite [...]“ (PI Buche).
(Am I confronted with someone who speaks much better than I do? And I realize very often as lecturer, okay, uhm, there I have deficits.)
- (31) “[I]ch empfinde es [=EMI; SG] zwischenzeitlich nicht mehr als Belastung [...], vielleicht auch deshalb, weil ich im Lauf der Zeit immer mal wieder Rückmeldung auch von native speakern in den USA bekommen hab: ‘Mensch, wo hast du das Englisch gelernt?’“ (PI Kiefer)
(In the meantime, I don't consider it [=EMI; SG] a burden anymore, maybe because over time I repeatedly got feedback from native speakers from the USA: ‘Gosh, where did you learn such English?’)

Many of the interviewed REM lecturers use the word *burden* (“Belastung”) when talking about their first EMI experiences. EMI is perceived as very time-consuming venture in the beginning, due to lecturers' uncertainty about or lack of precise vocabulary and subject-specific terminology in English. Several lecturers report having paid particular attention to word choice when preparing their first EMI lectures and the corresponding teaching materials, either by checking dictionaries or by asking NS colleagues and friends. This procedure heavily increases their preparation time and work load, taking away time from other tasks and duties. Nonetheless, time seems to be a great healer as routine and experience with EMI reduce initial difficulties (PI Birke).

REM lecturers are not only concerned with their general language proficiency and their (lexical) language use, but also with the question whether students actually understand them well enough in English. In his first EMI lecture, Professor Kiefer had the feeling that not all students had linguistically understood him well and wondered what his fault was (PI Kiefer). In the following session, he then tried to speak more slowly and stress key points in his lecture, and he encouraged students to interrupt him straight away if anything remained unclear. However, when students interrupted him, their questions

were for the most part related to lecture content and hardly ever caused by linguistic miscomprehension.

Many lecturers assume that students understand their English well enough. This assumption is based on the belief that they (the lecturers) are using limited but common vocabulary that is supposedly easy to understand (PI Buche). Others base this assumption simply on their observations that students have not uttered any complaints in the formal evaluation of their lectures (PI Ulme) or have successfully passed written examination (PI Eiche). In cases where exam results are worse than the lecturer expected, the reasons are believed to lie in the difficulty of the subject-specific content and the task itself instead of being caused by the lecturers' language use. After all, bad results sometimes also occur in L1-taught courses with the same or similar contents (PI Eiche).

Several lecturers stress, however, that it is hard to distinguish in cases of misunderstanding whether these are caused by linguistic miscomprehension or rather by cross-cultural differences. Dr. Birke recalls giving REM students a written assignment and receiving a whole range of different task interpretations. While German students had grasped the intended task very quickly, Indian and Nepalese students for example had not. Dr. Birke wonders whether this difference in task comprehension was due to German interference in her English or rather to dissimilar cultural backgrounds and patterns of thought and assumes that language and culture are intertwined when it comes to understanding someone (32). Mr Ginster reports similar experiences with Asian students. He believes that difficulties in understanding are mutual and not only caused by language use but also by different mentalities (33).

- (32) “Und wo ich mich aber auch gefragt habe: Liegt's zum Teil am Englischen? Oder ist es die Hintergrundgeschichte? Ich bin mir nicht so sicher, woran's jetzt so liegt, weil ich denke, wenn ich Englisch spreche, ja eher deutsches Englisch spreche, und dass mich die Deutschen besser verstehen in den, auch in meinen Gedankenmustern als es vielleicht andere machen, die, ja, weiß ich nicht, aus Indien kommen und ganz anders sprechen.“ (PI Birke)

(And what I also wondered: Is it partly due to English [language use]? Or does it have to do with the [cultural] background? I am not really sure about the reason, because I think, when I am talking in English, I speak German English, and German students understand me better in the, also in my patterns of thought than others might do who, I don't know, come from India and speak entirely different.)

- (33) “Also grad bei, ja, muss ich wieder Asiaten sagen [...], da hab ich manchmal das Gefühl, also dass sie mich vielleicht nicht verstehen, weil ich im Umkehrschluss ihre Fragen zum Beispiel nicht verstehe. [...] Das Problem tritt selten auf bei Leuten aus Afrika oder Südamerika. USA, England sowieso nicht, Europa in der Regel auch nicht, aber bei Asiaten, weil sie eben ein ganz anderes Sprachniveau sonst haben [...]. Und bei Asiaten kommt jetzt aber wieder die Mentalität rein. Wenn ich denen 'ne Antwort gebe und das ist die falsche Antwort, würden sie aber nie sagen,

es war die falsche Antwort [...] sondern sagen 'Ah ja, er hat 'ne Antwort gegeben!', nicken und sind zufrieden.“ (PI Ginster)
(Well precisely with, yeah, I have to say Asians again [...], I sometimes feel that they maybe don't understand me because I in turn do not understand their questions, for example. [...] The problem rarely occurs with people from Africa or South America. USA and England of course not, normally Europe neither, but with Asians because they have an entirely different language level [...]. And with Asians mentality also plays a role. If I give them an answer and the answer is wrong, they would never say, the answer is wrong but instead they would say 'Oh, he gave us an answer!', would nod and be content.)

Mr Ginster observed that Asian students hardly ever ask any questions in class anyways, not even when he specifically invites questions. In his EMI practice, he circumvents this problem by addressing these students individually and informally during breaks where they often dare to ask questions or admit that they have not understood specific parts of the lesson (PI Ginster).

The most frequently mentioned and apparently biggest challenge for REM lecturers consists in understanding their students. Professor Tanne recalls having felt most awkward when a student asked a question and he simply could not understand it, even though the student repeated it twice (PC Tanne, Oct 2009) and Mr Liguster even mentions fears with regard to understanding students in his course (34).

- (34) “Also, ich hatte immer bisschen Schiss, wenn die beiden Nepali mich was fragen, weil ich sie nicht versteh, [...]“ (PI Liguster)
(Well, I was always a bit scared when the two Nepalese students asked something because I did not understand them.)

When asked whom they usually understand most easily, REM lecturers claim in unison that they best understand German students because their English accent is most familiar to them and most similar to their own one. In turn, when asked whom they find hard(est) to understand, two groups of students seem to be particularly problematic (“Problemgruppen”, PI Eiche). The first ‘problem group’ comprises Asian students, particularly students from South Asia, whose English “generally requires asking for repetition” (PI Tanne, Birke, Eiche, Buche). Regarding lecturers’ experience with REM in particular, Nepalese students are mentioned several times as hard to understand in comparison with their peers. Their accent is described as too fast and ‘a little bit chopped’ (“so bissl abgehackt”, PI Ulme) and they are suspected to ‘swallow up’ some sounds (“[M]anches wird verschluckt”, PI Buche) and pronounce vowels differently (“Die sprechen irgendwie Vokale ganz anders aus”, PI Ulme). Other than the Nepalese students, Indian students can be easy to understand as some speak ‘fantastic English’, but those who speak ‘the typical Indian English’ are difficult to understand (35).

- (35) “[W]ir hatten jetzt einen ziemlich hohen Anteil von Leuten aus dem indischen Raum, so Indien, Nepal, und da gab’s Leute, die phantastisches Englisch gesprochen haben, die man gut verstanden hat, und es gab andere, die dieses typisch indische Englisch gesprochen haben, wo es dann auch eher schwieriger war” (PI Ahorn).
(We had a relatively high share of people from Indian regions, India, Nepal and so on, and there were people who spoke a fantastic English who were good to understand, and there were others who spoke this typically Indian English and who were rather hard to understand.)

The second ‘problem group’ consists of native speakers of English. Nearly all interviewed REM lecturers mention difficulties in understanding NS students. Their English is perceived as too fast and containing too much “slang” (PI Liguster, referring to idiomatic expressions). Professor Tanne frequently tells NS students in his EMI courses to slow down their speech and speak more clearly not only for him but also for the sake of the entire class (“[I]ch sag also auch bei Native Speakern, sie sollen bitte langsam und klar reden und zwar nicht nur für mich, sondern auch für die anderen.” PI Tanne). With regard to the REM classroom, a NS student from Ireland is referred to several times as particularly hard to understand due to his Irish accent.¹²¹ Dr. Ulme recalls a situation in the REM08 classroom where she did not understand what the Nepalese students were saying because of their ‘peculiar accents’ and their low voices. However, when the Irish student paraphrased what his two classmates wanted to say, she was not able to understand him either because of his Irish English accent (PC Ulme, Oct 2009).

Nevertheless, NS are not generally considered hard to understand. Dr. Eiche and Mr Liguster both stress that only those who do not accommodate to the ELF context by ‘reducing their accent’ (i.e. reducing regional marking in their accent) and speed of speech are hard to understand. Interestingly, lecturers tend to be rather inconsistent in their beliefs about the comprehensibility of NS students, on the one hand admitting that NS students can be difficult to understand, on the other hand (often at a later stage in the interview) claiming that NS are generally easy to understand. For example, Dr. Buche admits that NS are sometimes even harder to understand than NNS with high proficiency because NS would use more ‘slang’ in their ‘dialect’, but at the same time he claims that NS students are easy to understand because of their correct use of English syntax (PI Buche). Professor Tanne also mentions NS students as generally hard to understand, but later he explains that he finds NS students from the United States very easy to understand due to his familiarity with their accent and similarities in cultural backgrounds (36). He assumes that comprehensibility is largely a matter of shared cultural practices and values (probably referring to culture in broader sense, i.e. Eastern vs Western culture).

¹²¹ Muiris himself also has the impression that lecturers often do not understand what he is saying (PC Muiris, Feb 2009).

- (36) “[Von Studierenden; SG] aus unserem Kulturkreis kann man vielleicht auch Fragen eher nachvollziehen und verstehen, weil man ja auch so tickt und so gepolt ist, und ähm, da ist Amerika auch schon relativ nah dran.” (PI Tanne)
(Questions from [students from] our culture area are maybe easier to understand and comprehend, because one thinks in the same way and along the same lines, and uhm, America is relatively close to it.)

We see that comprehensibility is closely linked to attitudes and beliefs about speakers and can be perceived in contradictory ways, which implies that perceived (in)comprehensibility does not necessarily correlate with actual (in)comprehension (cf. Chapters 6.1.5 and 6.1.6).

In sum, REM lecturers feel challenged by their supposedly imperfect language skills and the resulting uncertainties whether they express themselves appropriately and whether students understand them well. The main challenge for lecturers is however not related to their productive skills, but to their receptive skills as understanding their students’ (spoken) English is considered the biggest challenge of EMI.

5.2.4 Opportunities of studying and teaching in English

EMI is not only challenging, but also provides various benefits for students and lecturers. For most REM students, the EMI benefit consists in indirect improvement of their English skills (37-38) and many report that due to the regular use of English in the classroom they have become more fluent in English (39; see also PI Kerstin, Sunil, Sari, Gisa).

- (37) “I love it! I love it! [...] it’s something that of course affected my personal language ability, I, I got more fluent, I got more vocabulary, [...]” (PI Silas)
- (38) “[A] lot of practice always makes you better” (QO Sigmund).
- (39) “[B]efore I came here my English was like more academical English [...] I studied in language courses and I had very few practice [...]. I don’t have any spoken practice and that here, I have, I have to us it, my language very actively [...]” (PI Muhammad)

EMI makes them more confident in speaking (“I didn’t feel like so comfortable to speak in English. And now I feel more like, it’s more normal for me to speak with someone in English [...]”, PI Patricio). The everyday use of English provides a “[...] perfect training in ‘small talk’ and in specialist RE [=renewable energy; SG] language” (QO Ferdinand) which in some cases leads to achieving “a better level [...] especially, uh, for oral issues” (PI Teo). In addition to general speaking skills, improvement is particularly noticeable in students’ vocabulary resources. EMI automatically entails the acquisition of new expressions, both

subject-specific terminology and general vocabulary (PI various). Expanding one's vocabulary is not only considered beneficial for studying and mastering assessment in REM, but particularly also for students' professional future (40).

- (40) “[M]an liest viele *Papers* auf Englisch oder man schreibt selber *Papers* und dann sind's einfach Sachen, die sich einem einprägen und die einfach denk ich ähm im späteren Leben von Vorteil sein können.“ (PI Stefan)
(You read a lot of papers in English or you write papers yourself and then there are simply things which stick to your mind and which can be advantageous in your future life, I think.)

A further benefit of EMI is that it not only helps to improve students' vocabulary, but also trains their receptive skills, especially with regard to understanding non-native accents of English (“So it was like a good practice for me also to understand the English because not everyone has the same accent.” PI Shashank). Some even believe that EMI intensifies their learning progress in REM through the combination of studying a new topic in a non-native language in an international classroom: “[...] I learned the most I think because it is in English and it's a culture difference and I think that's what the course is about” (PI Svenja).

For NS of English and ESL speakers, both of whom do not express to be concerned with improvement of language skills, EMI is beneficial in that it is most convenient and also advantageous for them (41-42).

- (41) “[...] I was really happy that I could study in the language I'm most comfortable with, you know.” (PI Joy)
- (42) “I think it's relatively easy for me than other fellow REM students [...]” (PI Birendra)

For many REM students, improvement of language skills is a driving motivation for choosing an EMI programme and they do in fact observe changes in their English, but the majority are not completely satisfied with the actual outcome (43-44).

- (43) “I thought that it could be a good chance to [...] just work out a little bit my English or improve it or somehow. In this sense it has been a little disappointing because I think [...] I still should or could improve a lot.” (PI Manel)
- (44) “Before maybe I had the idea yeah to improve but maybe now it's more like yeah practicing and get comfortable with the language yeah.” (PI Justus)

Improvement is believed to be hampered by the low number of native speakers in the classroom, by non-native speakers' incorrect language use and by the

implicit influence of the German speaking environment (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter 6.1).

In the same way as their students, REM lecturers also perceive EMI as beneficial with regard to improving their English skills. Despite feeling challenged by EMI, Dr. Buche appreciates the ‘learning effect’ of EMI as it helps him expand his vocabulary by listening to students’ paraphrases of his lecture contents (45).

- (45) “Allein dadurch, wenn man jetzt als Dozent irgendwas versucht auszudrücken und ein Student stellt ’ne Frage und in der Formulierung der Frage wiederholt er einen Teil dessen, was der Student, äh, was der Dozent versucht hat zu erklären, ähm, und er formuliert das oftmals besser oder anders, und da ist schon ein Lerneffekt für den Dozenten auch. [...] find ich grundsätzlich natürlich sehr gut. Der Dozent soll ja auch was lernen bei dem Ganzen [...].“ (PI Buche)
(Simply by the fact if you as a lecturer try to express something and a student asks a question and in the formulation of the question he repeats part of the message, the student uh the lecturer has tried to convey, and he often formulates it better or differently, this also is a learning effect for the lecturer. [...] I generally appreciate that, of course. The lecturer is also supposed to learn something through EMI.)

For Professor Tanne, the beneficial EMI side effect of expanding his vocabulary resources through taking up certain words and phrases from his students is a double-edged sword (46). While he believes that NS always speak correctly and any of their utterance can be readily adopted, he fears that NNS might not always use correct expressions and adopting these could even lead to a deterioration of his English. The language learning effect for the lecturer is thus highly dependent on the source.

- (46) “Also ich lerne bei diesen Lehrveranstaltungen auch ich sag mal von der Sprache her vieles dazu, ähm, und zwar nicht nur bestimmte Wörter, sondern auch bestimmte Ausdrucksweisen. Also ich lerne dazu. Es ist halt die Frage, ob ich da was richtig lerne, oder auch was Falsches lerne. [...] in Amerika ist man sich dann ja sicher, in ’nem englischsprachigen Land, dass die Leute, die einem begegnen, dass die, die der englischen Sprache mächtig sind, das weiß man halt, das kann man übernehmen. Im Kurs weiß man das nicht so genau, ob das wirklich die richtige englische Ausdrucksweise ist. Man kann dann Sachen übernehmen, kann sogar sein Englisch verschlimmbessern. Da ist auch eine Gefahr drin [...].“ (PI Tanne)
(Well, I also learn a lot in these lectures with regard to language, uhm, and not only particular words, but also particular expressions. So I do learn. Yet, the question is, whether I am learning something correctly, or whether I am learning something incorrectly. [...] in the United States you can be sure, in an English speaking country, that the people you meet master the English language, you know that you can adopt it [=their expressions]. In the [EMI] course you can never be sure whether it really is the correct English expression. You can adopt things, can

even deteriorate your English. There is also danger in it [=adopting expressions from students].)

All told, the benefit of EMI is similar for both students and lecturers, as EMI is expected and believed to entail improvement of language skills. Many notice improvement of their language proficiency, but nevertheless also perceive various limitations, which will be explained in more detail in Chapter 6.1.

5.3 Students' lingua franca use in the REM classroom

5.3.1 Framework conditions of interaction in REM

The structural conditions of learning and teaching in REM foster interaction among students more than traditional (L1-medium) study programmes at the University of Freiburg usually do. First of all, the number of students per generation is considerably small (26 in REM08 and 38 in REM09) and the programme is hermetic which means that all modules are exclusively offered to REM students only. Both factors contribute to the development of a strong REM group identity among students, evident in students' self-designation as "REMs" (e.g. students' e-mails frequently start with the address "Dear REMs", EC).

Social interaction and group formation in the REM community is institutionally encouraged from the very beginning. The REM introductory days, held the week before the first term starts, begin with a "welcoming party"¹²² where students, lecturers, administrative staff and REM management introduce themselves to each other in an informal atmosphere including a buffet dinner. On the second day - after several presentations introducing the REM programme, its institutional environment (ZEE and the hosting faculty) and study-related services (the e-learning platform *Campus Online* or the online administration platform *Campus Management*) – a three-hour scenic walk through and around the city of Freiburg lead by the REM programme director provides a further chance for students to mingle and get to know each other.¹²³

A full-day field trip (hike) to Freiburg's landmark mountain Schauinsland during the first week of term serves similar purposes as the introductory days. Besides introducing renewable energy use in the Black Forest in the past and present, the hike is also meant to facilitate group formation among REM students (PC Tanne).

According to my observations, these events indeed accelerate group formation. From the very beginning, a cooperative and amicable atmosphere is

¹²² The organizers (i.e. REM management) label the event "Welcoming Party" (SM), probably unaware of the contextual difference in connotation between *welcome party* and *welcoming party*.

¹²³ These events appear to be decisive for group formation in REM. In the REM09 group, who I joined on the scenic walk, I observed that a group of four students (Derya, Dilara, Silas and Stefan) formed by chance on the second day and maintained a close friendship relation throughout (and possibly also after) their REM studies.

noticeable in both REM groups, not only in the classroom (e.g. Maya asking into the room during a lecture break whether anyone else wanted to have a coffee and offering to bring one from the cafeteria, PO Dec 2008) but also outside the lecture hall (e.g. Kerstin, Ismail and Shashank reporting on a trip to a nearby winter sports area where they went together for boarding and sledging, PO Jan 2009).

The format of REM modules provides plenty of opportunities for interaction and group formation among students through generous amounts of self-study time, and several REM lecturers frequently employ communication-oriented learning activities in their courses. The default schedule of REM modules comprises contact studies in the morning (lectures or similar from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m.) and independent study in the afternoon (so-called “self-study time” from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m.), with occasional exceptions owing to lecturers’ other commitments. This means that on average four hours a day are reserved for classroom interaction with the entire group, while the remaining time is reserved for individual group work among students (e.g. for the preparation of oral presentations). Although some students dislike this format (“Sometimes I feel that uhm we’re given too much freedom [...]”, PI Oksana), many seem to welcome this autonomy in organizing and doing independent study activities and frequently used the REM lecture hall in the afternoons (PO).

During lectures, interaction primarily happens between students and the lecturer. Lecturer-centred teaching is by far the most frequent teaching format in REM with the lecturer giving a presentation (complemented by power point slides) and inviting questions or initiating a discussion afterwards. In nearly all modules, students are required to work in groups in their independent study time and prepare oral presentations of their results. Few lecturers, however, integrate student-centred activities in their lectures. For example, Dr. Ulme’s lectures include various group work activities and Dr. Ahorn’s module includes a role play (cf. Chapter 7.2).

A special characteristic of the REM programme is the so-called *student organized event* (abbreviated SOE) which students have to plan and carry out as part of their studies and receive credits for. The aim of the SOE is to give students a chance to train their (project) management skills in practice. The organization of the SOE implies numerous meetings, both with REM management and among students themselves. The student-only meetings do not have a predefined structure so that organizing communication within the group is part of the learning process in the SOE planning phase. The significance of (developing) communicative skills in REM can be very challenging in a multicultural classroom, as we shall see in Chapters 7.2 and 7.4.

Student contributions to classroom interaction during lectures are slightly different in both REM student groups with REM08 students being more interactive than REM09 students. In REM08 I frequently observed discussions emerging among students (i.e. students spontaneously commenting on their peers’ contributions without involving the lecturer) while in REM09 students’ contributions are mostly directed at the lecturer rather than at individual

students. However, from observation in other settings I conclude that differences in interaction patterns are not likely to be due to differences in students' personalities, but rather to differences in group size and spatial arrangements of their respective lecture halls. REM08 only features twenty-six students (as opposed to thirty-eight students in REM09) and nearly all their lectures take place in a lecture hall with a horseshoe shaped desk arrangement (cf. Figure 5.12). The number of REM09 students is too large to allow such an arrangement and REM09 students thus study in a lecture hall with five desk rows (cf. Figure 5.13). The spatial arrangement in the REM08 classroom naturally allows more spontaneous questions and discussions than the REM09 classroom where all students are facing towards the lecturer and cannot see all of their peers face-to-face.

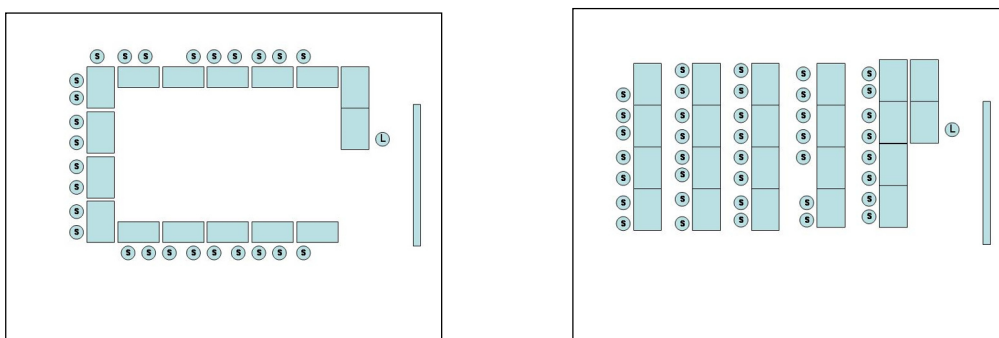


Figure 5.12: Desk arrangement in REM08 Figure 5.13: Desk arrangement in REM09

In sum we can say that interaction plays a central role in the REM programme, not only as natural occurrence in classroom proceedings, but also as integral part of assessment and expected learning outcomes (cf. Chapter 7.2).

5.3.2 Students' language choice in and around the EMI classroom

When asked which language students mostly use in their daily life outside the REM classroom, ELF plays a leading role despite the German speaking environment. In REM08, nearly half of the students (46%) claim to be using ELF or ENL most of the time while German as a lingua franca (GLF) or as native language (GNL) is used by 50% of students. In REM09, more than half of the students (55%) claim to be using ELF or ENL, while only 32% claim to be using GLF or GNL most often (two thirds thereof are GNL speakers) and 13% report on using their native language Spanish most frequently. This distribution strongly correlates with language proficiency levels, i.e. the higher the level of German language proficiency, the higher the likelihood of using German most frequently in everyday conversations ($p=0,00098$, QO).

The distribution is, however, independent of native speaker status as for example Sören and Severin (both NS of German) report on using English more often than German outside the REM classroom. REM students' answers to the

question which language they use most of the time in their daily lives in Freiburg indicate that the frequency of using a language is governed by social networks rather than by the linguistic environment: Sören and Severin spend much of their spare time with friends who are NNS of German. Daniela, Claudio, Kosimo and Francisco (all NS of Spanish) are all able to speak German fairly well or even fluently, but as they spend much time together, they naturally report on using their native language Spanish most often.

With regard to language choice in informal conversations in the classroom (i.e. student conversations during breaks), English is most often the default language for interaction in the REM08 classroom, even among speakers who could readily use another language (their native language or another *lingua franca*). Interestingly, some claim to be using other languages, but in fact they mostly used English. For example, Dan and Nishant told me in a lecture break that they would always speak in Hindi to Pramod and Shashank and would only switch to English if non-Hindi speakers joined their conversation. During a group work phase in the same lecture, I overheard, however, that Dan and Nishant who were team working together discussed their tasks entirely in English and not in Hindi (PO Dec 2008).

My general impression was that those REM students with other *lingua franca* options at hand (e.g. German or Spanish) directly used English whenever the topic of their conversation was related to REM and their conversation was not confidential. This behaviour can be interpreted as very considerate and cooperative since it rules out linguistic barriers for others to spontaneously join the conversation. German students seem to be particularly sensitive towards linguistic barriers in language choice, which is also evident in the fact that only two out of ten German students in REM09 chose to be interviewed in German while the remaining eight did not even hesitate and readily chose English as their interview language.

Outside the classroom, however, the situation is different. Speakers who are fluent both in English and in German show clear tendencies towards using German as soon as lectures are over and they (physically) leave the EMI context. The German-speaking environment leads to linguistic accommodation in the sense that conversations are then largely carried out in German, even if the topic of conversation is connected to their EMI reality. When I joined Sören, Donovan, Mario and Patricio during lunch break to a nearby canteen, our table conversation was initiated by Patricio asking me in German about the background and purpose of my research project, and continued in German across various topics (PO Dec 2008). Thus, we can conclude that language choice is governed by situational context and by social power. Since English is the default language of social power in the EMI classroom, the surrounding language German only plays a secondary role, its use mostly being limited to conversations about confidential or leisure time matters. German is, however, socially relevant and powerful outside the classroom and fluent NNS of German would thus accommodate towards their environment and use German in these contexts.

5.3.3 Students' lingua franca use in the EMI classroom

As can be expected in a lingua franca setting where the majority of speakers are non-native speakers of the language they are using, we find non-native usage features in various areas.

In the corpus of study materials (SM) there is a variety of incidents of non-standard usage in students' writing, but it has to be stressed that these are very rare and that standard usage is the norm. This is not only due to the fact that student writing is usually composed on a computer with inbuilt grammar- and spell-check, but it also represents REM students' advanced proficiency in English. Non-standard language use in the area of morphology can be assumed to involve non-standard use of articles and prepositions. However, confusion of prepositions rarely occurs,¹²⁴ and omission of articles or prepositions is observable mainly in documents composed 'on the hoof', i.e. on power point presentation slides or contributions to online collaboration (47-49).

- (47) “[...] but it should be __ annual event [...]” (SM, Google spreadsheet discussion, REM09)
- (48) “If Fichte agrees, __ only risk could be that [...]” (SM, Google spreadsheet discussion, REM09)
- (49) “[...] forces people to use their natural resources in __ unsustainable way” (SM, PowerPoint slides (ppt)¹²⁵, REM08)

Further morphological deviances from standard norms include the confusion of singular and plural pronouns (*this* instead of *these*) or pluralization of non-count nouns (*inputs*).

Syntactic deviances mainly consist in idiosyncratic sentence structures (“[...] corruption has been for long time to be vicious circle [...]”, SM, ppt) or in non-standard word order. The latter typically occurs in signposts in oral presentations. For example, Teo's handwritten manuscript for a presentation includes several signposts in non-standard word order like “[i]t is obvious here to see [...]” or “[a]nd here is more clear this fact [...]” (SM, manuscript, REM08). I assume that word order changes of this type are used deliberately as a means of expressing emphasis and should thus not be reduced to L1 interference or random non-standard usage.

Lexical usage is difficult to comment on for non-experts in the field of renewable energy. I will therefore stay away from commentary on students' idiomaticity and accuracy of specialized vocabulary and restrain myself to two peculiar findings representing nonsensical word choice caused by (near-) homophony (50-51).

¹²⁴ One of the very few examples can be found in the title of a written report, composed by three student authors: “[...] – A good measure for combat climate change?” (SM, group work report, REM08)

¹²⁵ The abbreviation *ppt* will be used hereafter to refer to PowerPoint presentation slides.

- (50) “[...] but their [sic!] were not **aloud** to” (SM, report, REM08)
- (51) “[...] for the next 10 – 15 years it is not realistic to reach **auto key**” (SM, documentation of group work, REM08)

The confusion of the word *allowed* with homophonous *aloud* in the example 50 can be interpreted simply as unintentional lapse, similar to confusions between *their* and *there*. The latter case is different. Example 51 is taken from a written documentation of group work, where group members had dictated the text to a designated author. We can infer that the author was not familiar with the concept *autarchy* and thus wrote down a similarly sounding word she was familiar with, the compound *auto key*. Such nonsensical word uses are in any case not typical of lingua franca interaction, but can also occur in native interaction as malapropisms are not caused by limited language proficiency but rather by interference in cognitive processing (*aloud*) or language-independent unfamiliarity with certain concepts (*auto key*).¹²⁶

Since the REM classroom comprises as many as seventeen different native languages, needless to say that variation is greatest in the area of phonology. For an illustration of phonological variation in the REM classroom, the words *here*, *south* and *coast* will suffice as examples. Phonetic realizations of these words can range from standard-like [hɪə], [sauθ] and [kəʊst] to non-standard pronunciations including trills, th-stopping and peculiar sound realizations ([hɪr], [sauʈ] and [kəʊʃd]). Additionally, we find non-standard word stress patterns as, for example, in the pronunciation of the word *category* with stress on the second syllable (*caTEgory*).¹²⁷

It has to be mentioned, however, that REM students are fluent speakers of English and non-standard variation in their accents does not reflect their general language proficiency. On a number of occasions I observed REM students giving presentations and can affirm that all are fluent in English and able to speak freely, with the difference that some are more experienced presenters keeping eye contact with their audience throughout the presentation while others mainly look at the projection on the wall (e.g. PO Dec 2008). Noticeable differences in their speech are largely due to loudness, speech rate and L1 influence on their accents.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Examples of interference in cognitive processing in German native language use would be the confusion in writing between the verb form *seid* and the preposition *seit* or between the verb form *fiel* and the adjective *viel*. A German example of a malapropism due to unfamiliarity with a concept would be the confusion between *Koryphäe* and *Konifere* in the idiomatic expression *eine Koryphäe sein* (all examples are randomly chosen by the author for illustrative purposes and are not related to the REM case study)

¹²⁷ To enhance readability, here and in the following word stress patterns are presented orthographically by using capital letters for the stressed syllable. Thus, the representation *caTEgory* is meant to refer to the pronunciation /kæ'tɛgəri/.

¹²⁸ REM lecturers' view of REM students' English language proficiency varies. While some speak of a generally high proficiency in English (e.g. PI Ahorn), others talk about a broad range of competence levels and assume that these inevitably lead to a multiplication of problems in classroom interaction (PI Kiefer).

Linguistic accommodation is typical of ELF interaction and also happens in the REM classroom (intuitively, as Sigmund claims; PI). In REMo8, Muiris, Maya and Dan report permanent linguistic adjustment to the lingua franca situation.¹²⁹ Maya explains that the ELF context requires ‘dumbing down a little bit’ (“[...] dass man da schon ein bisschen runterschraubt”; PI Maya). Muiris does not adjust his accent, but his syntax and lexical choice to enhance comprehensibility. He admits that he sometimes even avoids saying certain things if he thinks that his peers will not be able to grasp the meaning (52). Dan – who according to my observations speaks English with a rather British accent – reports to have adjusted his accent to the ELF environment in REM from a ‘neutral accent’ towards a rhotic pronunciation in order to be better understood (53).

- (52) “[I]ch hab mein Englisch schon ‘n bisschen angepasst, damit Leute das besser verstehen, also nicht nur, nicht nur, also, wegen meinen Akzent, da kann ich nicht viel machen, aber wie ich so Sätze strukturiere oder wie ich etwas sage und manche Sachen sag ich halt nicht, weil ich denk, ah, das werden sie nie kapieren [...]” (PI Muiris)

(I have adjusted my English a little bit so that people will understand it better, well not only, not only, because of my accent, I cannot do much there, but the way how I structure sentences or how I say something and some things I would just not say because I think, duh, they will never get it.)

- (53) “I guess I used to speak in a more neutral accent. A neutral accent is where you don’t try to imitate the American accent or the British accent. But now I guess [...] I roll the tongue more, so that people understand. For example /r/ ((pronouncing a trilled /r/)). We can say /r/ ((pronouncing a trilled /r/)), yeah, but in English you just say /r/ ((pronouncing a retroflex /r/)), yeah. So I tend to roll the tongue more and it just sticks [...].” (PI Dan)

The majority of NNS students claim that they do not monitor and adjust their speech to increase comprehensibility as this is simply not necessary. Gisa only adjusts her speech rate in cases of misunderstandings (PI Gisa) and Gavrail only needs to adjust his way of speaking with a small number of peers (“[W]ith twenty percent of the people, uh, I speak on a lowel, lower level, like, just to, slow and to try to understand what they’re really saying”, PI Gavrail).

Various students report that lexical accommodation (i.e. picking up lexical expressions from others) frequently takes place in the REM classroom and consider this a natural consequence of the lingua franca situation in general (PI Sigmund) and the group dynamics and amount of time spent together in REM in particular (PI Bernd). The way how classmates use English can even be a source of ‘inspiration’ (54).

¹²⁹ Muiris and Maya are the only (bilingual) native speakers and Dan is the most proficient second language speaker of English in REMo8. Data from the REMo9 group with regard to accommodation is not available.

- (54) “[E]s gibt vielleicht ein paar Leute, wo ich’s, ähm, ja, beeindruckend oder toll finde, wie die reden, also, bei so Präsentationen, und wo ich denk ‘Wow, das wär toll, irgendwie so frei und flüssig und so weiter sprechen zu können’. [...] das ist schon was, was ich irgendwie, was vielleicht inspirierend ist [...].“ (PI Bernd)
(There are a few people where I am impressed how they talk, well, in presentations, and where I think ‘Wow, it would be great to somehow be able to speak as freely and fluently and so on as they do.’ [...] that is something that I somehow, that is maybe inspiring.)

Lexical accommodation does not go unnoticed as not only those who adopt a new expression but also the source providers and third parties are aware of these processes. Sunil reports on having picked up the phrase ‘I was wondering’ from his classmate Sören and frequently using it now in the classroom (PI Sunil), a process also observed by Sigmund (55).

- (55) “Was mir zum Beispiel aufgefallen ist, ähm, als ein Beispiel, war dieses, dass eine Frage mit ‘I was wondering’ beginnt. Also das war zum Beispiel am Anfang so, dass es einer im Kurs gesagt hat oder vielleicht zwei, und irgendwann wurde das dann, hab ich das immer wieder gehört so, auch von Leuten, wo ich das zu dem Zeitpunkt noch nie gehört hab, bis es mir dann irgendwann auf die Nerven sogar ging ((lacht)) [...]“ (PI Sigmund)
(What I noticed, for example, uhm, to give you an example, was this, that a question begins with ‘I was wondering’. Well, for example, in the beginning it was the case that one or maybe two people in the course used this expression, and then sometime it was, I heard it again and again, even from people who I had never heard using this expression before, until it eventually even got on my nerves ((laughing)).)

A further example of lexical accommodation is the continually increasing use of the closing formula ‘cheers’ in REM08 students’ emails over the course of the first two semesters (EC). Muiris assumes to have been the first one to use this informal closing in emails and noticed that his classmates had been copying him (“[I]ch hab immer so ‘cheers’ unterzei- oder geschrieben, und ich glaub, das haben andere jetzt auch gemacht [...]”, PI Muiris). Initially students used a variety of closings including ‘(best) regards’, ‘greetings’ and ‘see you’ among others, but the use of ‘cheers’ spread and became ever more frequent: Silvan and Mario were the first ones to adopt the use of ‘cheers’, followed a month later by Bernd, Gisa, Demet and Pramod later. After some more months, Severin, Manel, Muhammad, Gavrail and Teo would also switch to using ‘cheers’ in most if not all of their informal emails (EC Nov 2008 – Oct 2009).

Nevertheless, REM students do not only have positive feelings towards accommodation in the REM classroom. Taking up expressions from other NNS is considered risky as their expressions might contain errors and thus deteriorate one’s English (PI various). Following standard norms of correctness is far from being irrelevant for the individual in the REM classroom, as is evident in incidents of self-repair (56).

- (56) During a lecture break, Manel and Nishant were having a conversation about Nishant's trip to Denmark. Manel asked Nishant whether he had tried Danish bread. When Nishant denied, Manel asked: "But did you saw it?" After a few seconds of silence he seemed to have realized the ungrammaticality in his sentence, shook his head and started criticizing himself loud enough to be overheard not only by Nishant but also by other students sitting nearby: "Duh, stupid! Did you saw! [...]" (PO, Nov 2009)

For a detailed discussion of REM students' critical attitudes towards their own and others' NNS English, see Chapter 6.1.2 and following.

5.3.4 Linguistic challenges for mutual understanding

ELF interaction among students generally works out well without major complications, as REM students in both groups assert (QO).¹³⁰ The majority consider communication with their classmates as good or even excellent, REM09 students being slightly more positive than REM08 (cf. Figures 5.14 and 5.15).

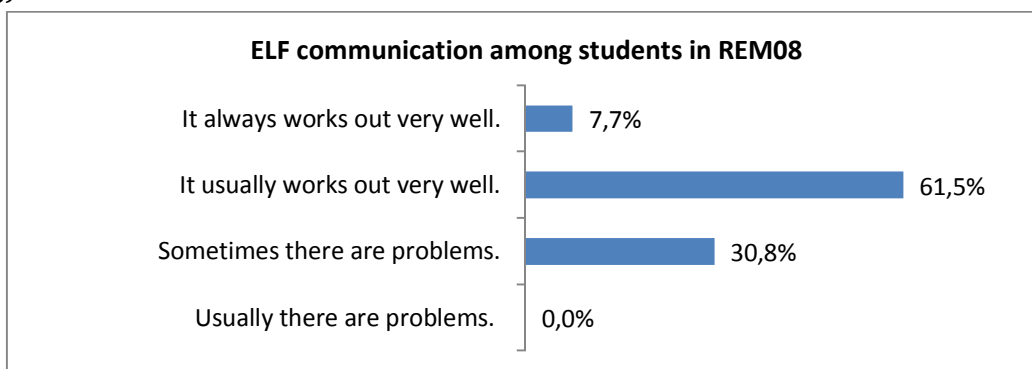


Figure 5.14: REM08 students' evaluation of ELF interaction among students (QO)

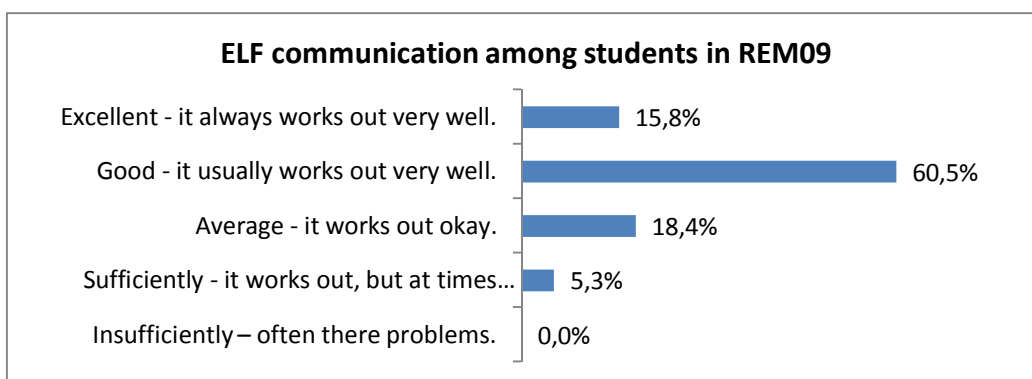


Figure 5.15: REM09 students' evaluation of ELF interaction among students (QO)

¹³⁰ The respective items in the questionnaire (QO) were 'How would you generally rate the communication in English among REM students?' (item 21 in QO-REM08 and item 27 in QO-REM09).

Regarding REM students' English language proficiency of students in REM, there are critical voices in both groups. Various students feel that proficiency levels vary greatly and doubt that everyone had passed the TOEFL test at the required level for admission (PI various; for REM admission criteria see Chapter 4.2.3). Birendra notices most differences in the range of his classmates' lexical resources (57).

- (57) "Sometime they cannot express themselves, uh, because they have to take the dictionary or something like that for a special vocabulary because their vocabulary is a little bit weak than uh others." (PI Birendra)

If we take for granted that REM students are not only heterogeneous with regard to first languages but also with regard to proficiency levels in English, we can expect that mutual understanding is not equally easy with everyone in the classroom and that some students are perceived as harder to understand than others.

REM students were asked to name peers whom they considered particularly easy to understand – and hard to understand, respectively – and give reasons for their choice (QO and PI). The main factors increasing or inhibiting comprehensibility are of prosodic nature. Particularly South and Southeast Asian students are considered rather hard to understand because of the volume and speed of their speech. They do not speak loud enough (QO various about Daksha and Sunil) and speak too fast (PI various about Sayyid) or too slow (PI various about Sari and Setiawan).¹³¹ Manel and various other students emphasise that speech rate and volume are related to a speaker's personality and self-confidence in particular as self-confident speakers tend to speak more firmly (i.e. loud enough) than self-conscious speakers, which is especially noticeable in oral presentations (PI various).

For Teo, Gavrilis and Stefan comprehension is dependent on the spatial conditions of interaction, i.e. on the physical positions of speaker and listener, as they observed that comprehension is sometimes impeded if they cannot see the speaker's face. Teo recalls initial problems in understanding Muiris if he "didn't have any eye contact" (PI Teo) and Gavrilis wonders how lecturers always seem to understand some of his classmates whom he himself finds incomprehensible and concludes that lecturers only understand them "because they are facing each other" (PI Gavrilis).¹³²

Besides paralinguistic factors, comprehension mostly depends on pronunciation and accent, as can be expected. Students with a "clear pronunciation" are considered particularly easy to understand –

¹³¹ It might seem paradoxical that a slow speech rate is also considered difficult to understand. We have to bear in mind, though, that these are judgments made by non-linguists and we can thus assume that slow speed does not refer to the actual speech rate but rather to fluency, i.e. to frequency of hesitations and disruptions in speech.

¹³² Note that Gavrilis belongs to the REM09 group where students are studying in a lecture hall with desk rows and can thus not face their peers in classroom interaction (see Chapter 5.3.1 for a comparison of classroom settings in REM08 and REM09).

several NS students as well as Sigmund, Silas and Silvan are most frequently mentioned as examples (QO, PI) – while unclear pronunciation may cause miscompre-hension. The reasons for unclear pronunciation are seen in articulatory L1 influence on speech production: “[W]hen you speak, due to different tones in your mother language, uh, it’s not so easy to express yourself sometimes, I guess.” (PI Gavrilis). In their native language, some speakers “usually don’t close their mouth a lot and it’s harder to understand” (PI Daniela). L1 influence on pronunciation is sometimes even conceived of as articulatory impairment (“physical problems”, PI Birendra). Speakers of languages with sound inventories very different to English are used to a different “physical movement [...] in the organs that are like necessary to express yourself” and thus “they naturally have more difficulties to adjust themselves to have a proper uhm pronunciation” (PI Silas).

Regarding accent, one could expect that comprehension is easiest if speaker and listener share the same accent. Surprisingly, only few students consider peers with the same or a similar L1 background as easiest to understand.¹³³ For the majority – regardless of their own L1 background - speakers with a native (-like) accent are considered easiest to understand. NS accents are “easy-to-understand” accents as long as they represent one of the two major ENL varieties (British or American English). Even NS of English can find other NS hard to understand if they speak with an unfamiliar accent (e.g. Maya reporting to find Muiris rather hard to understand due to his Irish accent, PI Maya). Comprehensibility here is mainly related to familiarity with these accents from EFL instruction (“She speaks American English which was taught at my school”, Chao about Naomi whom he finds easiest to understand, QO).

L1 interference in non-native accents can complicate comprehension, with the degree of complication depending on linguistic distance (“[...] weiter weg vom Standard-Englisch”, further away from standard English, PI Sören) or on geographic distance (referring to the distance between speaker’s and listener’s countries of origin: “[T]he more far away people are coming from I have more difficulties, like India or uh, Indonesia, Pakistan” (PI Siegfried).

For few students, grammar and lexis also play a role in rating the comprehensibility of their peers. Grammatical correctness can facilitate comprehension (e.g. Severin explaining why he finds Donovan easiest to understand “[H]is syntax is correct, I barely hear any mistakes [...]”; QO Severin), and a broad vocabulary range can also contribute to comprehensibility (58) as it allows the speaker to adjust his lexical choice to the listener’s capacities.

¹³³ Similar L1 background here refers to languages from the same dialect continuum, e.g. Spanish and Portuguese. In any case, shared or similar L1 background is not considered facilitating comprehension because of accent similarities, but due to L1 transfer in syntax and lexis: “When we [=students from Latin America; SG] speak English we also understand the way we speak because sometimes we kind of translate directly [...]” (PI Daniela). Furthermore, L1 similarity as criterion is only mentioned by few L1 speakers of German and Spanish and never by speakers of other native languages which are represented more than once in the REM classroom, e.g. Nepalese, Chinese or Turkish.

- (58) “Sigmund can speak, uh, English with high uh qualification to me. I mean with high uh uh, with uh different vocabulary. For example, a, a little high vocabulary than uh standard vocabulary. So, a common vocabulary and not a common vocabulary. So he could adjust this uh range when uh he speak with me.” (PI Sari)

However, a broad vocabulary range can also impede mutual understanding if the speaker does not accommodate to his or her audience. Some students mention that their NS peers are sometimes difficult to understand because of their use of “big words” (PI EunHee) and “slang” (PI Máximo) that NNS do not understand. Difficulties in comprehension can, however, have other reasons, too. Justus explains that miscomprehension can be caused by lexical gaps or unclear syntactic structures, “[b]ut maybe sometimes it’s just because of a different thinking model” (PI Justus).

With regard to whom REM students nominated as easiest to understand, ENL or ESL speakers¹³⁴ and particularly the German students Sigmund, Silas and Sören are mentioned most often, while students from South and Southeast Asia are considered as rather hard to understand in both REM groups. Whether these nominations are only related to language use or to other factors, will be discussed Chapter 8.1 (see also Chapters 7.3 and 7.4).

In sum, we see that prosodic and paralinguistic features, L1 interference on accents and breadth of lexical range can hamper comprehension in the REM classroom. The following chapter describes how REM students cope with these linguistic challenges and what they specifically do in situations of miscomprehension.

5.3.5 *Students’ strategies to cope with linguistic challenges*

For REM students, mutual understanding in an ELF context is mainly a matter of concentration and listener commitment (“you have to be a little bit more concentrated [...], you have to focus on just the person with who you are talking and, yeah, I think that’s the main point”, PI Máximo). Apart from concentration, time also plays a major role in achieving mutual understanding in the REM classroom. Many students report that they first needed to familiarize themselves with the variety of NS and NNS accents in the REM classroom, but as soon as they got used to the different accents of their peers, comprehension never was a problem (PI Silvan, Stefan, Kerstin, Claudio and others).

Silvan is convinced that frequent interaction on a regular basis over a period of time leads to familiarization with different accents. He substantiates his claim with his observation that guest lecturers usually have initial difficulties in understanding all REM students while regular lecturers do not (PI Silvan). For Sigmund, the frequency of interaction with certain speakers leads to

¹³⁴ Joy (NS from Ireland), Naomi (NS from the US), Maya (bilingual English-German NS) and Donovan (ESL speaker from South Africa).

familiarization not only with their accents, but also with their speech styles and pragmatic ways of conveying their thoughts (QO Sigmund). Based on my classroom observations, I can support Silvan's and Sigmund's arguments (59).

- (59) In January 2010, Finn organized an informal meeting between REM08 and REM09 students where REM08 students shared their experiences with their internships (which are compulsory components of the REM curriculum!). After REM08 students' reports, REM09 students started asking questions. By the time of this meeting, REM08 students were already in their third semester and had familiarized themselves with a variety of NNS accents and ways of speaking in their group. However, I noticed that they had considerable difficulty in understanding REM09 students' questions, especially the questions from Sayyid and Setiawan, evident in frequent back-channelling ("Say it again, please!"). (PO and CR, Jan 2010)

Time does not only lead to familiarization with others' ways of speaking, but also increases confidence in one's own language skills. Perceived difficulties in expressing oneself can lead to low confidence which in turn can lead to initial reticence as a strategy to prevent misunderstandings. Daniela recalls having been hesitant to contribute to classroom discussions during the first months because of her fear to cause misunderstandings (60).

- (60) "At the beginning was, I don't know, I could understand everything. It was really good, pretty nice to understand. But I couldn't speak a lot. It was in class, I was like, sometimes I had question but I was, I was kind of mmm, *scheu*, *scheu* [=shy; SG], like, I didn't know if it was correct that, the way I formulated the question and I didn't want to ask because I don't know if the teacher wouldn't understand me or whatever. And, but with the time, I mean after one month or two months, I, I became more uh sure about my English skill and then I tried to talk." (PI Daniela)

Apart from (initial) reticence, REM students also use other strategies to prevent misunderstandings. In spoken interaction, but particularly in written communication via e-mail, I observed various instances of anticipatory self-repair, which I will illustrate with two examples from the e-mail corpus (EC). In both examples, the authors noticed a mistake in their writing (61 and 63) and within few minutes sent out a new e-mail with corrections (62 and 64). The corrected mistakes here merely consisted in a confusion of near-homophone lexemes (*leave/live* and *throw/through*) which probably would not have caused severe misunderstanding on the part of recipients. While Nirav provides his correction next to the erroneous form (62), Gavrilis uses a meta-commentary announcing a version that is 'now without mistakes' and replaces the erroneous form by the correct one (64) (all emphases are mine and not used in the original).

- (61) On [Month, Day], 2009 at 00:13, Nirav wrote:
“[...] then u have to pay 9ct/min according to ur usage. u can break contract as u **live** this country. [...]” (EC, Nirav)
- (62) On [Month, Day], 2009 at 00:19, Nirav wrote:
“[...] u can break this contract as u **leave (not live)** this country. [...]” (EC, Nirav)
- (63) On [Month, Day], 2010 at 18:28, Gavrilis wrote:
“[...] As you know 4 of the REMS (Donald, me, Nirav, Finn) are having birthday this week. So we decided to **through** a big party this friday. [...]” (EC, Gavrilis)
- (64) On [Month, Day], 2010 at 18:34, Gavrilis wrote:
“OK **now the message without mistakes....**LOL
[...] As you know 4 of the REMS (Donald, me, Nirav, Finn) are having birthday this week. So we decided to **throw** a big party this friday. [...]” (EC, Gavrilis)¹³⁵

Apart from anticipatory self-repairs, we occasionally also find instances of *mediation* (Hynninen 2011) through third parties (though by far not as frequent as in interaction involving students and lecturers; cf. Chapter 5.5.2). Donovan is particularly proactive in preventing miscommunication as mediator, not only through paraphrasing his peers’ utterances in English, but also through code-switching and translating their utterances into German (65).

- (65) “Manchmal habe ich so das Gefühl, dass ich verstehe was Leute versucht zu sagen und dann versuche ich das dann auch zu übersetzen, damit andere das verstehen können. [...] manchmal verstehe ich schon irgendwas, was jemand also auf eine ganz komische Art und Weise ausdrückt und dann muss man das eben ein bisschen anders ausdrücken, damit die Deutschen eigentlich das verstehen können so.“ (PI Donovan)
(Sometimes I feel that I understand what other people try to say and then I try to translate that so that others can understand it. [...] sometimes I understand something that someone expresses in a really strange way and then you just have to formulate it a bit differently so that the Germans can actually understand it.)

Repairs of others’ utterances are generally rare in the REM classroom, presumably due to the fact that repairs can be face-threatening acts.¹³⁶

All strategies mentioned so far can, however, not completely prevent miscomprehension or misunderstandings in the EMI classroom. If miscomprehension occurs, REM students react to it in various ways.

¹³⁵ Gavrilis uses the plural form *mistakes* here although he corrected only one word in the new version.

¹³⁶ What we do find quite frequently, though, are co-constructions, especially in collaborative tasks such as group work discussions. Co-constructions are however not specific to the ELF context and the linguistic challenges in an EMI classroom, but are typical of spoken interaction in general.

In the first months of the REM programme, when students do not know each other very well yet, let-it-pass behaviour and face-saving acts are very frequent. If polite requests for repetition do not help and miscomprehension persists, the listener will simply smile in order to save the speaker's face (66). Yet, the fear of affronting the other by asking for repetition reduces with time. When both interactants have established a stable relationship, they even make meta-communicative jokes about misunderstandings (67).

- (66) “[...] if you say twice ‘Okay, ca-, could you repeat what you said?’. After the third time you just smile and you say ‘okay’ because it’s not so comfortable to ask the same thing again because he understands that you didn’t understand what he said and it’s not the easiest situation ((chuckle)).” (PI Gavrilis)
- (67) “[I]t’s more easy now, we are feeling more comfortable to ask them again to repeat that. Because in the beginning, if you don’t really know someone, you are not really comfortable to ask him again and again, but now it’s like okay. After one year, we are friends, so sometimes we even make fun of it: ‘Okay, guy, let’s try now to speak English’ ((laughs)) something like and of course they are not offended and we don’t mean it in a bad way.” (PI Gavrilis)

Miscomprehension, especially if it happens several times among the same interactants, can eventually lead to general ignorance or even avoidance. Gavrail complains that students with high proficiency in English often ignore speakers with more difficulties in expressing themselves even though “[...] they’re saying actually really, really smart things” (PI Gavrail).

Some students admit that they actively avoid collaboration with peers whom they find hard to understand, either because they are lacking patience (PI Kosimo) or because they fear an unfair distribution of workload caused by different levels of English proficiency (PI Donovan). Gavrilis believes that in group work situations, some of his peers would choose their team according to the team members’ language proficiency and perceived comprehensibility (68).

- (68) “[...] I think that’s really obvious that people think of course about the subject, but also think who is going to be in the group. It can be also related to the language skills and uh, and the different tone as we said before because it’s more easy of course to work with people who speak, let’s say better in a sense, or at least it’s more easy for you to communicate. Uh, it’s, it’s happened, it happened a lot of times that people register to a group and then they see that other people are coming in this group that maybe it was not exactly what they expected, and then they change, they jump to another group.” (PI Gavrilis)

In sum, we can see that the linguistic challenges of EMI have considerable impact on the social dynamics in the classroom. In most cases, however, the linguistic challenges are levelling out as time is passing and students familiarize themselves with their different ways of speaking. Reticence and self-repairs on

the part of the speaker as well as concentration on the part of the listener are frequent strategies to avoid miscommunication. If miscommunication occurs, it is often smiled away in order to save face, but it can eventually lead to ignorance or even avoidance of interaction with certain speakers. That being said, interaction among students in REM on the whole works out quite well. Neither have I observed any major misunderstandings, nor do REM students report any. On the contrary, REM students unanimously claim that they have never experienced severe misunderstandings among their peers (PI all (!) students).

5.4 Lecturers' lingua franca use in the REM classroom

As we have seen in Chapter 5.1.2, REM lecturers are almost exclusively Germans with German as their native language. They habitually interact in German in their workplaces while spoken English language use is restricted to the EMI classroom and few other situations. We can thus expect that the predominance of German in their daily lives – at work as well as in their private lives – has an impact on language choice and language use in and around the REM classroom. The following subchapters describe which language lecturers use in which communicative situation, how they use English as a lingua franca for teaching and how they cope with limitations in their English language competence in the REM classroom.

5.4.1 Lecturers' language choice in and around the EMI classroom

As can be expected in an EMI programme, English is the only language used in REM lectures.¹³⁷ Every now and then (roughly every four to six weeks) REM management calls for REM meetings which are also held exclusively in English.¹³⁸ Yet, REM lectures and meetings are not the only contact situations where lecturers and students interact with each other.

Various modules in REM include fieldtrips and on-site visits to companies or organizations involved in the area of renewable energies. On these excursions, REM lecturers usually function as organizational leaders (in that they care for compliance with arranged schedules), but guided tours are mostly co-lead by representatives from the respective sites. Since the latter often show

¹³⁷ *Lecture* is used as default term and can refer to any teaching format and didactic approach.

¹³⁸ REM meetings comprise all REM students of the respective group (REMO8 or REMO9), the REM director and the REM manager. These meetings usually last between thirty and sixty minutes and are arranged to discuss any affairs related to the REM programme, organizational issues (e.g. an extracurricular visit to a trade fair) as well as structural issues (e.g. information on the schedule and assessment of an upcoming module) or feedback on past events (e.g. REM management reporting lecturers' overall feedback on a previous module).

unwillingness to impart their guided tours in English,¹³⁹ REM lecturers have to act as interpreters and thus translate their explanations from German into English. REM lecturers do not seem to feel comfortable in this role as they frequently attempt to outsource this task to the linguist (i.e. the author) who they assume to have interpretation skills by default (69-70).

- (69) On an on-site visit to a regional wood chip energy supplier, Mr Liguster approaches me and asks whether I could interpret what the local expert is going to tell the students in German with a distinct Alemannic accent. To Mr Liguster's displeasure, I deny. He then takes over this role himself and provides a sequential translation of the local expert's speech. (PO excursion Nov 2008)
- (70) On an on-site visit of a consultancy centre for renewable energies, the director of the centre welcomes us and announces that his (power point) presentation of the centre will be in German. Dr. Birke introduces our group and announces that I will translate his speech into English. Taken by surprise, I try my best although I notice that I am making myself ridiculous because I am presumably the person with least proficiency in renewable energy jargon in the entire room. After some time, German REM students interrupt me and correct my erroneous translation of a specific term. I apologize for the lapse and the German students take over the role as translators and we collaboratively finish the task together. (PO excursion Feb 2009)

Other occasions of student-lecturer interaction outside the classroom are lecturers' office hours which students attend to individually discuss study tasks or assessment with the lecturer. These are generally held in English with international students, i.e. regardless of their proficiency in German. When German students talk to lecturers in their office hours, lecturers and students speak in their native language German to each other (PC various lecturers).

Lastly, there are the REM board meetings, where one or more members of the REM board of directors meet with REM student representatives. These meetings have a rather formal character and are held, for example, to discuss candidate selection criteria and procedures for prospective REM student generations. One could assume that the presence of REM students would lead to default use of English in these meetings. This is however not the case as German is generally preferred and English is only used if student representatives do not speak sufficient German.

Since the student representatives of the REMo8 group are both fluent in German (one is a native speaker of German and the other has bilingual proficiency in German), board meetings with them are held in German. In REMo9, this is initially not possible as only one of the representatives is fluent in German (a German native speaker). As soon as REM directors become aware of students' German language proficiency, they ask whether German can be

¹³⁹ On the fieldtrips I participated in, these experts were always native speakers of German (the Indian Forum in Schwäbisch Hall being the only exception) and usually spoke German with a noticeable regional accent.

used as meeting language. This request is not restricted to meetings involving native or bilingual speakers, but also occurs if non-native speakers of German are involved. Mario mentions a board meeting in German which he attended as substitute for Muiris (PC Mario) and Adriana reports of an extraordinary board meeting concerning the SOE where she was introduced as student with excellent German skills and which was held entirely in German (PI Adriana).

In sum, we see that REM lecturers consistently use English in the EMI classroom, but language choice varies outside the lecture hall. German is not only habitually used in interaction between native speakers of German (office hours or small talk), but it is also the preferred language in formal meetings involving non-native speakers of German, given that all participants have sufficient proficiency in German. Language choice in student-lecturer interaction (or student-director interaction) is thus governed by situational context (instruction in the classroom or elsewhere) and by institutional power.

5.4.2 Lecturers' language use in the EMI classroom

REM lecturers are generally proficient speakers of English but display a variety of language levels (PI Teo) and REM students' average proficiency level in English is believed to be higher than lecturers' proficiency level (PI Knut). It can thus be expected that non-standard language use is evident across all linguistic domains.¹⁴⁰

Starting with the level of phonology, we find a variety of non-native features here, most of them representing L1 interference from German. Most frequently we find instances of final devoicing of consonants and replacement of sounds which do not belong to the German phoneme inventory by German sounds, as for example in the replacement of the interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð], the so-called *th-sounds*, by [s] and [z] or [t] and [d] respectively, or in the pronunciation of the syllable onset [sp] as [ʃp], among others.

Other German interference phenomena in pronunciation, though less frequent, are glide omission, monophthongization of diphthongs and initial devoicing¹⁴¹. Occasionally we also find peculiar pronunciations of words which cannot be traced back to German L1 interference, but are probably due to cognitive interference (confusion with another word with similar spelling but different pronunciation). Table 5.3 provides examples of non-native pronunciation features at sound level in lecturers' English.

¹⁴⁰ All findings in this section derive from PO, CR and SM data sets.

¹⁴¹ Initial devoicing is frequent in Alemannic accents spoken in the geographic area of Mittelbaden (Ortenau district and around), e.g. *groß* (big, great) is often pronounced as [ˈkro:s] instead of standard German [ˈgro:s].

Feature description	Examples from REM lectures	Pronunciation
Final devoicing of voiced consonants	<i>Slides</i>	[ˈslaɪts]
Substitution of sounds by sounds from native phoneme inventory	<i>isothermal</i> <i>sponsoring</i>	[,aɪsoʻsɜ:mɪ] [ˈʃɒnsəɪɪŋ]
Glide omission	<i>Pure</i>	[ˈpʊə]
Monophthongization of diphthongs	<i>Scales</i>	[ˈske:ls]
Initial devoicing of voiced consonants	<i>Glass</i>	[ˈkla:s]
Lexically specific vowel confusion	<i>Measure</i>	[ˈmɪʒə]

Table 5.3: Examples of REM lecturers' non-standard English pronunciations

At word level, we frequently find non-standard word stress patterns in REM lecturers' English. Non-native word stress most often occurs in verbs and typically represents a forward shift, i.e. word stress is forwarded to the word-initial syllable.¹⁴² Examples are DEvelop (v.), DEtermine (v.), REfer (v.), TRANsparent (adj.) or MANure (n.). Other instances of non-standard word stress can be found in words with four or more syllables where the main stress is often moved backwards to a subsequent syllable, as in representATives (n.) or explaNAtory (adj.).

In the domain of morphosyntax, we find gender confusion (confusion of natural and grammatical gender, that is), non-standard word order, regularization of irregular forms and non-standard use of aspect (habitual progressive) in lecturers' English. Gender confusion and non-standard word order can sometimes be traced back to L1 interference from German, but the aforementioned phenomena generally represent typical features of learner language irrespective of L1 background. Table 5.4 provides an overview of non-standard morphosyntactic features in REM lecturers' English.

Feature description	Examples from REM lectures	
L1 interference	Gender confusion (natural vs. grammatical gender)	<i>The robot [...]. He [...]</i> <i>The wood chipper [...]. He [...]</i> <i>An engineer which [...]</i>
	Non-standard word order (ungrammatical)	<i>You cannot switch off it.</i>
	Non-standard word order (unidiomatic)	<i>[...] we probably will walk around in the forest.</i> <i>Please take with you something to eat and drink.</i>
Learner interference	Regularization of irregular forms	<i>Hypothesises</i> <i>Datas</i>
	Non-standard use of aspect	<i>It's depending on [...]</i>

Table 5.4: Examples of REM lecturers' non-standard morphosyntactic features

¹⁴² One could assume here that this stress pattern represents interference from Alemannic, the dialect spoken in the surrounding area of Freiburg, where word stress frequently falls on the first syllable, e.g. *Balkon* (balcony) becomes [ˈbal.ko:n]. I doubt, however, that dialect interference is at play here since I observed various instances of this stress pattern among lecturers who do not speak the regional dialect.

Non-standard use of English in lecturers' speech is most salient in the domain of lexis.¹⁴³ In lecturers' word choice we frequently find unidiomatic expression as, for example, the use of the term *Welcoming Party* (instead of *Welcome Party*) for the opening event of the REM programme or the task instruction "Research the position of [...]" (instead of "Gather information on/Investigate the position of [...]"; SM home assignment). Unidiomatic word choice is predominantly caused by direct transfer of German words or idiomatic expressions into English (so-called *false friends*; see Table 5.5).

False friend Translation	Erroneous transfer	Underlying German source	Idiomatic Equivalent
<i>Please inform you about the SI units [...].</i> (PO, lecture)	> transitive use of the verb <i>inform</i>	Bitte informieren Sie sich über die SI Einheiten [...]	Please make yourselves familiar with the SI units.
<i>It must not be in Germany.</i> (PO, REM meeting on internship regulations)	> confusion of the modals <i>must</i> and <i>need</i>	Es muss nicht in Deutschland sein.	It need not be in Germany.
<i>If you don't want to write in [...].</i> (PO, lecture)	> literal translation of the verb (<i>sich</i>) <i>einschreiben</i>	Wenn Sie sich nicht einschreiben wollen [...]	If you don't want to enrol [...]

Table 5.5: Examples of REM lecturers' false friend translations

Apart from false friends, we occasionally also find 'new friends', as for example in the ad-hoc formation of nouns with peculiar suffixes if the appropriate term is not readily at hand (e.g. the use of the word *repeatance* for *repetition*, PO REM meeting). Lexical gaps are sometimes filled with spontaneous word creations, but more frequently I observed that limited lexical resources lead to overuse of available expressions. The latter phenomenon leads to a very peculiar speech style, especially if modifiers are simply repeated in order to express emphasis, as for example in "I am really very very unhappy [...]" (PO REM meeting).¹⁴⁴

With regard to register, there is a strong tendency towards syntactic complexity and nominalisation, at least in written texts. This can be expected in academic register, but seems to be particularly caused by German L1 interference since nominalisation is far more frequent in German academic register. Nominalisation in combination with unidiomatic word choice sometimes leads to clumsy formulations with potentially comic effects (71).

¹⁴³ It has to be stressed here that discipline-specific terminology and content-related word choice are excluded from analysis, as this would go beyond my expertise. The analysis of lexical choice thus exclusively refers to general (academic) English.

¹⁴⁴ REM students are aware of this peculiarity and often refer to the respective lecturer jokingly as "Mr Very Very" (PO).

- (71) The issue of this module is the production of a proposal for your masterwork. (SM, handout)¹⁴⁵

Orthographic errors in lecturers' teaching materials are very rare which is probably due to the automatic use of inbuilt spell checkers. Since these programmes can however not detect instances of correctly spelt but semantically erroneous word uses, we sometimes find unintentional howlers in lecturers' teaching materials, as for example in the confusion of the near-homophonous words *mate* and *maid* ("Conduct an interview [...] with a class maid."; SM, ppt).

Unintentional howlers can also occur in speaking when the use of an expression alludes to an entirely different context. In the following example (72), the lecturer was temporarily not aware of the fact that a combination of the adjectives *pure* and *German* can evoke a completely different association than desired (in the example, students instantly associated it with the Nazi regime). The misunderstanding was, however, quickly resolved and did not cause any harm to the relationship between lecturer and students.

- (72) REM09 students are working in groups which are assigned according to students' country or region of origin (e.g. a German group, a North American group, etc.), with group distribution being related to the content of the group work. Due to the comparatively large number of German students, there are two German groups. Colin misses the first part of the lecture and only just arrives during the group work phase. He spontaneously joins one of the German groups. After the group work phase, all groups give a brief presentation. The group with Colin is the second to last group with Colin presenting the results of his German group. When Colin has finished, Dr. Ulme calls for the last group: "Now please the last group, the pure German group." Several students start laughing with disgust. Dr. Ulme quickly realizes her faux-pas and explains slightly alarmed "It doesn't mean anything, I did not mean it this way [...]". (PO, Oct 2009)

5.4.3 Lecturers' strategies to cope with linguistic challenges

REM lecturers feel linguistically challenged by EMI, not only in classroom interaction with students, but also in advance when preparing their teaching materials (cf. Chapter 5.2.3). As they all have teaching experience in German medium, they naturally have an abundance of teaching materials in German at hand.¹⁴⁶ Many REM lecturers therefore rely on these materials as source texts and translate them into English. Evidence for these translation processes can be

¹⁴⁵ Intended meaning: *The objective of this module is to develop a proposal for your Master's thesis.*

¹⁴⁶ These materials are almost exclusively slides (either in ppt or pdf format) and are representative of the default teaching style in REM, i.e. PowerPoint-supported presentation of new contents with opportunities for questions and feedback during or after the presentation.

found in the occasionally occurring ‘lost items’, i.e. single words in German which were simply overseen in the translation process, as for example the use of the German noun *Analyse* instead of *analysis* (SM, ppt) or the German pronoun *was* instead of *what* (“Was do I feel about my individual topic?”; SM, ppt).

While some lecturers make an effort to translate every single item in their materials into English (e.g. translating an originally German cartoon into English, SM ppt), others restrict translation to running text only. German materials from other sources (e.g. diagrams, graphs, etc.) are treated in three different ways (SM).

The simplest way is copying tables and figures and representing them in original format and maintaining the source language. Thus, we find diagrams with German labels on the axes (e.g. containing words like *Maßeinheit* instead of *scale unit* or *Wellenlänge* instead of *wavelength*; SM ppt) or tables with columns in German (e.g. countries listed in German, *Österreich* instead of *Austria*, *Niederlande* instead of *Netherlands*, etc.; SM ppt).

Another way is using the original as base layer and inserting description fields in English (SM ppt). A third way is creating an adapted version on the basis of the source, i.e. using the source data to create a new diagram or table with Excel or similar software instead of copying the source in picture format. Needless to say that the last way is the most time-consuming, which explains why the former ways are now and then used by various lecturers. We also find instances where lecturers have not found an appropriate translation equivalent and thus mark individual words with a question mark, maintain the original word in italics (e.g. *Tradierung*, *Gestaltbarkeit*; SM reading assignment), or simply outsource the translation to an assistant (PC Ulme).

According to my observations, lecturers’ focus on visual aids in teaching – usually PowerPoint (ppt) slides – correlates with the degree of confidence in their English skills. While confident lecturers tend to use ppt slides for key words and illustrations only (e.g. Mr Ginster), less-confident lecturers tend to fill them with more text, sometimes even with running text. Using visual aids as crutches to circumvent linguistic difficulties can however lead to open rejection on the part of students (73).

- (73) In her REM lecture, a particularly unconscious lecturer did not trust her speaking skills and used her slides as script which she was reading aloud, much to students’ displeasure. Their subsequent massive complaints to REM management and in the respective module evaluation eventually led to the consequence that this lecturer is no longer teaching in REM. (PO, June 2009).

Apart from students’ displeasure, the use of scripts, i.e. fully formulated texts to be read aloud, can also impede comprehension in the EMI classroom as it reduces the lecturers’ authenticity (PI Tanne). In the following, I will exemplarily let Professor Tanne recount his first EMI experience as he elaborately illustrates the linguistic challenges and ambivalent feelings of being a NNS lecturer (74-76). According to Professor Tanne, limited vocabulary

resources distort the message the lecturer wants to convey, leading to an ‘outing as bad speaker’ which may eventually lead students to call the lecturer’s academic qualities into question (74).

- (74) “Im Englischen fällt einem vielleicht nur ein Wort ein und dieses Wort, das ist dann so bestimmend, dass es letztendlich den Sinngehalt, den man gerne vermitteln würde, verzerrt wiedergibt. [...] Und man outet sich auch, wenn man quasi der englischen Sprache nicht so mächtig ist, dass man das Gefühl hat, äh, ich gebe jetzt Preis, dass mein Englisch nicht so toll ist. Und dass andere vielleicht denken könnten ‚Meine Güte, hat der ein schlechtes Englisch!‘ und äh ‚Was hat der ’ne schlechte Ausbildung!‘ [...]“ (PI Tanne)

(In English you may remember just one word and this word then becomes so dominant that it ultimately distorts the meaning you want to convey. [...] You are also outing yourself if you don’t command the English language, you feel uh that you are revealing that your English is not that great. Und that others might think ‘Oh my God, his English is so bad!’ and uh ‘What a bad education the lecturer has!’ [...].)

In order to prevent such an outing in his first EMI lecture, Professor Tanne had prepared a carefully formulated script. His intention was to read aloud the entire script. However, after about five minutes of reading the script, he realized that it did not represent the style and register he would normally use for teaching. In his interview, he stressed several times that he did not feel authentic as he perceived his performance as ‘opening a tin’ (“[...] quasi wie ‘ne Konserve, die man da aufgemacht hat”, PI Tanne). He felt he did not understand what he was saying, despite having composed the text himself. Although the script contained more elaborate formulations than he would have been able to produce spontaneously, he decided to skip the script and continued the lecture using his own words (75).

- (75) “Also ich fühlte mich nicht authentisch vom Blatt das herunterzulesen, ähm, obwohl das ein besseres Englisch gewesen wäre, äh, und auch ‘ne, ‘ne höhere Vielfalt an Wörtern und was weiß ich, und vielleicht auch nuancierter ausgedrückt, aber ich fühlte mich absolut nicht authentisch und ich musste das auf die Seite legen und hab’s dann in meinen eigenen Worten vermittelt.“ (PI Tanne)

(Well, I did not feel authentic when reading aloud from the script, uhm, although that would have been a much better English, uh, and also a wider variety of words and whatever, and maybe also expressed with more nuances, but I absolutely did not feel authentic and I had to put the script aside and then I formulated it with my own words.)

Owing to this experience, Professor Tanne is convinced that ‘being authentic’ and speaking naturally and spontaneously enhances student comprehension as it implies the use of ‘easier words’ (“einfachere Worte”, meaning: more frequent words) which are more familiar to the student audience. Yet, authentic language use alone did not reduce his fear that students might call his academic competence into question if he did not speak English well enough. Therefore

Professor Tanne decided to implement the proactive strategy of explicitly addressing the linguistic challenges of EMI for students and lecturers. Instead of pretending to be more elaborate than he actually is in English, he explicitly admitted language deficiencies in his lectures (76).

- (76) “[B]ei der ersten Veranstaltung, ich hab gesagt: ‘Wir sind alle im gleichen Boot, wir sind in der Regel keine native speaker, ähm, ich möchte Ihnen meine Inhalte vermitteln und Sie wollen was lernen, und äh, die einzige Möglichkeit, dass wir da kommunizieren können, ist eben die englische Sprache und ähm, Sie müssen mir nachsehen, dass bestimmte Dinge einfach nicht fehlerfrei rüberkommen können, und ich werde Ihnen das auch nachsehen, dass das genauso ist und das ist die einzige Möglichkeit zu kommunizieren.’ Und äh ich hab in einigen Gesichtern einfach auch ‘ne Art Aufatmung gespürt.“ (PI Tanne)
(In the first session I told the students: ‘We are all in the same boat, we normally are not native speakers, uhm, I want to impart my knowledge [contents] to you and you want to learn something, and uh, the only possibility for us to communicate is the English language and uhm, you have to excuse that certain things cannot be conveyed flawlessly, and I will also tolerate your doing the same, and this is the only possibility to communicate.’ And uh I also sensed a kind of gasp of relief in some faces.)

Professor Tanne has thus found a suitable strategy for resolving the challenge of ‘outing himself as a bad speaker’ by directly addressing potential deficiencies and declaring them as matters of fact in an ELF community of practice, evident, for example, in his use of an impersonal construction “dass bestimmte Dinge einfach nicht fehlerfrei rüberkommen können” (impersonal in the sense that it is things which cannot convey flawlessly instead of assigning the lecturer an agent role in conveying things). Professor Tanne’s proactive way of anticipating and preventing criticism by addressing the limitations of his English language proficiency is not a peculiarity, but actually represents a recurrent strategy among REM lecturers (77-78).

- (77) “I am sorry when words are missing. I will be better in two days, I’m sure ((laughs)).” (CR, lecture Birke Feb 2009).
- (78) “If you don’t understand me, tell me and I try to say things in a different way. My English is not perfect.” (PO, laboratory, Dec 2008)

If lecturers are unsure about the pronunciation or translation of certain words, they frequently admit their uncertainty and ask their students, as can be seen in the extract from a classroom recording of one of Dr. Birke’s lectures (79; curly brackets indicating code-switching and German pronunciation). Sometimes lecturers even mock themselves by making jokes about their English pronunciation (80).

- (79) 6 BIRKE: you have to think about that
 7 also with uh geothermal
 8 I don't know if that
 9 pronouncing that correct
 10 {geothermal}?
 11 {Geothermie}?
 12 SILVAN: {Geo}thermal
 13 DONOVAN: ((loudly)) GEO
 14 BIRKE: okay thanks (CR, lecture Birke, Feb 2009)

- (80) In one of his lectures, Mr Ginster cannot recall the English translation of the word *Sieb* (*sieve*) and asks the students. Several students shout the word *sieve*. Mr Ginster laughs and says “No, no, a ‘sieve’ is someone who is stealing things”, mocking his notorious pronunciation of the th-sounds with /s/ and his final devoicing which make the words *sieve* and *thief* homophones. (PO, Nov 2009)

Lecturers thus use various strategies to cope with the linguistic challenges of EMI. Translation (instead of design from scratch) is the most common strategy in developing teaching materials. These sometimes function as more than just visual supplements which can also impede comprehension. Straightforward concession of difficulties and authentic and unpretentious language use in accordance with lecturer’s actual proficiency level represent target strategies in interaction with students.

5.5 ELF interaction between students and lecturers

The English language proficiency of the REM teaching body is generally considered sufficient as the majority of students claim that most lecturers can express themselves appropriately and are easy to understand (cf. Figure 5.16).

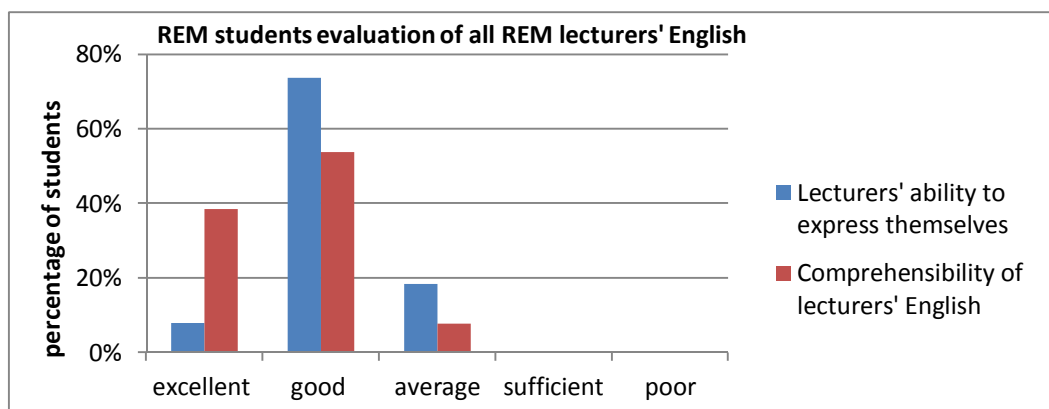


Figure 5.16: REM students' evaluation of all REM lecturers' English¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Percentages in this figure are based on QO data. REM09 students were asked to judge the lecturers' average ability to express themselves appropriately (QO REM09, item 27) and REM08 students were asked to judge the average comprehensibility of their lecturers (QO REM08, item 21).

Some students stress that particularly those lecturers are particularly good to understand who had spent time abroad in an English-speaking country (PI Siegfried, Gavrilis, Birendra). Language proficiency levels vary among lecturers, as Teo says (PI Teo) and Sören admits that there are lecturers whose English is sometimes bizarre (“abenteuerlich”; PI Sören). The question remains whether mutual understanding is actually affected by the lingua franca use of English and if so, which linguistic comprehension problems occur and how they are caused.

5.5.1 Interference-driven misunderstandings

There are two ways in which lecturers’ English can cause misunderstandings, both related to L1 interference. Problems can occur when a lecture has a strong L1-influenced accent and when a lecturer uses L1-inspired false friend translations or even the L1 original without offering a translation.

Sari remembers an incident where she could not follow Professor Tanne’s lecture because he suddenly seemed to be talking about “something that has correlation with planet” which seemingly was not connected to the lecture contents (PI Sari). Pramod recalls the same incident where the lecturer’s German accent, especially his pronunciation of the *th*-sounds as [s,z], led to initial misunderstanding (81).

- (81) “[H]e was saying one particular, like the word *another* and he pronounced it completely different. [...] He was saying [a'NASA], [a'NASA], like, so the first two times I heard, I start-, I associated it with NASA, like ((spelling it out)) N-A-S-A. But then I would, I found it not relating and then I immediately was looking forward to hear the same word again from him and then I understood, and from the sound I understood that it’s *another* and not. This was, this is one example I remember very clearly.” (PI Pramod)

However, misunderstandings of this type are rather rare in the REM classroom and Pramod believes that “if you listen carefully I think, even if it’s very bad I think you can still understand it” (PI Pramod) and describes Professor Tanne as lecturer with “small pronunciation mistakes, but easily understandable due to context” (QO Pramod). According to my observations, the most salient feature in many lecturers’ accents – the pronunciation of interdental fricatives as [s] and [z] – only causes perplexity within the first minutes of listening if a listener is not used to the accent. Furthermore, this pronunciation rarely produces homophones that could lead to confusion. For example, *thermal energy* being pronounced as [ˌsɜːmlɹ'ɛnətʃɪː] (PO Jan 2009) sounds peculiar but cannot be confused with an existing English word. In cases where a non-standard pronunciation leads to (near-)homophony with an existing word, the context is usually clear enough for confusion not to occur, as for example in *thick walls*

where students are highly unlikely to relate the pronunciation [sɪk] (PO Jan 2009) to the adjective *sick*.

Moreover, lecturers' strategies of coping with limited language proficiency can level out problems. Gavrail, for example, describes Professor Tanne as particularly easy to understand because he could "predispose the people", i.e. he is empathetic and accommodates towards his student audience (QO Gavrail).

Besides non-native accent features, inappropriate lexical transfer from the lecturers' first language can also cause comprehension problems and misunderstandings. This is either the case when lecturers are using unidiomatic expressions which do not "deliver the whole idea" (PI Bulat) or when lecturers are using words that simply do not exist in English. The latter is especially problematic for students who do not speak German and cannot deduct what the lecturer might have wanted to say (82), as can be seen in the example of Professor Fichte's accidental use of the word *rentability* instead of *profitability* (from German *Rentabilität*), which caused confusion among REM09 students (83-84).¹⁴⁸

- (82) "[T]hey were using some terms in English. It was in English, but if you search in the Internet, you cannot find anything about that. So I think it's like German, German word that they have translated to English using any tools, like any Google translator or anything. [...] So we had difficulties in find-, finding these terms because they have translated from German to English." (PI Ismail)
- (83) "Uh the worst thing was *rentability*. This word doesn't exist in the sense he wanted to say it. It's uhm, in, in English it's *profitability*. In German it's *Rentabilität*. And it was so bad because people were writing this down and asking what the word means and it was, it was just wrong. I looked it up immediately when I came home and I just saw that it's not there uh in this meaning [...]" (PI Miriam)
- (84) "[T]here's one word he kept saying and kept saying: *rentability*. And I think that's in German translated as *profitability* or something like that. But I don't think we have that word in English, *rentability*. So we were pretty confused for a while. But I mean it was just, it wasn't something serious that was in an exam or anything." (PI Joy)

Inappropriate lexical transfer can cause misunderstandings in the EMI classroom, but, as Joy explains, these instances never occur in "serious" situations as for example in assessment, but only in spoken classroom interaction. What does however affect lecture comprehension is the absence of translations in written materials. Various students complain about lecturers' use of German words in their teaching materials (cf. Chapter 5.4.3). Naomi assumes

¹⁴⁸ An analysis of the teaching materials of the respective lecture shows that the word *rentability* was only used in spontaneous speech as it did not occur anywhere in Professor Fichte's written teaching materials (SM, ppt and reading assignment).

that lecturers simply do not devote enough time to preparing their teaching materials properly in English (85).

- (85) “[T]hey don’t always take the effort and take the time to find the resources and the tools in the language cor-, in the, in the appropriate language that we can utilize. [...] they don’t take the time to look because they have their specific resources, so I, I think it’s more or less a time commitment that they might have the information available in, in German, but they don’t take the time to look for it in English.” (PI Naomi)

All in all we see that lecture comprehension can be hampered by non-standard uses of English. While grammar and orthography are never mentioned as source for misunderstandings, pronunciation and lexis can be problematic areas if the lecturer’s English exhibits strong L1 influence or if he or she occasionally uses German instead of English. The latter case has to be treated individually as it does not represent lingua franca use (for a discussion of the role of the German language in the REM classroom, see Chapters 7.3 and 8.1).

In sum, we see that miscomprehension occasionally occurs in the REM classroom, but certainly not to an extent (neither quantitatively nor qualitatively) that it could severely disturb interaction or even hinder students’ study achievement, as students themselves describe these instances of misunderstanding as rather marginal (see above).

5.5.2 EMI as collaborative venture

The EMI classroom can be described as a collaborative environment where participants are engaged in doing their best to achieve mutual understanding. Lecturers and students use various strategies to prevent or iron out miscommunication.

REM lecturers’ foremost strategy to prevent miscommunication is to admit limits in their language proficiency and request students’ help. If lecturers do not remember certain words in English, they briefly code-switch, i.e. they mention the term they are looking for in German, and explicitly or implicitly ask students for a translation (86).¹⁴⁹ REM students instantly volunteer in these situations and provide the correct translation within seconds so that the lecture can continue without any major interruption.

- (86) During his lecture, Mr Ginster does not remember the English word for German *Förderung* (here: *subsidies*) and asks his class whether anyone knows the appropriate translation. Sigmund and Donovan instantly

¹⁴⁹According to my observations, REM lecturers rarely ever forget topic-specific terminology, but they sometimes do not remember general vocabulary, such as the word *result* for example (PO Dec 2008).

shout “Subsidies!”. Mr Ginster thanks both for their support. (PO, lecture Dec 2008).

REM students are well aware of this code-switching practice (87-88). Many report that lecturers occasionally need translation help, but they are also rather sympathetic towards their lecturers and stress that support happens very quickly and thus these disruptions are “not a big deal” (PI Dhiraj). Colin, a very active word prompter in the REM09 group, even enjoys linguistically supporting his lecturers as he assumes that this way he can help to avoid lecturers feeling uncomfortable if they are missing words (89).

- (87) “[I]f uhm the lecturer needs a word, is looking for a word, he, he usually gets, uh, is helped quite fast, yeah.” (PI Knut)
- (88) “[O]f course, certain words here and there, they miss it, because they are used to the German *Vorlesungs*¹⁵⁰ [=lectures; SG], and some, one fine morning they come to an English class and they have to adapt, so it’s understandable but that’s not really a problem because they say the word and uh the people in the class, they just translate it. So it was not really a problem.” (PI Dan)
- (89) “[...] I feel they’re getting, if no one says anything, sometimes they’re getting, they get stuck, they’re like ‘I don’t know, I am stuck on this, oh, what’s this word, what’s this word?’ and they can’t think of another one, so just say it and they feel more comfortable because they can move on [...]. So I, my logic is: the sooner you say it, the faster they can just get on with things and they don’t have to feel so awkward. [...] I kind of feel that I’m helping in a way and I like to do that.” (PI Colin)

Lecturers do not only request help if they are missing certain words, but they sometimes also request support if they are unsure about the pronunciation of certain words (see example 79). During my classroom visits I observed that REM lecturers were on high alert to overhear students’ implicit corrections if they realized that they mispronounced a certain word (90).

- (90) In his lecture, Professor Eibe is using the word *reversible* with non-native word stress REverSIble (similar to the pronunciation of the German equivalent *reversibel*). When he asks a rhetorical question that would require an answer containing the word *reversible*, several students start murmuring the correct answer pronouncing the word *reversible* in the standard English way. Professor Eibe overhears this and takes up the standard pronunciation which he continues using for the remainder of his lecture. (PO, lecture Dec 2008).

Other lecturers explicitly ask for approval or correction of their pronunciation if they are unsure, as we can see in the following example (91) where Dr. Birke and

¹⁵⁰ Dan often uses German words (but with English inflectional endings) for things connected to a German-speaking context, as can be seen in this example where he uses the German word *Vorlesung* to refer to lectures in German.

several REMo8 students collaboratively negotiate the proper pronunciation of the word *manure*.¹⁵¹ Dr. Birke initially admits her uncertainty about the pronunciation (line 51-52) and offers two options, both of which are non-standard (line 52-53). Various students start murmuring different pronunciations (line 54-55) until Manel, Muiris and Donovan directly interact with the lecturer seeking eye contact and speaking louder than the rest of their peers. When Dr. Birke captures the correct pronunciation and gets approval (line 65-67), she thanks the students and continues her lecture using the correct pronunciation from then onwards.

- (91) 48 BIRKE: {ja} so there're also different kind of
 49 uhm uhm bioenergy plants
 50 that they want to use so the
 51 I hope I pronounce it right
 52 I don't know MANure?
 53 uhm (.) [manORE? manORE? is that right?]
 54 CLASS: [((murmuring))]
 55 [((individual pronunciations))]
 56 BIRKE: MANure? yeah [(.) uhm]
 57 MANEL: [no it's] just manURE
 58 BIRKE: [MANure?]
 59 MUIRIS: [manURE]
 60 CLASS: [((several pronunciations of *manURE*))]
 61 DONOVAN: [yes yes (3.0)]
 62 CLASS: [((murmuring))]
 63 MANEL: [((directed at Donovan)) you should just repeat it]
 64 DONOVAN: ((loudly)) manURE
 65 BIRKE: ManURE
 66 DONOVAN: [{ja}]
 67 SILVAN: [wow]
 68 BIRKE: [okay thank you (1.5)]
 69 CLASS: [((murmuring, laughing))]
 70 (Anonymous): <cough= [cough <cough=cough>]
 71 BIRKE: [uhm there is uhm]
 72 there're some technical
 73 uhm development
 74 so that they can get more energy out of it
 75 because it's depending
 76 on what kind of manURE it is
 77 SILVAN: [mhm ((unclear murmuring))]
 78 DONOVAN: [he hehe]
 79 BIRKE: [and if the animals]
 80 have a lot of uh (.) green or not
 (CR, lecture Feb 2009)

¹⁵¹ To enhance readability, word stress in the pronunciation of the word *manure* is expressed through capitalized letters, i.e. MANure for [ˈmanjʊə], manORE for [məˈnoːɪ] and manURE for [məˈnjʊə]. Overlap is indicated by angle brackets.

As we can nicely see in the above example, collaboration in negotiating meaning or word stress patterns does not only happen between the lecturer and individual word prompters, but also has an impact on the other students in the classroom: While in the beginning (line 55) a number of students start pronouncing the word *manure* in various ways, they quickly take up the correct pronunciation from their peers (line 60) – quicker than the lecturer. This practice is commonly referred to as linguistic accommodation. One could assume that accommodation is asymmetrical in the sense that lecturers only accommodate towards students, or that students and lecturers only accommodate towards speakers with native (-like) proficiency. This is however not the case as there are numerous instances where accommodation occurs in the other direction, too. We can thus say that symmetrical accommodation is at play in the REM classroom. This is particularly evident, if we look at the pronunciation of the word *manure* in the REM classroom over the course of four months (92-95).

- (92) 16 Feb 2009: Dr. Birke brings up the term *manure*, initially with incorrect word stress MANure. Students collaboratively correct the pronunciation and Dr. Birke uses the pronunciation manURE for the remainder of her lecture. (PO)
- (93) 24 Feb 2009: Students are working in groups. Sigmund, one of the most proficient non-native speakers in REM08, uses the pronunciation MANure. (PO)
- (94) 05 March 2009: During a classroom discussion, Ferdinand uses the pronunciation MANure. Dr. Birke later also uses the pronunciation MANure. (PO)
- (95) 19 May 2009: Daksha gives a presentation and uses the word *manure* with non-standard word stress MANure. (PO)

Mutual accommodation is of course neither restricted to the word *manure* (e.g. Muhammad pronounces the word *measure* in the same way as Professor Eibe ['mɪʒə] even one month after his lecture; PO, Feb 2009) nor to interaction between lecturer and students (e.g. Silvan and Sören temporarily take up Sigmund's pronunciation CONtribute for the verb *contribute*; PO March 2009). Furthermore, accommodation is not restricted to pronunciation, but can also refer to word or code choice. Muhammad notices that he tends to accommodate towards his lecturers by using German words in his speech (96).

- (96) “[...] I started to use more german-originated words (due to our german professors, sometimes intending to use german words and most of us understand him)” (QO Muhammad)

Linguistic misunderstandings can be prevented through collaborative translations and accommodation, but they nevertheless occur in the EMI classroom and cannot be completely avoided.

As we have seen in Chapter 5.2.3, REM lecturers' biggest fear is not being able to linguistically understand students' questions. This fear is not completely unrealistic given the linguistically heterogeneous student body. Whenever lecturers do not understand students straight away and communication is disrupted, these situations are solved through repair strategies. A common repair strategy is paraphrasing. In the following example (97), Muiris asks Dr. Birke about funding which in his Irish accent sounds rather like *founding*. Dr. Birke misunderstands his question (line 20), which leads Muiris to paraphrasing his question (line 21-23). The misunderstanding is then solved and the lecture continues.

- (97) 16 MUIRIS: How do they fund these
 17 say if you have a big I=dunno
 18 a kind of district heating plant
 19 how is that funded in the first place?
 20 BIRKE: founded?
 21 MUIRIS: uh FUNded
 22 like where do they get
 23 the money [from=do they all]
 24 BIRKE: [yep yep]
 25 MUIRIS: how do they agree upon
 26 we [each]invest this amount or
 27 BIRKE: [yep]
 28 yeah that's different uh (CR, lecture, Feb 2009)

In addition to paraphrasing oneself (paraphrase as self-repair) we also find paraphrases by third parties (paraphrase as *mediation*), i.e. other students intervening and paraphrasing their peer's contribution or question. This strategy can involve various students who jointly offer different ways of expressing an idea (98-99).

- (98) During a REM meeting, Ismail asks Professor Fichte whether he could "raise his voice" due to the surrounding noise from a construction site. Professor Fichte does not understand his request, so Maya quickly paraphrases: "Could you speak louder please?" (PO, REM meeting)
- (99) Sunil comments on a particular formulation on one of the lecture slides. Dr. Ahorn does not understand his comment and asks for repetition. After Sunil's third unsuccessful repetition, Daksha paraphrases his comment. When Dr. Ahorn still does not understand what Sunil wants to say (content-wise), Gisa repeats what Sunil and Daksha said before. (PO, lecture Jan 2009)

REM students are not only supportive in cases of miscomprehension on part of the lecturer, but they also repair their lecturers' utterances if their peers do not

understand. In the following example (100), Silvan and Manel repair a misunderstanding between Professor Eibe and the REM08 group caused by students' mistrust whether Professor Eibe really means what he is saying.

- (100) At the end of a lecture unit at 01 p.m., Professor Eibe announces that there will be a lunch break now and the lecture will continue at “half past two”. REM students start murmuring and are seemingly confused whether he actually means half past two or rather half past one, probably inferring from his frequent use of false friend translations that he could have confused it with *half two* as in German *halb zwei*. Silvan, Manel and some others want to help and after eye contact with the lecturer they announce with a loud voice – louder than the lecturer – that the lecture will continue at two thirty. Professor Eibe appears grateful for their repair and repeats their announcement: “Two thirty!” (PO, lecture, Dec 2008).

REM students do, however, only repair lecturers' utterances if their peers explicitly show their miscomprehension. In the majority of cases, they rather apply the let-it-pass strategy, i.e. they notice lecturers' ambiguous, unidiomatic or erroneous language use but do not repair it (PI various). This is mainly due to the fact that non-native language use (e.g. unidiomatic word choice) usually does not impede comprehension, so occasional mistakes are just taken for granted (101-102).

- (101) “Sometimes you sit in class and listen and you hear some words and you think no, you couldn't say this in, in that context! But of course you don't correct because you understand it anyways. But, it doesn't hinder to understand anything, no. Usually not.” (PI Knut)
- (102) “No one actually says anything, so it's, uh, no one points, puts up their hand and says ‘Oh, you, you wrote it wrong’ or anything ‘cause there's always spelling, a few mistakes in the slides, so, it's just, you just take it.” (PI Cai)

As we know from Chapter 5.4.2 there are various non-native usage features in lecturers' English which can potentially impede comprehension. In Chapter 5.5.1 we have seen that lecturers' use of English indeed causes miscomprehension at times. Yet, these instances of miscomprehension are usually solved very quickly by students' and lecturers' collaborative behaviour and proactive strategies for preventing and levelling out linguistic misunderstandings and there have not been any observable instances of serious communicative breakdown at all.

As a conclusion we can say that EMI is challenging, but rather on a personal than on a general level, that ELF use in EMI is a collaborative venture and that communicative disruptions or breakdowns caused by ELF use are therefore extremely unlikely to occur. In brief: ELF use in REM linguistically works well.

6. THE ROLE OF THE NATIVE SPEAKER IN EMI

This chapter sheds light on the role of the native speaker in English-medium instruction. It does not only discuss the role of the native speaker as abstract provider of linguistic norms (the native speaker ideal) but also the role of the native speaker as real participant in a lingua franca community of practice (the native speaker interlocutor). The driving question is in which way the native speaker ideal has an impact on lingua franca communication in EMI and whether the presence of NS interlocutors has an impact on the linguistic and social dynamics in an EMI community.

Findings from the REM case study illustrate the complex interrelation between abstract ideal and real interlocutor as well as between attitudes towards native and non-native English. An analysis of REM students' discourses about non-native English and the ideal native speaker is followed by a description of the concrete relevance and role of the native speaker in REM. The chapter ends with a discussion of the generalizability of the REM case study findings to other EMI programmes.

6.1 (Non-)native speaker attitudes and discourses

Before going into detail, a few preliminary remarks on the use of the term *native speaker* (NS) in the REM case study are in order. The role of the NS cannot simply be assessed by asking participants explicitly what they think about it. Since the NS concept is highly controversial and culturally loaded (cf. Chapter 2.1), such an approach would have merely produced answers which conform to and confirm common stereotypes and/or socially desirable answers. Therefore I generally avoided using the term NS in fieldwork and data gathering (with the only exception of the QC questionnaire). In the personal interviews I only used it after the interviewee had brought up the term and after I had asked him or her what the term is meant to refer to (for students' definitions of the NS see Chapter 6.1.5). With this approach I was able to find out whether REM students and lecturers actually use the term at all and if so, in what kind of discourses they use it. The interview analyses as well as analyses of other data sets (PO, PC, QC) and the results of the listening experiment (LE) shed light on the complex role of the native speaker in EMI and on the consequences of teaching in a non-native language.

6.1.1 *Negative impact of non-native lecturers' English*

In Chapter 5.5 we have seen that ELF interaction between REM students and lecturers generally works out well, despite students' and lecturers' varying degrees of proficiency in English. Miscomprehension occasionally occurs, mainly caused by REM lecturers' occasional non-standard pronunciations and L1 interference in their lexical choice, but it does not have any serious consequences for lecture comprehension. Since both stakeholders employ a variety of strategies to collaboratively negotiate mutual understanding in the EMI classroom, misunderstandings never lead to real communication breakdown (cf. Chapter 5.5). What is more, REM students are in fact very successful in their studies (achieving high average grades) which can be seen as further proof that ELF use does not hamper their study achievement, at least not with regard to their academic performance. In this respect, we could assume that students are not much concerned with their own and their lecturers' ELF use. This is however not the case.

REM students are very much concerned with their lecturers' non-native English as they fear that lingua franca use entails negative consequences. Believing that high quality teaching demands excellent language proficiency ("wenn man 'ne Qualität haben will, die wirklich hoch ist, dann ist die Sprache das allererste, wo man ansetzen sollte", PI Sigmund), REM lecturers' English skills are perceived as disappointing on the whole (PI Maya) and even hazardous in some cases ("abenteuerlich", PI Sören).

Although none of the students report that lecturers' perceived (!) limited proficiency has impeded their lecture comprehension, several students nevertheless believe that lecturers' English hampers comprehension for others. This fear is frequently – and almost exclusively – mentioned by German students who believe that lecturers' L1 interference and transfer from German into English might impede comprehension (103-105). They admit that German L1 interference does not cause comprehension problems for them, but anticipate problems for their non-German speaking peers.

- (103) "I could imagine that if someone speaks rather a, a German English then for someone from the States or from India it's more difficult to understand it [...]" (PI Justus)
- (104) "Also als Deutscher versteh ich das natürlich, [...], aber ich könnt mir vorstellen, dass, dass jemand, der nicht Deutscher ist, wirklich Probleme mit hätte." (PI Severin)
(Well, being German myself I understand it, of course, [...] but I could imagine that, that someone who is not German really has trouble with it.)
- (105) "Als Ausländer würd ich da wahrscheinlich abdriften und würde nicht mehr dem folgen können [...]" (PI Stefan)
(As foreigner I would probably drift off and would not be able to follow anymore.)

Professor Fichte is mentioned particularly often as bad example with regard to comprehensibility for non-German speakers. This view is, however, hardly ever shared by non-German speakers. Various non-German students assert that Professor Fichte “can speak English well” (PI Sari) and his German English is easy to understand “even [if] he misses some pronunciation” (PI Daksha); it just leads to amusement at times (106).

(106) Joy: “Professor Fichte, [...] and his level of English I think sometimes, we sometimes laugh at some of the pronunciations. But it doesn’t mean that we don’t understand what he means, yeah ((laughing)).”

SG: “((laughing)) What makes it so funny?”

Joy: “Uhm, because for example instead of saying [ɪɛm] he say [ɾɛm], or instead of saying uhm BARgaining he’d say barGAIning, and it’s just a little funny, that’s all.” (PI Joy)

The question remains why REM students believe that their lecturers’ English has a negative impact on their achievement if it is not because of linguistic comprehension problems. Various stress that lecturers’ non-native English, especially their non-native accents and their lack of fluency distract them from the lecture contents (107-108).

(107) “[W]enn das Englisch zu schlecht wird, dann fällt’s einem einfach total schwer, aufzupassen.” (PI Kerstin)
(*If their English is getting too bad, it’s just really difficult to pay attention.*)

(108) “The teacher makes a little mess with the sentence that is not in the right order. I, I just get distracted, **I cannot concentrate anymore, I completely lose the focus** [...]. You can understand them, but sometimes in the, the little mistakes and the, like, this pronunciation, the [s] instead of a [θ]. They ‘sink’ about many ‘sings’ and I cannot, I just get distracted with this kind of little details and I just, I’m gone.” (PI Gisa)

Lecturers’ limited fluency does not only lead students to lose concentration, but also creates hypnagogic effects (109-110).

(109) “[S]ometimes you can see that they make pau-, they say a little sentence, like a short sentence. And then they make a pause. And then they think. And then they say another short sentence. And then they pause. And then they think again, and it’s, it makes a, uh, a rhythm that it’s just, **it gets you tired.**” (PI Francisco; imitating lecturers’ lack of fluency)

(110) “If you’re hearing a person that speaks and he speaks really slowly, he thinks all the time what he is going to say, **then in some point, you may sleep** ((chuckle)).” (PI Gavrilis)

Apart from causing distraction and fatigue, lecturers’ non-native English skills and particularly their limited lexical resources are believed to reduce the density

of information which as a consequence reduces the quality of learning in REM. Limited skills and “catastrophe English” (PI Sigmund) lead to superficiality depriving students of profound academic knowledge (111-112).

- (111) “Es wird immer von den Dozenten viel einleitend gesagt und schön ausführlich, weil man da halt die schönen, sein schönes Schulenglisch noch präsentieren kann, aber wenn’s dann wirklich an, an, an, an wichtige Dinge geht, dann wird’s meistens ziemlich knapp gehalten. [...], da **kratzt man dann, wenn, wenn man Glück hat, noch ein bisschen an der Oberfläche** und nicht mehr.“ (PI Sigmund)

(Lecturers always give lengthy and extensive introductions, because there they can present their fine school English, but when it actually comes to important things, they keep it pretty short.[...]if you are lucky, they maybe scratch the surface a little bit and that’s it.)

- (112) “Da die meisten Dozenten sowieso deutsch sind, können die sowieso nicht so schnell oder so ähm *sophisticated* reden, wie dass ich denen nicht mehr folgen könnte [...]. Eher das Problem ist, dass sie zu schlecht Englisch reden manchmal oder ihre, besonders komplexe Konta- äh Gedanken nicht ausdrücken können einfach, dass, dass es nicht möglich ist. Und dann, dass da halt die hm, die Inhaltsdichte, hm, verringert ist und **dass der Unterricht einfach an Substanz verliert und Dichte verliert**. Das ist schade, weil dann werd ich irgendwie nervös, wenn ich weiß, dass ich nichts lerne.“ (PI Finn)

(Since most lecturers are German anyway, they are naturally unable to speak too fast or too uhm sophisticated that I could not follow them anymore [...]. The problem rather is that their English is too poor sometimes or that they simply cannot express especially complex thoughts, that it is impossible. And then, the density of contents is reduced and the lecture simply loses substance and density. That’s a pity because I somehow get nervous if I realize that I am not learning anything.)

Yet, reduced learning outcome as a consequence of distraction and simplification is not students’ greatest fear. What students dread most is a deterioration of their own English skills. Being aware of linguistic accommodation practices in the classroom (cf. Chapter 5.5) they believe that exposure to non-native English bears the risk of taking up errors without noticing (113-115).

- (113) “[I]f you were just more exposed to these kind of mistakes, that’s something you might put in your language.”(PI Gisa)

- (114) “Sie [=die Dozentin; SG] hat das [=das Wort *enclosure*; SG] ja das ganze Modul benutzt, und ich denk jetzt, okay, jetzt werden sechszwanzig Leute dieses selbe Worte falsch benutzen.” (PI Muiris)

(The lecturer has been using the word enclosure throughout the entire module and now I think, okay, twenty-six people will now use this same word incorrectly.)

- (115) “[I]f you get used to this bad English maybe you’re also making your, **your self English getting worser.**” (PI Kosimo)

The discourses in which students express the fear of deterioration of their English can be summarized as ‘fear of non-native contagion’, as we shall see in the following section.

6.1.2 Discourse ‘Non-native English is contagious’

Linguistic accommodation is only regarded as positive, if the source provider is a NS of English, while the adoption of non-native features is considered pernicious. In other words, non-standard uses of English are perceived as deficient and potentially contagious (116). Exposure to the non-native ‘germ’ in ELF interaction is believed to affect students’ accents and unconscious adoption of lecturers’ non-native pronunciations can eventually even lead to being mistaken for a German (117).

- (116) “[...] I repeat it sometimes without wanting it. I, I get uh **polluted or infected** with this uh ((laughing)) spreading of German words here and there and yeah.” (PI Manel)
- (117) “I just said two words and they were English words, or two or three words, whatever. And the way how I pronounced it, uh, prob-, apparently was a very German way [...]. I was in the train [...] and I saw that these tourists, I heard that they were uh American or English speaking, I think American, uhm, and they were trying to move the, the bags. I said ‘No, it’s okay, I, it’s okay like that. I can just reach the place’. ((Speaking with a high pitch)) ‘Oh, you speak English! Blablabla. Where do you live?’ And I said ‘I live in, in Freiburg’. ((Speaking with a high pitch)) ‘Oh, I noticed your German accent’. (PI Manel)

For Francisco, non-native accent contagion is “a step backwards” (“[I]f I’m interacting with people that don’t speak well, I probably end up speaking like them and that would, that might be a step backwards”, PI Francisco). He asserts that he does not mind having a non-native accent in general and does not want to be taken for a NS (“I like to try to keep my identity, I like to, people to say ‘you are Mexican, I know that’”, PI Francisco), but he does not accept other non-native features in his accent as this is “obviously not the proper way to do it” (PI Francisco).

Contamination with non-native ‘errors’ is not only induced by non-native lecturers, but any non-native speaker can be a potential ‘germ carrier’ in interaction (118). Many students particularly fear that exposure to ELF affects their grammatical competence in English and feel that non-native contagion entails suffering and eventually even degradation (119-120).

- (118) “I think I could speak better English before coming to Germany to the REM program, even though I was living in my home country where English is not the official language. I think the variety of accents of my classmates and teachers has made a change in my way of speaking the language. I now realize **I make mistakes I would not do before.**” (QO Mario)
- (119) “[...] I sometimes think that **my grammar has suffered** a bit mainly talking to non-native speakers.” (QO Silvan)
- (120) “[...] I’ve lost some of the words that I used to be better or with my grammar. I’ve, I’ve, I’ve lost a little bit of that. I mean because I am hearing a lot of people that are not native speakers like me and they make these mistakes and in the long run these mistakes kind of stay with me and sometimes I make them, too. So then, yeah, I would say **I unimproved my English** a little bit, yeah.” (PI Andrés)

Non-native ‘contagion’ may also affect lexical competence and does not even spare native speakers (121).

- (121) “[...] I have picked up funny, funny aspects in my language. **Funny, funny things in my language that I never did before.** [...] before my, my, I could speak proper English ((laughs)) and now I think the level of English is, is somehow being changed. Yeah, and, and, like for example, the difference between take and make, here, and people, people say they take something versus they make something. These are small things that, that I use the way that, that uh Germans use English now.” (PI Naomi)

These discourses of deterioration through ELF use are not in any way peculiar or rare, but are widespread in REM and also found among REM lecturers. Professor Tanne warns that accommodation practices in the EMI classroom bear the risk of deterioration of one’s own English skills (122; see also Chapter 5.2.4).

- (122) Man kann dann Sachen übernehmen, kann sogar sein Englisch **verschlimmbessern**. Da ist auch eine **Gefahr** drin [...].“ (PI Tanne)
(*You can adopt things, you can even deteriorate your English. There is also danger in it [=adopting expressions from students].*)

Dr. Ulme recalls from her own EMI experience as student that ELF accommodation led her to making grammatical mistakes on purpose in order to be better understood (“dass ich dann auch manche grammatikalischen Fehler irgendwie auch gemacht hab, damit ich besser verstanden werde”, PI Ulme).¹⁵⁰ She thus experienced that linguistic accommodation to the norms developed in

¹⁵⁰ Dr. Ulme studied a one-year international EMI course in Germany during her Master’s studies, by a time where EMI was not yet labelled as such and highly exotic in Higher Education in Germany. Dr. Ulme is the only lecturer with first-hand experience with EMI from the student perspective.

this ELF community of practice enhanced understanding. Nevertheless, she maintains a strongly negative view of non-standard English, especially with regard to EMI lecturers, and considers ELF accommodation practices as ‘levelling off at a bad standard’ (123).

- (123) “[U]nd da erinnere ich mich noch, **dass das Englisch grauenhaft war**. Auch die Dozierenden zum Teil hatten irgendwie ganz schlechtes Englisch und man hat sich dann irgendwie so **auf so ’nem schlechten Niveau eingependelt**. [...] ich war zum Teil schon bisschen, äh, dann geschockt so, wenn dann Dozierende irgendwie so kaum Englisch konnten, ja. Ich denk, das kann man in einem internationalen Studiengang irgendwie nicht bringen.“ (PI Ulme)
(And then I recall that the English was horrible. Even the lecturers partly spoke a very bad English and we then somehow levelled off at a bad standard. [...] I was somewhat shocked if lecturers hardly knew any English, yeah. I think you cannot do that in an international study programme.)

In sum, we see that lingua franca accommodation is considered potentially dangerous both by students and lecturers. They have clear ideas of what is ‘good’ and what is ‘bad’ English and are highly motivated to avoid ‘contagion’ through continuous monitoring, as we shall see in the subsequent section.

6.1.3 Discourse ‘Non-native infection control requires monitoring’

Non-native English requires continuous monitoring to keep the NNS ‘contagion’ under control and prevent the adoption of NNS ‘errors’. REM students are highly sensitive to non-standard usage and alert to deviations from NS standard norms in their own and others’ linguistic performance. What is more, many believe that this is precisely my research focus (124-125).

- (124) I meet Claus by chance at a traffic light in downtown Freiburg. He asks about the progress of my project and points me to an ongoing e-mail discussion in REM09: “Das gibt bestimmt viel her für dich. Gavrilis hat ja auch viel geschrieben, mit vielen Fehlern und so, da kannst du bestimmt viel analysieren“ *(That certainly provides substantial material for you. Gavrilis wrote a lot, with lots of errors and so, you will certainly be able to analyse a lot.)* (PC Claus, Feb 2011)
- (125) During a lecture break, Gavrail tells me that he finds my project very interesting and that today’s lecture will provide a lot of material for my analyses because the two lecturers, Mr Schwarzdorn and Mr Buchsbaum, have very different levels of English: “Buchsbaum probably is a good speaker in his own language, but in English he is just very insecure.” (PO Gavrail, Dec 2008)

Yet, REM students do not just perceive deviances from NS norms in others’ ways of speaking, but frequently also consider them annoying signs of laziness

and missing effort (126). Negative views are particularly strong with regard to NNS features in the speech of peers with the same L1 background (127-128).

- (126) “[D]ie wenigsten von den REM-Studenten, die versuchen wirklich aktiv ihr Englisch zu verbessern. Das find ich, bedaure ich leider sehr, aber ich glaub, dass viele das einfach so hinnehmen und viele gar nicht so selbstkritisch sind [...]” (PI Maya)
(Hardly any of the REM students really try to actively improve their English. I find that, I feel that it is a great pity, but I believe that many just shrug it off and many are not so self-critical.)
- (127) “[Student name], I think she, **she has some issues with English**. She, she doesn’t express herself too well, so, and normally with her I, I don’t speak in English because it’s, it’s getting too slow to say something so with her. [...] Her pronunciation, I think she, she doesn’t, with vocabulary also. So she, she thinks too much, uhm.” (PI Kosimo)
- (128) “[D]as sind halt **Sachen, die fallen mir negativ auf**, weil das halt, die zeigen halt ‘nen deutschen Akzent an [...]“ (PI Severin)
(These are things that attract my attention in a negative way because they indicate a German accent.)

Critical views towards NNS features in others’ speech are not exclusive to students, but can also be found among lecturers. Mr Liguster, for example, is ‘frankly annoyed’ by German colleagues whose English displays typical L1 interference features in pronunciation (128).

- (129) “Es, **es nervt mich** auch bei anderen Deutschen, ganz offen, weil, wenn, wenn sie einfach kein Englisch können. Äh, äh, nee, des, des, sie können wahrscheinlich oft nichts dafür, aber, also, wenn dann selbst Herr Fichte noch ohne TH [tr:’etf/][...] redet, ich, ich frag mich wie, ich frag mich wie das gehen kann [...]“ (PI Liguster)
(I am annoyed by other Germans, frankly speaking, if they are unable to speak English. Uh, often it probably is not their fault, but, well, if even Mr Fichte speaks English without the TH [tr:’etf/][...], I wonder, I wonder how this can be.)

There are, of course, also more liberal views towards others’ ways of speaking non-native English, but they do not drown out the perception of non-native English as being somewhat deficient (130). The need to strive for improvement of non-native English proficiency is taken for granted and considered a responsibility of students in EMI programmes (131-132).

- (130) “You just have to try to accept others and with their whatever, I mean **disability** or, not disability but, yeah.” (PI Gavrail)
- (131) “It’s quite important like it’s, nobody can be perfect, but we have to **try to be as good possible**.” (PI Birendra)

(132) “After all, **it’s our responsibility** that uh our uh, to make sure that we are using the correct level of English.” (PI Jimena)

The goal of improvement is not (just) being able to communicate, but also staging the result of one’s efforts in the best possible way (133-134). Successful efforts in improving one’s language skills make a more competent impression on the listener, while disrupted speech caused by a lack of fluency can affect the listener’s general impression towards a speaker (135).

(133) “[...] I am sure that they would understand me and that I can understand them, but uh as a professional I would definitely try, want my English to be the best possible.” (PI Andrés)

(134) “I’m such a person that I always create some things, like a sentence or something in my head first [...]. I really want that it sounds really good and like for, in the films or something.” (PI Gavrail)

(135) “It should look natural that you don’t have any problems when you’re speaking because that disturbs, you know, like, if you are speaking and then if somebody see you that you are hesit-, hesitating and then automatically sort of reflected that your confidence level is low and that **can affect the view of other person on you.**” (PI Birendra)

REM students’ commitment to effort and improvement is also evident in the results from the questionnaire on students’ covert attitudes towards lingua franca uses of English in the EMI classroom (QC data). In this questionnaire, students were asked to imagine their brain as a computer and their language proficiency as specific software running on it (cf. Appendix A.4). In questions 2 and 3 they are offered free access to one of six imaginary programme extensions for personal use (question 2) and as class license for their entire REM group (question 3), both questions including the option to reject the offer. In Table 6.1 we see that only very few of the students reject the idea of ‘programme extensions’ to enhance certain aspects of their speaking performance in English, and their number is even lower when it comes to class use.

REM08+09 (n=52)	Description (benefit of each extension)	Personal use	Class-license
Native Speaker Imitator	➤ Speak like a native speaker of English	19.2%	25.0%
Grammar Reviser	➤ Produce grammatically correct sentences	7.7%	7.7%
Dictionary	➤ Extend vocabulary to double the amount of the existing one	34.6%	15.4%
Articulator	➤ Clearly pronounce all sounds of the English language	11.5%	25.0%
Fluencer	➤ Speak fluently without interruptions	11.5%	13.5%
Confidence Booster	➤ Ooze confidence when speaking English no matter to whom about what	7.7%	7.7%
None	➤ No download of any extension.	7.7%	5.8%

Table 6.1: REM students’ choice of ‘programme extensions’ (QC, questions 2 and 3)

We can cautiously interpret these figures as further evidence that improvement matters to REM students (as 92.3% choose a programme extension for personal use) and that improvement is even more important for group interaction than for personal use (as 94.2% choose a programme extension for class use in REM).

What we also find in the QC questionnaire results is that preferences vary between personal use and class use, i.e. personal use and classroom use do not correlate ($p=0.40050521$). While the 'Dictionary' extension is the most popular extension for personal use (34.6%), 'Articulator' and 'Native Speaker Imitator' are considered most useful for classroom use (25% each). Furthermore, students' individual choices of programme extensions for personal use and classroom use do not correlate either. Only 26.9% choose the same option for personal and classroom use, i.e. the majority do not have the same preference.¹⁵¹ We can interpret this as further proof that students consider improvement of their individual language proficiency a completely different target than enhancing language skills for intragroup interaction.

If we take a closer look at the reasons given for a particular choice we find that there is a strong focus on deficiencies and improvement. Various students would choose a programme extension because of perceived deficiencies in their own and others' way of speaking (136-138).

(136) "GRAMMAR REVISER because I always confuse the tenses." (QC Dilara)

(137) "FLUENCER because my English speaking is the worse one than anothers" (QC Setiawan)

(138) "I think all programs would be great. Because **everybody has other problems**" (QC Svenja, additional comment)

Even more students explain their choice of a particular programme extension by an explicit desire to improve their English skills (139-142).

(139) "ARTICULATOR because I want to **improve** my pronunciation so I can speak better with my colleagues." (QC Nishant)

(140) "GRAMMAR REVISER because I would like to **improve** my grammar." (QC Svenja)

(141) "GRAMMAR REVISER because it is the best chance to **improve** my grammar." (QC Bulat)

(142) "DICTIONARY because I could **improve** my vocabulary and use it for pronunciation. This would also help me improve my grammar via the usage of the word." (QC Pramod)

¹⁵¹ In the combined results of question 2 and 3 (QC) we find as many as 29 of 49 possible combinations. The most frequently chosen options for personal use combine with (nearly) all options for classroom use ('Dictionary' combines with all and 'Native Speaker Imitator' combines with five different options).

What we also see in Table 6.1 is that two out of ten students opt for the ‘Native Speaker Imitator’ for personal use. We can conclude that the native speaker still is an important linguistic role model for speaking and far from being completely irrelevant to lingua franca users in the REM community.

Non-native English is generally believed to be inferior to native English, the degree of inferiority varying with the relative approximation towards native speaker norms. Thus, grammatical correctness is considered a sign of achievement while deviations from native norms are considered demerit. In other words, the more native-like a non-native speaker’s (speaking) performance, the more superior he or she is perceived. This leads speakers with noticeable NNS features in their ways of speaking to monitoring their speech in order to avoid being seen as low achievers by more proficient non-native speakers. These attempts to display their effort are not only evident in writing (e.g. in self-repair of e-mails, cf. Chapter 5.3.3), but also in speaking (143).

(143) “When I know that the person in front of me speaks really fluent English, like he’s a, almost a native speaker or, then I feel myself a little bit shy that my English is not on a high, **higher level, like grammatically**, or, and I cannot speak [...]I don’t allow myself speaking fluently because I am afraid of making mistakes.” (PI Gavrail)

As a logical consequence, non-native speakers make considerable efforts to control their linguistic performance by checking their utterances for compliance to standard norms before speaking (144-145).

(144) “[...] I have to think before I talk, I mean, I have to **visualize if my sentence is going in the right form**. Is it the correct form? Am I correct grammatically?” (PI Daksha)

(145) “[O]f course I really think what I say before, which means I have to make sure that I speak the correct grammar, I choose the right words. So only after I make **a correction check in my brain** I put forward my sentences, yeah? Yeah, because it’s not your *Muttersprache* [=mother tongue; SG]. And it’s something which you learned, which you acquired over the years, so which means you have to process it before you speak it, because there are certain constructions which you know which is right and which is wrong.” (PI Dan)

Grammatical correctness in non-native speech is monitored through introspection, but this procedure is likely to overlook some mistakes. Therefore additional diagnostic tools are believed to be helpful not only to detect ‘the wrong things’ but also to assess the status quo of language proficiency and measure improvement or deterioration. Native speaker tutors (146) or taking a language proficiency tests based on native speaker norms (147) are considered beneficial tools for external monitoring of non-native English.

(146) “I would like to have a tutor and I would like to know when I’m saying the wrong things.” (PI Svenja)

- (147) Mario: “I’ve done the TOEFL I don’t know how many times –one, two, three, four, five – five or six times. I think, um, I al-, I always get, get high scores. But I’d like to do it again.”
 SG: “Why’s that?”
 Mario: “Just to **check how’s my English now.**” (PI Mario)

Since REM students are concerned with correctness and compliance to native speaker norms, they naturally wish that REM management were equally concerned. Non-native ‘contagion’ is caused by non-standard uses of English; therefore various students suggest that individual language proficiency of REM students should be better examined prior to admission. This could either be done by raising the required language entrance levels (“Now it’s hundred I think. Maybe they can increase it to a hundred-five or something like that, the TOEFL uh IELTS score”, PI Birendra) or by interviewing applicants via Skype to test their language proficiency (PI Donovan, Maya).

Higher language proficiency levels among students are not only believed to keep non-native ‘contagion’ at bay and facilitate communication in the REM classroom, but are also seen as quality label reflecting the general quality of education at the University of Freiburg (148).

- (148) “[I]deally of course they would probably like to have a higher level of language in, you know, because what’s gonna happen after the students graduate? They gonna go out, they’ll be working somewhere, and of course it will show better or **reflect better on the university** if they have good language, you know. (PI Dhiraj)

Yet, REM students do not want to make all efforts by themselves, they also want their non-native lecturers to make the same efforts with regard to correctness and show that they are also bothered with improvement (149).

- (149) “I mean once you’re in a, in a, in an environment who every- everybody would, in that environment everybody is speaking English. So you’re, you also have to try a little bit, improve yourself and at least to give, to give, you know, an **impression that you’re also trying** [...]” (PI Teo, about EMI lecturers)

With regard to assessment in REM, many students would welcome feedback on their language use and would even accept their language use being graded.¹⁵² Linguistic correctness in examination is considered a default commitment towards EMI (“I think we, we applied to do a course in English and we have kind of a, uhm commitment to do it right”, PI Gisa) and lecturers should thus demand correctness, especially grammatical correctness, in assessment and sanction deviations from the norm (150-151). Some students would particularly appreciate critical feedback on their language use or even sanctions in form of lower grades as they believe that this would eventually motivate them to further

¹⁵² Ferdinand would even accept 30–40% of a final grade being based on language use (PI Ferdinand).

improve their English skills (152-153). Feedback on language use would not only be helpful for enhancing students' language proficiency for its own sake, but also as preparation for students' professional future (154-155).

- (150) “[T]hey should at least consider that it should be grammatically not hundred percent but at least certain **ninety-five percent it should be grammatically correct** so that while reading it won’t be a problem for the examiner to check it.” (PI Shashank)
- (151) “And yeah, if you go to like a Master thesis that should be considered because if you write horribly, I think you should not have uh the same grade as if you write good. [...] I think it should be somehow as if it was in, in your own language uh language, uh, **language mistakes, grammar**, whatever, they, **they will make you lose points.**” (PI Gisa)
- (152) “I mean, if one, one test that it was really difficult for the teacher to understand what I was writing because of the level of my English, I would like him to write like ‘**You should try harder**, you should study a little bit, study more about your skills in English’ because that’s gonna help me.” (PI Gavrilis)
- (153) “Yeah, if, if I get my mark reduced because of uh language, I would, I would remember that mistake and I would try to eliminate in next round [...]” (PI Nishant, explaining why he would like to be graded on language)
- (154) “Sometimes it’s important because if they uh let us without assessing, then **in the real world** we made, make some mistakes.” (PI Birendra)
- (155) “[...] I just want to probably work in an international organization and that, there you, for, for sure you would need, or I would need the English and a very good English to express myself.” (PI Máximo)

There are of course also students who dislike the idea of assessing and grading their language use. However, only very few reject this idea with the argument that language learning is not part of the REM curriculum, while the majority discard it for entirely different reasons. For Gavrail, language feedback is not favourable because he believes his language proficiency would degrade his academic performance and it would feel like scoring an own goal (156).

- (156) “From my point of view it will be a little bit uh, yeah own goal, just to **strike my own goal** [...] because my proficiency in English is not that high.” (PI Gavrail)

Almost all who object to language feedback do so because they distrust their lecturers' competence in proofreading. Since there are not any native speaker lecturers in REM, language assessment is deemed very difficult (157). Furthermore, the non-native lecturers' average language level is considered too

low to allow for language assessment (158-159). Lecturers with a proficiency level lower than their students' proficiency level would not be able to understand 'absolute good English'. They might instead misconceive it as erroneous and would thus run the risk of degrading highly proficient students.

(157) “[D]adurch, dass man ja wenig oder keine Muttersprachler als Dozenten hat, äh, ist das natürlich auch wieder schwieriger zu bewerten [...]” (PI Ferdinand)
(*Since there are few or no native speaker lecturers, it is naturally more difficult to judge.*)

(158) “I mean, if you see that the teacher speaks more or less the same level than you or even a bit lower, you cannot really expect them to correct your writing or the way you structure a sentence or something like that.” (PI Francisco)

(159) “[I]t depends on the English of the German teacher who is teaching us. If he's not very well versed with absolute high English vocabulary and he may not interpret it in the correct terms, then it could be, it could go wrong on the students' side who's written in an absolute good English and he knows what he's expressing but the German professor does not understand, then there is a problem.” (PI Pramod)

In sum, we see that there is a strong belief in NS authority over language usage norms and REM students tend to attribute a lower quality to non-native English. One could assume that depreciative attitudes towards non-native English and especially non-native features of language use are mainly found among those who believe themselves to belong to the most proficient speakers among REM students (cf. Chapter 5.2.2). This is, however, not the case, negative attitudes do not correlate with self-perceptions of high proficiency, which means that depreciative attitudes towards non-native English are widespread in REM regardless of how students and lecturers perceive their own ways of speaking. In other words, negative attitudes are not indicative of self-aggrandizement through degrading others, but also coincide with critical views of one's own competence.

6.1.4 Discourse 'Rehab requires native supervision'

In the previous section, we have seen that REM students invest considerable energy in striving for NS norm compliance. Their efforts are justified by the belief that non-native English requires these efforts to keep non-native influence on their English at bay and prevent further 'infection'. Monitoring in turn requires supervision by a competent role model, not only to point out deviances from native standard norms, but also to motivate non-native speakers to improve their English through following his or her usage.

REM lecturers are disqualified from this role as we have seen in the previous chapter. Being non-native speakers their English is not flawless and thus they are considered unable to notice non-native ‘errors’ in others. This incapacity of language feedback discourages non-native students and leads them to flouting norms of correct usage, as Maya and Gavrilis believe (160-161).

- (160) “Von den Dozenten gibt’s wirklich keinen, der, der einwandfreies Englisch spricht, und das ist dann auch schwierig für die Studenten, weil die können dann auch nicht ihr Englisch verbessern und die denken dann auch ‘Okay, warum sollen wir unser Englisch verbessern, wenn die Lektoren sowieso ein schlechtes Englisch sprechen? Die werden den Fehler sowieso übersehen.’ (PI Maya)
(Among the lecturers there really is not anyone who speaks an impeccable English, and this is difficult for students because then they cannot improve their English and they will think ‘Okay, why should we improve our English, if the lecturers speak bad English? They will not notice the error anyway.)
- (161) “[I]f you hear this level, I mean the bad level, then you don’t **really try harder** because if I was having a professor and he was really fluent in English, then I would push myself more because then I had to speak with him and I will feel like ‘Okay, I should improve my English more to speak with this guy because we are not in the same level’. But if you speak with someone that at least he is in your level or maybe sometimes a little bit lower, then you say ‘Okay, whatever I say, it doesn’t really matter because he is not going to comment it’.” (PI Gavrilis)

Non-native speakers thus need a suitable role model that not only excels in his or her linguistic performance but is also able to supervise others’ ways of speaking. Taking into account the results of the previous sections, it is not surprising that for REM students the best possible role model is a native speaker. Lingua franca interaction is believed to require the presence of native speakers to supervise communication as otherwise the non-native speakers’ English inevitably deteriorates (162). Furthermore, the efficiency of NS supervision depends on the ratio between native and non-native speakers. A low share of NS in an ELF community of practice is believed to limit or even impair non-native speakers’ improvement of their language skills (163-165).

- (162) In an informal conversation during a lecture break, Claus tells me that it is a great relief that there are at least some native speakers in REM09. He is convinced that talking only to non-native speakers would **deteriorate one’s English language competence**. When I ask him what he means by deterioration, he mentions various features such as reduction of vocabulary, incorrect grammar etc. (PC Claus, Oct 2009).¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Claus generalizes his opinion by using the third person pronoun (*man* in German, translated here with *one*) instead of referring only to his English language competence.

- (163) “Since there are not any native speakers (except Muiris) in the class, it was not possible to improve my language skills.” (QO Demet)
- (164) Kerstin explaining that language training for REM students would be a good idea “weil wir ja nur einen *Native Speaker* haben und den ganzen Tag quasi unsere unterschiedlichen englischen Sprachen hören.” (PI Kerstin)
(*Because we only have one native speaker and we are listening to our different Englishes the whole day.*)
- (165) “Ich [...] lerne, indem ich zuhöre. Natürlich ist das limitiert, da unsere, dass, da der Anteil an *Natives* limitiert ist, sodass man irgendwann an ‘nem Punkt ankommt, an dem man **nicht mehr so viel weiterkommt.**“ (PI Finn)
(*I learn through listening. Naturally this is limited because our, that, because the share of natives is limited, so that you eventually reach a point where you do not advance much more.*)

Improvement is limited because of the predominant exposure to non-native English (simplified English, according to Sigmund; PI) with potentially detrimental effects on one’s own English. In turn, being exposed to native English is believed to lead to improvement by default.¹⁵⁴ If there were (more) NS and especially NS lecturers in REM, the students’ English would automatically improve (166-167).

- (166) “If you were surrounded by native speakers, of course you will rather improve your English than, than when you are surrounded by non-natives, as it is in the REM course.” (PI Knut)
- (167) “[T]he language uh is set by the teachers. So when there’re, in case there are more uhm native speakers I would assume it would increase the, the level of the English of all the other students, too.” (PI Siegfried)

Limited language improvement in REM is considered disappointing (PI Manel), but also seen as natural consequence of an ELF setting. Some students acknowledge that they do enhance their overall English language proficiency through ELF use in REM, but just “not as high rate like it would have been in England” (PI Kosimo). In the “native countries like UK or United States [it] will improve more” (PI Ismail) because there “most people speak better than you” (PI Justus). ELF use in REM rather means training instead of advancement (168).

¹⁵⁴ This view is also shared REM lecturers. Mr Liguster explains that he improved his English skills as exchange student in Sweden through talking a lot to NS: “Also es war natürlich auch, für mein Englisch war’s sicherlich ganz gut, ähm, weil man natürlich viel mit Austauschstudenten zu tun hat, ähm, und da kamen natürlich viele aus, aus, naja, Kanada, USA, die natürlich auch Englisch-Muttersprachler sind. Mit den Franzosen und auch mit den Spaniern war’s natürlich nicht ganz so.“ (PI Liguster) (*Well, of course, it was certainly good for my English, uhm, because you had to interact a lot with exchange students and many were of course from, well, Canada, the US, who are native English speakers, of course. Talking to French or Spanish exchange students did obviously not have the same effect.*)

- (168) “[In REM] it’s more like practicing the English and the, **the learning effect is less** than if I would do a Master in uh in Cambridge or in the States or somewhere, I think.” (PI Justus)

What we see in the last quotes is that there is a strong belief that immersion in a NS environment automatically leads to (better) improvement. Spending time in an English speaking country boosts non-native speakers’ confidence and gives them an edge over other non-native speakers without this experience (169-170).

- (169) “I would like to live in the future in a, in a English uh, English speaker country, speakers’ country or something, yeah, in order to make, make me feel more confident and, and think that I can deal with the English [...]” (PI Máximo)
- (170) Teo reasoning that Silvan and Severin, who had spent time in English speaking countries, have advantages in assessment: “Eh, of course they have an advantage [...], they are starting, especially for the written exams, **they’re starting from, from another level.**” (PI Teo)

In Chapter 6.1.2 we have seen that REM students are afraid of ‘contaminating’ their English with non-native features adopted from their lecturers and peers. While monitoring efforts can only keep ‘contagion’ at bay, proper ‘convalescence’ from the lingua franca ‘contagion’ requires rehab in a native speaker immersion setting.¹⁵⁵ Various students express their wish to spend time in an English-speaking country after completing their REM studies (171-172).

- (171) “I would prefer like to study in **a real uh English speaking country**, like England or so, because yeah, it’s like you get used maybe to the, to these errors from the professors or the colleagues. Yeah, that’s why I wanted to write my thesis too maybe in, in England to *verbessern* [=improve; SG], to improve my English.” (PI Patricio)
- (172) “I think I really want to live in an English-speaking country after I graduate, maybe for a few years. I think it will, **affects me in a really positive way** to talk always in English, to talk with native people, because I always con-, had conversations with not so many native peoples, native speaking people, you know, and in that way you always learn the mistakes of other people as well.” (PI Derya)

Communication with native speakers is deemed essential for monitoring non-native English use as it entails self-reflection and –correction on the part of the NNS (173-174).

¹⁵⁵ Severin initially called my academic qualification as linguist into question when he learnt that I obtained my Master’s degree in English linguistics from a German university and only spent 6 months abroad in English-speaking countries. (PO, private party, Dec 2008).

- (173) “[...] I guess when I speak to the native speakers I would, perhaps I try to **put more effort**. I try to uh **speak better**.” (PI Manel)
- (174) “[...] wenn ich ähm mit den natives rede, dann hab ich selber so für mich so ’n ungutes Gefühl, weil ich mir denk ‘Oh, ich mach so viele Fehler‘ und so. Denk immer, dass die das dann so analysieren würden, was aber natürlich bestimmt nicht der Fall ist. Aber da merk ich immer selber, da versuch ich dann immer **bewusst drauf zu achten, richtig Englisch zu reden**, ((lacht)) grammatikalisch richtig.” (PI Stefan)
(When I am talking to native speakers, I am somehow feeling uneasy because I think ‘Oh, I’m making so many mistakes’ and so. [I] always think that they would analyse it, which is of course not the case. But I always realize that I try to focus my attention on speaking proper English ((chuckle)), grammatically proper.)

We see in Stefan’s self-reflection (174) that the presence of NS in interaction can evoke feelings of unease and pressure in NNS. This is not only true for NNS students, but lecturers experience similar feelings. Dr. Buche, for example, explains that he is more motivated to improve his English when interacting with NS than with NNS (“Wenn ich mit Muttersprachlern umgeh, möchte ich einfach da noch schneller besser werden als wenn ich mit Nichtmuttersprachlern umgeh”, PI Buche). At the same time he feels that the presence of NS in the classroom puts pressure on him to perform well in English and he is more relaxed in his use of English if there are more NNS than NS in the classroom (175).

- (175) “[M]an ist, äh, verspürt **weniger Erwartungsdruck**, wenn Nichtmuttersprachler dabei sind. Man fühlt sich ein bisschen freier, ähm, auch Fehler zu akzeptieren. [...] Da würd ich schon sagen empfindet man weniger Druck, wenn einfach Nichtmuttersprachler mit dabei sind, oder nur ganz wenige [Muttersprachler]. Ähm, kommt vielleicht auch bisschen auf das relative Gewicht an von äh Nichtmuttersprachlern und Muttersprachlern.“ (PI Buche)
(You feel less pressure if there are also non-native speakers. You feel a bit more free to uhm also accept errors. [...] I would indeed say that you feel less pressure if there are also non-native speakers or very few native speakers. Uhm, maybe it depends a bit on the relative share of non-native and native speakers.)

Although the presence of NS may put NNS under pressure, they nevertheless appreciate it very much because of the anticipated improvement effect on their own language skills. Feelings of unease are taken for granted and transformed into motivation to make more efforts to improve. As we have seen in Chapter 6.1.3, REM students would actually welcome critical feedback on their language use in order to advance (176), and feedback from NS is thus considered most valuable.

- (176) “[...] manchmal verbessern mich dann die *Natives* auch, wenn ich irgendwelche Sprachfehler mache, und dafür bin ich natürlich dankbar, **damit ich noch ‘n bisschen höher komm.**“ (PI Finn)
(Sometimes the native speakers would correct me, when I made any language errors, and I am, of course, very grateful so that I can advance a bit more (literally: ‘get a bit higher’).)

Yet, NS feedback does not necessarily have to focus on deviances from NS norms, but can also emphasise positive aspects in a NNS’s way of speaking. NS are believed to acknowledge non-native speakers’ efforts and positive NS feedback is considered a quality label of language use, not only for students.

For some REM lecturers, positive feedback from NS greatly increased confidence in their language proficiency with the result that they can now communicate in English without fearing to ‘attract negative attention’ (PI Liguster; see also Chapter 5.2.3).¹⁵⁶ Professor Kiefer reports that EMI no longer feels like a burden because he continually received positive feedback from NS who were impressed by his English skills (177).

- (177) “[I]ch empfinde es [=EMI; SG] zwischenzeitlich nicht mehr als Belastung oder, oder, ähm, vielleicht auch deshalb, weil ich im Lauf der Zeit immer mal wieder **Rückmeldung auch von Native Speakern** in den USA bekommen hab: ‘Mensch, wo hast du das Englisch gelernt?’ oder sowas, ja.“ (PI Kiefer)
(In the meantime, I don’t consider EMI a burden anymore or, or, uhm, maybe because over time I have received continually feedback from native speakers in the USA: ‘Gosh, where did you learn such English?’ or so, yeah.)

Nevertheless, for many NNS, the highest achievable quality label is not explicitly positive feedback on their language use from a NS, but actually the absence of feedback: the supreme award consists in passing for a native speaker. Various students explain that a native-like accent is the highest goal for NNS, but admit that this goal is hardly achievable (178-179).

- (178) “Ich fänd’s glaub ich schon schön, wenn ich ‘nen **perfekten Dialekt oder Akzent** hätte oder so, halt **dass man’s gar nicht mehr hören würd.** Das würde ich schon anstreben oder hab ich sicher auch mal angestrebt. Inzwischen hab ich mich damit abgefunden, dass es nicht so ist.“ (PI Bernd)
(I guess I would find it good if I had a perfect dialect or accent or so, well that you cannot notice it [=the German background] anymore. I would indeed strive for that or have strived for that. In the meantime I have resigned myself to the fact that this is not the case.)

¹⁵⁶ Mr Liguster is convinced that NS acknowledge a non-native speaker’s effort in speaking English well (“[E]s wird [...] durchaus wahrgenommen, wenn ein Deutscher gut Englisch kann”, PI Liguster).

- (179) “I measure my level with, if someone uh for, when I speak Italian, if someone doesn’t notice that I’m not from Italy. So I feel like I’m speaking good. But if hmm people notice that you have an [native-like]accent it’s like, I don’t know, that, that will be, would be the perfect level for me, hmm, you have, **you don’t have** your, I don’t know, **your typical accent from your country**, so. But I know it’s really difficult to, to get to that level, so. (PI Daniela)

Passing as a native speaker (“unterzutauchen”, ‘going into hiding’; PI Bernd) through emulating a native accent is considered beneficial because it enables NNS to approach people in a different way (“anderer Zugang zu den Leuten”, PI Bernd) and perceive their environment from a different perspective (“[...] ermöglicht dann so einen anderen Blickpunkt irgendwie auf die Umgebung, äh, ‘nen anderen Eindruck”, PI Bernd). As mentioned before, acquiring a native-like accent is considered extremely difficult, so the interim goal consists in disguising at least the first language background in non-native accents (180-181).

- (180) “It would be good if I can speak naturally like uh, if somebody **cannot distinguish me** that I am from this region by uh speaking uh listening to me [...]” (PI Birendra)
- (181) “[E]very single word that I’m saying I heard it some, somewhere and I know how it, how I can pronounce it in a UK accent or in a US accent or, not every single word but still, I, I’m a little bit acting with the words I am saying. [...] **I’m acting in my head** what I’m going to say and I am making my voice sound like not, not like a Bulgarian accent [...].” (PI Gavrail)¹⁵⁷

The evaluation of a NS accent as superior to an accent with recognizable NNS features is also apparent in the questionnaire on REM students’ covert attitudes towards native and non-native English (QC; see Appendix A.4 and Chapter 6.1.3). In question one of the questionnaire, students were offered an imaginary ‘accent plug-in’ that would enable them to speak with the accent of their choice. They could select from a range of ten different ENL and ESL varieties of English, specify a further accent not included in the list or state that they would not want any of the ‘accent plug-ins’. Only seven of the survey participants (13.5%) from both REM08 and REM09 chose to reject the offer (‘I would not download any accent-plug in’), three of them being native speakers of English explaining their choice with a lack of necessity (e.g. “I already speak with a Canadian accent”, QO Cai). 86.5% of survey participants did select an accent plug-in which shows that accent and pronunciation matter to them.

In Table 6.2 we see that the two major standard accents of English, British and American respectively, are the most frequently chosen options, with British English being by far the most popular accent. Figure 6.1 summarizes the

¹⁵⁷ Gavrail also asked me in the course of his interview: “[I]s there a hard accent in English with me?”

absolute results from Table 6.2 by subsuming accents according to geographic regions. We see that accents from the British Isles are the most popular ones (54%).

<i>Accent plug-in</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
British English	46.2%
Irish English	5.8%
Canadian English	3.8%
American English	17.3%
Australian English	0.0%
New Zealand English	1.9%
South African English	0.0%
Indian English	5.8%
Singaporean English	0.0%
Hong Kong English	0.0%
Other: Scottish English	1.9%
Other: British AND American English	3.8%
None	13.5%

Table 6.2: REM students' choice of 'accent plug-in' (QC)

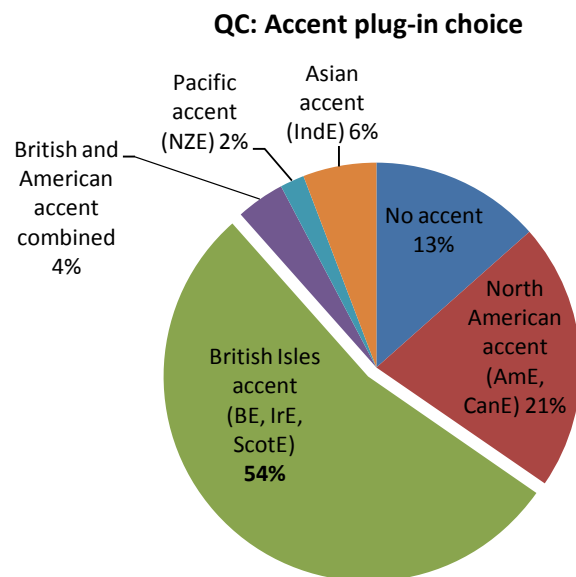


Figure 6.1: REM students' choice of 'accent plug-in' (QC, conflated)

The question remains why REM students believe NNS English to be inferior to NS English. The following chapter will shed light on REM students' attitudes towards the native speaker (both as concept and as real person) and illustrate why they perceive native-like English and a native-like accent in particular as superior.

6.1.5 The linguistically and communicatively privileged native speaker

The defining criterion of a native speaker is childhood immersion in an ENL country, as REM students unanimously explain. Thus, a NS is someone who “grew up in a country where English is spoken” (PI Miriam) or “who has been speaking a language from the time they were born like their mother tongue” (PI Donald). Furthermore, a NS is distinct from a NNS in the application range of his or her language, as NS do not only use their language in spoken and written interaction but also subconsciously in their thoughts and dreams (“für die einfach das ganz, ganz normal ist, alles in der Sprache zu sagen, zu denken, zu träumen“, PI Stefan). These definitions are based on fairly neutral criteria for distinguishing native and non-native speakers without any association with inferiority or superiority. Yet, there are further beliefs about native speakers which clearly illustrate the perceived imbalance of linguistic – and social – power between NS and NNS.

The most frequent discourse about the native speaker in REM can be summarized as ‘NS are linguistically omnipotent and superior by default’.

NS are believed to always speak correctly by default (PI Kosimo, Finn) and native language use is of a higher quality than non-native English (182-183). Muiris, the only L1 speaker¹⁵⁸ of English in REMO8 is thus supposed to have better speaking and writing skills than the NNS in the group (184-185).

(182) “If you talk about the quality of language, the words they use, the appropriate words I cannot use at all. The, the fluency which they have, I do not have that fluency.” (PI Sayyid)

(183) “[...] I’ve been talking quite often with someone who is also like a native speaker and bilingual, and I got used to **a better English, like real English.**” (PI Gisa)

(184) Gisa addressing Muiris: “Isn’t it very tiring for you that everyone says ‘huh?’ when you say something? I mean, **you are the only one who speaks good English.**” (PO, pub conversation, Feb 2009)

(185) “[...] Muiris schreibt halt sehr gut, weil er halt *native speaker* ist einfach.“ (PI Silvan)
(*Muiris writes very well, because he simply is a native speaker.*)

A further difference between NS and NNS consists in their authority over language usage rules. While NNS are concerned with correctness and compliance to grammar rules, NS can flexibly alter usage rules (186).

(186) Nirav defining native speaker: “[T]he person who can speak very fluently in English, means who can mow-, **somehow not use proper grammar.** He, he use something, such a word, which, which, which you can use only if you are a native speaker. Some rules which you extend from [...]. [Y]ou never feel something like ‘Okay, now uh I **can skip this rule**, academic grammar thing and I can speak like this’ because sometime it’s, they use such kind of thing. So it’s a native speaker. The thing, the people who speaks, who really you feel that he really get about the grammar and all this so, yeah, they are non-native speakers.” (PI Nirav)

These attributions of linguistic authority and superiority are also evident in the QC data set. Various students explain their choice of an ENL ‘accent plug-in’ by authoritarian reasons (187-188).

(187) “They know the English language” (QC Nishant, about British English)

(188) “[...] look likes [sic!] a **high quality English**” (QC Máximo, about British English)

¹⁵⁸ The label *L1 speaker* is used here to emphasize that Muiris is a bilingual speaker with slightly more competence in his first language English than in his second native language.

A widespread belief pertaining to the discourse of linguistic superiority is the belief that NS are easier to understand than NNS. Various REM students consider NS lecturers easier to understand than NNS lecturers (QO Gisa, Shashank, Sigmund and others).

In turn, REM lecturers also believe that NS are easier to understand than their NNS peers. Despite feeling more relaxed in interaction with NNS (cf. Chapter 6.1.4), Dr. Buche assumes that NS are easier to understand because they are ‘using English syntax correctly’, while for example Germans often make grammatical mistakes which can lead to comprehension problems between lecturer and students (PI Buche).

In the personal interviews, I asked REM students whose peer’s English they found most pleasant and most unpleasant to listen to, in terms of perceived euphony. Many did not answer the question in the way I expected, but explained that pleasant was equivalent to good/best to understand and unpleasant was equivalent to hard(est) to understand. It is remarkable, however, that the majority of students named native speakers or near-native speakers as most pleasant and speakers with noticeable non-native accents and lower proficiency (lower in relation to the native norm) as most unpleasant.

The belief that native(-like) English is easier to understand than non-native English is also evident in the QC data. Some students explain their choice of an ENL accent in question 1 by its superior comprehensibility (QC Mario, Sunil, Ferdinand, Bulat and others). I assume that perceived ease of comprehension is not related to a speaker’s actual linguistic performance, but represents just a surface expression of the underlying attitude that NS are linguistic authorities and as a consequence their English is perceived as easier to understand.

This implicit bow to the NS authority even leads to apologetic explanations if a NS is in fact hard to understand. Having difficulties in understanding NS is considered unusual (expressed through the conjunctions *obwohl* and *even though* in examples 189-190). Furthermore, it is solely the non-native speakers’ fault if they do not understand NS well. NS do not need to accommodate towards NNS (191) but it is the non-native speakers’ duty to ‘move forward’ and adjust (192).

(189) Bernd about Muiris: “[...] am Anfang hab ich den fast gar nicht verstanden, **obwohl**’s ja ‘n Muttersprachler ist.” (PI Bernd)
(In the beginning I hardly understood him even though he is a native speaker.)

(190) EunHee about Naomi: “**Even though** uhm she’s a native speaker, for me Naomi is the most difficult.” (PI EunHee)

(191) “Das war auch mit den Amis dann zum Teil, die meinen halt jeder kann Englisch, und **geben sich nicht die Mühe** glaub ich, oder, **die müssen’s ja auch nicht**, ich mein, für die ist’s auch nicht schwer, Englisch zu reden.“ (PI Liguster)

(It was partly the case with the American students, they just think that everyone speaks English and do not make an effort, I think, or, they don't have to anyways, I mean, for them it's not difficult to speak in English.)

- (192) Nirav about initial problems in understanding his NS peers: “[I]t was my problem, it was not their problem, that I can’t understand the proper fast English. I had to make a habit of understanding them. [...] now I found that I can’t understand properly and then I have to move forward, **not they have to move backward**, so I move forward and that’s it.” (PI Nirav)

Native speakers are not only considered easier to understand, but they are also supposed to have default abilities for linguistic comprehension. NS supposedly understand NNS without much effort as opposed to NNS (193). Apart from innate comprehension abilities, NS are also believed to be better at expressing themselves which entails an ‘entirely different level’ of complexity (194).

- (193) “I have to be really concentrated to understand the people but I think a, a native speaker may not.” (PI Chen)

- (194) „Als der [Vorname] Redwood [=NS Gastdozent; SG], den wir zum Beispiel hatten, den aus, aus, da hat man halt gesehen, was für ein Niveau herrscht, wenn jemand wirklich Muttersprachler ist, und das war halt einfach ein **völlig anderes Level** einfach als, als die ganzen anderen Vorlesungen, also da war’s, da war man wirklich gefordert.“ (PI Sigmund)
(Well, [first name] Redwood [=NS guest lecturer; SG], for example, the one from, you noticed which standard prevails if someone really is a native speaker, and it simply was an entirely different level compared to, to all the other lectures, well there you were really challenged.)

NNS in turn are believed to be innately incapable of reaching this level of complexity and communicative efficiency (195-196).

- (195) “Of course they, they may know some uh English and, and they will be able to speak but **not with that much uh efficiency and fluency.**” (PI Sayyid)
- (196) “[...] wenn’s um nuancierte Ausdrucksweisen geht, ja, wenn’s drum geht Ideen zu entwickeln und detailliert zu diskutieren, ja, da bin ich eben kein Muttersprachler.” (PI Kiefer)¹⁵⁹
(When it comes to nuances in expression, yeah, when it comes to developing ideas and discussing them in detail, yeah, I am just not a native speaker.)

¹⁵⁹ Reference to the notion of *nuance* has also been reported in Van Splunder’s study of EMI in Flanders where a lecturer explained that “English [as medium of instruction] comes at the expense of *nuance*... A lot is lost, for instance the joy of being able to say things in other words as one can do in one’s mother tongue...” (quoted in Van Splunder 2010: 267).

The strong belief in the linguistic and communicative superiority of NS is also evident in students' explanation why they would select a specific 'programme extension' in the QC data set (see also Chapter 6.1.3 and Appendix A.4). The NATIVE SPEAKER IMITATOR is chosen, either 'for personal use' or as 'classroom license', because it is believed to encompass any of the other options, i.e. ARTICULATOR, FLUENCER, CONFIDENCE BOOSTER, GRAMMAR REVISER and DICTIONARY (Table 6.3).

Reasons for choosing the 'Native Speaker Imitator' (QC, questions 2 & 3)
"Because it makes all of us speak perfectly English" (QC Dilara)
"Because it is the ideal situation" (QC Kosimo)
"Because I think it gives me all the above [=the other options; SG]" (QC Claudio)
"Because it consists of all of them [=the other options; SG]" (QC Derya)

Table 6.3: Selected reasons for the choice of 'Native Speaker Imitator' (QC, items 2 & 3)

Further evidence for the perceived communicative superiority of the native speaker can also be found in the results from the first part of the listening experiment (LE; cf. Chapter 4.4.10). It was designed as verbal guise test on the basis of a pilot experiment in August 2009 (cf. Chapter 6.1.6). The aim of the experiment was to test participants' reactions to non-native English accents with varying degrees of 'native-likeness'.

For the experiment, I recorded six speakers, firstly producing free speech and secondly reading aloud a literary text. The speakers were female students aged between 23 and 27 years. Five of the recorded speakers are non-native speakers of English with German (two of them), Italian, Greek and Chinese as their first languages. The sixth speaker is a native speaker of American English who serves as control stimulus. Table 6.4 provides an overview of the speakers with a classification of their accents and their order of appearance in the experiment. Although all of the non-native speakers are proficient and fluent speakers of English, their accents vary with regard to non-native features and L1 traceability. While Ute's and Lisa's accents exclusively or predominantly imitate native English (British English and Irish English respectively), Yang's, Alexia's and Lucia's accents are marked by non-native L1-influenced features.¹⁶⁰

Accent	Pseudonym	Native Language	Age	Speaker in <i>Treasure Hunt</i>	Reader in <i>Wizard Story</i>
American accent (NS)	Evelyn	English	25	C	F
British accent (NNS)	Ute	German	27	F	C
Irish accent (NNS)	Lisa	German	24	A	E
Chinese accent (NNS)	Yang	Chinese	23	B	D
Greek accent (NNS)	Alexia	Greek	26	E	B
Italian accent (NNS)	Lucia	Italian	24	D	A

Table 6.4: Background data of the speakers in the listening experiment (LE)

¹⁶⁰ All names are pseudonyms.

The experiment was conducted with both REM student groups in February (REMO8) and March (REMO9) 2010. Owing to REM students' busy schedule at the end of winter term as well as to technical constraints, it was performed in six rounds with small groups of students.¹⁶¹ The experiment lasted about twenty-five minutes and consisted of three parts.

After a short introduction to the procedure with particular emphasis on the requirement of silence and non-interaction, participants started with part one, the "treasure hunt". They were given a response sheet (cf. Appendix A.5) with six copies of a map showing a pirate island and listened to recordings of six speakers giving directions on where to find a treasure on this island (different treasures per speaker).¹⁶² Participants had to draw the speakers' instructions on the map, mark the location of the treasures with a cross and subsequently evaluate the speakers' way of speaking on a semantic differential scale. The speech evaluation referred to the parameters *fluency* (fluent vs. hesitating), *speed of speech* (fast vs. slow), *intelligibility* (clear pronunciation vs. unclear pronunciation) and *difficulty* (directions easy to follow vs. hard to follow).¹⁶³

In the second part of the experiment, the "wizard story", participants listened to the same speakers reading aloud a prose text¹⁶⁴ – this time in a different order – and judged each speaker's personality on a semantic differential. Additionally, they also rated the speakers' acceptability in different social roles on a Likert-type scale and estimated their countries of origin. A total number of 51 students volunteered to participate in the experiment (n=51), 41% thereof are REMO8 students and 59% are REMO9 students.

In part one of the listening experiment, participants performed a map task. If we compare the perceived difficulty in following the speakers' instructions (rating on semantic differential between 'directions easy to follow' and 'directions hard to follow') and the actual task difficulty (analysis of the lines and crosses drawn on the response sheet), we see that students' evaluation of the degree of difficulty in following speakers' instructions corresponds with the actual difficulty, with the only exception that the instructions by the NS Evelyn were perceived slightly less difficult as they actually were (Table 6.5).

¹⁶¹ The experiment was conducted at REM students' regular lecture hall as the students could not be expected to travel to another site in Freiburg only for participating in an experiment. Thus under the given circumstances, the experiment had to be performed with loudspeakers (instead of headphones for each participant). The lecture hall would have been big enough to fit all students at the same time, but a large number of participants would have produced more background noise which would impair the acoustic quality of the experiment. For this reason, it was preferable to perform the experiment with small groups of students.

¹⁶² The speakers were recorded producing spontaneous speech, i.e. they were not reading aloud pre-formulated directions, but instead they were only given a map with a cross representing the treasure and were instructed to explain the way to the treasure in their own words.

¹⁶³ In order to make sure that participants read the items carefully, I changed the orientation of the second item. This way the items on each side of the scale did not match and participants had to make an informed choice.

¹⁶⁴ All speakers read the same text extract (Rowling 1997: 77-78).

	Perceived difficulty (easiest first)	Actual difficulty (easiest first)
I.	Yang (NNS, Chinese accent)	Yang (NNS, Chinese accent)
II.	Ute (NNS, British accent)	Ute (NNS, British accent)
III.	Lisa (NNS, Irish accent)	Lisa (NNS, Irish accent)
IV.	Alexia (NNS, Greek accent)	Alexia (NNS, Greek accent)
V.	Evelyn (NS, American accent)	Lucia (NNS, Italian accent)
VI.	Lucia (NNS, Italian accent)	Evelyn (NS, American accent)

Table 6.5: Comparison of perceived and actual difficulty in the map task (LE)

Table 6.5 also shows that the instructions given by the speaker with a near-native British accent are not only perceived as easy to understand, but they are in fact comparably easy to understand, too, with regard to actual task difficulty (84% of participants were able to follow the instructions of the British English speaker correctly or almost correctly).

By contrast, the instructions by the native speaker with an American accent were hardest to follow for almost all participants. An analysis of a potential correlation between students' familiarity with certain accents and their performance in the map task does not yield significant results. On the contrary, students who I assumed to have little difficulty in following Evelyn's instructions because of their familiarity with the American accent and their belief that American English is easiest to understand (QC results), for the most part performed worse in the map task than their peers. For example, Bernd and Pramod who had been exposed to American English in a native speaker environment for a period of 12 months and longer (QO) were unable to follow Evelyn's directions.¹⁶⁵

In turn, the easiness in following Yang's instructions cannot be attributed to accent familiarity either as almost all students were able to correctly mark the way to Yang's treasure on the map (94% of participants were able to follow them correctly or almost correctly), regardless of their familiarity with the Chinese language or Chinese L1 accent features in English.

In Figure 6.2, we see that Evelyn and Ute are perceived as more comprehensible than Yang, but Yang's instructions are by far considered easiest to follow. Thus, participants clearly distinguish between comprehensibility of instructions (i.e. cognitive comprehension) and comprehensibility of speech (i.e. linguistic comprehension). Nevertheless, we see that the speakers with American and British accents are perceived as speaking most comprehensibly, which corresponds to the results from the questionnaire survey (QC).

¹⁶⁵ To my surprise, some native speaker participants had slightly more difficulties in following Evelyn's instructions than many of their NNS peers. Thus, being a NS of English does not automatically imply least difficulty in understanding native speech.

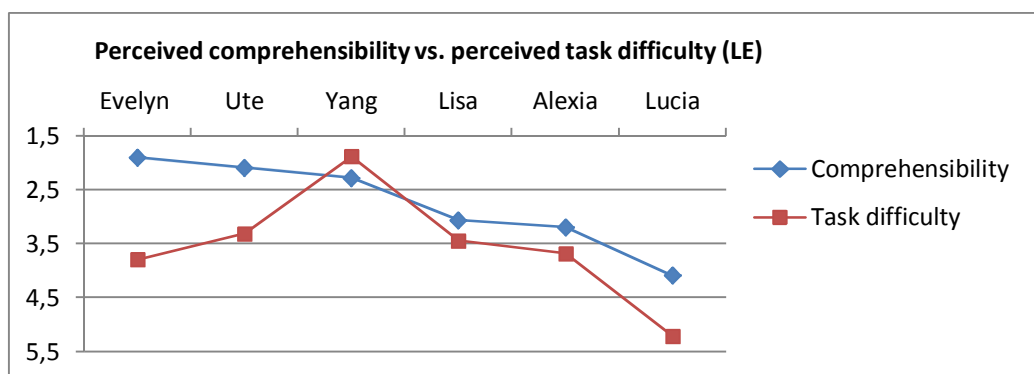


Figure 6.2: REM students' evaluation of comprehensibility and task difficulty (LE)

The linguistic and communicative superiority of the NS is believed to play a significant role in the REM classroom. Native(-like) proficiency in English is believed to entail a 'speed advantage' ("Geschwindigkeitsvorteil", PI Silvan) in reading and writing. Furthermore, (near-)native ways of expressing oneself in speech and writing are supposed to automatically evoke an impression of academic competence, which might eventually result in better grades (197-198).

(197) "[W]enn jemand einfach sehr frei und gut spricht, dann wirkt das tendenziell schon kompetenter und hat vermutlich eher einen **positiven Effekt auf die Note**, [...]" (PI Bernd)

(If someone just speaks very well and without notes, it tends to create a more competent impression and probably has rather positive effects on grading.)

(198) "So it could **make an impression on the examiner** also that 'Okay, he has an in-depth knowledge so that he has expressed it in a good grammatical manner'. Not evr-, I can understand not every, everyone can write it in a good grammatical manner or something like that, but you should at least try to be as close as possible." (PI Shashank)

As a consequence, NS are considered to be linguistically privileged in studying an EMI programme. Nearly 80% of REM09 students are convinced that NS of English have advantages in studying REM (Figure 6.3).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ These results are based on questionnaire data from the REM09 group only (QO, item 30). The respective question was not included in the REM08 questionnaire since the number of NS in that group is very low and I did not want to expose particular students. The question was formulated as an open question, allowing multiple arguments.

Do native speakers of English have advantages in REM?

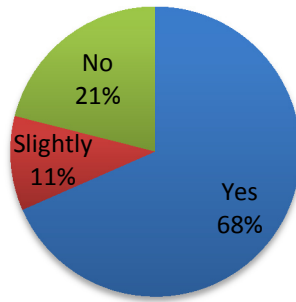


Figure 6.3: Presumed advantages for English native speakers in REM (REMO9 QO, item 30)

The stated reasons why NS supposedly have advantages in the REM programme are summarized in Table 6.6. More than one third of REMO9 students are convinced that NS of English can better understand their REM lecturers and can better follow lectures. As mentioned earlier, NS are also believed to have innate capacities not only to express themselves better, but also to process new information more efficiently and quickly.

n=38	AREA	REASON	N
YES / SLIGHTLY	Listening Comprehension	Better understanding of lectures and lecturers	15
	Speaking Performance	Better expression of their thoughts in speaking	13
	Writing Performance	Better expression of their thoughts in writing	6
	Presentations	More confidence in presenting	4
	Speed	Faster processing of new information	4
	Vocabulary	Better / More vocabulary at hand	3
	Reading Comprehension	Better understanding of new written information	1
NO	Level of English	All students and lecturers speak good English.	3
	Non-native lecturers	The lecturers are non-native speakers and understood by everyone.	2

Table 6.6: Presumed advantages for English native speakers in REM (REMO9 QO, item 30)

The majority of students are convinced that NS are linguistically privileged and perform better than NNS in the REM programme. Only few students believe that NS and NNS have equal chances in studying REM. Since the lecturers are NNS, they are likely to formulate their thoughts in a way that is equally difficult to understand for both NS and NNS (199).

(199) “[T]hey [=the lecturers; SG] don’t have English as a mother tongue, so sometimes the way they pro-, uh express the question it is also a bit uh uh yeah not so clear ((chuckle)), so you have to read and read again and uh I mean this is also even for the ca- uh, in the case of native speaker, I think.” (PI Chen)

6.1.6 *The aesthetic and social appeal of the native speaker*

NS are not only considered to be linguistically and communicatively superior to NNS, but there is also an aesthetic dimension to their superiority. In Chapter 6.1.4, we have seen that the vast majority of REM students like the idea of downloading an imaginary ‘accent plug-in’ that would change their accents (QC). Accents from the British Isles, above all British English, are particularly popular with more than half of the students choosing this option (cf. Chapter 6.1.4, Figure 6.1).

Regarding students’ reasons for their choice, the majority mention aesthetic preferences, less frequently also authoritarian arguments (e.g. “It is the original English”, QC Jimena) and beliefs in versatility and comprehensibility. While American English, the second-most frequently chosen accent, is mostly chosen because of its usefulness for international communication (e.g. “I believe it is the most used in the world and would be easier to communicate well with more people”, QC Andrés), British English seems to be a special auricular delight for many REM students as it is most often described in very expressionistic terms pointing out its aesthetic qualities (cf. Table 6.7).

Reasons for choosing the “British English accent plug-in”
“Because it is classical ” (QC Chen)
“Very cri[s]p and clear and an amazing way of talking English words” (QC Donald)
“Because I like the elaborate style” (QC Silas)
“Because it sounds beautiful and it’s very delicate ” (QC Martín)
“Because it is more poetic and lyric ” (QC Muhammad)
“Because I think it really sounds elegant ” (QC Daniela)
“Because it sounds great and a little noble ” (QC Chao)
“Because it sounds clear and is most easy to understand ” (QC Finn)
“Because the pronunciation of BE is easy to understand ” (QC Bulat)
“Because it is the easiest to understand worldwide” (QC Stefan)

Table 6.7: Selected reasons for the choice of the ‘British accent plug-in’ (QC, item 1)

The range of adjectives used to describe the British English accent resembles descriptions of a piece of art (*delicate*, *beautiful*) or literature (*elaborate*, *poetic*). Apart from the aesthetic dimension, we also see allusions to the social dimension in the use of adjectives that connote with upper social class or aristocracy (*elegant*, *noble*), as well as to the functional dimension (BE described as easiest to understand).

REM lecturers express very similar attitudes towards accents of English. When I asked them which English they find pleasant or unpleasant, all mentioned one of the two major ENL varieties (British English and American English) in the first place with a positive bias towards British English. While American English is described in terms of comprehensibility (“clear”, PI Tanne), British English is perceived as more aesthetic (“noble and melodious”, PI Ahorn). Some also commented on Indian English as being “funny” (PI Ahorn) but also “great fun” (PI Ginster). In brief, we see a similar pattern in REM

lecturers' and students' underlying stereotypes and attitudes towards native accents which is basically the following: American English is useful, British English is tasteful and ESL varieties such as Indian English are amusing.

The implicit social appeal and superiority of the British accent is not only apparent in the QC data, but also in the data from the pilot experiment (LE-pilot) and the listening experiment (LE).

The pilot listening experiment was conducted as matched guise experiment in August 2009 with eight volunteers from the REMO8 group. The focus of this experiment lay on participants' reactions to native English accents in comparison to near-native and non-native English accents. The results proved to be very insightful and motivated the decision to carry out a further listening experiment with a larger number of participants and with modifications in design, procedure and focus.¹⁶⁷

For the pilot experiment, I recorded five female speakers reading aloud a prose text (cf. A.6.2). The speakers included three NS of English (from England, Trinidad and the United States) and two NNS of English (both native speakers of German speaking American- and British-accented English).¹⁶⁸ The NS from England (Speaker B) served as matched guise in this experiment and was recorded twice, once reading aloud the text in her natural way of speaking English, and the second time mimicking a German accent (presented as Speaker E). Thus, participants listened to six different recordings under the assumption that there were six different speakers (Table 6.8).

Speaker ID	Accent	Native Language
A	American accent (NNS)	German
B	British accent (NS)	English
C	British accent (NNS)	German
D	Caribbean accent (NS)	English
E (= B)	*German accent (NS)	English
F	American accent (NS)	English

Table 6.8: Overview of the speakers in the pilot listening experiment (LE-pilot)

The pilot experiment took place in a lecture hall and was conducted simultaneously by all participants. The sequence of stimuli alternated between NNS and NS accents, with twenty seconds pause between each stimulus. In the first part of the experiment, participants listened to the sequence of recordings and judged the speakers' personalities by assigning marks from 1 to 6 on a

¹⁶⁷ Design modifications include speakers of several L1 backgrounds, no matched guise and the addition of a map task. Procedural modifications include asking participants to remain completely silent during the experiment, changing the order of recordings and reducing the duration of silence between recordings. The focus shifted from reactions to native vs. non-native English towards reactions to different types of non-native Englishes.

¹⁶⁸ The five speakers belonged to the age group 25-40 and had been working at the English Department by the time of recording, either as language instructors or as linguistic researchers. Neither of them was acquainted with REM or any of the REMO8 students.

response sheet.¹⁶⁹ Each speaker received a mark for the personality traits *intelligent*, *self-confident*, *reliable*, *good sense of humour* and *popular* (besides others).

In the second part, participants were asked to nominate and rank three speakers for different categories such as highest level of education or preferred English teacher. The volunteer REMO8 participants were four German students and four international students. The matched guise technique worked out well in the sense that participants treated the stimuli B and E as recordings of different speakers and did not recognize the guise. All participants correctly assumed speaker B to be a NS from the UK, but assumed the same speaker, presented to them as speaker E, to be a NNS from Germany, China or 'Scandinavia'. As a consequence, the matched guise received entirely different evaluations in her roles as NS and as mock NNS.

In Figure 6.4 we can see that speakers with a NS accent were judged as more intelligent, more self-confident and more reliable than speakers with a near-native or non-native accent. The matched guise, speaker E, ranked particularly low in all three categories. We can conclude that the more non-native a speaker sounds, the less reliable, intelligent and self-confident he or she is perceived.

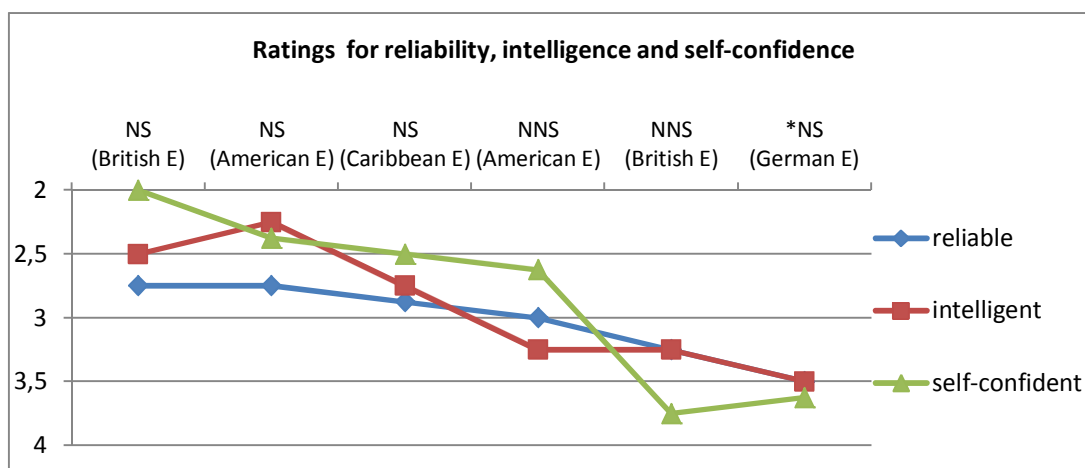


Figure 6.4: REM students' ratings for intelligence, self-confidence and reliability in the pilot listening experiment (LE-pilot)¹⁷⁰

With regard to the ratings for popularity and good sense of humour, we see that a native accent does not automatically lead to a better evaluation as the mean values of ratings are divergent for the native speakers in the experiment (Figure 6.5). A good sense of humour seems to be attributed with transatlantic accents, as the speakers with Caribbean and American accents (NS and NNS) ranked significantly higher than those with British or German accents. The matched

¹⁶⁹ The response sheet also included other elements such as rating features of the speakers' English and guessing where the speakers are from. Since the most significant results are, however, to be found in the participants' rating of speakers' personality traits, other elements will be excluded here.

¹⁷⁰ Values represent mean positions on a scale from one (e.g. most reliable) to six (e.g. least reliable), i.e. the lower the value, the more positive the evaluation.

guise with the German accent ranked lowest in both categories again. Popularity and a good sense of humour are thus not exclusively reserved to NS, but the more non-native a speaker sounds, the less popular and humorous he or she is perceived.

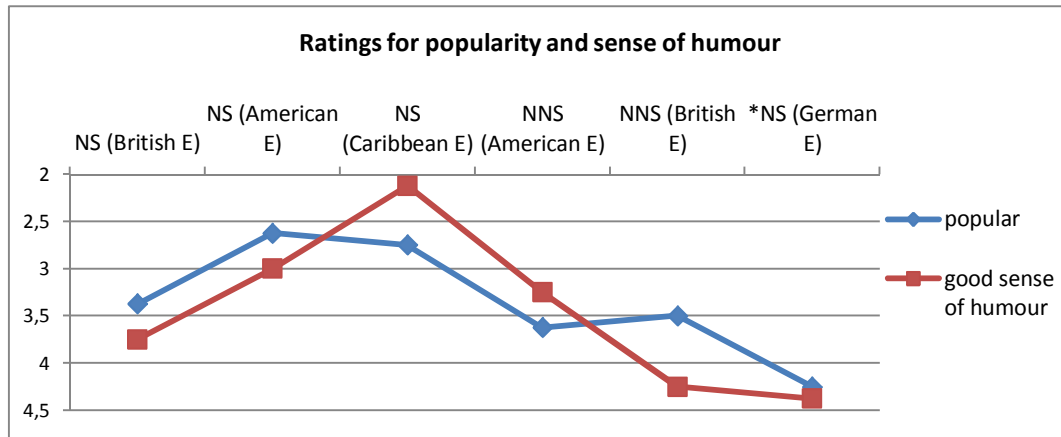


Figure 6.5: REM students' ratings for popularity and good sense of humour in the pilot listening experiment (LE-pilot)

The results from the pilot experiment (LE-pilot) are in line with the results of the listening experiment (LE) conducted six months later with both student groups.¹⁷¹ In the second part of the listening experiment, participants evaluated the social attractiveness of several speakers. If we recall REM students' discourses about native and non-native English (cf. Chapters 6.1.2 to 6.1.5), it is not surprising that the native speaker (Evelyn) and the nearest-to-native speaker (Ute)¹⁷² rank higher than the other speakers in all categories. At the same time, the speaker with the most noticeable L1 accent in her English (Lucia) persistently ranks lowest in all categories (Table 6.9 and Figure 6.6).

Speaker (accent)	Evelyn (NS, American)	Ute (NNS, British)	Lisa (NNS, Irish)	Yang (NNS, Chinese)	Alexia (NNS, Greek)	Lucia (NNS, Italian)
Smart	2.04	2.59	3.02	3.37	3.34	4.24
self-confident	1.94	2.16	3.18	3.69	2.73	4.52
Ambitious	2.00	2.53	4.27	3.59	2.88	3.74
Popular	2.63	2.94	3.43	3.65	3.25	4.12
good sense of humour	2.94	3.18	3.82	3.67	3.76	4.14
Talkative	2.06	2.35	3.29	3.65	3.00	3.62
MEAN	2.27	2.62	3.50	3.60	3.16	4.06

Table 6.9: REM students' evaluation of the social attractiveness of native and non-native English accents (LE)¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ For a full description of the design and procedure of the listening experiment, see Chapter 4.4.10 and Chapter 6.1.5.

¹⁷² In fact, all participants in the experiment believed Ute to be a native speaker of English. Not even native speaker participants recognized her as non-native speaker.

¹⁷³ The numbers represent average positions on a scale from one (smartest) to six (simplest), i.e. the lower the number, the higher the position on the scale.

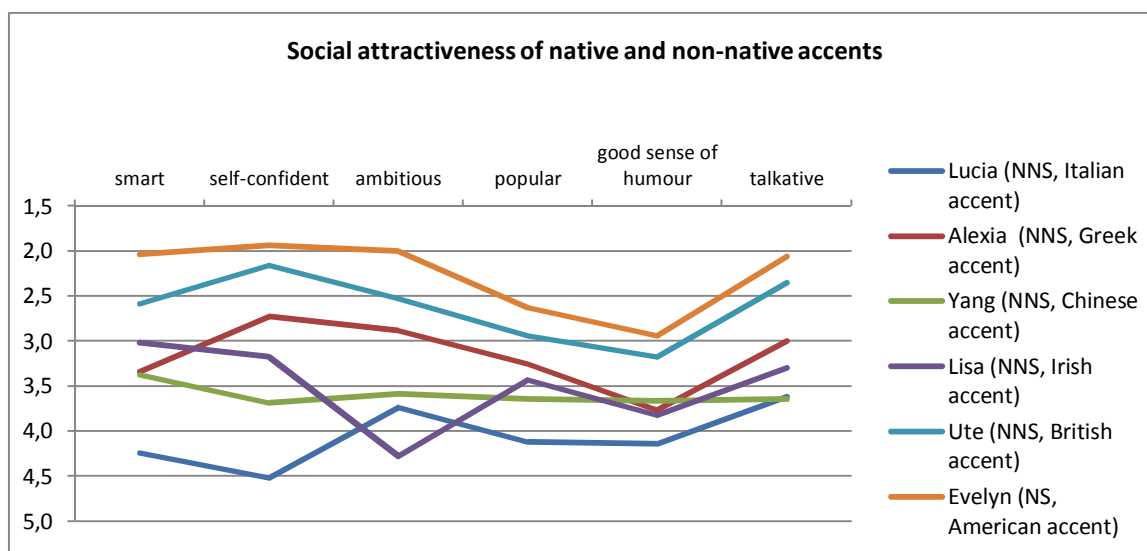


Figure 6.6: REM students' evaluation of the social attractiveness of native and non-native English accents (LE, part two)

REM students' ratings of the speakers' acceptability in different social roles, i.e. as English teacher, as their boss or colleague and as companion to a private party, are very similar to these results (Figure 6.7). Again, the speakers with a native and nearest-to-native accent rank highest for all roles, Evelyn being first choice as teacher, boss, colleague and party companion, followed by Ute. Furthermore, in Figure 6.7 we see that speakers with non-native accents are more acceptable as party companions and colleagues than as bosses and English teachers. In other words, preference patterns vary with regard to social power. While the preference of native over non-native speakers in roles at the same social hierarchy level (colleague, party companion) is only minor, there is a strong dislike of non-native speakers in socially powerful positions (English teacher, boss).

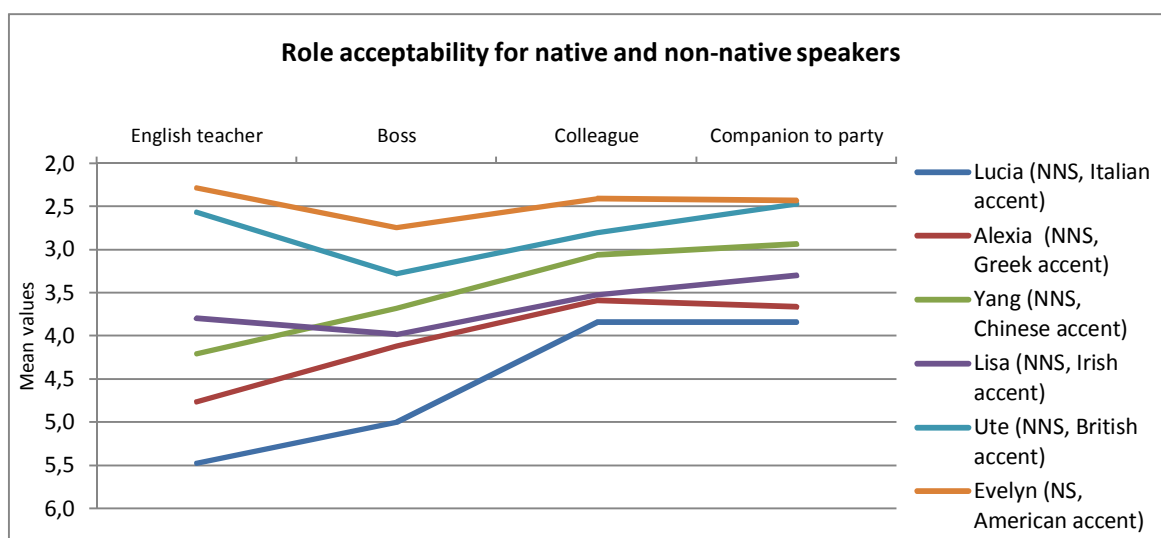


Figure 6.7: REM students' evaluation of the social role acceptability of native and non-native English speakers (LE, part two)

If we triangulate these results with the perceived social attractiveness and communicative superiority of native speakers, we can conclude that (near-)native speakers are strongly preferred in socially powerful positions as they are believed to be socially and communicatively more competent than non-native speakers. This partly explains why REM students hold particularly negative attitudes towards their non-native REM lecturers (see also Chapter 6.3).

6.2 The native speaker in REM

In the previous chapter we have seen that REM students have strongly positive attitudes towards the NS, ascribing the NS linguistic, communicative, aesthetic and social superiority in contrast to the NNS. We can assume that these attitudes have considerable impact on the social dynamics in the REM community. The following subchapters address the role of NS norms and the role of NS student participants in REM.

6.2.1 *The role of native speaker norms in REM*

As discussed in chapter 6.1.5, the NS is perceived as norm-providing authority and thus as linguistically privileged. Native speaker students are thus believed to have advantages in studying REM as they could easier follow lectures which eventually leads to a better academic performance. Some students suspect their lecturers to be biased and to indirectly evaluate students' language skills in assessment ("Implicitly, they [...] evaluate the communication skills, I guess", PI Manel). This suspicion is not farfetched, as assessment and grading in EMI are indeed a challenge for lecturers. Several REM lecturers admit that assessment in EMI is difficult because of the risk of confusing linguistic competence with academic competence (200-201). When asked whether REM students' English language competence correlates with their learning outcome (i.e. with the grades they achieved), REM lecturers affirm that there is no such correlation. They are however aware of potential bias in assessing students' performance as impeccable English may mislead the lecturer to giving better grades than appropriate:

(200) "[I]ch denke, die sprachlich sehr kompetent sind, haben natürlich ein, haben's einfacher, Sinn äh, also vom Sinn her Dinge zu verstehen, also **muss man als Dozent da auch sehr vorsichtig sein**, dass man nicht jemand nach der Sprachkompetenz beurteilt." (PI Tanne)
(I think for those who are linguistically very competent it is naturally easier to understand things, so as lecturer you need to be very careful to not judge someone on language competence.)

- (201) “[D]a fällt man manchmal ein bisschen drauf rein. Obwohl man nur Fachliches bewerten möchte, fachliche Kompetenz, äh, oder abfragen möchte, ähm, spielt natürlich die sprachliche Ausdrucksfähigkeit auch ‘ne Rolle und man bewertet das dann tendenziell auch höher.“ (PI Buche)
(You sometimes fall a bit into this trap. Although you only want to judge subject-specific competence, uh, or test it, uhm, the ability to elaborate also plays a role and you then tend to also give them better grades.)

Dr. Eiche admits that he tends to be positively biased towards Anglophone and European students due to his own affinity towards their (academic) cultures (PI Eiche). Yet, students with less proficiency in English can still impress the lecturer and receive good grades because high motivation on the part of the student can compensate linguistic deficiencies (202).

- (202) “Wobei’s jetzt auch Leute gab, die unheimlich motiviert waren und dann **mit ihrer Motivation diese sprachlichen Defizite auch kompensieren konnten.** [...] wenn ich sehe, dass jemand echt inhaltlich verstanden hat, worum es geht, und das aber sprachlich nicht so eloquent und so versiert wiedergeben kann, wie jemand der fließend Englisch spricht oder Muttersprachler ist, dann nehm ich da natürlich Rücksicht drauf, mach da keine Punktabzüge, also.“ (PI Ahorn)
(Although there were also people who were extremely motivated and were able to compensate linguistic deficits with their motivation. [...] if I see that someone has really grasped what it is about but cannot render it as eloquently and well-versed as someone who speaks English fluently or is a native speaker, then of course I consider that and do not deduct any points.)

The description of Dr. Ahorn’s assessment practice corresponds with students’ impression of assessment in REM. Lecturers accept imperfect English and incomplete sentences (bullet points) in written exams, which for some even feels like demanding too little from their students (203).

- (203) “[A]ctually **the teachers, they are relatively accepting of poor communication in English.** Not poor communication but more uh, the grammar doesn’t have to be perfect and they’re grading on the content and sort of the buzz words that they are looking for. In that way I would give a critique that, that buzz words are not the reflection of your understanding of the information and then, you don’t need grammatical correctness to communicate ideas, but its oftentimes that these words, these words are what they are looking for and they are not looking for the big concepts behind it.” (PI Naomi)

When I asked REM lecturers whether they gave students feedback on their language use or even assessed it, I mainly received apologetic reactions (204-205). NNS lecturers are believed to be disqualified from assessing language use by default.

- (204) “[W]eil du als Nicht-*native speaker* natürlich du auch Grenzen hast [...]. Und natürlich, ich kann nicht, **da müsst ich *native oder richtig richtig perfekt in Englisch sein*** [...]“ (PI Eiche)
(Because as non-native speaker you are naturally limited [...]. And of course, I cannot, I would have to be a native speaker or be really really perfect in English.)
- (205) “[W]ürde ich mir’s nicht zutrauen, weil ich kein sehr gutes Englisch hab, ähm, ja, und **ich bin ja kein *native speaker***, also da kann ich auch kein sehr gutes Englisch haben.“ (PI Ginster)
(I would not dare to do that because my English is not very good, uhm, yeah, and I am not a native speaker, so my English simply cannot be very good.)

Even though most REM lecturers claim to generally ignore erroneous or unclear language use and to only focus on content when assessing students’ performance (PI Tanne, Kiefer, Ahorn, Ginster), several lecturers do in fact evaluate students’ linguistic performance. Their linguistic assessment is not explicit in form of separate comments or a separate grade for language use, but rather implicit.

Interestingly, none of the lecturers who admit evaluating language use specifies their language assessment criteria. Instead these are only defined by vague qualitative descriptions and it seems that these lecturers are not entirely aware of the high degree of subjectivity and bias in their assessment. Dr. Birke looks for ‘good English in terms of complete sentences and a low number of errors’ (“dass es ein gutes Englisch ist im Sinne von ähm ganze Sätze, nicht so viele Fehler drin”, PI Birke) and Dr. Eiche checks student writing for grammatical and orthographic errors and ‘adequate style’ (PI Eiche).¹⁷⁴ In the evaluation of oral presentations in Dr. Ulme’s class, language use does not play a major role, but may become a decisive criterion in distinguishing between grade 1 (= excellent performance) and grade 2 (=good performance) or lower (206). Dr. Ulme does, however, not specify what precisely defines a presentation that ‘comes across as bad’.

- (206) “[W]enn das irgendwie sprachlich schlecht rüberkommt, dann ist das einfach nicht, nicht exzellent, ja, dann ist es okay, aber, also ‘ne, ‘ne Eins ist damit eigentlich nicht zu holen [...]” (PI Ulme).
(If it somehow comes across as linguistically bad, then it just isn’t excellent, yeah, then it is okay, but, but, a grade 1 cannot be achieved with that.)

Dr. Espe is the only lecturer who gives explicit language feedback. Assessment in his class is done by means of written reports on a group work

¹⁷⁴ Dr. Eiche emphasizes that he only evaluates whether the style is ‘adequate’, but does not distinguish between ‘excellent’ or moderate style (“So-la-la-ganz-gut-Stil”, PI Eiche). In his opinion, students in non-philological EMI programmes are not required to produce academic texts at an ‘excellent level’, but a ‘good level’ of English is sufficient. However, he does not specify what he means by adequate style and good level of English.

task (groups of 4-6 students writing joint reports). When students submit their reports at the first due date, Dr. Espe applies a complex correction scheme comprising various colours, edits students' reports and gives them back for revision. This procedure is repeated as many times as necessary, i.e. until students have incorporated all suggested changes to meet his expectations. After the final round of revisions in REM09 he wrote an e-mail to REM students vindicating his assessment policy and emphasising the importance of correctness (207).

(207) "You certainly were surprised that we had 3 rounds of corrections in most cases. This could be foreseen by me since it took 3 to 4 rounds last year (But you were on the average better in English). [...] You want to be or become a master in the field chosen. Thus there should be no mistakes or misunderstandable things left in final versions, although nobody is perfect and I cannot guarantee, that I found all that should have been corrected, for reasons of working time running out." (EC Espe)

Dr. Espe comments on REM students' general language proficiency (REM09 being judged as more proficient than REM08) and even apologizes for not having been able to spot all mistakes due to time constraints. In this sense, he is a rare exception among REM lecturers as he does not call the legitimization of his language assessment into question like most of the other lecturers do. What he does however have in common with all other REM lecturers is the lack of specification of the applied language assessment criteria. As his own English displays various deviances from standard norms, lexically (e.g. "misunderstandable") as well as grammatically (e.g. word order "in the field chosen"), it would seem paradoxical if his criteria were based on a NS benchmark and standard reference grammars and dictionaries.

I generally assume that REM lecturers' language assessment criteria are chiefly based on introspection. There is thus an apparent contradiction in the way how NNS lecturers perceive themselves (i.e. as deficient and disqualified from language assessment) and in the way how they behave (i.e. actually assessing students' linguistic performance, implicitly or explicitly).

Native speaker norms, however, play a minor role in assessment as none of the lecturers report on actually checking back in reference grammars or explicitly downgrading students' performance in cases of deviances from standard norms.

6.2.2 *The role of native speaker participants in REM*

The convenience and benefit of having four native speaker peers in the group is frequently emphasised by REM09 students, not only in the personal interviews (PI), but also in informal conversations (PO, PC).¹⁷⁵ Native speaker students

¹⁷⁵ REM08 students in contrast rather lament about the absence of further native speakers in their group.

serve as linguistic role models for non-native speakers in the REM classroom. The most frequent function of NS students is that of human dictionary which is consulted when NNS are looking for particular words or expressions (208-210).

- (208) “[S]ometimes the students look for the proper words and then kind of you’re the **walking-talking thesaurus** for them.” (PI Naomi)
- (209) “If I have any doubt, I uh, and I’m talking with a English uh native speaker, so I just **ask him or her how to say it correctly** or, if he, he, he or she, got the what I want to say, how you would really say it in, in English words.” (PI Máximo)
- (210) “[S]ometimes we, we ask them like ‘How do you say that?’ and you try to explain and they say the word. And it’s like kind of helpful to have them there [...]. They, **they make things easier.**” (PI Daniela)

A further role of NS students in the REM classroom is their default function as editors and proof-readers. NS are believed to have authority over language use and are thus considered ideal proof-readers for written assignments (211-213). The native speakers themselves sometimes feel overwhelmed by their peers’ queries, as for example Cai, who began to reduce her services (214).

- (211) “[I]n class, you’re always, if you’re a native English speaker, **you’re always the editor.** The people ((chuckle)), everybody always like asks you to, to review work [...].” (PI Naomi)
- (212) “Well, normally, what we do as, well, as students, we all, we try to, I mean, if we have someone to edit our document and we all will go to a native speaker.” (PI Francisco)
- (213) “[W]hen you write something I think it’s always good to have some natives that they can have a look because they can be sure that it’s really written in a perfect way.” (PI Derya)
- (214) “I’ve tried to limit it a lot [...], and I don’t want to be the person who has to read every single report and check it.” (PI Cai)

A third role of NS students in REM is being language coach and training partner for non-native speakers (215). The latter particularly seek conversations with NS if they want to train and improve their language skills.

- (215) “[**I]f I want to improve, I speak with native speakers** and I ask them about some words or about some sentences [...].” (PI Gavrilis)

NNS do not only seek improvement of their English by explicitly asking NS peers for feedback on their language use, but they also learn implicitly through mimicking their NS language use. This is for example evident in the spread of the greeting formula *cheers* in REM08 students’ e-mails. While *cheers* was moderately popular at the beginning of the REM course and almost exclusively

used by the native speaker Muiris, its use exceptionally increased over the course of six months, both in terms of frequency and number of NNS users (cf. Chapter 5.3.3).

In sum, NS students function as linguistic resources, coaches and role models for NNS students in REM. Their participation in REM is not only considered beneficial, but also indispensable.

In the overt questionnaire (QO) as well as in personal interviews (PI), many students stated that NS are privileged in REM (cf. Chapter 6.1.5). I therefore asked them whether they believed it fair to have NS in their REM group and whether it would not be more reasonable to exclude them. I unanimously received strong reactions against my suggestion with various students raising their voice and spontaneously shouting out ‘No!’. While most explained their reactions with the functionality of NS to their benefit, some even believed that the presence of a native speaker authority was indispensable for lingua franca interaction (216).

- (216) “[A]ctually they help us a lot with uh, when doing these translations between German to uh uh English, is uh, if they say so, like uh how the, the translation should be uh yeah, we all believe them and it, that’s like our uh, **our proof to keep going. So there’s nothing else.** Otherwise it will be the story of never ending. I, like, with so many opinions like how English should be like, it’s better to have native speakers.” (PI Jimena)

Native speaker students are not only linguistic authorities for REM students, but also for REM lecturers. On uncountable occasions I observed REM lecturers seeking non-verbal approval from NS students by continuously monitoring their facial expressions during lectures (PO). Occasionally, lecturers explicitly ask the native speakers for feedback on their language use (217).

- (217) “It’s funny because uh there are some teachers, I’d say maybe sixty percent of the teachers, well, besides the fact that I sit in the front, they know that I’m an English speaker, they can hear my clear uh American accent and they look to me to see if I’m, if they’re saying the words right or, if they don’t completely know how to say something, they look to me and they’ll, they’ll say ‘Oh, this word or this, what, is this what I’m trying to explain?’ and I never experienced anything like this. They, **they really do** uhm **want** the, the **guiding support** of somebody that they, that can speak.” (PI Naomi)

Besides linguistic authority, NS students also tend to have social authority in REM, as both groups elected a NS as one of their two class representatives.

The native speakers themselves are aware of their special role in REM and also perceive themselves as linguistic authorities. This was already evident in the very beginning of my observations in the REM09 group. Joy initially questioned whether her participation in my research project would make sense as native speaker (218), and Naomi explained that she was willing to participate

because she felt that, despite being a NS, ELF use had an impact on her way of speaking (219).

- (218) Right after my project presentation in REM09, Joy takes me aside and says that unfortunately she cannot participate in my project because she is a native speaker of English. I tell her that it does not matter whether she is a NS or not. However, she maintains that English is her mother tongue and it would not make sense to include her in collecting data on lingua franca use in the EMI classroom, so I explain my working definition of lingua franca interaction (i.e. that it includes both NS and NNS participants and that the focus is on interaction and not necessarily on the NS-NNS-distinction). Eventually she agrees to participate. (PO, Oct 2009).
- (219) In the lecture break after my project presentation, Naomi comes over to me and explains to me that English is her mother tongue but as she realises that she is using English differently now in communication with so many non-native speakers, she is willing to participate in my project. (PO, Oct 2009).

Colin is very aware of his linguistic authority in REM, which is apparent in his lay linguistic analyses of his peers' linguistic performance (220) and in his assumption that as native speaker he is the only suitable editor for written group reports (221).

- (220) "Sayyid speaks with an accent, but he articulates well and generally speaks very clearly. The problem with understanding him is that he actually speaks TOO FAST! I have found that this may be related to his nervousness, since he tends to speak quickly during presentations, however, outside of class, when relaxed, he is much easier to understand. I should note that he has relaxed significantly during recent presentations, and now speaks both clearly and at a reasonable pace."(QO Colin)
- (221) "And uhm, just the way they're, some of the group projects have been structured, I've been the editor 'cause I know like, okay, I'm the, **I'm the only native speaker, I should edit it.**" (PI Colin)

What is more, some of the native speakers do not only analyse or support their NNS peers when they have questions on English language use, but they are also proactive in pointing them to non-native usage in their speech and writing (222-223).

- (222) REM09 students arrange a student-organized lecture series in their spare time where students take turns in presenting their home countries. When Máximo is about to start his presentation, Naomi points him to an orthographic error on the first slide (the word *always* being spelt as *allways*).¹⁷⁶ (PO, Nov 2009)
- (223) “These mistakes, it’s easy just to say nothing, but uhm I mean, why not just say something? They really appreciate it and often I think they really will pay attention because yeah. Yeah.” (PI Colin)

Fulfilling the role of linguistic authority and permanent editor is both demanding and rewarding at the same time. While proofreading and editing written documents is time-consuming and exhausting (“[...] a couple of these projects, it has been completely unfair the workload”, PI Colin), feedback on oral performance in turn is rewarding and makes the NS ‘feel good’ because NNS are very grateful to the NS for their help (224).

- (224) “[...] I actually try to do that as much as I can, especially for a few of my friends. Uhm, I know some that, the Germans who are pretty much fluent, they never get any correction anymore, so if they mis-, misuse a word here or there, I try and tell them, and I know they, they actually tell me ‘Oh, thank you, no one ever corrects me anymore!’. And like, it’s just tiny things, or uhm... this other guy, Máximo, [...] I know he appreciates it like, when he’s like, the grammar, little grammar mistakes or using words incorrectly, [...], and I’m like ‘Okay, yeah, say it like this’ and he’s like ‘Oh, thanks so much, man!’, like ‘I really appreciate this’ and that **makes me feel good**[...]” (PI Colin)

In sum, we see that the NS participants in REM do not only have special functions in the EMI community, but they partly also perform these functions proactively and with pleasure.

6.2.3 *Wishful thinking and EMI reality: Balanced schizophrenia in attitudes towards (N)NS*

Taking all findings from the previous sections in this chapter into consideration, the picture we get is rather depressing. Native speakers are considered linguistically and socially superior to non-native speakers, and native speaker status is a birth right and can never be achieved by non-native speakers, despite all efforts. At the same time, non-native speakers are considered careless and lacking motivation if they do not strive for getting as close as possible to the native speaker ideal. Evidence of these attitudes is not restricted to a certain data set or particular participants, but can be found across data sets and participants.

¹⁷⁶ From conversations with Máximo I know that he is very concerned with correctness and his general English language proficiency and appreciates this kind of native speaker correction (PC).

In light of these strong attitudes, there seems to be little hope for EMI to be acknowledged as learning environment of equal value as studying in a native speaker immersion setting and/or being taught by native speaker lecturers.

Yet, there is no need to despair for REM programme direction and management and for non-native REM lecturers. Although REM students display very critical attitudes towards non-native speakers in general and non-native lecturers in particular, there is a certain degree of schizophrenia in their attitudes. What REM students think does not necessarily correspond with how they behave in REM. For example, in her interview, Derya first emphasizes the benefit of having native speakers at hand who can proofread non-native writing (225). A few seconds later she admits that she never asked any of the NS in her class to do so, and she also disbelieves that her peers would request NS assistance. She eventually reasons that correctness does not matter much in the EMI classroom.

- (225) SG: Would you say it would be easier if there weren't any native speakers?
 Derya: NO!¹⁷⁷
 SG: Okay.
 Derya: I don't, NO, it's, I don't think so. I think it's good to have them because sometimes when you write something I think **it's always good to have some natives** that they can have a look because they can be sure that it's really written in a perfect way. [...]
 SG: Do you sometimes ask them to, to have a look at what you wrote or something?
 Derya: Actually I don't ask. No-no.
 SG: But do other people do that?
 Derya: No, but, for example, if we, uhm, uh, I don't know, I don't ask, but I think I would ask if I was make-, if I was writing a report with them, I think it would be nice if they have a look at the end or something. I mean, **I would just think that but I never really practically needed that.** I didn't need it, but (3.0). Yeah. (2.0) **I think it doesn't matter so much.** I mean at the end, yeah, we're all speaking English good or bad, hu-hu-hu, at the end we understand each other in a way.
 (PI Derya)

We thus see that it makes a difference for students whether they refer to native and non-native speakers in general or to their REM community in particular. We also see that beliefs do not necessarily have an application in practice, in the same way as most people would happily embrace a one million dollar lottery pay-out, but can live happily ever after without one.

REM students' ambitions with regard to their language use can be similarly contradictory. Andrés reports having contradictory feelings towards his way of speaking English (226). For professional purposes, he is striving for

¹⁷⁷ Pronounced with emphasis, indicating objection.

improvement with native-like proficiency as ultimate goal, but for private purposes he actually likes displaying his non-native identity. He resumes that his 'mind is divided' and is conscious of the schizophrenia in his attitudes towards non-native English.

- (226) “I guess it depends on the situation, but for my profession, for my work, I wanted to be the best possible, the, uh, with friends and stuff and, you, you, it's not that important for me. But for my education and for, for when I am working, for when I am doing a presentation, when I am writing a report, then **I want people to see that I really dominate the language**, that, uhm, like I can, I can completely communicate all the words that I want, they don't have to be putting like a puzzle together. It's, it's, it's more of that for, for that side, like my, my professional life. For hanging out with people and uh, you know, here it's very international and knowing people from other places **it's cool that you have your accent** and stuff and the people can recognize you. So I guess I have my, my mind divided into what when I want to be a really good English speaker and when I don't care too much. I don't know, but definitely for my professional life, I definitely prioritise having good English performance and everything. Yeah.” (PI Andrés)

We see here that the acceptability of non-native English depends on the degree of formality of the interaction and on how high the stakes are. In informal interaction with peers, a NNS identity as expressed through L1-based features is highly acceptable, but in a professional context, i.e. in high stakes interaction, it is preferable to follow the native speaker ideal.

There are several other instances of schizophrenic attitudes towards the NS or towards ELF use which means that REM students do not generally reject their non-native identities or despise non-native speech. On the attitudinal level, they often display strongly positive attitudes towards the native speaker ideal, but on the behavioural level, they do in fact come to terms with the lingua franca reality in EMI. Thus there is no evidence for cognitive dissonance in REM, but we rather find a kind of integrated or balanced schizophrenia. REM students do actually distinguish between favourable and realistic options in the given context, as we shall see in the following section.

6.2.4 *Wishful thinking and EMI reality: Flexibility and pragmatic views of EMI lecturers*

For REM students, the EMI glass is both half empty and half full at the same time. Owing to their balanced schizophrenia as explained in Chapter 6.2.3, they do not only see disadvantages in being taught by native speakers, but they also show empathy and acknowledge the specific circumstances of EMI in a NNS environment and even recognize positive sides to it. In other words, they distinguish between wishful thinking and the given reality and hold pragmatic views towards EMI.

Various students emphasise that REM is not a language course and thus correctness and native-like proficiency are not of major importance (“[I]t’s just a by-product of this education, not the core of it”, PI Adriana). Instead fluency and being able to express one’s thoughts is far more important for interaction in REM than speaking grammatically correct or with a native-like accent (227-229).

- (227) “[O]ften when I speak, I also think after I finished the sentence ‘Oh, this was actually wrong, grammatically!’, but then I don’t correct it because it’s, it disturbs the flow of the conversation.” (PI Knut)
- (228) “As far as the people understand, I would like, **I would prefer to be clear and fluent than speak with a perfect English accent.**” (PI Manel)
- (229) “Well, I think the goal is to give your thoughts clear, give your thoughts uh, or if you cannot give the thought clear, find the way to give the thoughts, more than having a perfect pronunciation. It’s like a plus, you know, because if you can speak properly and have a nice pronunciation, well, it’s, it’s nicer, but if you can give your thoughts and, and make things clear, that’s I think that’s the most important thing you have to know.” (PI Martín)

With regard to their non-native lecturers, REM students are conscious of the gap between their wishful thinking and their EMI reality. The specific linguistic environment of REM, i.e. English-medium instruction in an otherwise monolingual German environment, demands tolerance and flexibility. Imperfect language use on the part of lecturers simply needs to be taken for granted in EMI programmes in non-native speaker countries (230-232).

- (230) “And of course we have to keep in mind that this is not an English speaking country, so you would have, you know, different levels mostly. So I think everybody has this thing in mind, **this flexibility to accept less than perfect.** And so nobody really called out to complain too much, you know.” (PI Dhiraj)
- (231) “Ich glaub **man muss einfach damit leben**, dass äh, wie der Standard unterschiedlich ist und äh, naja, ich mein, sonst müsste man immer Leute finden, die richtig richtig richtig gutes Englisch, und das ist schwierig und das ist unpraktisch und unrealistisch wahrscheinlich.” (PI Muiris)
(I think you just have to cope with the fact that the standard is different and uh well, I mean, otherwise you would always have to find people who speak English really really really well and this is difficult and this is probably impractical and unrealistic.)
- (232) “[...] like for all of us, it’s like a little bit annoying maybe that the profe-, uh, we have to uh worry to trans-, translate during class. But yeah, uh, I guess it’s one of the uhm problems that you have to face in a English uh Master’s in Germany.” (PI Jimena)

Besides the monolingual local environment, REM students assume further reasons why their lecturers are not as linguistically competent as they wish them to be. Linguistic deficiencies are believed to be the result of lecturers' language learning biographies and age now simply impedes improvement of language skills (233-235).

(233) “[I]t’s not their native language and uh some of them didn’t learn English since they were young. They just learned it probably when they were working because they had to or, you know. You don’t know the **circumstances under which they learned English.**” (PI Mario)

(234) “[T]hey are **in an age** that you don’t really uh can get better easily [...]” (PI Gavrilis)

(235) “[D]ie Älteren, denen kann man ja jetzt nicht mehr angewöhnen, dass sie besser Englisch reden, nicht möglich.” (PI Finn)
(*The older lecturers, you cannot accustom them anymore to speaking better English, impossible.*)

Being taught in English by non-native speakers is not only perceived as hindrance or threat to one’s own language proficiency, but can also bring about advantages for students. If there were only native lecturers, lecture comprehension could be more difficult because NS are believed to speak faster and to use more uncommon, specialised vocabulary than NNS do (236).

Furthermore, lecturers’ non-native proficiency in English can potentially enhance lecture comprehension because NNS lecturers are supposed to compensate linguistic deficiencies by other means such as paraphrases and repetitions which they probably would not use as excessively in native language instruction (237).

(236) “[W]enn das jetzt nur *native speakers* wären, die alle vielleicht noch schneller reden würden und einfach noch **komplexeres Vokabular** benutzen würden, dann wär es vielleicht schwerer.“ (PI Stefan)
(*If there were only native speakers, who maybe even spoke faster and used more complex vocabulary, then it might be more difficult.*)

(237) Martín: “[T]he professors, well, uhm, they don’t speak very uhm, they don’t speak English well, many, so uhm, it’s easier for you because **they have to use other instruments to make things clear** and, and, so it has been...”

SG: “Can you specify what you mean with other instruments?”

Martín: “Yes. Yeah, I don’t know, they have to make the, go around the idea because they, normally they don’t find the right words ((chuckle)), so, so even that makes uh, I think, uhm, even easier the, the English uh transmission of, of uh, of a class because **they have to repeat the idea several times** until they find the right way.” (PI Martín)

What is more, lecturers who candidly admit awareness of their limited proficiency in English (as for example Professor Tanne does; cf. Chapter 5.4.3) implicitly boost students' confidence, which encourages specifically those with self-attested low proficiency to contribute to classroom discussions without feeling anxious (238).

(238) “[T]hey don’t feel also like, like they are perfect in English so you feel the, the, now, the confidence or the, the confi-, confidence for, of yourself and then you ask and it’s not a problem.” (PI Daniela)

Being taught by non-native lecturers can also be seen as linguistic training for future lingua franca interaction in professional contexts. Since many students aspire to work in an international setting (e.g. in multinational organizations or in companies doing business with international customers), they will routinely have to use English as a lingua franca. Getting used to the challenges of ELF interaction in a protected environment¹⁷⁸ is thus considered a valuable training opportunity for career purposes (239).

(239) “[S]ince they have these limited language capabilities, it's uhm, it's different. I don't, I cannot say if it's good or bad, but it's different. It's another experience, like **maybe this is what the real world is** when you have to deal with people who have to talk in English and they don't have the complete knowledge of the language. I don't know, that will be the future, so it's a very interesting uh experience also to have this opportunity.” (PI Martín)

Last but not least, REM students unanimously agree that language skills do of course matter in EMI, but for being a good EMI lecturer, pedagogic and didactic skills are by far more important (“it’s not just about knowing the language and not just about knowing the content, but there are certain teaching skills”, PI Dan). Native-like language proficiency is considered beneficial (by some students even a necessary precondition), but it does not automatically make a good EMI lecturer. In turn, lecturers with lower language eproficiency can still be good EMI lecturers if they come to terms with their proficiency level and make the most of it (240).

(240) “Dozent ist nicht einfach deswegen ein guter Dozent, weil er gut Englisch spricht. Also wir haben Dozenten gehabt, die jetzt sehr mangelhaft, oder nicht mangelhaft, aber doch eher träge Englisch gesprochen haben, da hast du aber am Ende trotzdem gedacht ‘Ja, war ich jetzt echt, der bringt’s halt rüber, ‘ne? Der braucht halt ‘n bisschen länger, aber du kriegst es raus und er spricht sich, also, macht halt **einfache, aber klare Sätze und das dann, bringt’s rüber**.[...] [Dr. Espe] hat zum Beispiel, der hat jetzt kein brillantes Englisch, aber er hat einfach ruhig

¹⁷⁸ *Protected* in the sense that miscommunication does not pose an existential threat to students. Miscommunication in EMI if at all leads to lower study achievement, which is unfortunate on a personal level, but does not have as negative consequences as in a professional setting, where low achievement might eventually even lead to unemployment.

und langsam das erklärt, mit den Worten, die er hatte und das war absolut okay, hatten auch alle gesagt.“ (PI Silvan)
(A lecturer is not necessarily a good lecturer simply because he speaks English well. We had lecturers who spoke English very insufficiently, or not insufficiently, but rather ponderously, but eventually you thought nevertheless ‘Yeah, I was really, he knows how to get his message across, doesn’t he? It just takes him a bit longer, but you get it and he speaks, well he uses simple but clear sentences and that helps getting the message across. [...] [Dr. Espe], for example, does not speak brilliant English, but he just explained it calmly and slowly with the words he had and that was absolutely okay, as everyone confirmed.)

For REM students, teaching success chiefly depends on factors unrelated to language. Besides enthusiasm for a topic (“[I]f he is really involved and he knows about a topic then he will find a way to, to explain it to us”, PI Patricio), pedagogic and especially didactic skills are considered of prime importance.

When asked which lecturer they found particularly good, the majority of REM students mentioned Dr. Ahorn as best lecturer. While few explained his nomination by his high language proficiency, the majority was rather impressed by the didactic structure of his module which included various group work tasks and culminated in a sophisticated role play (cf. Chapter 7.4). His sensitivity towards intercultural challenges in the REM classroom is clearly reflected in the didactic concept and highly appreciated by REM students (PI Sayyid).

Various students stress that they benefit most from interactive lectures, i.e. lectures which are less lecturer-centred and include more discussions and student-oriented activities, as these lead to better study achievement (PI Nishant). Pedagogic and especially classroom management skills (i.e. catching and channelling students’ attention, dealing with unforeseen interruptions etc.) can even overrule linguistic deficiencies (241).

(241) “I like Mr Fichte’s English after all. He’s not so good but I ((chuckle)) I, I, maybe he’s more used to teach than others and then I. But it’s maybe that he can get your attention in a better way than.” (PI Patricio)

To conclude, REM students do not only hold negative views towards non-native English in general and their non-native lecturers in particular. They are clearly aware of the special circumstances of EMI and acknowledge their lecturers’ efforts to come to terms with the challenges related to teaching in a non-native language. Above all, pedagogic and didactic skills are considered far more important for EMI than NS-like language skills as the former can easily compensate or even overrule linguistic deficiencies.

6.3 Looking beyond REM: The role of the native speaker in EMI

The previous sections in this chapter described recurrent discourses about the native speaker and its role as linguistic role model (both as abstract ideal and as concrete interlocutor) in the REM environment. Non-native language proficiency is considered disadvantageous with students and despised with lecturers, although at the same time there are also pragmatic views towards the special EMI context which allow concessions towards lecturers' English. Critics could argue that these findings are exceptional and peculiar to the REM case study. We can take for granted that the sociolinguistic and structural make-up of EMI programmes varies case-by-case, especially with regard to the diversity of first languages and the NS:NNS ratio among students and lecturers. Nevertheless, native speaker norms and ideals are implicitly relevant in any EMI programme.¹⁷⁹ In the following I will explain why the REM case study findings could have also been found in any other EMI programme, at least in Germany.

Native speaker norms are already relevant in the application and admission process. EMI programmes usually have restricted access, i.e. students cannot simply enrol but have to specifically apply to the programme and conform to given admission criteria, which commonly include linguistic criteria. Despite individual variation in entry levels benchmarks, linguistic admission criteria are usually based on native speaker norms, i.e. on standardized language test like the IELTS or TOEFL where the test-taker's proficiency is measured against native speakers norms (cf. Chapters 2.3.4 and 8.3). Many NNS invest considerable time and energy in order to reach the required benchmark and specifically prepare for the test, either autonomously or through taking preparatory language courses. Thus, NS norms are already relevant for prospective students prior to studying. As a natural consequence of the effort they had to make to achieve the required language entry level, students also expect their lecturers to acknowledge these efforts and follow suit. They want them to practice what they preach (242).

(242) "Ich sag jetzt nicht, dass der Standard schlecht ist, aber ähm, wenn man Master course anbietet und internationale Leute hat, besonders Leute, die ganze hohe TOEFL Noten gebraucht haben, dann sollte man sich alle Mühe geben, um zu sichern, dass das **Standard halt so hoch wie möglich** ist." (PI Muiris)

(I am not saying that the standard is low, but uhm when they offer a Master's course and have international people, especially people who needed very high TOEFL scores, they should take great care to make sure that the standard is as high as possible.)

¹⁷⁹ See for example Arbin (2007) who conducted a small-scale case study in another EMI programme at the University of Freiburg and comes to the conclusion that NS norms and participants play a central role in that programme.

Furthermore, lecturers are role models for students in the sense that they are perceived as experts from whom students can learn. Even though expertise is primarily relevant with regard to the subject of studies, the medium (ELF) through which they share their expert knowledge must not be overlooked. For prophylactic reasons in a manner of 'better safe than sorry', it is only natural that expertise on both levels (subject and language) is considered to be of higher value than expertise only on the subject level. This has to do with the fact that students are playing for high stakes (from their perspective) and are therefore inclined to reject any uncertainties or ambiguities caused by the lecturer as these could potentially hamper their success (243).

(243) "Uh the worst thing was *rentability*. This word uhm doesn't exist in the sense he wanted to say it. It's uhm, in, in English it's *profitability*, in German it's *Rentabilität*. And it was so bad because people were writing this down and asking what the word means and it was, it was just wrong. I looked it up immediately when I came home and I just saw that it's not there uh in this meaning and it's just, I don't know. I think there're terms that when, when it's really uhm a com-, uh **important content thing it shouldn't be wrong.**" (PI Miriam)

Miriam subsequently explains that one of her peers asked the lecturer in the following session what he meant by *rentability*. The lecturer then answered that *rentability* meant to refer to *profitability* and the lecture continued without any further misunderstandings. We can infer that uncertainty avoidance is important in a learning context. If lecturers do not appear to fulfil their idealized roles as flawless expert models, they are considered responsible for causing uncertainty and hampering students' success.

With regard to students' high stakes, the role of NS norms and correctness is an important issue for assessment in EMI, albeit indirectly. Except for philological EMI programmes concerned with English literature or linguistics, English in EMI is usually not connected in any way to the subject of study, and lecturers are supposed to assess students only on the basis of their content knowledge, not of their linguistic performance.

The question remains how the two can be kept apart in assessment if the demonstration of content knowledge is effected through the English medium. This question is not EMI-specific and applies to assessment in general, but it is, however, more crucial in EMI and particularly in international EMI programmes where students' language proficiency levels naturally display more variation as opposed to programmes with predominantly domestic students with similar sociolinguistic backgrounds. Even though EMI lecturers commonly claim to disregard language use in assessment, i.e. to not sanction linguistic mistakes, they are nevertheless biased by students' language use (cf. Chapter 6.2.1). This can become especially problematic if students express their content knowledge with unusual terminology. The lecturer then has to decide whether to treat the use of inappropriate terminology as chargeable content error or as negligible language flaw.

Lastly, students of any programme – EMI or other – are likely to expect perfection in their lecturers, not only because they are expert role models, but also because they are institutionally superior to them and are expected to display and justify their superiority on all levels. It is considered a matter of respect that lecturers present themselves (through the medium of English) in the best possible way (“[T]hey make a lot of mistakes. They don’t even have respect when they do the, the presentations. They have a lot of orthographic and grammatical mistakes”, PI Kosimo).

If lecturers have the same or even a lower language proficiency level than their (NNS) students, the latter are likely to call lecturers’ academic and/or didactic competence into question (244). It is thus the lecturers’ role as teacher and his/her position in the institutional hierarchy that demands legitimization through demonstration of linguistic superiority (245-246).

(244) “There was an example, they referred to bees, like the small animal, as beans or a table is suddenly a, a, a dish or something. Uhm, so, when I’m, when I’m like sitting there and I know, because I understand them perfectly because I know how those like words are created, but if I wouldn’t be able to do that, I would think “What is that? What is going on? Is this like? **How did this guy or this woman like get this job in order** to teach me as a, as an, yeah, as a student.” (PI Silas)¹⁸⁰

(245) “Fichte [expletive deleted; SG]. Yeah, I mean, you know, the thing is that his accent is not that good. Of course we can understand him but his accent is German accent. Uh he, his vocabulary is not that rich, uh, or, uhm, of course he, he’s making lot of grammatical mistakes and, okay, he’s not a student, right? So **he’s a professor and he has to be somehow correct.**” (PI Teo)

(246) “[E]infach **aufgrund seiner Position** denke ich sollte man auch erwarten, dass wirklich doch besseres Potenzial dahinter steckt.” (PI Ferdinand)
(Simply because of his position I think you would really expect better potential)

What Silas, Teo and Ferdinand explain here does not represent peculiar attitudes of three REM students, but is likely to be a recurrent attitude among EMI students in general. For example, when Dr. Ulme recalls her own EMI experience as student, she expresses equally devaluing concerns (247).

¹⁸⁰ Silas here refers to examples of lecturers’ erroneous L1 transfer as the German equivalents of *bees* (*Bienen*) and *table* (*Tisch*) sound similar to the English words *beans* and *dish*. In my classroom observations I have not come across any transfer errors of this type.

- (248) “[U]nd da erinnere ich mich noch, dass das Englisch grauenhaft war. Auch die Dozierenden zum Teil hatten irgendwie ganz schlechtes Englisch und man hat sich dann irgendwie so auf so ’nem schlechten Niveau eingependelt. [...] ich war zum Teil schon bisschen, äh, dann geschockt so, wenn dann Dozierende irgendwie so kaum Englisch konnten, ja. Ich denk, **das kann man in einem internationalen Studiengang irgendwie nicht bringen.**“ (PI Ulme)
(And then I recall that the English was horrible. Even the lecturers partly spoke a very bad English and we then somehow levelled off at a bad standard. [...] I was somewhat shocked if lecturers hardly knew any English, yeah. I think you cannot do that in an international study programme.)

We can conclude that critical attitudes towards lecturers’ English are connected to the attitude that institutional superiority requires legitimization through demonstration of mastery in various areas, academic as well as linguistic. Such attitudes are not limited to EMI contexts and ELF use, but are typical of human beings in organizations in general. They are however symptomatic of EMI and can have noticeable impact on the social dynamics and interaction in EMI programmes, as we shall see in more detail in Chapter 7.

7. THE CHALLENGES OF EMI – LOOKING BEYOND ELF USE

Lingua franca use of English is often assumed to be the foremost, if not the only challenge of English-medium instruction. Considering the REM case study, we have seen that REM stakeholders are highly heterogeneous, not only with regard to their linguistic backgrounds and ELF use experience, but also with regard to their cultural and academic backgrounds (cf. Chapter 5.1). Hence we can assume that this heterogeneity poses difficulties for studying and teaching in an EMI programme that go beyond ELF use.

The following subchapters shed light on further challenges of EMI in an international Master's programme (Chapters 7.1-4) and provide an abundance of suggestions for support and improvement by and for EMI stakeholders (Chapter 7.5). The chapter ends with a discussion of the transferability of the REM case study findings (Chapter 7.6).

7.1 Language as challenge: ELF use

In Chapter 5, we have seen that REM students and lecturers are handling lingua franca use in the REM classroom in a way that does not hinder comprehension as both employ a variety of strategies to prevent or negotiate misunderstandings (see Chapter 5.3 and 5.5). Furthermore, context familiarity usually rules out linguistic comprehension problems before they occur. If the context of an utterance is familiar or at least expectable, conformity to standard norms loses significance for comprehension as listeners can easily deduct the targeted meaning even if presented in a non-standard way (248).

(248) Professor Eibe, who speaks English with a rather strong German accent, dictates an exercise that students have to complete during a break. I have serious difficulties in understanding him and am unable to note down the exercise except for the numbers involved, even though I am a NS of German and familiar with German-accented English. REMo8 students in turn are all able to note down the exercise. Nobody asks the lecturer for repetition or asks peers for verification. This shows that familiarity with a particular non-standard accent alone does not necessarily facilitate comprehension. Instead, familiarity with the context (here: thermodynamics and mathematic equations) can rule out comprehension problems. (PO, lecture, Dec 2008)

In Chapter 6 we have seen that students and lecturers have very clear ideas of what is good and what is bad English, students being particularly critical towards their lecturers' English (cf. Chapter 6.1.1). While distinctly negative

views of REM lecturers' English are frequently mentioned in my data (PO, PC, PI, QO), they are at the same time very rare and/or expressed in a more moderate way in the official student evaluation forms implemented by REM management at the end of each module (SM).

In these evaluation forms, students rate the quality of teaching on several parameters, language being one of them. Apart from quantitative feedback in form of ratings on a five-point-scale ranging from excellent (one) to very poor (five), there is also plenty of space for qualitative comments. An analysis of a random sample of evaluation results (*Modules Case Study* and *Technology I*) shows that qualitative comments – if they occur at all – are never related to ELF use in REM. The results of the quantitative feedback on lecturers' language use shows that the majority are even pleased with their lecturers' English. For example, Dr. Birke's English was rated with a mean value of 1.82 and the English of the lecturers in the *Technology I* module altogether achieved a mean value of 2.36.¹⁸² Qualitative comments on language use only represent criticism of German language use (e.g. "more information in English concerning field trip" and "no German language in the field").

An analysis of question 32 in the first questionnaire in REMo8 yields similar results. Students were asked 'If a fairy granted you three wishes: which three things would you change in the REM programme?' (QO, item 32). Their answers show a clear focus on structural or content-related matters as only three students (11%) comment on REM lecturers' English at all (Table 7.1).

Thus, we see that lecturers' ELF use is not the foremost concern for REM students when it comes to feedback on the REM programme as a whole, since structural matters are of more importance for improvement of REM. All in all we can say that ELF use in REM works out fairly well and is rather a psychological than a linguistic challenge (psychological in the sense that it requires coming to terms with a situation that does not meet idealized expectations and might lead to disappointment at first). The question remains what the other challenges in an EMI environment are.

¹⁸² With regard to the module evaluation, Dr. Birke's fear that her English is not good enough for EMI is without any reason.

ORGANISATION/ STRUCTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more guest lectures by RE managers and visits to RE companies (23%) • better coordination among lecturers (15%) • changes in schedule (not one day-one topic structure) • changes in length of modules (longer/shorter modules) • major and minor structure (concerning electives) • more preparation time for exams • optional preparation courses for difficult subjects • less meetings apart from lectures
CONTENTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more practical work in modules (esp. in Technology I) (35%) • more coherence in syllabus (23%) • less but more detailed subjects instead of many superficially taught subjects • less forestry contents in bioenergy subjects • more technological input • more managerial input • more socio-political and economical input • wind energy as an elective • case studies in each module
ASSESSMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more variety in examination formats • different weighting of presentations and written exams • more focus on individual work instead of group work • more focus on long-term understanding instead of assessing only short-term memory learning
TEACHING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • work with and provide scripts and research literature instead of power point presentations only • encourage long-term learning by different teaching methodology • groups should change in each course • more guidance and authority instead of “laissez-faire”
LANGUAGE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more native speakers of English (students and lecturers) • more competent English speaking lecturers • optional language courses (English, German and other languages) • no German to be used by lecturers • free optional German language intensive course before starting the REM programme

Table 7.1: REM students' wishes for changes in the REM programme (QO, item 32, summarized and paraphrased; most frequently mentioned answers in bold)

7.2 Language as challenge: German language proficiency

On the REM webpage, prospective students are informed that German language competence is not necessary for studying REM (cf. Chapter 5.1.5). Nevertheless, the German language is far from being irrelevant in REM.

First of all, the German language has considerable influence on REM lecturers' English and is noticeably present in the REM classroom, both implicitly (through L1 transfer in lecturers' accent, grammar and lexis; cf. Chapter 5.4.2) and explicitly (through code-switching and the occasional use of German words here and there in teaching materials; cf. Chapter 5.4.3).

Secondly, the German language plays a role in resource materials for studying. Since Germany is a leading country in research on renewable energy

technology and its practical implementation, many resources (research literature as well as public discourse in the media) are available in German. Furthermore, the local political context of renewable energy use (e.g. legislation such as the German Renewable Energy Act, *Gesetz für den Vorrang von Erneuerbaren Energien*) or websites of local renewable energy providers are inherently German and full information is frequently only available in the German language. For non-German speaking REM students this means that they cannot build on essential information about contents relevant to their studies (e.g. when preparing fieldtrips and gathering information about excursion sites) and need translation help.

Thirdly, German language use habitually occurs on fieldtrips, for example, when local experts give guided tours of their companies. In such situations, REM lecturers usually act as interpreters (cf. Chapter 5.4.1) and translate the expert's explanations into English, but according to my observations, the degree of detail in these translations is most often lower than in the original. On field trips, native German students are frequently considered translation resources and assigned roles as assistant translators, as we can see in the Dr. Espe's handout with information on an upcoming fieldtrip (249) or in my observation from a fieldtrip (250).

(249) “As far as possible: the Germans should be at least 2 in each group (for reasons of helping with translation if necessary) [...]” (SM Espe)

(250) On a two-day excursion to a German bioenergy village, REM students have to work in groups and conduct qualitative interviews with locals in a variety of functions (the local mayor, CEOs from local companies, local residents, etc.). Each student group is set up in a way that it consists of at least one native German speaker and/or fluent speaker of German in order to handle the logistics (e.g. asking where to find their interview partners) or to conduct the interview in German if the interviewees object to being interviewed in English (as is the case in the group interviewing local residents, which I join). (PO excursion, Feb 2009)

Lastly, the German language is omnipresent in the larger institutional environment of REM. Although REM's host institute, the ZEE, aims to provide all necessary information for REM students in English, German is still the predominant language used at the University of Freiburg and administrative information is by default provided in German (cf. Chapter 5.1.3). English translations are partly available, but hardly ever with the same degree of detail. For example, on webpages of the University of Freiburg, only surface layers are translated into English, but deeper layers are frequently available in German only. Furthermore, academic life at the University of Freiburg predominantly happens in German with public lectures being held in German, administration carried out in German (e.g. work contracts for student assistants are in German) and so on.

Since not all REM students are fluent speakers of German (cf. Chapter 5.1.5), many perceive inequalities and feel that non-German speakers are at disadvantage in REM. Students without advanced German skills often experience feelings of exclusion. These feelings are particularly caused by lecturers' use of German in the classroom (in speaking or in teaching materials, even if only to a marginal extent in the form of single words). Not being able to understand these words is demotivating for non-German speakers (251-253).

- (251) “[W]hat irritates me a bit is because the programme is advertised in, as international and English is the language, but some of the slides are still in German which, I don’t know, is, is **a bit irritating** ‘cause I think, one of our previous exams, there was a question from German slides and I had to ask somebody to translate them [...]” (PI Cai)
- (252) “[I]t’s **frustrating** when you can’t understand anything that’s written.” (PI Cai)
- (253) “[S]ometimes you are **facing troubles** like some lecturers let’s say are giving some slides let’s say in German or sometimes they use some words in German.” (PI Bulat)

Frustration increases if resource materials (recommended reading) are presented in German, as was the case, for example, in Professor Zeder’s lecture (254). As a consequence, only some students can benefit from these materials, while others cannot make use of them. Naomi assumes that lecturers do not invest enough time to discover similar materials in English (255).

- (254) In his lecture, Professor Zeder provides a reading list with German titles. When students ask him for English titles, he explains that he cannot provide a bibliography with English titles because the titles on his list are the most common ones for engineering studies. He adds that engineering studies at his institution (external higher education institution) are done in German. I assume that he did not make an effort to specifically search for research literature in English, but simply provided a list which he normally uses in German-taught courses. (PO, lecture, April 2009)
- (255) “[T]hey don’t always take the effort and take the time to find the resources and the tools in the language cor-, in the, in the appropriate language that we can utilize. [...] they don’t take the time to look because they have their specific resources, so I, I think it’s more or less a time commitment that they might have the information available in, in German, but **they don’t take the time to look for it in English.**” (PI Naomi)

Non-German speaking students also feel handicapped when their lack of (advanced) German language proficiency requires translation help from German speaking peers. This is the case with administrative matters at the monolingual hosting institution which often provides necessary information in German only (256). Translation help is also required in interaction with local

experts during fieldtrips (e.g. talking to a local forester) as well as in study-related activities such as gathering information about excursion sites to prepare for fieldtrips. Non-German speakers' contributions to group projects are constrained by the fact that German language knowledge is necessary to read and understand resource materials or interact with people in the field (257).

(256) “[T]he web portal, I basically need to hold somebody’s hand through the whole experience. For anything, from finding grades, because it’s quite complicated, I find it. [...] the website is not user-friendly for English speakers at all.” (PI Naomi)

(257) “[S]ome of our projects are focused on Germany, so the information source is in German which is, **it kind of hinders how much you can contribute** and then you always have to do it through a German speaker, so. I mean, I understand living in Germany you should, if you live in a country you should learn the language of the country, which is fine, but I think if you come for the programme, but **you’re restricted in some of the things that you need to complete the programme**, it’s a bit irritating and frustrating.” (PI Cai)

In brief, international students with limited German language skills often feel disadvantaged in REM. As a logical consequence, 85% of REM08 students and 79% of REM09 students believe that German language proficiency is advantageous for studying REM (QO). Furthermore, 62% of REM08 students and 84% of REM09 students are convinced that native German speakers have an edge over their international peers because of their native proficiency in the language of the host environment of REM. The ten most frequently mentioned reasons for advantages through German (native) language proficiency are listed in Table 7.2.

Perceived advantages for German speakers (L1 /L2/FL)	... for German native speaker (L1)
1. Finding an internship placement / student job	22%	30%
2. Understanding teaching materials which include German elements	16%	11%
3. Talking to lecturers in German	11%	13%
4. Access to resources in German	13%	8%
5. Talking to experts / guest lecturers in German	5%	13%
6. Understanding lecturers’ German English	9%	9%
7. Handling administrative matters at university	11%	5%
8. Understanding the German context	6%	5%
9. Understanding German education and academia	2%	6%
10. Participation in extracurricular activities	2%	5%

Table 7.2: Presumed advantages for German (native) speakers in REM (QO)¹⁸³

¹⁸³ The respective items (25&26 in QO-REM08 and 28&29 in QO-REM09) were formulated as open questions allowing multiple answers. Percentages refer to the number of REM students (n=64) mentioning a particular reason.

As we can see in Table 7.2, many advantages are related to comprehension skills (arguments 2,4,6,7 and 10). Being able to understand German in speech and writing increases students' chances to obtain more information and eventually leads to quantitative differences in their learning outcome (258). In other words, German (native) speakers are believed to learn more.

(258) “[I]f you don’t speak it, then **you don’t benefit as much** as some of the other students [...]” (PI Cai)

German language knowledge is also believed to enhance comprehension of lecturers’ English. This view is particularly widespread among German NS and rarely mentioned by German NNS. Most German students believe that German language competence is particularly beneficial for understanding lecturers’ accents and fear that lecturers with noticeable German L1 influence on their accents are hard to understand for non-German speakers. This does however not seem to be the case, as we have seen in Chapter 6.1.1. For international students, German language competence is more relevant when it comes to understanding written teaching materials (“Many presentations of our course have diagrams or explanations in German”, QO Patricio). A sound understanding of German does not only enable students to understand the resources and materials used in class, but also increases chances to obtain further information on study-related topics (259-260). Thus, (native) German language proficiency enables students to gain a broader perspective on the topics presented in the classroom and eventually leads to more opportunities for learning. This advantage is not only restricted to written sources, but also extends to academic discourse in general. International students often feel deprived from extracurricular learning opportunities such as public lectures held in German (261).

(259) “Lots of information about RE [=renewable energy] is in German.” (QO Teo)

(260) “[T]hey [=German NS; SG] have the potential to read more papers etc.” (QO Muiris)

(261) “[...] I feel at some disadvantage because since I am not fluent in German yet, I cannot take advantage of the, all the opportunities that for example Mr Hasel has sent, about these events being just for people that speak German or doing these things that are only for native German speakers [...].” (PI Andrés)

While the aforementioned advantages are related to German language comprehension, speakers with passive competence in German (i.e. those who are not fluent in speaking, but have advanced reading skills) can also benefit from their German language knowledge.

There are, however, areas where listening and reading comprehension are not sufficient as fluency in speaking German is required. Students who can speak German fluently are believed to have better chances to build rapport with lecturers and find student jobs and internship placements. Although English is officially the only medium of instruction in REM (apart from occasional English-German code-switching and German elements in teaching materials), German is often used in informal conversations between lecturers and native German speakers during breaks or after lectures (e.g. “[W]hen I address a teacher, I’m usually talking in German because I think it’s just a, yeah, it’s the efficient way of communication”, PI Silas). Switching to native language use is reasonable in such situations, but can create feelings of inequality among students as many believe that interacting with lecturers in their native language German allows better clarification of difficult topics (262-263). Those who cannot speak German thus feel at disadvantage.

(262) “Maybe yes because they can **talk to lecturers on a more “sophisticated” level** (in personal conversation) and maybe can therefore be more precise.” (QO Silvan)

(263) “I think it is an advantage for them since they can **easily communicate with the lecturers** about the most difficult subjects.” (QO Demet)

In the same way, the possibility of holding informal conversations in German with invited experts (on field trips or in guest lecturers) is also believed to enhance students’ understanding of study-related matters (QO Manel, Muhammad). Yet, (near-)native fluency in German is considered most advantageous when it comes to finding a student assistant job or an internship placement. The latter is an obligatory element in the REM curriculum (cf. Chapter 4.2.3), i.e. all students have to seek an internship placement unless they have made special arrangements with REM management (e.g. recognition of previous work experience as internship equivalent). Internship placements can be anywhere in the world and do not have to be sought in Germany, but many students prefer to do their internship in Germany, not only because of Germany’s prominent role in the development and implementation of renewable energy, but also for economic and visa-related reasons. However, in most cases internship placements in Germany require advanced German language competence, which means that students with little German language skills have far more difficulties in finding an adequate internship placement than their German-speaking peers (PC various).

Furthermore, student jobs at the hosting institution, e.g. collaboration in research projects as student assistant, most often also demand fluent or even native German language competence (264-265).

- (264) “[S]ometimes Mr Fichte was announcing some job opportunities, but was saying that ‘Sorry, it should be in German’. So I was thinking if I was picking really good German or if I was German, it would be easier to find a job, easier to be aware of everything.” (PI Derya)
- (265) “I think within the confines of the programme it’s okay, it’s more when, when they ask us to do things like internship or get student jobs and then you really realize, I think some people have realized the language barriers.” (PI Cai)

In spite of the exclusivity of English as medium of instruction, German language competence is perceived as highly relevant for studying and learning in REM. This is also evident in REM students’ additional comments in the questionnaire (QO) and in their personal interviews where students’ with low proficiency in German frequently emphasize the relevance and importance of learning German (266-267).

- (266) “It would be better if REM provides a **free optional German language course before starting** the REM course for the new incoming international students. Say 1 month before.” (QO Sunil)
- (267) “Maybe after learning German, I will be more satisfied.” (QO Ismail)

While German language competence is believed to be an advantage in many areas, there are areas where particularly native speakers of German are thought to be in a privileged position. This is the case in situations where comprehension and understanding are not purely dependent on linguistic skills (i.e. on linguistic competence in German), but are related to the cultural context and implications. When REM lecturers illustrate subject matters in their lectures with real life examples, they frequently refer to local German affairs and conditions. REM students feel that German native speakers have advantages in understanding these examples as they are more familiar with the German context (268-269) and have easier access to additional information on these examples since most information is available in German (270).

- (268) “Maybe in some cases they get advantages for example as in local excursions, in some conferences, in some presentations by guest lecturers, to **understand domestic German data.**” (QO Sunil)
- (269) “They can understand much more things in class. (Like the German laws)” (QO Patricio)
- (270) “[I]t’s easier for them to follow the, what’s happening in Germany because they are living here, they can read all the newspaper, they can understand everything. Then it’s easier to combine what’s happening and combine it with lectures, for example.” (PI Derya)

Local students thus have access to more resources related to lecture contents because of their linguistic comprehension of German texts and because of their familiarity with the socio-political context. This advantage is not only restricted to content-based information, but also applies to understanding specificities of the German university system, both with regard to administrative matters as well as to classroom proceedings (271).

(271) “[T]he German speakers I think, they might have find it a little easier, I'm not sure if it's because they can access more resources or because they are trained ((laughing)) to study all the time to be more, uh, I don't know. Uhm, or, or, or because **they already know** how this, how the system, **how the education system works.**” (PI Andrés)

While native English speakers are believed to have linguistic advantages in studying REM through better expression in English and faster reading and comprehension skills (cf. Chapter 6.2.1), native German speakers are believed to have academic advantages. The latter are due to better access to relevant information resources and training opportunities (extracurricular lectures, student jobs and internship placements) and to their familiarity with German academia and the local learning culture.

German native speakers are aware of their privileged position and often attempt to counteract this imbalance by using English even in interaction among native German speakers (272).

(272) “Everyone is uh uh **like intermixed, we are together** [...]. [I]n class, I noticed that even German and German student also speaking in English.” (PI Sunil)

Yet, reduction or avoidance of German language use does not belie the fact that local German students are in a privileged position when it comes to understanding “how the education system works” (PI Andrés). The question remains what exactly are the specificities of learning and teaching at a German university and in which way do they represent a challenge for REM students and lecturers.

7.3 Culture as challenge: German academia and learning culture

7.3.1 Power distance between students and lecturers

In Chapter 5.1.1, we have seen that the student body in REM is highly heterogeneous with regard to linguistic, academic and cultural backgrounds. Since only very few students have studied in Germany prior to studying REM, they are used to other learning cultures and teaching styles and are most likely

to have divergent experiences with the institutional roles of students and lecturers. Therefore it can be expected that non-German students initially have different expectations on the power relations between lecturers and students which can lead to astonishment and eventually even misunderstandings.

Many students have previously studied in educational systems with a larger power distance between students and lecturers than in Germany, i.e. where lecturers' authority is more explicitly expressed and heeded. As a consequence, these students are often surprised by their peers' classroom behaviour in REM when they use colloquial or even vulgar language (273).

(273) “And I was very surprised. Maybe it's because of my culture. Uhm, some students were uh uh saying something like *shit* or uh what, like some kind of, this kind of a **slang during the class talking to professor** as well. Giving an example. This was very shocking to me because yeah, in my culture you don't really talk like this with a professor.” (PI EunHee)

Students in Germany seem to have more freedom to decide for themselves how and if they want to pay attention in lecturers, which leads some to criticize their peers' behaviour as reckless when they do not listen to the lecturer but engage in private conversations or other activities not directly related to the lecture (274-275).

(274) “[P]eople, for example, with their laptops looking in *Youtube* videos during the class, that's, I don't know if that is very German that you're so free to do whatever you want.” (PI Patricio)

(275) Ismail: “[S]ome students are, **exaggerate the, the freedom.**”

SG: “What do you mean by exaggerate?”

Ismail: “Like sometimes, when the professor is explaining something, you can listen some, to some students are speaking loudly. [...] I think sometimes you should respect the professor, so when he's, especially when he's talking about something. Yeah, sometimes the prof-, you ha-, the professor has some difficulties to convey the information to the students, to deliver the, yeah, sometimes, even in Germany, but you should at least respect him.” (PI Ismail)

According to my observations, REM lecturers are very tolerant towards students' classroom behaviour and even accept students drinking coffee, eating breakfast or leaving the room during lectures, as long as their action does not produce too much noise. Different ideas of acceptable classroom conduct may cause irritation for international students, but do not generally pose problems for REM students and lecturers. More difficult is rather the way how to approach lecturers in- and outside the classroom and how to contribute to classroom interaction.

Power relations are often expressed in forms of address. In German L1-taught programmes, lecturers and students commonly call each other by their

last names, e.g. *Herr Mustermann* or *Frau Musterfrau*, thus both parties use the same degree of formality in addressing each other.¹⁸⁴ In the English-taught REM programme, this rule is somewhat blurred as REM lecturers do not seem to have a common policy. While some REM lecturers generally expect the German form of addressing lecturers and thus introduce themselves by their last names, others offer to be called by their first names, as is common in Anglophone academia. Preferences for one form or another are not related to REM lecturers' academic ranks as even some professors introduce themselves by their first names. Since there is no transparent rule to this practice, it causes confusion among international students, who therefore often rely on highly formal ways of address in order to avoid making a mistake (e.g. 'Dear respected sir' in e-mails to lecturers, PC). Local students are clearly privileged in this respect as they can better infer which form of address is acceptable and which is exaggerated or disrespectful (276). Professor Fichte seems to be aware of this uncertainty on the part of the students and thus explicitly addresses his preference of the German form of address (277).

(276) “[W]hat I noticed is a **different perception of authority**, concerning lecturers. I mean it's mainly lang-, lect-, uh language, but many people call the lecturers professor and I would say the lecturer or Mister and, even if he's not a professor, maybe it's worth a word, but I think in some cultures, there's a higher, authority is, is more important.” (PI Knut)

(277) “I even remember at the beginning of the course when Professor Fichte said, he talked about it that here in [...] an English-taught programme, we would follow the German way of addressing people. [...] I remember he said: ‘Here in Germany, I am Professor Doctor [first name] Fichte. When I was in the US, I was just [first name]. [...] But here in Germany, **even though it’s an English-taught programme, we will follow the German way of addressing people, professors**. So that means I’m, he’s Professor Hasel, he’s uh Mister Hasel, and Professor Fichte, and this is Miss [*sic!*] Flieder.’ So that was like really a way of telling you.” (PI Mario)

In my classroom observations I noticed that various REM lecturers use asymmetrical forms of address, i.e. they present themselves with their last names but refer to students with their first names (e.g. Professor Fichte reporting that “Mr Hasel, Muiris and Mario” took part in a feedback meeting with lecturers; PO REM meeting Jan 2009). This practice might be due to difficulties in memorizing and/or pronouncing last names in foreign languages, but at the same time it is an expression of power distance between lecturers and students which does not go unnoticed (“Professors are here like gods or holy creatures. It’s different, that’s what I’ve seen”; PI Mario). For students who are used to Anglophone-oriented norms of interaction between students and

¹⁸⁴ Academic titles are usually neglected in spoken language and only used in writing. Students of course use first name address when interacting with their peers.

lecturers, the local norm of addressing and approaching lecturers is perceived as creating a barrier between students and lecturers (278).

(278) “[W]hen I was in college, it was more like the American system in which you called the professors by his or her name, uhm, and it’s rather informal the way you approach them, but with respect of course. And so you have, you feel free to go talk to them. When I really have time, you just come and say ‘Ey?’. I knock on the doors and say ‘Hey, do you have time or you’re busy now? Or when can I stop by?’ And here in Germany they have these office hours and *Öffnungszeiten* [=opening hours; SG] and also uhm telephone assistants and so, you should come on that time, and that, okay, that’s understandable probably because they have to work and other stuff, but I think **there’s a barrier here** between professors and teachers [=students; SG].” (PI Mario)

7.3.2 *Critical dialogue and classroom contributions*

An integral part of German learning culture is the critical dialogue between lecturers and students. Students are invited and expected to contribute to classroom discourse, not only if they have questions concerning linguistic or academic comprehension of lecture contents, but even more so to share their personal views and experiences, even if these contradict the lecturer or run the risk of containing logical errors or else. This expectation is usually not explicitly expressed by lecturers (apart from the standard phrase at the beginning of a lecture “Feel free to ask any questions”) and frequently causes surprise on part of the students (279-280).

(279) “[T]he classes are conducted in a very, in a manner, uhm, of, I don’t know, lot of respect so, and these open discussions, so I guess sometimes it doesn’t really matter whether you made a point or not, you know. It’s like **it matters whether you actually said something**. That was new for me in the sense of education here.” (PI Oksana)

(280) “[D]uring the class, like, **students are volunteering so much**. They volunteer to do presentation. They volunteer to do a lot of different things. But my culture, like if teacher tells to do then you will do it, but other than that you don’t volunteer so much, yeah. So I also found that during the class a lot of people volunteer but lots of Asian students do not really volunteer.” (PI EunHee)

Unfamiliarity with critical dialogue and interaction during lectures frequently leads to a lack of feedback in the EMI classroom, which as a consequence causes insecurity on the part of the lecturer as to whether the lesson pace is appropriate and whether students have grasped the content. Professor Tanne assumes that scarcity of discussions or questions in EMI lectures is caused by the fact that students unfamiliar with this practice might consider questions as potentially face-threatening acts for both themselves and the lecturer (281).

- (281) “Ich denke, dass da also große Grauziffer oder Graubereich sag ich mal ist, dass Studenten Dinge nicht verstehen, sich aber scheuen, nachzufragen, um nicht den Professoren in irgendeiner Form, sag ich mal, äh, bloßzustellen und auch nicht nachfragen, ob, äh, den anderen, den Kommilitonen zu zeigen, dass sie also dieses Wort oder diesen Sinnzusammenhang nicht verstanden haben.“ (PI Tanne)
(I think there is large grey area where students do not understand things but do not dare to ask for clarification in order not to show the professor up in any way, and also do not ask in order not to show their classmates that they have not understood a certain word or context.)

Limited feedback from students during EMI lectures is a challenge for EMI lecturers. Professor Kiefer reports that he is often not entirely sure whether his answers to students’ questions in class actually help clarifying matters because the way how questions are asked, if at all, is culture-specific and varies a lot in the international EMI classroom (“Es ist nicht jede Kultur eine, fast hätte ich gesagt Fragekultur”; *Not every culture is I was about to say a questioning culture*; PI Kiefer). Mr Ginster also reports difficulties in sensing whether his students can follow his lecturers or not because students with Asian cultural backgrounds rarely ask for clarification during lectures (“Das ist also ‘ne asiatische Mentalität, von da, von daher gibt’s keine Rückkoppelung”; *This is an Asian mentality, therefore there is no feedback*; PI Ginster). He illustrates this problem with the example of Sari, who supposedly never contributes to classroom discussions in his lectures (282).

- (282) “[W]enn ich jetzt so in der Vorlesung jetzt grade halt nachfrage, Fragen, Probleme, was auch immer, sei’s zum Stoff oder zur Vorlesungsplanung oder Exkursionsplanung, kommt nix, also gar nix. Wenn ich sie direkt in der Pause nochmal frage: ‘Hast du alles verstanden, also einfach vom Englischen her?’, dann kommen ab und zu Fragen. Also dieses in der Gruppe Fragen stellen macht sie dann doch nicht.“ (PI Ginster)¹⁸⁵
(When I ask in my lecture whether there are any questions, problems, whatsoever, be it about lecture contents or about organisational matters regarding lectures or field trips, there is no reply, just nothing. If I address her directly again during the break ‘Have you understood everything, linguistically I mean?’ she does occasionally have questions. But she does not ask any questions in class in front of the entire group.)

Thus, we see that facilitating informal conversations between students and lecturers during breaks seems to be the key to overcoming the problem of limited feedback. Professor Kiefer also emphasizes that international students require more intensive contact (“intensiveren Kontakt”, PI Kiefer) in order to build rapport with the lecturer and dare to give frank feedback if they do not understand. Therefore he would prefer the traditional semester format with

¹⁸⁵ Note that Mr Ginster is reporting experience from his lecture only. Sari does in fact frequently contribute to classroom discussions in most REM lectures (PO in several REM08 lectures).

weekly 90-minute sessions instead of the modular format in REM as this would allow more opportunities for informal conversations between lecturer and students and would give the students more time to get used to the lecturer (PI Kiefer).

Apart from facilitating rapport through informal conversations between students and lecturers during breaks, REM lecturers also employ other strategies to break the ice between students and themselves. One such strategy is starting lectures with open questions that do not activate students' academic knowledge of a matter, but rather address the affective dimension of learning and leave room for non-judgemental comparisons of different culture-dependent ideas. For example, Professor Tanne starts his lecture on environmental history with the questions "What is time for you?" and "What is nature for you?" (PO lecture Oct 2009). By explicitly inviting students' personal views ('for you'), he makes clear that individual opinions are welcome and that there is no single truth but divergent perspectives are taken for granted.

Limited contributions to lectures and classroom discussions do not only complicate monitoring students' learning progress, but also bear the risk of under- or overestimating students' academic performance. Professor Tanne cautions that an EMI lecturer must be careful not to mistake elaborate contributions to a discussion with critical thinking, and vice versa, not to misconceive the absence of critical opinions as lack of understanding. While some students volunteer to express their opinions at length, other students prefer to retain their feedback as they might fear it could come across as challenging or even attacking the lecturer's competence. If a lecturer considers talkative students as particularly smart and reticent students as particularly slow in understanding, he or she does wrong to both, but especially to the latter who might just have a different role expectation towards their lecturer ("[...] Unrecht tun, insbesondere den anderen, die Dinge auch reflektieren, die sich aber nicht trauen, was zu sagen, weil einfach das Professorenbild ein ganz anderes ist", PI Tanne).

Thus, different degrees of familiarity with the role expectations for students and lecturers in the German learning culture present a challenge in the EMI classroom and bear the risk of underestimating students' academic performance.

7.3.3 *Assessment practices*

Since all REM students hold a previous university degree, it can be taken for granted that they are familiar with written assessment. Yet, the structural conditions and assessment formats vary considerably from country to country and students cannot simply rely on their past experiences when studying REM. Written exams in REM usually consist of timed tasks, i.e. students have to answer a given number of questions or exercises within 90 minutes. Their answers are supposed to fit onto the proper exam sheet handed out by the

lecturer, but additional sheets may be used if there is not enough space. Several students perceive these conditions as unusual restrictions (283).

(283) “So like you have a [space] limitation over here [...] And here the main problem is like you have a **time constraint**. You have to write it in as short as possible, like key words, I mean.” (PI Shashank).

These structural constraints on written examination are not generally problematic, but they can cause problems if they are not explicitly explained to students in advance. For example, Shashank reports that he underperformed in his first REM exam due to insufficient time management because he was not made aware of framework conditions (284).

(284) “I never got so, so low grades in my entire career and I was like thinking ‘Oh, what is this?’ [...]. Actually it’s a mistake from me, my side, and their [=the lecturers’; SG] side also because **they didn’t explain** like you have to write it in such a manner.” (PI Shashank)

Students’ performance in the REM classroom (e.g. classroom contributions or oral presentations) is commonly ungraded and only the result of the final assessment at the end of a module (mostly in form of a timed exam) is documented in students’ transcript of records. This practice is often considered as particularly stressful because of the considerable weight of individual exams with regard to the final grade of the Master’s degree (285).

(285) “[B]ut the thing that is different is that the test is like all your grade. [...] it’s kind of stressing that you are **playing all your cards in one game** in one day in one moment.” (PI Francisco)

This kind of stress is inherent to graded assessment as such and thus not peculiar to German academia or REM. In case of failure, i.e. if students do not meet the minimum requirements for a pass grade (grade 4.0 in the local grading scheme), they can re-sit the exam. If they also fail the re-sit exam they have a singular chance of attending the entire module again and taking a last re-sit. This procedure is documented in German in the examination regulations for REM students which are accessible online.¹⁸⁶ REM lecturers presumably take for granted that students are aware of re-sit opportunities and do not inform them explicitly.

In the case of international students who are subject to visa regulations a lack of information on re-sit opportunities may cause severe distress since failed performance can eventually lead to an exclusion from the REM programme which in turn leads to expiry of their temporary right of residence (286).

¹⁸⁶ See §13 in the *Prüfungsordnung für den Studiengang Master of Science (M.Sc.)* (Examination regulation of the Master of Science degree programme) (Universität Freiburg, Abteilung Rechtsangelegenheiten mit Bezug zu Studium und Lehre (JSL) 2013).

(286) “I had one kind of problem uh because I wasn't, I didn't really know the exam system well. [...] here if you don't do well [=in an exam; SG] you have to have a second test. And there is a three chances. But the third chance you can have it only when you take the course again basically. And this I didn't know at all, but, I don't know, everyone else knew, but I found this uh when I, when I already found out that I need a third test. So that was very surprise for me because I wasn't informed anything about this, but much, much later they send out this uhm uhm exam regulation. So then I was like ‘Okay, I wish I knew this’, because when you go to exam, your attitude is completely different when you already know this uh is your last chance. Yeah so I have to take one course again yeah. So this kind of things can be definitely improved, yeah. And it's, **it's not such a big issue for maybe Germans or the professors**, but for someone like me who came oversea to study I think it is **easy related to visa issue and residential issue** and everything so it's very, it was a very difficult time for me.” (PI EunHee)

What EunHee criticizes here is the fact that lecturers often do not seem to be aware of the high stakes and legal implications for international students with regard to their study achievement. Local students are thus not only at advantage with regard to their linguistic competence in understanding examination regulations¹⁸⁷, but also with regard to the practical and legal consequences in case of failure.

As a consequence, the focus of studying is often different, with international students focusing more on assessment than on learning opportunities. For example, various REM students did not take part in an excursion organized by Mr Liguster because it was scheduled two days prior to a module final exam and they preferred to spend the day studying exam contents instead of attending a field trip, much to the lecturer's dislike (PI Liguster).

Apart from written examination, oral assessment in the form of presentations can also present a considerable challenge for (international) REM students. This format does not only require adequate proficiency in speaking English, but also rhetorical skills and general confidence when speaking to an audience, alongside at least basic competence in handling visual presentation aids such as the software *PowerPoint*. While German students usually practise their presentation skills during secondary education already, international students often make their first experience with giving a presentation in the REM programme (287).

(287) “[...] I personally didn't really have uh much experience that uh creating the whole uh presentation, yeah. **This wasn't part of [my] education before**, so yeah, I'm learning a lot definitely from this course, yeah. Very different education system.” (PI EunHee)

Presentation skills are not only a matter of practice, but are also culture-specific, especially with regard to para- and non-verbal communication. While in the Western world a presenter commonly keeps eye contact with his or her audience

¹⁸⁷ A working translation into English exists, but only the German version is legally binding.

throughout the presentation, the same behaviour might be untypical or even face-threatening in other cultural contexts. Many if not most REM lecturers nevertheless take Western presentation conventions for granted and do not explain precisely what they expect from students or give them guidelines (other than guidelines for structural matters such as duration of the presentation etc.).

As a consequence, this lack of clarification can lead to presentations which do not meet the lecturers' implicit requirements. Mr Liguster reports a case where two Asian students asked him via e-mail for an explanation why their presentation had been graded lower than any of their classmates' presentations.¹⁸⁸ He does not show much sympathy for their complaint and considers the devaluation of their presentation as justified, supporting his view by quoting his superior (288).

(288) “Herr Lärche [...] hat denen auch direkt Feedback gegeben: ‘Hier, ihr könnt nicht immer bloß ganz leise mit, mit dem Rücken zum Publikum reden.’” (PI Liguster)

(Mr Lärche also gave them feedback directly: ‘Here, you cannot just speak to the audience with a low voice showing them your back.’)

Dr. Ulme shows more sympathy for students who are disappointed with their presentation grades and assumes that underperformance is partly the lecturers' fault if they do not precise their expectations (289).

(289) “[D]as war zum Teil auch das Defizit einfach von den Dozierenden, dass die sich da nicht klar genug geäußert haben.” (PI Ulme).

(This was partly also the deficit of the lecturers that they did not clearly state [their expectations; SG].)

Some lecturers are however aware of students' different degrees of familiarity with this assessment format and offer helpful learning materials (e.g. Dr. Birke provides a PPT on presentation techniques; SM).

7.3.4 Critical reflection and academic writing

Students who are not well acquainted with the German learning culture are not only likely to be overstrained by the structural conditions of assessment and its format, but even more so by its qualitative requirements. Many students, especially those with an Asian cultural background, are accustomed to memorizing large amounts of information and reproducing them literally in written exams. They often invest more time for exam preparation than their local peers and eventually feel misled and betrayed by their lecturers if their efforts do not yield positive results (290).

¹⁸⁸ The presentation of these two students was graded as ‘good’ (grade 2) while all other presentations were graded as ‘excellent’ (grade 1).

(290) “[T]he culture, learning culture is completely different [...]. This, this was very, very shocking to me since I studied here because we don't communicate with the teacher very much. It's just one way of education. Teachers say something and teachers telling you ‘This is important, okay! Mark three stars, this will be on exam. Mark two stars, this will be on exam.’ And then they are on exam, really, those questions. And you really have to study these ones that the teacher is emphasizing. And students don't really ask questions [...]. But here so much communication with the teacher and student. Plus, **when teacher’s emphasizing something, okay it's important, but that doesn't mean necessarily it will be on exam.** Or sometimes uh professors gave example questions that can be on exam. And how I learned so far was: If teacher says this will be on exam, it was always, so I really studied this one so hard. And then on the exam I found none of those questions are really there. So I, **I felt like they lied to me and why are they making it more confusing?**” (PI EunHee)

REM lecturers expect students to critically reflect on lecture contents in written exams and rate verbatim accounts of their lectures at most as sufficient.¹⁸⁹ When assessing students’ performance in written exams, REM lecturers only give little credit for the mere mentioning of key words, despite being aware of the fact that students of certain cultural backgrounds may not be used to critical reflection, but only to repeating ‘expert knowledge’ (i.e. to quoting what the lecturer said) (291).

(291) “Es geht auch drum, wurde auch was verstanden. Wobei ich schon weiß, dass das für manche Kulturen eben was ganz anderes ist, da geht’s ja nicht um verstehen, da geht’s um auswendig lernen” (PI Kiefer)
(It is also about [testing] whether [students] understood something. Although I do know that for some cultures this is something completely different, it is not about understanding, it is about memorizing.)

As a consequence, students may receive low grades if they cannot show that they fully grasped the matter. Professor Kiefer admits never being sure whether such underperformance is caused by cognitive constraints to capture lecture contents, by linguistic problems with comprehension and expression, or rather by unfamiliarity with the requirements of assessment in German academia (PI Kiefer). In other words, assessment in EMI is a threefold challenge for students as they do not only have to prove their cognitive understanding of new topics, but also their linguistic competence in expressing their thoughts in English and lastly their ability to master culture-specific assessment requirements.

A further challenge for students in EMI programmes is academic writing. While academic writing is part of the curriculum in any university degree programme around the world, common practice and guidelines vary greatly. When writing an essay or report, students do not only need sufficient writing

¹⁸⁹ In graded assessment this means that students at most receive a ‘pass’ grade (grade 4.0 in the local grading scheme) if they merely memorize and repeat lecture contents without discussing and reflecting on them.

skills in English, but they also need to know the expected structure of the text. Yet, the way how an academic text is organized varies between Western and Eastern cultures (292). Thus, difficulties with written assignments are not purely linguistic, but rather lie in meeting the culture-specific requirements of writing (293).

(292) “[J]eder hat halt so 'nen anderen Schreibstil, man merkt dann so schon sehr stark die Kulturen, es ist **sehr kulturabhängig** [...]. [A]m Anfang, da hatte ich mal 'ne Gruppenarbeit, und da kannte man sich auch noch nicht, aber dann haben wir am Ende alles zusammengewürfelt für die Gruppenarbeit und ich bin wirklich wütend geworden, weil ich gemerkt hab, das ist 'n ganz anderer Standard, den wir hier erwarten. Und das ist, das, das war so schwierig, die darauf hinzuweisen, denen das zu sagen. Wir hatten dann auch nicht viel Zeit, und das war, es ist, man merkt halt einfach, in, in Indien, in Bulgarien, in Kirgistan, geht man ganz andere, ähm, da ist es ganz anders geschrieben und aufgebaut, und wissenschaftlich Schreiben ist da ganz anders, ähm, betrieben, hat man das Gefühl.“ (PI Maya)

(Everyone has a different writing style, you realize the cultures very strongly, it is very culture-dependent. [...]. In the beginning, we had to do a group work task and we didn't know each other very well yet, but then in the end we just jumbled everything together for the group task and I became really angry, because I realized that we expect an entirely different standard here. And that is, that, that was so difficult to point out to them, to tell them. We didn't have much time either and that was, it is, you just notice, in, in India, in Bulgaria, in Kyrgyzstan, [academic texts; SG] are structured in an entirely different way, and scientific writing is done in an entirely different manner there uhm, you feel.)

(293) “We had more problems with the way that things are done here and the way we do it back in our countries than the language itself.” (PI Francisco)

While writing styles and argumentation structure are in any case individual and their assessment a matter of subjective acceptance, there are nevertheless clear cut cases where acceptability is binary, i.e. either acceptable or unacceptable without gradual variation. One such case is academic integrity in using and quoting other sources. While plagiarism is a major offence in German academia and officially sanctioned (in worst case with expulsion from the university and revocation of academic degree), in other academic cultures, it might merely be considered an inappropriate faux-pas or even good practice (cf. Hayes & Introna 2005). Dr. Birke notices that German students have least difficulties with academic writing as they are most familiar with their German lecturers' expectations, as opposed to students from India, for example, who are used to different quotation practices and often do not grasp the severity of plagiarism as offence to academic integrity (PI Birke). Several REM lecturers therefore emphasize that additional training in academic writing for students (as part of the REM curriculum) would be beneficial (PI).

7.3.5 *Focus on weaknesses to motivate improvement*

A culture-specific peculiarity of German lecturers can be found in their ways of giving students feedback on their academic performance. Many lecturers take it for granted that students recognize for themselves in which areas they are performing well and therefore restrict their feedback to weaknesses only. Their intention is usually not to belittle students' overall efforts, but rather to point them to areas where they can further improve their existing skills or knowledge. Emphasis on areas for improvement is meant to motivate students to perform (even) better, but absence of praise does not go unnoticed (294).

(294) In the module *Natural Resources*, Severin, Demet and Muhammad give a presentation about river basins. At the end of their presentation, Professors Strobe and Tsuga give them feedback on negative aspects only: their presentation exceeded the time limit of twenty minutes by two minutes, measurement units were used inconsistently on one slide and the objectivity of their research resources is doubtful. I overhear students in the back row commenting on the lecturers' feedback: "**They only comment on negative things**, but do not mention any of the good things, even though the presentation was really good". (PO lecture Dec 2008).

Local students might be used to the focus on weaknesses in feedback and understand it as neutral observation alongside unmentioned positive elements. In contrast, international students often feel personally criticised which can lead to demotivation or eventually even despair, especially if they feel they are playing for high stakes (e.g. with regard to visa regulations or scholarship requirements) and do not have any orientation yet how to estimate their performance with regard to the local assessment scheme. Such disorientation then often leads to instances as mentioned in Chapter 7.3.3, where students are upset about a grade 2.0 because they cannot estimate the positive aspects of their performance and only recognize the difference to their peers who achieved better grades. Negative feedback is especially challenging if students are unfamiliar with the German language and its pragmatics in particular and/or if they expect Anglophone rules of politeness and if the lecturers in turn literally translate their feedback into English, but follow German pragmatics.

7.3.6 *Learner autonomy and self-responsibility*

A cornerstone of the German learning culture is autonomy, which implies self-management and self-directed learning as well as self-responsibility on part of the students. In an ideal classroom students are not fed with learning materials and answers to all questions, but learn how and where to find the answers - and further questions – by themselves. Didactically, this principle is often supported through the implementation of a variety of student-centred learning activities,

most commonly in the form of group work, i.e. where students have to complete a task in small teams with the lecturer functioning as advisor rather than instructor. Other learning activities in the REM classroom include the placemat activity¹⁹⁰ (PO Ulme), the jigsaw strategy¹⁹¹ (PO Birke) or a role play simulation (PO Ahorn), besides others.

Yet, not all students are used to this type of student-centred learning. Depending on their cultural background, they might be accustomed to teacher-centred classroom interaction only and student-centred activities represent an entirely new experience. Thus, international students are often rather reticent in the beginning as they first need to get used to interactive teaching styles with group activities and discussions (295).

- (295) “Also es hat jetzt aber auch mit meinem didaktischen Konzept zu tun. Die sind’s halt gewohnt, dass sie da sitzen und der Lehrer spricht und ja, zuhören und reproduzieren, ja, also sozusagen die Art des Lernens. Und jetzt selber was zu machen in ’ner Gruppe, selber ’ne **Meinung sich zu bilden und zu äußern und zu diskutieren**, das war für einige ungewohnt, aber ich glaub sie fanden’s alle dann, oder die meisten fanden’s dann eher gut, aber erstmal gewöhnungsbedürftig.“ (PI Ulme)
(Well it has also to do with my didactic concept. They are just used to sitting there and the lecturer is talking and, yeah, listening and reproducing [contents], yeah, well, this kind of learning. And now doing things by themselves in a group, developing, stating and discussing their own opinion, that was unfamiliar for some of them, but I believe all of them, or most of them, eventually found it rather good, but firstly it needed getting used to.)

After initial confusion, students usually welcome group work as beneficial opportunity to learn how to collaborate in teams. The challenge of group work primarily consists in the fact that it is supposed to be a democratic process, i.e. there are no predefined hierarchies and students have to negotiate roles and tasks among themselves in a democratic process in which the lecturer does not interfere (296). While this practice might seem natural and self-evident to local students (or to students from democratic cultures in general), it might be confusing for others (297-298).

- (296) “I guess that's what they want us to learn from these group works. Of course, in the working environment you will work in groups, but I think the difference there is that you will have a defined leader who distributes the tasks. And here it's always like a **democratic decision**, which is good, but might be not as effi-, as efficient [...]”. (PI Knut)

¹⁹⁰ For a description of the placemat activity see Alberta Education (2008).

¹⁹¹ For a description and discussion of the jigsaw strategy, see for example Smith (1996).

- (297) “I just figured that mm, this Master's is about group work [...] which definitely is good because uhm, every time we have a new group uhm, you do learn uhm, you definitely learn something about communicating in a group each time 'cause people are so different. Uhm, but I would say **if we were given maybe some sort of instruction**, [...] some guidelines for group work, maybe it, **it could be more efficient**, timewise [...].” (PI Oksana)
- (298) “[D]as haben mir auch einige gesagt, dass sie das sozusagen als ähm so ‘ne Art Training aufgefasst haben, **überhaupt sich in ‘ner Gruppe zurecht zu finden**, in ‘ner Gruppe gemeinsam zu arbeiten [...]. Also schon so ein bisschen ins kalte Wasser geworfen, oder halt ‘ne hohe Anforderung eigentlich für die, so in der Situation.“ (PI Ulme)
(Some have also told me that they perceived it as a kind of training to orientate in a group in the first place, to work together in a group [...]. A bit like being thrown in at the deep end, or at least a high demand for them in this situation.)

Once initial confusion is overcome, student-centred learning activities do not only serve as opportunities to practice students’ social skills, but they can also foster long-term understanding of complex matters. The latter is achieved by tasks that address the cognitive as well as the affective and psychomotor domains of learning.¹⁹² A brilliant example for a learning activity that encompasses all three domains is the role play in the climate policy module in which students simulate a United Nations Climate Change Conference and are assigned roles as dignitaries from various nations or as members of the audience such as journalists or other country representatives.¹⁹³ The role play encourages students’ creativity and facilitates contributions from less integrated students. In the REMO9 group, students display their creativity on various levels (e.g. by dressing up in a style typical of the country they are supposed to represent), including humorous references to the lingua situation in the Climate Change Conference (299).

- (299) At the beginning of the simulation of a United Nations Climate Change Conference, Martín acts as interpreter for Sayyid who firstly addresses the audience in Arabic. Students and lecturer are impressed by this idea and several students take up this creative play with the lingua franca situation in their roles as audience members: Knut pretends to be a representative from the Montréal Press, introducing himself in French and then speaking in English with a strong French accent. Finn pretends to be a journalist from the German yellow press newspaper Bild and mimics a heavy Swabian accent in English. [...] (PO lecture Feb 2010).

¹⁹² For a description of the taxonomy of domains of learning, see Bloom, Krathwohl & Masia (1969).

¹⁹³ The lecturer received a teaching award (*Universitätslehrpreis*) for his didactic concept.

Learner autonomy and self-responsibility for the learning progress are essential elements of the REM programme. Lecture attendance is not compulsory in REM, i.e. attendance is not accredited in assessment and absence is not sanctioned. Many students are impressed how well the programme works without obligatory attendance requirements (“I guess they trust people too much and people are more responsible here”, PI Francisco). REM lectures commonly take place in the morning, while afternoons are usually reserved for so-called ‘self-study’. Self-study means that students work autonomously on lecture-related contents, e.g. preparing a presentation or conducting a group project. Students can use their respective REM lecture hall during the designated times for self-study, but they are free to choose any other place and working time, too. Lecturers are not present during self-study time and do not monitor students’ self-study activities. Thus, students can flexibly organize their learning activities as lecturers will not assess the process, but only the result of their work. While some greatly appreciate this flexibility (“[Y]ou have a lot of free time, uhm, and that's why you're not that stressed”, PI Teo), others feel overstrained by the responsibility to organize themselves which often leads to calls for a more directive learning environment or for the implementation of mandatory (graded) assignments (300-301).

- (300) “Sometimes I feel that uhm **we’re given too much freedom** ‘cause uh to handle this extent of freedom is actually a very hard task.” (PI Oksana)
- (301) “We have a lot of free time to, to, to, that we should use in, in studying, but I, I am one of those people that needs to have someone on top, like telling me what to do. **It's hard for me to organize myself.** Uhm, yeah, so I guess it also depends on the people, the, the, the person, how, how he organizes himself and how he, how much he wants to learn. It, maybe it's just that it's a complete different system to what I am used to and you just have to adapt.” (PI Andrés)

Learner autonomy implies that lecturers do not present students with mandatory reading lists and condensed teaching materials, but instead they expect them to search and find relevant information by themselves (302). This is probably the most striking difference between the German learning culture and the educational systems most REM students are acquainted with.

- (302) “[T]hey might have expectations of your, your work product, but they don't necessarily need to give it to you directly. Maybe in the, in the States we spoon-feed everything to people, we give them everything we think they need and rather here it's a different approach where **you are not given everything you need but you have to find it yourself.** (PI Naomi)

Although the local approach demands a lot of initiative from students and requires considerably more time and energy resources, students can also see the benefit of this approach in that this amount of academic freedom allows them to customize their studies to their specific interests and needs (303).

(303) “[H]ere, there, the information is there and you have to go out and get it somehow. And it's a different, different way of learning. Maybe it's even better because you go and **choose what you want to learn** and not everything is coming.” (PI Martín)

7.3.7 *Meta-learning (Learning about a new learning culture)*

Initially, the specificities of the German learning culture and their implications on studying and teaching in the REM programme often lead to difficulties for international students. Local students (and students with previous experience with the German learning culture through student exchange programmes) thus have an edge over their international peers who first need to get used to the peculiarities inherent to the local system.

However, international students do not only see themselves at a disadvantage. At the same time they also acknowledge the opportunity to get to know a different way of learning. Some are particularly grateful for the experience that critical opinions are valuable and appreciated (304) and report that exposure to this learning culture even affected their personality (305).

(304) “I have no regret that I came here 'cause I learned so much more. And really teaching you have to think and you have to criticize something. You have to make it better. Not just one way of a-, observing what teachers are saying. So **I really think it's good system** but some uh little change will make a big difference, yeah.” (PI EunHee)

(305) “[I]t's also the duty of the students who come to a different country to know and understand how things work here, so you just can't expect [*sic!*] the professors to just teach in a way that you desire, but I guess it's a good opportunity for you to learn a new university system, how it functions, and as far as I understand **this form of system only makes you more independent and gives you a chance to maintain your individuality. So that adds up to your personality and character**, I mean if you can't look at it in a positive way, then I don't know ((laughs)).” (PI Dan)

In a nutshell, getting to know the culture-specific way of learning and teaching in REM is a valuable learning experience in itself (“You actually don't learn something at the university, but you learn how to learn something”, PI Demet).

7.4 Culture as challenge: Interaction in the multicultural classroom

The student body in REM is highly heterogeneous with regard to cultural backgrounds and we can find as many as 27 different nationalities in REM08 and REM09 together (cf. Chapter 5.1.1). Thus we can speak of a truly multicultural classroom whose diversity entails both benefits and challenges.

7.4.1 *Benefits of a multicultural learning environment*

Studying in a multicultural group is generally considered an enriching experience as it allows students to gain cross-cultural perspectives on study contents which they would otherwise not become aware of (306-307).

(306) “I think it's really, it's really good because you learn about uh how things work in different realities, in different cultures, uhm, and that makes an experience uh richer than, so, more rich than, than like mm uh studying with people from the same country.” (PI Máximo)

(307) “[I]n a sort of way being here with people from everywhere **it's kind of like travelling** because you get to know about cultures and how they do things and whatever.” (PI Francisco)

Exchanging ideas with peers from entirely different cultural backgrounds allows REM students not only to learn about other perspectives (PI Sigmund) but also to critically reflect their own culture-specific perspective (308). Furthermore, peers from other countries and cultures can serve as valuable information resources with regard to insider knowledge on national affairs (309). Martín even assumes that studying in a multicultural classroom is ‘healthy’ as it leads to more open-mindedness among students and eventually also to a more cooperative spirit instead of competition (310).

(308) “[T]his experience of having like different thoughts all around me, uh, like uh, makes you understand that you are not like the one that is always right and that your thoughts maybe misfocused sometimes.” (PI Martín)

(309) “**It really opens your mind** and you have so different sources of knowledge and it's easy knowledge because you don't have to study or go to a book, you just have a person from this country and he explains how it is.” (PI Gavrilis)

(310) “[T]he environment is more open and people share information and people give advice to the other groups and there is no, there, there is no this pressure of competing, for being who is, or seeing who is the best. Mmm, so, uh, this multicultural environment in **these types of Master's, I think they are healthy** and they make uh people really get closer.” (PI Martín)

Studying in a multicultural environment is not only considered beneficial for personal development, but also seen as valuable preparation for professional life in a global context (311).

(311) “[I]t prepares you for work and life outside the bubble of university.” (PI Joy)

Thus, the internationality of the REM programme (both with regard to the student body as well as to the programme contents which often include global perspectives, e.g. the module on climate policy) are perceived as generally positive. Nevertheless, the multicultural set-up of the REM classroom poses several challenges for REM students and lecturers as the following sections will show.

7.4.2 *Cultural mindsets, common knowledge and patriotism*

Even though REM students and lecturers can handle the lingua franca situation in REM very well, occasional comprehension problems nevertheless occur from time to time. The reasons for miscomprehension are usually not purely linguistic ones, but are mostly intertwined with intercultural comprehension difficulties.

Professor Tanne believes that his occasional difficulties in understanding students in the REM classroom are not caused by their ways of speaking English, but are rather indicative of a clash of different mind-sets (312). He feels that it is much easier for him to understand comments and questions by students from Western cultures, particularly from Europe and the United States, than contributions by students from Eastern cultures because their different ways of thinking potentially distort communication, which is the case when he does not understand their questions in the intended way and the students in turn do not understand his answer either.

(312) “Bei anderen, jetzt also Europäern oder auch bei den Amerikanern [...] hab ich da auch ’ne, ja, ’ne gleiche kulturelle Ebene und kann auf Fragen ganz anders eingehen [...]. Das ist, bei Nepalis oder Indern ist das schwieriger, **weil die aus einem ganz anderen Kulturkreis kommen und eben Denkweisen haben, die ich nicht kenne** [...], also meine Antworten kommen dort verzerrt an, weil ich in ’nem ganz anderen Schema denke, die Frage gar nicht richtig verstehe.“ (PI Tanne)
(With others, well with Europeans or also with Americans [...] I share the same cultural level and can respond to them in a completely different way [...]. It is, with Nepalese or Indians it is more difficult because they come from a completely different culture and thus have ways of thinking which are unfamiliar to me [...], well my answers reach them in distortion because I am thinking in an entirely different pattern, I don't really grasp the question.)

While different ways of thinking might be a potential source of miscomprehension, it is far more likely that different assumptions of common knowledge cause comprehension problems. For example, Europeans might consider holding guinea pigs and rabbits as pets a common occurrence, but for people from other world regions, especially from developing countries, this idea can be puzzling (313).

- (313) During a fieldtrip to the company *German Pellets*, students learn about the different uses of pellets. Muhammad takes me by the side and asks me whether I understand what the excursion guide means by using **pellets as litter for rabbits or guinea pigs**. He seems puzzled when I explain to him that people in Germany often keep rabbits and guinea pigs as pets for their children and hold them in cages inside their houses. He says that he was not aware of the fact that Germans provide this kind of standard for domestic animals which in other parts of the world are kept as livestock for alimentation. (PO excursion REMo8 Jan 2009)

Students' understanding of lecture contents is especially hampered if lecturers refer to local (German) details which can be assumed common knowledge for Germans but might be completely unknown to international participants (314).

- (314) “[O]ur teachers, they know that there's international community and [...], so they avoid some of their specific local stuff, they try to give, be more universal. That, yeah, of, in any way it's no, it's unavoidable. You know, sometimes I don't understand what they are speaking about, when they are saying ‘You know where, you know where is ((onomatopoetic)) walawalawalawala’. There was some story [...] and **maybe Germans know what was happening in this story, maybe, but we don't know**. Sometimes they explain it, but sometimes not.” (PI Muhammad)

REM lecturers are mostly aware of cultural bias in their teaching materials and REM students report that lecturers usually explain the context if necessary. However, it sometimes occurs that lecturers confuse culture-related lack of knowledge with academic ignorance (315). As soon as they realize the putative source of misunderstanding, they clarify the matter in a way that saves both their students' and their own faces by explicitly referring to the fact that they are aware of the cultural bias.

- (315) Professor Eibe explains several mathematical equations. Gisa raises her hand and asks what the letter ‘v’ is supposed to mean. Professor Eibe first answers in a rather patronizing tone that this is not the Roman letter v but the Greek letter ϑ [*theta*] which is commonly used for temperature in Celsius. After a moment of silence he probably realizes that not all of the students in the classroom come from countries where Celsius is the standard unit for temperature. He quickly sets up a disarming smile and adds “**At least in Germany, it is used like that. In other countries, I don't know.**” (PO lecture Dec 2008).

A further challenge in the international classroom is the danger of unintentionally hurting students' patriotic feelings. This risk is low in lectures dealing with fundamental research and theory, but rather high in lectures which make reference to global political affairs. For example, in a lecture on global climate policies, it is inevitable to talk about politics and international relations in different countries. In classroom discussions, students often feel like informal representatives of their countries of origin and start defending their countries' positions. Dr. Ahorn considers this a peculiar challenge of teaching in an international programme and makes an effort to show consideration for his students' national or cultural identities. In practice this means that he explicitly mentions this issue during the first lecture session and emphasises that the module is not about judging anyone as good or bad, neither countries and their governments nor students from other countries (PI Ahorn).

Nevertheless, misunderstandings of this type cannot always be avoided by the lecturer, as they can also arise among students themselves (316). Silas recounts an incidence of intercultural miscommunication in a group work activity:

- (316) “There was this, this one situation, uhm, where, I think we were divided in, in groups, uhm, like, according to continents. So we had like the, the, the North Americans, the South Americans, we had the Europe guys, we had the, the Asian guys and stuff [...]. So, there was, I was of course in the European group, and uhm, we are, we have two Turkish girls and we, I mean we all know that Turkey was like, has made attempts to enter the European Union and that, so those girls were like ‘Okay, we're coming to the EU’. And then there was one girl, uhm, that said ‘Wait, but you are not from the EU, you are not in there.’ And it was like, just, I don't know if she meant it like really p-, like seriously or not, it was just a comment. And those two girls were like ‘Okay, back off!’. They immediately got like, not pissed but, yeah, they, they knew, there is something, I don't know. And, I'm friends with both and I talked about them, with, about this topic and they said ‘No, this is just not the way it is like meant to be.’” (PI Silas)

It has to be mentioned, however, that none of the incidences of cross-cultural misunderstanding has affected group dynamics in REM in a negative way as miscommunication of this type is usually negotiated and clarified soon afterwards (PO and PI various).

7.4.3 *Autonomy in group work activities*

As mentioned earlier (cf. Chapter 7.3.6), learner autonomy and self-responsibility are important cornerstones of the German learning culture and unfamiliarity with the practical implications of these principles challenges international students.

Yet, from an intercultural perspective, these principles pose a challenge to all REM students, both local and international students, since they are supposed

to collaborate efficiently in order to accomplish certain tasks. Different culture-specific approaches to organizing group work and negotiating tasks among group members can make group work in international teams a time-consuming venture (317).

- (317) “[I]n the beginning it was very very difficult to work in a group. In a diversified group of people. I, I came just, think, to thinking about the first um presentation we had to do in the first module, and we were five different um nationalities, yeah, and we had such a different um understanding of how to work or how to prepare a pre-, presentation.”
(PI Nina)

Collaboration in group assignments is occasionally hampered by different ideas of the quantity of contributions (318). While some students actively engage in group work and invest a lot of time and energy, others are rather reticent and let their peers go ahead.

- (318) “Ich hab bei einigen bei uns in der Gruppe [das Gefühl; SG], [...] dass sie sich einfach sehr darauf konzentrieren, dass das, wo sie individuelle Leistungen bringen, dass das gut wird, aber wenn's um Gruppenarbeiten geht, äh, sich zurückziehen und eher beobachten und auch wenn sie ganz konkret angesprochen werden nur Minimalbeiträge leisten.“ (PI Sören)
(I have the feeling with some people in our group that they simply concentrate very much on performing well in tasks yielding individual achievement, but when it comes to team work, they withdraw and rather observe and only contribute to a minimum even if they are directly addressed.)

This is of course a common social phenomenon and not only applicable to international settings. Yet, the fact that REM students come from different cultures increases difficulties in collaboration since students do not only have individual approaches to collaboration, but they also have different culture-related experiences with group processes. While collaboration for some means that everyone does an equal share of work, for others the quality of contributions counts more than a quantitatively even distribution of the work load.

Furthermore, students with less experience in group work and the required tasks (e.g. preparing an oral presentation) often consider their reticence as adequate as they do not want to hamper the results by their ignorance and rather let their peers go ahead in order to achieve good results for their team (319).

- (319) “First group work we did, uhm one person was a very, very voluntary and so she was volunteering to do this, volunteering to do that. So of course uh for me the system wasn't uh, I wasn't used to the group work. We don't do so much group work and she wanted to do voluntary. So I of course ‘Okay, you can do it, you can do it!’. But later I heard that she complained that I didn't do much work. So some people uh volun-,

volunteering but I mean at the end they feel like they did all the work. Uhm, yeah, this can be problematic but I, I couldn't do anything because **I need some time to get used to this system [...]**" (PI EunHee)

Cross-cultural differences in dealing with group assignments are most noticeable in different communication styles, as Naomi explains (320). German students are believed to be good at breaking down tasks, whereas North and South American students are believed to be better at discussing the envisaged aims and the broader context of an assignment.

(320) "[W]ith the Germans and especially in working with groups, the, the German speakers I found are very good at being able to identify what we are supposed to do and delegate tasks. And I can spend a whole day talking about, about what, you know, what it is, like the reason why we are doing this and how it's important to society ((laughs)) and the Spanish speaking folks would get nowhere in some way, so, it's different, definitely." (PI Naomi)

Culture-specific communication styles can occasionally disrupt group work processes and lead to temporary misunderstandings if students transfer pragmatic rules from their native languages into English (318). Misunderstandings are particularly caused by unexpected degrees of (in)directness in speech and can initially lead to irritation and feeling offended (321-323).

(321) "[...] I think the most difficulties are not really the language, it's more the culture because someone from Asia says 'Yeah I will come' but it means like 'Yeah rather not.'" (PI Justus)

(322) "I mean it happens that there is some irritation like for example when uh when the Germans um are, they have... I mean, **Germans have the habit to be very honest for example with criticism** and uhm this is, yeah for us it's normal, but uh **for some people it was irritating and they felt offended in the beginning**. But then they found out, okay, it's a German thing so it's not personal." (PI Miriam)

(323) "For instance, **Germans express themselves quite directly**. And the, for instance [...] English people, they don't uh express directly so. But they don't have conflict, but then sometimes you will hear they comment like uh 'Oh, how they can be so, directly say something' or something like that so, yeah. But for me it's also because uh in our culture we are not so direct address the people so ((chuckle)) but there's no conflict ((chuckle))." (PI Chen)

Nonetheless, cross-cultural differences in communication styles and approaches to organizing group work do not hinder study achievement in REM. REM students generally accomplish the required tasks successfully and often consider intercultural differences and difficulties as valuable challenge (324).

- (324) “[Es] war schwieriger sicherlich, wie, wie, wenn das jetzt meine Schiene, ein Kulturkreis gewesen wäre, aber wie gesagt, das sind, find ich, Herausforderungen und Ansprüche, die man an sich ja dann auch selber stellen kann, einfach mit, ähm, mit diesen Problematiken klarzukommen und dann das Beste draus zu machen. Und bis dato hat's auch mehr oder weniger immer geklappt. Also es war **nicht der leichteste Weg, aber hat genauso zum Ziel geführt.**” (PI Ferdinand)
([It] was surely more difficult than, than if it was my culture group, but as I said, I find these are challenges and demands which you can also place on yourself, to simply come to terms with these problems and to make the most of it. And until now it has always worked out well more or less. Well, it was not the easiest way, but it has also lead to successful completion.)

7.4.4 Group dynamics, stereotypes and special needs

Subgroup formation within groups is a social phenomenon typical of human beings in general and not restricted to international groups. However, in an international group the social intragroup dynamics might be affected by its members' cultural backgrounds and identities. In the REM09 group, there is a strong Latin American subgroup, as many students notice (325-326).

- (325) “Well sometime uh maybe it's difficult to uh acclimatize, I mean, yourself to like uh maybe to the South American things like maybe they are, they know each other better and they are... It seems like they are, what to say? Mingling, they are mingling better. So kind, it seems like there's a kind of uh regional group or something like that but I think that is not the reality, so. Sometime it can be a problem to communicate with them and to really get along, along with them but I think during the course of time we learned how to uh align ourselves with them [...]. **Somehow we learnt to live together**, so it's not that bad I think.” (PI Birendra)
- (326) “Here there are segregations of course, like, there is like the Latin group, there is the German group, there is the rest of the world group, I don't know ((chuckle)) something like that. But still, we all go and have lunch together and after the classes, we can go and have a beer together and **there is not this rival-, rivalry between groups** [...].” (PI Martín)

The formation of subgroups among students is a natural process and mainly comes to notice in students' spare time. It can however also affect studying and teaching in REM if the subgroups are not permeable and hinder collaboration. Unfavourable group dynamics can occur if students of a certain country or speakers of a shared native language cling together and do not voluntarily work with other peers.

Such dynamics can eventually lead to an imbalance of (academic) skills between groups with top performers and groups with weaker students. In order to avoid this, Dr. Ahorn does not let students choose their peers for group work in his module but instead he assigns group membership, making sure that all

groups represent a balanced mix of students, not only with regard to their language and cultural background, but also with regard to gender and academic.¹⁹⁴ Although students usually dislike predefined groups (PI Severin), Dr. Ahorn's approach is very successful and much appreciated by REM students (PI Ahorn, PC various).

A further challenge of the international classroom consists in the risk of stereotyping. International students are often unconsciously perceived as representatives of their countries and cultures of origin. While being stereotyped in this way is often taken for granted and accepted (occasionally even appreciated) by students, there are cases of ethnic stereotyping which cause irritation. An example of ethnic stereotyping is the way how Cai, an English NS from Canada with Asian ethnic background, is initially perceived as Asian NNS and praised for her good English language proficiency by her REM peers and lecturers (327).

(327) Cai: “[I]f I saw someone in Toronto speaking English, I wouldn't think anything about it, but here, because when I first came, people were like ‘where are you from?’, I said ‘I'm from Canada’, and they're like ‘Oh, but where are you really from?’ and I was like ‘Ah, interesting!’ and, I have no problem, if I ((unclear)) I come from Vietnam. I was born there but I grew up in Toronto. And then some people are like ‘**Oh, your English is really good!**’ ((laughs)) [...]”

SG: “How do you feel if people say that?”

Cai: “It was just, uhm, I guess it's just, it's, this idea when you see somebody, you think their home country, like their country of origin, and it's not so common to see somebody that you would expect from another country speaking a different language fluently and, I never encountered that but I realize it's the most sensible or logical thing, so it was, it was just weird at first. So that's, that's why. [...] it's just, it's just, yeah, I guess some misunderstandings that, basically assumptions already made beforehand.”

SG: “Do they affect you?”

Cai: “They're a bit irritating, because then I have to explain or, or I don't wanna look like I am not, I'm ashamed of being Vietnamese or anything, it's just, it, I don't know, the country, so... But yeah, it's just a bit, I guess **a bit irritating to explain everything**, so yeah.” (PI Cai)

Cross-cultural differences in the international REM classroom do not only refer to students' national and sociocultural backgrounds, but also include their religiousness. While for many students religion is a private matter and irrelevant in their study activities, others practice their faith in all domains of their lives. For their peers this means that they need to be careful not to hurt their feelings by unintentionally criticising their faith (328).

¹⁹⁴ Dr. Ahorn asks the lecturer of the previous module for his estimation of students' academic performance and defines the working groups prior to starting his module when he has not met the students yet.

- (328) “[D]u musst halt immer sehr aufpassen, wie du, weil, wir haben auch ein paar sehr Gläubige hier und da muss man dann ein bisschen aufpassen [...]“ (PI Silvan)
(You always have to be very cautious, how you, there are some very religious students among us and with them you have to be a bit cautious [...])

Lectures in REM usually do not interfere with religious practices as they usually have a limited time frame of no more than 180 minutes plus pauses. Religious practices can however play a role on fieldtrips or other events of a longer duration. A practical challenge for lecturers in organizing field trips or other events with board consists in considering the range of religion-based dietary restrictions.¹⁹⁵ The compilation of a central document with students’ dietary requirements proves to be a helpful tool (PI Liguster).

According to my observations, REM lecturers are very considerate with regard to students’ cultural heterogeneity and religious practices. Apart from considering special dietary needs, individual concessions to other religion-based requirements are granted if the conditions allow for it. Dr. Birke reports about a Muslim REM student assistant asking permission to take breaks from work in order to pray during Ramadan. The student was granted permission not only to go praying but also to use an empty storage room as prayer room to make sure she would not be disturbed by her colleagues during prayer. The student was very appreciative of this arrangement and in turn made an effort to exceed expectations with regard to her work as student assistant (PI Birke). Although this example is exceptional and need not be understood as general suggestion, it nevertheless represents a best-practice example of how students and lecturers can show mutual respect towards their cultures through apparently minor adjustments.

7.5 Students’ and lecturers’ suggestions to improve EMI

In the preceding chapters (Chapters 5, 6, 7.1–7.4) we have seen the challenges of studying and teaching in English in an international EMI programme. What could be more reasonable than asking REM stakeholders themselves which suggestions for improvement they have in order to limit these challenges? The following subchapters give account of the numerous suggestions from REM students and lecturers. Chapter 7.5.1 depicts suggestions for immediate improvement, i.e. any self-help suggestions that students and lecturers could readily employ by themselves. Chapter 7.5.2 includes suggestions for institutionally supported measures for improvement, i.e. suggestions which aim at long-term improvement and require top-down support from the hosting institution and/or the programme board.

¹⁹⁵ On the two-day fieldtrip in February 2009, I personally experienced the complexity of pre-ordering lunch at a German youth hostel for an international group of students comprising meat eaters, halal eaters (Muslims), ovo-lacto-vegetarians and lacto-vegetarians (Hindus).

7.5.1 *Self-help suggestions for immediate improvement*

REM management administers student evaluations in all REM modules. For this purpose, standardized evaluation forms are distributed in print format at the end of each module and filled in by REM students. Their answers are then anonymized and summarized by an administrative staff member (usually by the student assistant working at the ZEE) and the results are communicated to the respective module lecturers. REM students appreciate this opportunity to give feedback and consider the evaluation results as valuable resource for lecturers to check whether they have to improve or not (329).

(329) “[W]e mention how good the module was and what we could gain, [...] and ob-, obviously we do mention it in very simple words that of course we liked it, of course we didn't like this, that and this. So it's obvious, whether they should do something about or not.” (PI Dan)

However, from the lecturers' perspective, the module evaluation is not very helpful as students supposedly do not take the evaluation very seriously. Students are suspected of randomly ticking off boxes in the first section of the evaluation form without much reflection and only very few students use the chance to offer qualitative feedback in the form of open comments in the second section (PI Birke). Yet, it would be very helpful for REM lecturers if students took the time to reflect on each module and expressed their feedback in their own words, no matter whether their feedback is positive or negative.

It is, however, understandable if REM students do not put too much effort into the formal evaluation, given the fact that they never receive a summary of the results. Dr. Birke therefore recommends that evaluation results should be communicated to the students as well as this would increase their motivation to give critical feedback when they see that lecturers do actually care about their opinion (PI Birke).

7.5.1.1 Regarding linguistic challenges

ELF use in studying and teaching is a key defining feature of EMI and mutual linguistic understanding between students and lecturers is a necessary prerequisite for academic success. The question is which strategies can enhance mutual linguistic comprehension in an EMI classroom?

When REM students are asked whom of their lecturers they find easiest to understand linguistically (QO, item 30 in REMo8 and item 32 in REMo9), the majority name Dr. Ahorn as best example.¹⁹⁶ Few students mention him

¹⁹⁶ The exceedingly frequent mention of Dr. Ahorn reflects his proficiency (both in English and as lecturer), but has to be seen in light of the modular system in REM and the point in time in which the questionnaire was administered. The QO questionnaire was distributed shortly after completion of Dr. Ahorn's module and thus students had livelier memories of this lecturer than of lecturers who taught previous modules.

specifically because of his near-native proficiency in English (QO Ferdinand, Kerstin). The majority list other characteristics of his linguistic performance which make his speech particularly easy to understand. Among these are his “plane [sic!] international accent” (QO Mario) and his clear pronunciation (QO Sari, Gisa and others), his confidence in speaking (QO Sören) and the appropriate volume (QO Muhammad) and speech rate (QO Manel).

Thus, we can infer that comprehensibility is not so much enhanced through near-native performance, but rather through para- and psycholinguistic variables in speech, namely articulation, volume, speech rate and confidence. Comprehensibility can be immediately improved if EMI lecturers (and students, too) focus on and adjust these variables in their way of speaking.

Apart from this basic suggestion for improvement, REM students have ample other ideas how their lecturers can enhance linguistic comprehension in the REM classroom.

The foremost suggestion for linguistic improvement appeals to lecturers' modesty and unpretentiousness. Lecturers should acknowledge the limits of their English language proficiency and make the most of it instead of pretending to have a higher level of English just to sound more sophisticated (330). Aiming for more modesty and straightforwardness is particularly relevant with regard to lecturers' use of specialist vocabulary and complex syntactic structures (331-332).

(330) “[D]u merkst es halt auch einfach, wenn, wenn, wenn Dozenten das auch irgendwie akzeptieren, dass sie halt nicht so gut Englisch sprechen, aber dann 's beste draus machen und nicht irgendwie dann versuchen, Worte zu gebrauchen, von denen sie nicht so genau wissen, was sie heißen oder irgendwelche Sätze dann zusammen-, so, **nur dass es dann irgendwie nach Professor klingt** oder so.“ (PI Silvan)

(You simply notice it if if lecturers somehow accept the fact that they are just not so good at speaking English but make the most of it and do not somehow try to use words whose meaning they don't know or any sentence constructions just to sound somewhat professorial.)

(331) “[M]an sollte es ihnen auf jeden Fall sagen [...], **dass es nicht darauf ankommt irgendwie schwierige Sätze zu bilden**, weil ich denk, das ist, das kann auch ganz oft irgendwie in die Hose gehen, weil wenn man dann irgendwas nicht ganz hundertprozentig so gebraucht, wie man's will und das versteht dann vielleicht irgendjemand falsch [...].“ (PI Silvan)

(One should tell them in any case that it is not about building difficult sentences, because I think this, this can very often go wrong because, if you use something not hundred percent in the way how you want to, and then this may be misunderstood by someone.)

(332) “The best would be to have a clear English or clear language uh in your slides. Clear language in your speech. **Try to keep it uh simple.**” (PI Dhiraj)

As regards teaching materials in REM, various students emphasize that lecturers should take care to only present materials in English as the extra effort does not take up much time but offers equal opportunities for learning to all students (333-334).

(333) “[S]ometimes there's professors who provide only German text. But during the class I searched on the internet and there was exactly same text in English. So **if they invested five more minutes** they could provide an English text yeah.” (PI EunHee)

(334) “[...] **provide us with information that is both relevant and in English**. Because a lot of times, the teachers don't always, they don't always take the effort and take the time to find the resources and the tools in the language cor-, in the, in the appropriate language that we can utilize.” (PI Naomi)

Moreover, lecturers are recommended to develop their EMI teaching materials from scratch rather than translating originally German materials into English because translation always bears the risk of misinterpretation which in turn leads to comprehension difficulties (335-336).

(335) “[S]ometimes the text is like a German direct to translated English type of thing so it's not really uhm easy to understand.” (PI EunHee)

(336) “[D]ie Art, wie man auf Deutsch lehrt, ist 'ne ganz andere als man auf Englisch lehrt einfach, einfach nur durch die Sprache, das ist, **wenn man den gleichen Inhalt in diesen Sprachen darstellt, kommen unterschiedliche Dinge raus**, und deswegen sollten auch die Dozenten nicht einfach 'ne Folie nehmen [...], aber sollten sie sich vielleicht Gedanken machen, wie sie das wirklich in dieser Sprache am besten rüberbringen können, dabei ihre eigenen Fähigkeiten berücksichtigen.“ (PI Sigmund)

(The way of teaching in German is entirely different to teaching in English, simply because of the language, this is, expressing the same contents in these languages yields different results, and therefore lectures should not just simply take a slide [...], but maybe they should consider how they could really convey the message in this language in the best way, considering their individual proficiency.)

Translations of teaching materials are considered acceptable if they are done or at least reviewed by a third party and subsequently used as learning resource for lecturers to check and improve their vocabulary use (337-338).

(337) “Well, one thing was, is definitely **that someone looked over their slides** probably, that would be, I think the most easiest way to fix their slides.” (PI Cai)

(338) “[I]f they know from themselves they don't speak that perfect English they should maybe learn vocabularies ((laughing)) before they go into a lecture or uhm or **find somebody who makes really good translations of the slides**. For example when, when you don't have so much time maybe you could do just the presentation in German and give it to someone who's translating it and then **go back to the presentation and look at the words really close** and if you don't understand something go deeper into the language to really, that you really can teach it.” (PI Miriam)

Comprehension difficulties can also be limited if lecturers provide access to their teaching materials prior to the actual lecture so that students can linguistically prepare for the lecture and look up unfamiliar terminology in advance (339).

(339) “[O]nce we requested the professor if we can **have a file in advance** because the first module was a, quite of a lot of materials were given in a short time. But someone like me who didn't really have background knowledge plus uhm not used to English, there are many terms that we don't know. **If we could get it before we could prepare.**” (PI EunHee)

REM students frequently also mention didactic weaknesses as primary source for difficulties in following lectures. The majority of REM lectures employ teacher-centred methods of instruction in the form of monologic presentations accompanied by PowerPoint (ppt) slides. This teaching method is principally valuable if applied in an appropriate way. However, NNS lecturers frequently tend to overstrain this method and use their ppt slides as crutches to limp through their English-taught lectures (340). In other words, the visual aids are given more prominence in REM lectures than the lecturers' own explanations, which is apparent in the often excessive amount of slides and in the linguistic presentation of contents on these slides (completely formulated sentences instead of key words).

(340) “¿Cómo se dice? Uhm, they, **se agarran a power point** y que todo está allí para, para explicar todo en vez de simplemente pararse y empezar a hablar.” (PI Patricio)
(How to say that? Uhm, they latch onto their power point slides and everything is [written] there to, to explain everything instead of simply taking a break and starting to speak.)

REM students report difficulties in concentrating if lecturers focus too much on their slides instead of using them just as a complement (341-342). REM lecturers are thus advised to trust in their speaking proficiency and not only reduce the number of ppt slides, but also to broaden their range of teaching methods and employ further methods (and materials) to enhance learning in the REM programme (343).

- (341) “The problem is, if they start to just show uh slides and slides and slides and slides and slides, the people will start to do something else¹⁹⁷, and that’s their fault, too” (PI Patricio)
- (342) “[...] *PowerPoint* ist EIN Werkzeug um zu unterrichten, und das ist nicht das Einzige was irgendwie möglich ist, und **man muss auch nicht auf Teufel komm raus möglichst viele slides** und, weiß ich nicht, [...]“ (PI Severin)
(PowerPoint is ONE tool for teaching, and it is not the only possible option, and neither is it necessary to [use] as many slides as possible come hell or high water, and, I don’t know.)
- (343) Teo giving an example of a good lecturer: “Mister Linde for me is a - first of all, he was very active during, during the lecture. Uh, he had really good slides but he wasn't like reading from the slides. Okay, he had his slides but he was **trying to explain whatever he wanted to explain in another way** and not just read, okay, points or whatever. Uhm, he was also **trying to closely involve us in the, in that lecture asking questions**, okay, ‘What do you think about this and that and the other?’” (PI Teo)

Apart from diversity of teaching methods and materials, REM students furthermore suggest that lecturers aim for more interaction with students in order to check whether they can follow instead of simply “[...] coming and giving lectures and showing like hundreds of slides and go back” (PI Nishant).

7.5.1.2 Regarding cross-cultural challenges

Since REM is not only an EMI programme, but also international, challenges of studying and teaching in REM are also caused by the interplay between the international classroom and the local environment. As we have seen in Chapter 7.3, unfamiliarity with the local learning culture presents a considerable challenge for international students in REM. Immediate reduction of the challenge can be achieved if lecturers precise their expectations in as much detail as possible. Assessment formats and examination regulations are of special importance here (cf. EunHee’s experience as documented in Chapter 7.3.3).

In practice this could mean that lecturers provide information on assessment formats on handouts or include detailed information in the respective module description in the REM handbook (PI Daksha) and explain the details at the beginning of each module (344).

¹⁹⁷ With “something else”, Patricio here refers to his observation that in these cases students frequently use their laptops during lectures to watch *Youtube* videos or other web contents (PI Patricio).

- (344) “[T]hey should have like **‘This is the exam structure...’**, on the first day that the exam is like this and you have to write within a short period of time, so this would definitely help the students.” (PI Shashank)

Additionally, advanced students (i.e. those from a previous generation) could serve as tutors to inform the new generation of students about assessment types and the peculiarities of the German learning culture in general (PI Daksha). Yet, lecturers should not only precise their expectations with regard to assessment, but they should also inform students about the objective of a module and its relevance in the context of REM studies (345).

- (345) “At the very beginning of the module, teacher should be, teacher should explain what he is going to deliver, what is the use of these things, where we can implement these things.” (PI Sunil)

If lecturers fail to provide this information and do not show any empathy for students’ difficulties in grasping the lecture contents, the learning progress is hampered which can lead to discontent and frustration, as was the case in Dr. Sycamore’s lecture (PI Sunil and 346-347).

- (346) “We had uh, Sycamore. Uhm, he was native, English native speaker but he was very bad in communication and uhm, **he was just a scientist who didn't really care about what people think** or if he is communicating or not. And, yeah, there you see that he was very good in English, he was native speaker, perfect. But he was zero in communication, or in human touch or feeling. Even if you cannot communicate very well you can perhaps feel if the other person is following or if the other person is uh, I don't know, have difficulties to, to understand what you're saying. And he didn't have that. (PI Manel)

- (347) A few days before his lecture started, Dr. Sycamore distributed a digital copy of a hand-written (!) lecture script with 248 pages for his lecture. At the beginning of the first lecture session, several students complain about the poor readability of the lecture script and the lack of a clearly structured outline of the lecture. Dr. Sycamore is seemingly annoyed by these complaints, ignores them and starts his lecture in medias res. After a few minutes Patricio interrupts him. He explicitly asks the lecturer to explain the aim of the course and criticizes that he has not yet introduced the relevance of the topic and the learning objective. Dr. Sycamore reacts rather hostile: “**We are wasting time**, let’s get started.” [...] (PO lecture Dec 2008).

Apart from providing a clear outline of their lectures, REM students also recommend that lecturers raise their awareness towards cross-cultural differences in the REM classroom, specifically towards the fact that the absence of questions does not mean that students understand everything (348).

(348) “Wenn keine Fragen kommt, dann heißt das nicht unbedingt, dass alles klar ist, ja, zum Beispiel. [...] Da, da glaub ich, da müssten die Lehrenden einfach auch dies-, also einiges an kulturellen Eigenschaften dessen bewusst sein, so.“ (PI Donovan)

(If there are not any questions, it does not necessarily mean that everything is clear, for example. [...] I think, lecturers should make themselves aware of several cultural characteristics.)

In Chapter 7.3.2 we have seen that REM lecturers are aware of this challenge and use several strategies to cope with it, e.g. through initiating informal conversations during lecture breaks. Sunil suggests that students’ learning progress can be greatly improved if lectures offer a question-and-answer session at the end of each module where students get enough room to ask unresolved questions (PI Sunil). This suggestion is common practice in Professor Kiefer’s lectures and proves to be very successful (PI Kiefer).

As regards students’ unfamiliarity with oral presentations, students recommend that more presentation practice would be beneficial (PI Sunil), especially if combined with constructive feedback on students’ performance (349).

(349) “[I]t would make more sense if uh the teachers also make, give some hints or uh, hm, let's say, uh, some indications how to improve your language or your presentation skills.” (PI Manel)

On the whole, REM lecturers are generally sensitive towards the cultural diversity among their students and even try to cater for specific requirements if the conditions allow for it (e.g. the consideration of dietary restrictions on field trips or the concession of breaks during prayer times as explained in Chapter 7.3.4). Students greatly appreciate these efforts and generally feel respected and accepted in their cultural diversity.

Yet, nobody is perfect and there are still areas which students consider worthy of improvement. One such area is the consideration of major holidays in other religions (e.g. equivalents to the Christian Christmas) and the concession of special arrangements in cases where examination falls on such a day (350).

(350) “[A]ls wir jetzt unsere Klausur geschrieben haben am Freitag, mm, ich weiß gar nicht mehr, welches, welches Fest war das denn? Irgendein muslimisches religiöses Fest war an dem Freitag, und ähm, ich weiß zumindest von einem Kommilitonen, dass er äh anscheinend sehr unglücklich war, dass er zu dem Zeitpunkt seine Klausur schreiben musste, und ähm, wenn man so ein Programm macht, könnte man natürlich versuchen auf so was, ja, zumindest in gewisser Weise, **Rücksicht zu nehmen**, oder, oder Alternativen anzubieten oder so.“ (PI Sören)

(When we were sitting our exam on Friday, mm, I don't remember which, which holiday was it? A Muslim religious holiday was on that Friday and uhm I know at least of one fellow student who was apparently very unhappy that he had to sit an exam at that time, and

uhm if you offer such an [international EMI; SG] programme, you could of course try to show consideration in a certain way, or, or offer alternatives or so.)

It has to be stressed here that this recommendation is not considered of vital importance by very religious students themselves and rather presents a bonus option. For REM students it is most important that lecturers know their students' backgrounds and show interest in their diversity (PI Sunil). For this purpose, REM management keeps an overview list with REM students' names, countries of origin, previous degrees and photographs of each student which is distributed among all REM lecturers at the beginning of the programme.

From the lecturers' perspective, teaching in the international REM classroom is for the most part a 'learning by doing' experience since only few intercultural challenges can really be anticipated while the major part always comes as surprise (PI Eiche). A preparatory briefing at the beginning of term where lecturers are informed about students' cultural backgrounds and potential difficulties would miss the point, as several REM lecturers argue. Such a procedure would eventually even reinforce cultural stereotypes and not lead to a better understanding.

Instead lecturers rather need to sensitize to the fact that EMI is not just using a lingua franca, but also implies a clash of different learning cultures and expectations. Raising lecturers' awareness to this special challenge should thus be an essential element in EMI support for lecturers: "[M]an müsste zumindest äh sozusagen vielleicht die Botschaft an die Dozenten bringen, äh, dass sie sich da drüber Gedanken machen" (PI Kiefer).

Good rapport is a general requirement of a positive and productive learning environment, but it should be specifically reinforced in international EMI programmes since international students often need more personal contact than local students in order to get used to the unfamiliar learning culture and its requirements (PI Kiefer).

A good opportunity for building rapport between students and lecturers is the semi-formal 'welcoming party' at the beginning of the REM programme where students and lecturers introduce themselves to each other and then have dinner together. Several REM lecturers emphasize the added value of such an introductory event where students and lecturers have the chance to engage in first informal conversations with each other (PI Kiefer, Tanne and others). Besides the welcome event, field trips also help students and lecturers to build rapport as they allow for plenty of opportunities to hold conversations that go beyond regular small talk in lecture breaks (cf. Chapter 5.3.1).

As a valuable addition, Professor Tanne suggests the introduction of an informal weekly lecture series ("Kulturabende") where students take turns in presenting their home countries and cultures to their peers and lecturers (PI Tanne). He believes that this format would be entertaining and informative and would also help to increase tolerance and respect towards unfamiliar cultures on

both sides. Sunil has a very similar idea, expanding the circle of invited guests to include all REM stakeholders (351).

(351) Sunil: “[J]ust before in the Christmas, we can just uh **arrange a cultural programme** or something that will be helpful to know what they are or, how they behave.”

SG: “And who should participate? The students or the teachers or both?”

Sunil: “I think all. Students, teachers, because – all the stakeholders who are associated with the REM should be there, otherwise it has no meaning.” (PI Sunil)

While the idea of a joint ‘cultural programme’ has not been taken up yet, an informal presentation series was arranged in the REM09 group from students for students during the first weeks of their first semester. In these presentations, students took turns in introducing their home countries and cultures to their peers. The presentation series finished when no more volunteers could be recruited for presentations, probably because of the overall increase of students’ workload.

7.5.1.3 Regarding academic challenges

Last but not least a few words about the challenges caused by students’ heterogeneous academic knowledge are in order. REM students do not only speak different first languages and come from different countries and cultures, but they also have a large range of previous degrees (for an overview see Chapter 5.1.1). As a consequence, their previous knowledge of REM-related matters varies greatly, across students as well as across modules. Lecturers be aware of this academic diversity and adjust their lectures if necessary (352).

(352) “It is a heterogeneous mixture of the students. Uhm, the students have different hm hm backgrounds, so some could have very **very good basic understanding** about the thermodynamics or another could have a very, al- **almost a zero knowledge**. So it is hard [...] for the, another student to come off with the, his colleagues. So I think uh teachers should notice this, what is the difference between the hm students in the, in the depth of the matter.” (PI Sunil)

In order to reduce the contrast in students’ expertise in various REM-related matters, lecturers could assign preparatory reading assignments (PI Donovan) or organize an optional preparatory tutorial for those who are not fully acquainted yet with the necessary basics of a subject (PI Bernd). Recalling students’ academic heterogeneity can also help lecturers to diminish doubts in their language proficiency. Some REM students are highly ambitious and tend to blame their lecturers for reducing students’ learning progress by their insufficient English language proficiency for teaching (353; cf. Chapter 6.1).

- (353) “Also, ich hab häufig das Gefühl, dass halt irgendwie gesagt wird ‘Ja, das ist jetzt schwierig, deswegen ist das doof, deswegen machen wir das nicht, wir machen lieber was Einfacheres‘ und das, weiß ich nicht, das brauch ich irgendwie nicht. Ich bin hier freiwillig und ich möchte was lernen, und das wird halt nicht so erfüllt. Deswegen, ein Lehrer, oder **ein Dozent, der kann ruhig fordern.**“ (PI Severin)
(Well, I often feel that they [=the lecturers; SG] somehow say ‘Yeah, this is difficult, thus it is nasty, thus we will not do it, we rather do easier things’ and that, I don’t know, I don’t need that. I am here voluntarily and I want to learn something and they don’t live up to it. Therefore, it is perfectly fine if a teacher or a lecturer challenges [students].)

According to my observations and data analyses, the real source of disturbance lies in varying degrees of familiarity with lecture contents. In some cases students are simply underchallenged academically rather than the lecturers being overchallenged by EMI.

7.5.2 Suggestions for institutionally supported long-term improvement

7.5.2.1 Optional language training for students

REM students and lecturers unanimously agree that REM students do not need general English language training. Students consider it unnecessary because REM is not a language course (PI Bulat) and because they have already proven sufficient language proficiency in their applications through the required TOEFL score or IELTS band (PI Teo, Mario). After all, it is supposedly the students’ own responsibility to check their EMI aptitude and improve their skills or better retain their application (354-355).

- (354) “They should see whether their English is that good or not. If not, then they should improve their English and then only they should apply over here. [...] **If you’re not confident, then you don’t apply.**” (PI Shashank)
- (355) “[Y]ou have to have a good language level when you apply because you do the TOEFL. And if you don’t have a good language, you should, **you should look for on your own.** [...] So if you don’t feel confident and you don’t have a good language level for English, you should not apply, or if you apply, you should find a way to improve it on, on your own.” (PI Gisa)

Professor Kiefer suggests the introduction of a customized diagnostic language test at the beginning of the first semester (356). This status-quo assessment of students’ actual language skills could provide useful information for lecturers so that they could adjust their lectures and cater for individual needs:

- (356) “[...] dass man am Eingang auch ein bisschen die Englischkenntnisse feststellt und [...] dass das eine Rückmeldung ist dann für die Lehrenden, dass sie wissen ‘Aha, also da, alle gut drauf, plus minus’ oder ‘Gibt ein paar, da muss man besonders drauf achten’, ja, die man dann vielleicht auch eher mal persönlich noch anspricht.“ (PI Kiefer)
([...] that [the lecturer] assesses [students’] English skills at the beginning and that it is meant as feedback for the lecturers, so that they know ‘I see, everyone on their toes, more or less’ or ‘There are a few requiring special attention’ yeah, who [the lecturer] can address personally.)

Instead of a traditional language course (i.e. including general grammar, pronunciation, etc.), REM students would appreciate (optional) specialized language training (357), i.e. English for special purposes (ESP) training with focus on technical English (PI Bernd) or on “economic language or management language” (PI Gavrilis).

- (357) “[I]f you are studying something about management, then your language should be also very uh I would say, it should be more than good. It should show its quality, y’know, when you are speaking, something scientific or anything scientific, it should sound more professional. So I was hoping that they would give us something, they would teach us something like that as well.” (PI Demet)

REM lecturers, on the other hand, feel that students rather ought to get additional courses on academic writing as this supposedly is a general challenge for students in EMI programmes regardless of their language level or background (PI Birke, Eiche, Ginster). Besides, language training for students should, if at all, better focus on improving students’ language competence in German rather than in English (PI Ahorn). Many REM students make the same suggestion, stressing that it is essential for international students to learn the local language in order to avoid communication problems outside the classroom, as for example at the resident registration office or when looking for accommodation (358). Students therefore propose that a basic German language course should be integrated in the REM curriculum (359). Ismail would even make this course obligatory and include graded assessment (PI Ismail).

- (358) “[E]ven our programme is in English, but **you should learn German over** here so that you won’t have problem outside.” (PI Shashank)
- (359) “[I]t might also be helpful if they had some sort of **basic German and incorporated that** - I know it’s an international programme, but uhm - and have that as one layer to the REM.” (PI Naomi).

7.5.2.2 Complementary intercultural training for students

REM students invariably stress that they get along well with each other and never encounter serious intercultural misunderstandings in their group. The majority therefore do not see a need for general intercultural training (despite its potential relevance for their future professional lives, PI Daksha). Some even argue that intercultural training would spoil REM because it would level out valuable conflict material (360-361).

(360) “[...] find ich sehr viel interessanter diese **Konflikte da zu lassen** und ähm jeden äh erfahren zu lassen.” (PI Stefan)
(I find it much more interesting to leave these conflicts and uhm let everyone experience them.)

(361) “It’s, it’s uh important to leave it like this because then people or the **students can learn themselves to align.**” (PI Birendra)

Nevertheless, students would very much appreciate specialized intercultural training geared towards their specific needs. This training should take the shape of an introductory course prior to their first semester and explain the specificities of German academia and the German learning culture (362) and ideally also practical advice on where to find relevant research resources in English and other study-related matters (363).

(362) “[M]aybe they should organize with the International Office a, an introduction seminar, some weeks, one or two weeks before the class, the semester starts, to explain differences or how's life in Germany in general. And also **how's the academic life in the German universities.** They should do that. (PI Mario)

(363) “[I]t would be absolutely helpful to have it at the beginning, to show where the library is, to show where're the English books we could find, to show any resources, uhm, around. [...] if that could be expanded into ‘Well, here are the resources for uhm Freiburg and this is how German university is’, that could be quite helpful.” (PI Naomi)

REM lecturers also believe that REM students would benefit from an explicit introduction to the local learning culture. Many emphasize the added value of an introductory course for students where they could learn about student and lecturer roles, study techniques, assessment practices and classroom interaction (PIs Tanne, Birke, Liguster, Ginster).

Mr Ginster even suggests a preparatory course for all students in EMI programmes with a duration of four weeks prior to their first semester. It should include language training in English, training in academic writing, an introduction to the German university system and the German learning culture and lastly also practicalities relevant to living in Freiburg (PI Ginster).

7.5.2.3 Mandatory language test for lecturers

As we have seen in Chapter 6.1.1, REM lecturers' English is often perceived as insufficient and even harmful. REM students emphasize that it is actually REM management's responsibility to guarantee quality teaching and only recruit competent lecturers for teaching in REM (364). While current REM teaching staff are believed to be too old to improve their English language skills, students suggest that REM management invest energy and resources in recruiting qualified younger lecturers (365).

(364) “[...] I would say you should have up to a certain level some benchmark that this is the English required and then you can appoint the professors so that it won't be a problem for them.” (PI Shashank)

(365) “[T]hey are in an age that you don't really uh can get better easily, but in the future, they should **ask for more qualified-in-English speakers** because that would be more helpful for us as well.” (PI Gavrilis)

REM management should make sure to interview (prospective) lecturers in English prior to appointing them with in order to filter out those with insufficient language skills (366). Some assume, however, that it is rather difficult to find lecturers with high proficiency in English (PI Sören, Muiris; cf. Chapter 6.2.4).

(366) “It's very difficult to say: ‘Okay, you're not that good English speaker, maybe you should improve. You have a month or less or whatever to do that.’ So it will be better to say: ‘Okay, just don't do that lecture, okay? We will, we will **find someone else.**” (PI Teo)

As an alternative to conducting face-to-face interviews with prospective teaching staff in English, students suggest a mandatory language test for lecturers. Since REM students usually have to invest a considerable amount of money, time and energy to pass the TOEFL or IELTS test at the required language entry level for REM (cf. Chapters 4.2.3 and 6.3), they naturally want their lecturers to make the same effort, too (367). Various students recommend that REM management should employ a standardized language test such as the IELTS or the TOEFL to check (prospective) lecturers' language proficiency (368). Lecturers who do not meet the required proficiency level in the test should then be replaced by more proficient ones (PI Sören).

(367) “[I]f they're asking like uh a six point five minimum to, for IELTS, I think the professors should have them as well.” (PI Kosimo)

(368) “Yeah, the best would be that they have to pass as well this TOEFL test that we have to do ((laughing)). [...] we need to have a, a measure or a standard. Yeah maybe there is **something like a TOEFL for teachers** or a IELTS [...]” (PI Justus)

REM lecturers do not categorically reject the idea of a mandatory language test for EMI lecturers. Instead, some even believe that lecturers should be obliged to prove their language competence and consider the absence of such proof as negligence (369).

- (369) “[E]igentlich denk ich, ja, dass die Lehrenden eigentlich schon ihre Befähigung irgendwie nachweisen müssten. [...] ich fand’s eigentlich schon **ein bisschen fahrlässig**, sozusagen jemand zu beauftragen ohne irgendeinen Sprachnachweis zu verlangen, einfach drauf zu vertrauen, dass die das schon irgendwie gut machen.” (PI Ulme)
(Actually I think that lecturers should have to prove their [EMI] competence somehow. [...] I actually found it a bit negligent to engage someone [to teach in English] without asking for any language certificate, just trusting that they will somehow do it well).

For Dr. Ahorn, REM students’ suggestion of using the TOEFL test as mandatory language proficiency assessment for EMI lecturers is even ‘a really good idea’ (PI Ahorn).

7.5.2.4 Complementary language training for lecturers

Although REM lecturers’ proficiency levels in English vary, complementary language training would generally be beneficial for all of them (370). REM students appreciate individual lecturers’ efforts in training their language skills and recommend that other lecturers follow suit (371).

- (370) “[S]ome, they can teach naturally, they might, language training may only refine them but for some, **language training could really improve them.**“ (PI Pramod)
- (371) “I think there're several uh possibilities to, for every um individuum to yeah to learn English. [...]I think Mr Hasel, [...]I think he went to one um, what was it, kind of Eng-, English teaching course or a, what's it called? Uh *Fortbildung* [=further training; SG] ((chuckle)), right, and I think he really improved since this time.” (PI Nina)

Thus, students see a clear need for REM lecturers to work on their English language competence as language training would give them more practice (PI Sigmund) and make them feel more comfortable when teaching in English (PI Cai).

Language training for lecturers should ideally be EMI-specific and should not only consist in training their speaking skills, but should also familiarize them with language-related support tools such as online dictionaries or other helpful linguistic resources (372).

(372) “I think that could be very helpful, using, using, having **some sort of precursor** as using English as a medium to communicate and having some guidelines would be very helpful. Guidelines and some sort of suggestions, resource tools to be able to find information uhm or translations. For example, sometimes they put documents that the professors have submitted to me that are in German into Google Translate and some, sometimes there are words that just don't exist in Google Translate. And so that creates a really big challenge.” (PI Naomi)

Although students have various suggestions for lecturers' language training, some are at the same time rather pessimistic with regard to feasibility of such training. They suspect lecturers' resistance to language training and assume that high rank academics, especially at an advanced age, would not voluntarily participate in such training (373).

(373) “That's a hard thing because I mean, actually you cannot tell a professor that has like a really high rank in the university hierarchy, uhm, to improve his English because, I mean, those guys are usually quite old and, I know there, there is no limitation in picking up a language as you get older, as like people thought years ago, but... Of course, if there would be the possibility to offer courses or, or, I don't know, to make them, yeah, improve their skills, that would be good, that would be good.” (PI Silas)

Different to what some students believe, REM lecturers have very concrete ideas and a strong motivation for language training for EMI lecturers. REM lecturers consider English language support for lecturers essential for a successful implementation of EMI.

For Dr. Buche, language support is a necessary precondition for offering quality education as he believes that language barriers can hinder the academic quality of teaching (374). He recommends that university governance should take companies in the free economy as an example as they often invest a lot of resources in intensive language training for their employees.

(374) “[J]e höher die sprachliche Barriere ist, desto mehr leidet einfach auch die, die fachliche Qualität des, des Unterrichts oder insgesamt der Veranstaltung” (PI Buche).
(*The higher the language barrier, the more the academic quality of the lecture or of the entire module suffers.*)

Professor Tanne complains that the number of English language courses for staff members offered at the University of Freiburg is too low given the increasing importance of EMI across faculties.¹⁹⁸ For Professor Tanne, it is the

¹⁹⁸ These courses are offered through the *Freiburger Akademie für Universitäre Weiterbildung* (FRAUW, Freiburg academy for continuing higher education), a service unit for continuing education at the University of Freiburg. By the time of publication (2014), the number of English language courses at the University of Freiburg (offered through the FRAUW and through other institutions) has considerably increased.

responsibility of university management to cater for the specific needs of EMI instead of taking for granted that lecturers already have sufficient English language competence for EMI (375).

- (375) “[W]enn die Universität englischsprachige Kurse anbietet, Studienkurse anbietet, kann sie nicht davon ausgehen, dass die Lehrenden der englischen Sprache so mächtig sind, dass man Vorlesungen machen kann.” (PI Tanne).
(If the university offers English-taught courses, it cannot take for granted that the lecturers master the English language enough to hold lectures.)

Furthermore, he cautions that EMI is not restricted to communication between lecturers and students, but also includes administrative staff. As he teaches in an EMI programme, he needs his secretary to be able to communicate in English in case students are seeking information from her. University management would thus do well in additionally offering language support programmes for administrative staff involved in EMI (376).

- (376) “[A]lso wenn man sowas [=EMI] installiert, müsste man also schauen, dass **auf allen Ebenen** ein Mindestmaß an Sprache äh oder an Ausdrucksweise in englischer Sprache vorhanden ist. Das fängt mit dem **Prüfungsamt** an, ne, das geht dann in die **Sekretariate**, es geht in die **Assistenz**, es geht bei den **Professoren** los.“ (PI Tanne)
Well if you implement something like this [=EMI], you also need to make sure that there is on all levels a minimum of language skill uh or competence in the English language. It begins with the examination office, continues with secretaries, over to research assistants, it starts with professors.

Language training for lecturers should ideally be EMI-specific (PI Ulme, Tanne), should be offered in workshop format¹⁹⁹ (PI Ginster) and should be voluntary (PI Ahorn). An incentive scheme for successful participation in language training could however lead to a ‘self-propelling effect’ (PI Buche).

Several REM lecturers emphasize that language training for EMI lecturers should not consist in a general language course (i.e. classical language course comprising pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary teaching), but ought to be subject- or discipline-specific. According to Mr. Ginster, the correct use of subject-specific terminology in context is the prime concern for EMI lecturers (PI Ginster).

Dr. Eiche assumes that individual language coaching is probably more helpful than a language course for a group. The coach is expected to be a native speaker of English with the same academic background as the lecturer seeking

¹⁹⁹ Workshop format refers to a condensed course time, e.g. 16 hours spread over 2 days, as opposed to a course format with weekly sessions of 60-90 minutes.

help, otherwise the coaching is of little use (“[Ein] allgemeiner Englisch-Coach denke ich hätte jetzt gar nicht soviel gebracht”; PI Eiche).²⁰⁰

In Dr. Birke’s view, language coaching should not take place behind closed office doors, but the language coach should also shadow EMI lecturers (shadowing in the sense of classroom observation) in order to be able to give detailed feedback on their English language use. To my suggestion whether she would also consider peer shadowing among colleagues as helpful, she responds that it would be helpful if the colleague was a native speaker or at least a speaker of a different L1 than her own (377).

(377) “[D]a ist fast gut, wenn aus einer anderen Sprache jemand kommt und das macht, also jetzt kein Deutscher einen Deutschen beurteilt, wie sein Englisch ist, sondern, weiß ich nicht, dann halt wirklich ein Brite beurteilt, wie der Deutsche Englisch spricht, oder auch Franzose oder was weiß ich, ähm, um zu sehen, dass, ob man halt, ob jemand, der eine andere Sprache spricht, man ihn trotzdem gut auf seinem Englisch verstehen kann.“ (PI Birke)

(It is almost good if a speaker of another language comes and does it [=classroom observation], well, that it is not a German judging the English of another German, but, I don’t know, rather a Brit judging the German’s English, or a French speaker or whatever, uhm, in order to see if someone who speaks another language can nevertheless understand him [=the lecturer] well in English.)

We see here that REM lecturers have a strong bias towards the NS as best language coach, but they are nevertheless aware of the special lingua franca situation in the EMI classroom and can also imagine a NNS giving valuable feedback on ELF use in EMI.

Besides institutionally supported language training, lecturers can and do also work on their language skills themselves. For Dr. Ahorn, it is EMI lecturers’ individual responsibility to critically reflect whether they have the required language proficiency for EMI and to take ‘rescue measures’ (“auffangende Maßnahmen”, PI Ahorn) if necessary. These ‘rescue measures’ can consist in watching films or reading fiction in English, in regular conversations with NS and NNS friends and colleagues or in keeping and updating a vocabulary list (PIs Ahorn, Tanne, Ginster). Writing academic papers in English apparently also helps to improve lecturers’ English skills, especially if they are proofread by a NS offering extensive feedback (PI Eiche).

While most lecturers feel the need to train and enhance their English skills for the sake of EMI, Professor Tanne feels that EMI in turn also helps him improve his English for research purposes: as he has to teach in English, he feels the urge to ‘keep in shape’ with his English (“[...] weil ich mich letztendlich

²⁰⁰ Dr. Eiche supports his argument with the experience from his publishing practice. Whenever he writes an article in English, he asks NS students assistants at his department to proofread his text because for him, the feedback from NS students proved to be more helpful than the feedback from a NS proofreader with a different academic background and little knowledge in his discipline (PI Eiche).

immer fit halten möchte im Englischen”; PI Tanne) and therefore applies several of the aforementioned individual training strategies. These strategies improve his general English skills on the long run and eventually facilitate publishing in English and/or in NS-dominated contexts (PI Tanne).

A beneficial way to improve lecturers’ English language competence would consist in immersion in an English-speaking environment through a stay abroad (378).

- (378) “[I]ch glaub, es würde schon helfen, wenn die Dozenten irgendwie ja ‘n bisschen **Zeit im Ausland**, oder im, ja irgendwo in ein Englisch-, Land wo Englisch gesprochen wird, [...]“ (PI Muiris)
(I think it would already help if the lecturers somehow spent some time abroad or in, yeah, somewhere in an English, in a country where English is spoken.)

Indeed, REM lecturers are convinced that participation in student exchange programmes or research stays in English speaking countries boosted their language competence by far (PI Eiche, Buche, Tanne, Kiefer, Birke). As a consequence they recommend EMI lecturers to go abroad for some time (PI Eiche), the earlier the better (PI Ahorn).

Professor Tanne stresses that in this regard university top-level management should aim for a reduction of (EMI) lecturers’ administrative duties as otherwise participation in staff exchange programmes of a duration of more than one week is hardly ever feasible due to time constraints (PI Tanne).

7.5.2.5 Recommended intercultural immersion for lecturers

Staying abroad is not only considered beneficial for enhancing lecturers’ language skills, but also for their intercultural sensitization, as many students emphasize (379-380).

- (379) “I think that it's really important for teachers or for when you're teaching in one international programme and in English, then it's, yeah, not obligatory but it will be good if they spen-, they have **spent some teaching years in other countries** like US or like UK or Australia or, just native speaker, -speaking country. And, because, that's how they also open, they're, you know, more open-minded and more accept-, I mean, you spend time somewhere in other country then you, you have to be open-minded, otherwise you don't survive, I mean ((laughing)), yeah.” (PI Gavrail)
- (380) “[A]lso ich denk, von Vorteil, wenn man 'n internat-, in ‘nem internationalen Umfeld unterrichtet ist auf jeden Fall, wenn man vielleicht mal **auch mal im Ausland war selber**. Das ist nie schlecht, also so, sowohl von bisschen ähm, bisschen Verständnis oder sensibilisiert zu sein gegen die ganzen anderen Kulturen [...] und sowohl halt auch, ähm, wegen der Sprache.“ (PI Silvan)

(Well I think it is certainly an advantage if you are teaching in an international environment and have been abroad yourself. It's never bad to [gain] a bit of understanding or become sensitive towards all the other cultures and also because of the language.)

Other suggestions to enhance lecturers' intercultural skills include the organization of a briefing for new EMI lecturers where they are introduced to the specificities of teaching in an international classroom. This briefing should be chaired by an expert or by colleagues who already have experience in teaching international groups (381).

(381) “But for the professors there should be someone or at least another professor telling them their experiences with international students.” (PI Patricio)

To improve teaching in the REM programme on the long run, REM management should aim for more international faculty (382-383). Domestic lecturers could benefit from the cultural diversity among colleagues and expand their language and intercultural skills en passant (PI Kerstin, Birendra). Students in turn could benefit from new culture-dependent perspectives on their study contents as the focus would shift away from the German context to other global contexts (PI Patricio).

(382) “[...] I'd try to obtain more teachers from different, representing different cultures or different countries.” (PI Muhammad)

(383) “[O]r even having **more professors that are not just Germans**. We had one from New Zealand at the beginning. I think that, that make it, made it even better, yes. Having, em, teachers from other countries because... Yeah. For sure. We... we get bored about listening to the Germans and the German laws and the German feed-in tariffs [...]” (PI Patricio)

7.5.2.6 Mandatory didactic training for lecturers

According to REM students, the area that deserves most improvement is not lecturers' language proficiency or intercultural sensitivity, but actually their didactic competencies. Some even believe that limited didactic skills are typical of German university lecturers (384) and symptomatic of German academia (385).

(384) “In Germany, they are maybe the best in doing research, but **they are maybe below the average in teaching** or in the, in education. They don't know how to explain something for the students. [...] They are perfect in the research side, the professors, but in the education side. [...] you need some co-, some courses how to explain something for the students.” (PI Ismail)

- (385) “[E]inmal sollten sie gewisse pädagogische Fähigkeiten auf jeden Fall haben, ähm, was ja glaub **in Deutschland eh so ein Mangel bei den Profs** ist, dass die irgendwie durch die Wissenschaft in, in ihre Positionen kommen, aber nicht durch andere Qualifikationen, aber dann halt doch lehren müssen [...]“ (PI Bernd)
(They should definitely have certain pedagogic skills, uhm, which I think is a deficiency among professors in Germany, that they somehow get to their positions through research but not through other qualifications, but they have to teach nevertheless [...])

Some of the interviewed REM lecturers emphasize that didactic skills are generally necessary for teaching, but even more so for teaching in a non-native language. Professor Kiefer, Dr. Ulme, Dr. Ahorn and Dr. Birke all completed the *Baden-Württemberg-Zertifikat für Hochschuldidaktik* (certificate of higher education didactics, issued by the state minister of education), a profound modular training programme on various aspects of higher education didactics, including peer evaluation and critical reflection of own lectures.²⁰¹ All four stress that it would be very useful if more lecturers obtained this certificate and improved their didactic skills and teaching styles. Dr. Birke resumes that didactic training particularly helped her to pay attention to potential pitfalls, especially with when teaching in a non-native language. In order to increase the benefit of the training, she attended several training workshops offered in English, even if this entailed the additional organizational effort of travelling to other cities in Baden-Württemberg. The double learning effect, however, recompensed her for the extra effort which she considers well worth it (“[D]as war’s mir dann auch wert, weil’s ein doppelter Lerneffekt war”, PI Birke). Professor Kiefer recalls participating in a workshop about teaching in an international classroom (386).²⁰² He resumes that this workshop, despite being very helpful, was just an introduction and he would appreciate further workshops focusing on the special situation of EMI.

- (386) “Gut, den, diesen Kurs, den wir jetzt gemacht haben, der war vielleicht ein Einstieg, aber ich denk man bräuchte dann sicher auch nochmal äh äh, ja wirklich konkreteres Handwerkszeug: auf was muss ich wegen mir in einer Präsentation achten [...], wie kann ich das aufbauen oder was kann ich in der Regel an Sprachkenntnissen vielleicht, wenn’s überhaupt eine Regel gibt, voraussetzen, ja, oder äh, äh, solche Dinge, ganz konkret vielleicht auch.“ (PI Kiefer)

²⁰¹ The training comprises workshops on various topics related to higher education didactics, supervision meetings (*Praxisberatungen*) and peer observations of teaching (*Kollegiale Lehrhospitationen*). In order to obtain the *Baden-Württemberg-Zertifikat für Hochschuldidaktik*, participants need to undergo three modules with a duration of min. 200 units (45 minutes per unit), which normally takes three years as additional further training alongside a regular job as lecturer. The *Baden-Württemberg Zertifikat für Hochschuldidaktik* is a cooperative venture of a network comprising nine state universities of Baden-Württemberg. While modules I and III have to be done at the respective local university, any workshops in module II can also be done at other universities.

²⁰² Other participants in this workshop included Dr. Ahorn and the author.

(Well, the, this course in which we just participated maybe was an introduction, but I think you definitely also need uh, yeah really more concrete tools: for example, what do I have to focus on in presentations [...], how can I structure them or which language competence level can I generally expect, if there is a rule at all, yeah, or uh such things, maybe also very concretely.)

Apart from expert-led workshops, the *Baden-Württemberg-Zertifikat für Hochschuldidaktik* also comprises practical training in the form of classroom observations and peer evaluations. For Dr. Birke, the mandatory classroom observation with subsequent peer feedback was particularly helpful for her EMI practice and she is convinced that any EMI lecturer would benefit from peer evaluation. Since Dr. Birke used to be very critical of her English skills, she wanted feedback from a neutral observer as to whether her English is good enough for EMI and she eventually felt relieved at the observer's positive evaluation of her English (387).

(387) “[I]ch hab ja einmal die Lehrhospitation gehabt und, wo jemand mir da immer gesagt ‘Das ist doch gut, man versteht dich’ und ‘Mach dir nicht so viele Sorgen!’. Das war echt mal hilfreich, weil ich einfach furchtbar unsicher war, wie gut war denn das [=mein Englisch] jetzt eigentlich und, und, ja, ich weiß nicht, wie’s anderen geht, aber ich kann mir vorstellen, dass auch andere mal sich ein bisschen unsicher fühlen und dann ist es schon **hilfreich, wenn man irgendwie mal ein Feedback bekommt.**“ (PI Birke)

(I once had the peer classroom observation and, where someone continually told me: ‘It is good, you are good to understand’ and ‘Do not worry too much!’ That was really helpful, because I was just extremely insecure how good it [=my English] actually was and, and, yeah, I don’t know how others feel about that, but I can imagine that others also feel a bit insecure sometimes and then it is indeed helpful to somehow receive feedback.)

Didactic training is thus strongly recommended for EMI lecturers and should ideally be offered as EMI-specific didactic training which does not only focus on teaching skills in general, but also considers language use and culture-related matters with relevance for EMI.

7.6 Transferability of REM case study findings to other EMI programmes

The preceding Chapters 7.1 to 7.5 provided an overview of the challenges of studying and teaching in REM and recommendations for improvement as suggested by REM students and lecturers. The question remains what we can learn from these findings and relate to other EMI programmes (in Germany).

If we look back at Chapter 7.2, we can assume that the scenario of a lingua franca classroom in an otherwise monolingual environment is not a peculiarity

of the REM programme but rather the default situation in the majority of EMI programmes in public German higher education institutions.²⁰³ Although teaching staff might not everywhere be as culturally homogeneous as in the REM programme, predominance of the local language and culture is presumably the same at other universities, too. As a consequence, we can assume that students in any German EMI programme face difficulties with regard to the impact and use of the local language and consider themselves as either privileged or deprived, depending on their individual German language skills.

In Chapter 7.3, we have seen that REM is taught in English, but the principles of learning and teaching and their concrete realization clearly reflect the local German learning culture. Local students are usually familiar with it, but international students may face serious trouble, especially with assessment practices. The concrete realization of studying and teaching is of course not standardized in any way and can vary across and even within universities. Assessment practices in particular are largely discipline-specific. Hence, international students in other EMI programmes may not encounter any problems with timed examination, for example, if assessment in their programmes is only done under untimed conditions.

Nonetheless, the principles of German learning culture, particularly learner autonomy and critical dialogue, are discipline-independent and generally relevant in German higher education. It can thus be assumed that any EMI programme in Germany bears the risk for international students to get confused and disoriented in the beginning when confronted with unfamiliar teaching practices and learning requirements.

The international REM classroom with its intercultural diversity among students poses further challenges for learning and teaching, as Chapter 7.4 showed. The student body in other EMI programmes is not necessarily as culturally heterogeneous as in the REM programme, but intercultural challenges are not of less importance if involving fewer differences. In other words, it is not the number of different cultural backgrounds that poses a challenge, but rather the relative distance between cultures.

Furthermore, difficulties do not automatically diminish in programmes with a higher share of local students – quite the contrary, I suppose, since the proportion of domestic students has considerable impact on the group dynamics in an EMI programme and a high number of domestic students can lead to unfavourable subgroup formation and prohibit the integration of foreign students.²⁰⁴

In sum, we can state that ELF use is but one challenge in the EMI classroom and that the impact of the local language and the local learning culture as well

²⁰³ Private institutions present a special case and are excluded here as they are not of interest to the present study.

²⁰⁴ Students from other another EMI programme who participated in my model EMI introductory course ‘StinG’ (cf. Chapter 8.3) reported in an follow-up evaluation that this was a major problem in their programme.

as intercultural diversity can present further difficulties. It is precisely the interplay of the international classroom, the local linguacultural environment and the lingua franca medium that makes EMI a challenge for students and lecturers.

As regards REM students' and lecturers' suggestions for improvement, we clearly see that they recommend support not only with regard to improvement of English language skills but also and even more so with regard to intercultural and didactic skills. Ample strategies can lead to immediate improvement (cf. Chapter 7.5.1) and institutionally supported measures can improve the quality learning and teaching in EMI on the long run (cf. Chapter 7.5.2).

REM students and lecturers both believe that EMI-specific support for students should rather focus on intercultural matters than on language, while support for lecturers should ideally consist of language as well as didactic training. REM students' self-help suggestions for lecturers frequently refer to basic didactic adjustments and thus implicitly emphasize the relevance of didactic training and improvement.

Yet, we must not interpret these findings as evidence of poor teaching skills among REM lecturers, but rather as expression of students' priorities: Improvement of teaching skills is more relevant for students' learning progress than improvement of lecturers' language proficiency since a good teacher can usually better compensate linguistic deficiencies than a good speaker can compensate didactic deficiencies. It is reasonable to infer that these priorities are not specific to REM students, but universal to students in any EMI programme.

As a conclusion we can say that the challenges of EMI as identified in the REM case study are likely to apply to any German EMI programme. The suggestions for improvement provided by REM students and lecturers should thus serve as valuable inspirations not only for REM stakeholders and its host institution, but also for other (German) universities offering or planning to offer EMI programmes.

8. CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

In this chapter, the central findings from the REM case study are summarized and discussed in light of current research on ELF and EMI with the aim of providing a grounded theory of the role of the native speaker in EMI (Chapter 8.1) and of the interplay between language, culture and environment (Chapter 8.2). Subsequently, the implications of these theories are discussed in conjunction with recommendations and suggestions for EMI practice (Chapter 8.3). The chapter ends with an outlook on further areas of research in the context of EMI (Chapter 8.4).

8.1 The role of the native speaker in EMI

In Chapter 5, we have seen how REM students and lecturers cope with the lingua franca situation in and around the classroom. Given the great diversity of the student body (linguistically, culturally and academically) and the teaching body (essentially a group characterized by linguacultural homogeneity, but with very different experiences and motivations), surprisingly few communication problems have been reported or observed in interaction among students and between students and lecturers (cf. Chapters 5.3 to 5.5).

Comprehension problems are most likely to be caused by phonological deviations from standard norms. Understanding different and unfamiliar NS and NNS accents is perceived as the main linguistic challenge by students and lecturers (cf. Chapters 5.3.4 and 5.4.3). However, as time passes and interlocutors communicate on a regular basis, initial difficulties diminish very soon when students and lecturers familiarize themselves with non-standard pronunciations of English.

While lecturers tend to consider the diversity of accents in the international EMI classroom as an obstacle (cf. Chapter 5.2.3), EMI students often appreciate the opportunity to train and enhance their listening comprehension skills with regard to non-native accents of English as many of them envisage a professional career in an international context (cf. Chapter 5.2.4). Similar findings have been reported from Soltau's (2008) study of two EMI programmes in the north of Germany where students pointed out that receptive accommodation ("Einhören") towards the variety of NNS accents emerged very quickly and that exposure to the linguistic variation in English as used in the classroom was an ideal preparation for their future professional lives (Soltau 2007: 331).

The students in Smit's (2010) longitudinal case study of an EMI hotel management programme in Austria also had initial problems with NNS accent intelligibility, not only with regard to their peers, but also with regard to the

German accent of some of their Austrian lecturers (Smit 2010: 143). These problems also diminished with time and frequency of interaction (*ibid.*: 146).

With regard to lecture comprehension, not only unfamiliar non-native pronunciations, but also lecturers' L1 transfer in lexis can distort comprehension in the REM classroom, especially for those who are not familiar with the German language (cf. Chapter 5.5.1).²⁰⁵ Surprisingly, no other study of EMI addresses L1 interference in lexis as potential source of communication problems. Outside the EMI context, non-native idiomaticity in ELF interaction is rather considered a matter of creativity (Seidlhofer 2009b and Kecskes 2007).

The fact that none of the existing EMI studies mention L1 lexical transfer in lecturers' language use as problematic does not mean that this is a problem peculiar to REM or that Swedish, Finnish or Austrian lecturers are generally more proficient in English than their German colleagues. Instead, this result needs to be seen in light of the grounded theory approach applied in this study, which is designed as an open research process and is thus apt to reveal unexpected findings. In this it differs from studies assessing predefined research questions or hypotheses on the basis of predefined data analysis procedures (e.g. Björkman 2013, Suviniitty 2012).

The reason why many ELF-inspired EMI studies avoid investigating interference phenomena in their analyses is caused by their conceptualization of non-native forms as legitimate variations or innovations instead of deficiencies. While it is certainly reasonable to challenge the relevance of the notion 'transfer error' in an EMI context, ignoring the issue completely does not do justice to the obvious challenges of EMI students and lecturers in coping with *lingua franca* use in the classroom.

The literature on ELF (and on ELF in EMI in particular) recurrently proposes that ELF interaction is characterized by the enhanced collaborative behaviour and content-orientation of the speakers involved (e.g. Mauranen 2012). Smit speaks of a 'principle of joint forces' which implies an "increasingly enacted upon readiness of all participants to contribute to the exchange whatever is perceived as interactionally and transactionally necessary to make classroom talk work" (Smit 2010: 380).

In Chapter 5, we have seen that REM students and lecturers indeed employ a range of implicit and explicit strategies to level out comprehension difficulties caused by imperfect language proficiency in English. Among the implicit strategies are symmetrical accommodation and tolerance towards non-standard uses of English, while explicit strategies include collaborative repairs, requests for (translation) assistance and openly addressing feelings of unease (cf. Chapter 5.5.2).

These strategies have been observed in several other ELF or EMI settings as well (e.g. Kaur 2010 and Klimpfner 2007 for ELF and Smit 2010 and Hynninen 2012 for EMI; see also Chapters 2.3.3 and 3.2.4). For example,

²⁰⁵ Here I only refer to interference from the speakers' L1s in their use of English. For a discussion of explicit use of the surrounding local language (here: German) in the EMI classroom, see Chapter 8.2.

Kaur's (2010) conversation analysis of ELF interaction among international students at a Malaysian university shows an abundance of interactional strategies such as repetitions, paraphrases and requests for clarification which are used by the students to achieve mutual understanding under linguistically difficult conditions. Interactional competence, i.e. the implementation of communicative strategies to achieve mutual understanding, thus compensates reduced language proficiency.²⁰⁶

The lecturers in Smit's (2010) case study likewise employed several strategies to cope with the challenge of teaching in a non-native language. These include the strategy of openly addressing the challenge of using a lingua franca for studying and teaching in the first lecture session in order to cope with 'EMI stage fright'.²⁰⁷ In addition, Smit reports several instances where lecturers asked their students for translations of individual words they did not have readily at hand (Smit 2010: 194 and 280ff.). Despite their low frequency in classroom interaction, Smit considers these requests as "clear indication for the collaboration of teachers and students when it comes to linguistic issues" (ibid.: 298).

The fact that students and lecturers in the REM case study make frequent use of cooperative strategies to enhance understanding should not be mistaken as an indication of altruism and increased tolerance towards deviation from NS norms. This is particularly evident when we look at REM students' explanations of their underlying motivations to cooperate linguistically and pragmatically. Let-it-pass strategies are more often than not acts of politeness, saving the speaker's face in a rather patronizing manner as for example when students avoid direct interaction with peers whose English is perceived as particularly hard to understand (cf. Chapter 5.3.5).

Student-initiated repairs of a lecturer's utterance are not only used to save the lecturer's face and proceed with the topic²⁰⁸, but can also be seen as evidence of what House calls the *Self-Centred Hypothesis*: "The self-centred behaviour displayed by ELF speakers can be interpreted as an attempt to save their own face and improve their own interactional performance" (House 2008: 356). Students' repairs of lecturers' non-native pronunciations or unidiomatic word choices thus also serve as acts of self-aggrandizement by demonstrating a higher language proficiency level.

Several studies of ELF interaction have found that cooperative behaviour as well as lenient views of non-conformity to NS norms are context-sensitive, i.e. they are "contingent on the types of oral practice involved, with non-institutionalized talk arguably rather prone to give considerable space to the let-

²⁰⁶ However, this does not imply that accommodation strategies and the like are peculiar to or most frequent in lingua franca interaction as they are typical of (non-competitive or non-hostile) spoken interaction in general (Jenkins 2006a: 45).

²⁰⁷ A lecturer in Smit's study even used the same metaphor ("we are all sitting in the same boat") as one of the REM lecturers (compare Smit 2010: 145, example 4.55 with Chapter 5.4.3, example 76).

²⁰⁸ See for instance Chapter 5.5.2, example 100 where two students provide an unsolicited repair of the lecturer's announcement (PO lecture Dec 2008).

it-pass strategy than task-focused, institutional settings” (Smit 2010: 156; see also Knapp 2002, Björkman 2009, 2013). Evidence from the REM case study does not confirm this finding as REM students display consistent linguistic behaviour regardless of the situational context. That is, students with a preference for the let-it-pass strategy do not behave much differently in private communication or in group work tasks with their peers. In the same way, students with a preference for collaborative repairs use these strategies invariably in- and outside the classroom.²⁰⁹

It can be concluded that the choice of strategy does not depend on context so much as the speakers’ individual preference which is ultimately shaped by their personalities and cultural backgrounds. With regard to social cooperation among REM students, the context is not decisive. The low degree of internal competition among students and the instructional focus on collaborative learning in the REM programme (cf. Chapter 7.3.6 and 7.4.1) fostered a strong REM group identity with positive impact on the social dynamics in- and outside the REM classroom. From an ELF research perspective, we could thus say that ELF use in the REM classroom works ‘successfully’ despite different proficiency levels of English and the frequent occurrence of non-standard features. Yet, if we look at REM stakeholders’ perceptions of their own and others’ ELF use in the EMI classroom, the picture is different.

ELF research perpetually postulates that NS usage norms are irrelevant for ELF use(rs) since NS participants are more often than not absent in ELF interaction and ELF users prioritize ‘communicative effectiveness’ (in terms of trouble-free target-oriented communication without misunderstandings) over NS norm-conformity (cf. Chapter 2.3.2). In Chapter 6, we have seen, however, that the postulate of NS norm irrelevance is not confirmed in the REM case study. The NS is a recurrent theme in students’ and lecturers’ views of their EMI community of practice as they express very strong attitudes towards the relevance and appropriateness of NS target models and the deficiency of non-target forms in ELF use (cf. Chapter 6.1). The NS as an abstract norm provider is not only taken for granted but also considered linguistically and socially superior to the non-native speaker in general (cf. Chapters 6.1.5 and 6.1.6). The strong belief in NS authority and superiority among REM students and lecturers even has an impact on their behaviour, with NNS students and lecturers frequently turning to NS students for linguistic clarification or assistance (cf. Chapter 6.2.2).

Yet, this strong attachment to the NS as target model and negative perceptions of NNS English are not at all peculiar to the REM case study participants or generally rare among ELF users. Similar results have been reported in various other studies (e.g. Adolphs 2005, Erling 2005; cf. Chapters 2.2.5 and 2.3.2). Even Jenkins’s (2007) questionnaire survey among students of

²⁰⁹ Note that these observations only refer to ELF use. Communicative patterns may vary when speakers switch to their first languages.

English as part of her study of ELF attitudes comes to the same conclusion as the analysis of REM students' and lecturers' attitudes:²¹⁰

[A]ttachment to 'standard' Inner Circle native speaker models remains firmly in place among non-native English speakers, despite the fact that they no longer learn English to communicate primarily with its native speakers. (Jenkins 2009a: 204)

Adherence to the NS target model is not restricted to students (be they students of English or of other subjects), but also frequently found among university lecturers, as several studies of lecturers' attitudes towards ELF use in EMI have shown (e.g. Jenkins 2013, Pilkinton-Pihko 2013, Van Splunder 2010).

Jenkins (2013) received and analysed questionnaires from 166 academic staff members from 24 different countries world-wide, half of whom affirmed that NS norm conformity, especially towards North American or British English usage norms, is important or desirable (*ibid.*: 133 and 158). Non-native English in turn was not only considered non-preferred, but also incorrect by the majority of respondents and "many of these NNES staff were complicit in the subordination and negative stereotyping of their own English" (*ibid.*: 160).²¹¹ A triangulation of the results with the respondents' sociolinguistic backgrounds showed that there is no correlation with regard to geographical location or academic discipline, i.e. the NS ideology finds strong support regardless of respondents' country of residence or academic discipline (*ibid.*: 163).²¹²

A recurrent theme in REM students' and lecturers' discourses of EMI is improvement. Several REM students report to have chosen an EMI programme in order to enhance their English language skills (cf. Chapter 5.2.1) and various REM lecturers comment on the side-effect of language improvement through EMI (cf. Chapter 5.2.4). EMI students' and lecturers' interest in improvement has also been reported in other EMI studies (cf. Smit 2010: 135; see also Jenkins 2013). The motivation to improve their language proficiency can be seen as a logical consequence of depreciating attitudes towards NNS English.

We have seen, however, that attitudes towards NNS English differ among students and lecturers. REM lecturers have clear ideas of 'good' and 'bad' English, but are fairly tolerant towards their students' NNS English and rather blame themselves for difficulties in understanding them. REM students, on the other hand, are moderately negative towards the NNS English of their peers, but clearly depreciate their lecturers' NNS English, considering it an obstacle that hinders their individual study achievement and language improvement

²¹⁰ Similar findings are also reported from interviews with international students studying at a British university (cf. Jenkins 2013).

²¹¹ In contrast, the lecturers in Pilkinton-Pihko's (2013) study only perceived their own English as deficient in comparison with the NS target, but were rather satisfied with their English skills in the context of their daily work life.

²¹² Jenkins concludes that these results are caused by too little awareness of ELF (research findings) among academic staff and diagnoses an urgent need to foster awareness "among the university faculty of the facts concerning the spread of English and the implications of its lingua franca use in HE [=higher education; SG]" (Jenkins 2013: 163).

(cf. Chapter 6.1.1). Similar findings have been reported in Soltau's study of EMI in Germany with students explaining their difficulties with EMI as logical consequence of lecturers' insufficient language competence (cf. Soltau 2007; see also Van Splunder 2010).

REM students' plea for systematic language screening among EMI lecturers and substitution of lecturers with insufficient language proficiency is not exceptional, as for example the students in Van Splunder's study of EMI in Belgium also raise this issue (Van Splunder 2010: 214f. and 219).

Although REM students are very critical towards their lecturers' ELF use in the EMI classroom, they are nevertheless aware of the practical difficulties for lecturers to reach their proposed ideal (i.e. native-like proficiency). Negative attitudes towards NNS English and strongly positive attitudes towards NS English and the NS prevail, but are accompanied by empathy towards the lecturers' situation and by pragmatic views of the ELF context in the REM programme (cf. Chapter 6.2.4). After all, actual ELF use is often taken as hopeful sign by ELF advocates who envisage a "radical shift of orientation" (Seidlhofer 2011: 6f.) towards acceptance of ELF and insubordination to the NS (cf. Chapters 2.3.1 and 2.3.5).

Yet, awareness, let alone acceptance, of the ELF concept is scarce among the speakers concerned. After all, speakers without linguistic training (in terms of linguistics as a discipline) are commonly unaware of ongoing debates in applied linguistics or sociolinguistics. Thus, it is not surprising that linguistically uninformed research participants are not aware of the ELF paradigm and the burgeoning research behind it.

In the REM case study, none of the research participants could make sense of the term 'English as a lingua franca' neither as a concept nor as a description of the context in which they are using English. In contrast, the NS concept and its denotation (i.e. as descriptive term for first language speakers) were familiar to all participants and frequently mentioned in conversations not only with me but also among themselves (students as well as lecturers). Under these circumstances, it is doubtful whether acceptance of ELF can emerge at all without 'promotional activities'.

In her recent study of attitudes towards ELF use in higher education, Jenkins (2013) also found that her student interviewees largely adhered to the NS ideology and were completely unaware of ELF, which led her to inform them about the ELF paradigm in the course of their interviews.²¹³ After Jenkins's explanation, the respondents expressed positive attitudes towards ELF (Jenkins even speaks of "enthusiasm"), but successively returned to their initial view of NS English as the best English (Jenkins 2013: 200).²¹⁴ Although they expressed

²¹³ The qualitative interviews with 34 international students enrolled in EMI programmes at a British university represent one of three surveys in Jenkins's (2013) study (cf. Chapter 4.5).

²¹⁴ It can be assumed that respondents' positive comments about ELF are the result of an observer expectancy effect rather than of thorough reflection. We can see here that advertising ELF as an acceptable alternative does not necessarily lead to an immediate change of attitudes.

liberal attitudes towards ELF use in theory, they nevertheless considered the NS as the (exclusive) target model for their individual English language use.

From all we have seen so far, we can state that the native speaker ideal does play a role in EMI. The question remains why it plays a role. ELF researchers commonly blame traditional ELT for the perpetuation of the NS ideology among EFL learners (i.e. prospective ELF users) and for withholding the ‘truth’ about the spread and the diversity of the English language resulting from ongoing globalisation processes. Despite research evidence that ELF interaction works ‘successfully’, as Seidlhofer explains, “entrenched attitudes and established traditional views of native-speaker authority keep getting transferred from NS communities to the quite different contexts of ELF users” (Seidlhofer 2011: 38).

If we look at REM students’ explanations of why adherence to NS norms is so important to them, we see that they are far from being ignorant about globalisation processes. As prospective experts in the growing field of renewable energies, many of them envisage employment in multinational corporations and/or in an international context (cf. Chapter 5.2.1). Taking for granted that English will in all likelihood be a language they will habitually have to use in their professional lives²¹⁵ – even if working in a non-English speaking environment – they aim for mastery of the English language for professional purposes and consider EMI a valuable training ground (cf. Chapter 5.2.4).

Their ambition to reach the NS ideal is not so much the result of ELT indoctrination, but rather represents a realistic view of the Anglophone dominance in global economies and politics in general and in the renewable energy sector in particular. In this respect I agree with Prodromou who criticises ELF research for being ignorant of the non-linguistic implications of globalisation:

The mindset that flatters learners that their mistakes are as good if not ‘better than either British or American norms’ (Jenkins 2006a: 168) ignores the realities of political and economic power in a globalized world; in that world, English has become the gatekeeper of middle-class employment (Brutt-Griffler 2002). Underestimating the value of high-proficiency English has a class result in local communities, as it has a neo-colonial result on the international stage [...]. (Prodromou 2008: 255)

Yet, this is only one reason why adherence to the NS target norm prevails among ELF users in the REM programme. Positive attitudes towards the NS and aspirations to achieve native-like competence for professional purposes do not *per se* have to go in hand with negative attitudes towards NNS English. In the REM case study, we see that the NS ideology is widespread and supported independently of students’ and lecturers’ sociolinguistic backgrounds. ENL, ESL and EFL speakers invariably hold similar views towards deviances from the NS norm (i.e. regarding them as errors that need to be corrected).

²¹⁵ According to the Renewables Interactive Map as provided by REN21 (Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century; international non-profit association run by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)), employment opportunities in the renewable energy sector are most likely to be found in ENL and ESL countries (cf. REN21; see also Appendix A.8).

When students talk about their lecturers, the only difference we see is that the ENL speakers and the less competent EFL speakers are slightly more tolerant towards lecturers' non-conformity to NS norms, while ESL speakers and more competent EFL speakers are very critical. Derogatory comments about lecturers' English are particularly frequent among highly proficient ELF speakers and above all among German L1 speakers.²¹⁶ If we take a closer look at their attitudes, we see that negative opinions about lecturers' NNS English are chiefly motivated by reasons that have to do with the institutional roles fulfilled by students and lecturers in EMI, as will be explained in the following.

It is principally conceivable that negative attitudes towards NNS English are connected with an underlying motivation for self-aggrandizement through devaluating others. Students who place high demands on themselves and invested time and energy to achieve high proficiency in English are likely to have high expectations towards others, too.²¹⁷ Yet, in the REM case study we have seen that students hold different attitudes towards the NNS English of their peers and of their lecturers. While students with lower proficiency in English are just considered hard to understand (cf. Chapter 5.3.4), lecturers with lower proficiency are believed to pose a threat to students' study achievement and ultimately also to the students' own language competence (cf. Chapter 6.1.1).

Similar findings have been reported from a case study of an EMI programme in Sweden where students perceived deviations from NS norms in study-related interaction with their peers as less disturbing than in interaction with their lecturers (cf. Björkman 2011; see also Chapter 3.2.3). It is thus the difference in institutional power that motivates the divergent perception of the impact of NNS English in EMI.

Lecturers are in an institutionally powerful position as they are responsible for facilitating, assessing and grading students' study achievement. Furthermore, they are also academically advanced with expertise in the field of studies and socially more established with regard to age, profession, income etc.

Students on the other hand are all on the same institutional hierarchy level in their community and do not directly affect each other's achievement.²¹⁸ It

²¹⁶ The ambition to reach native-like proficiency in English is particularly frequent among German students, as several studies have shown (Erling 2005, 2007; Erling & Bartlett 2006; Grau 2005). A lack of positive identification with their own L1 culture seems to be the driving motivation to acquire a native-like accent ("pass as a native speaker"; Erling 2005: 221) in order to avoid being "recognized as an 'outsider' because of an obvious deviation from the native speaker pronunciation" (Grau 2005: 269). Erling even considers this ambition as characteristic of "Germanness" (Erling 2007: 120).

²¹⁷ Evidence for this interpretation can be best seen in a German students' explanation why he dislikes the German accent in others' English: "Das sind halt Sachen, die fallen mir negativ auf, weil das halt, die zeigen halt 'nen deutschen Akzent an, und [...] das ist natürlich der, wovon ich mich immer selber versuche etwas zu lösen, und deswegen fällt mir das dann auf." (*These are just things that give me a negative impression because they simply show a German accent and this is naturally the one which I try to dissociate myself from, and therefore I notice it.* PI Severin)

²¹⁸ This is only true for assessment and the quantitatively measurable outcome of study achievement by means of grades. With regard to the qualitative learning outcome, peers do

naturally follows that those in the institutionally underprivileged position (here: the students) hold higher expectations towards those in the more privileged position (here: the lecturers) than towards their own group. Institutional authority needs to be legitimized in order to be accepted and this is where EMI students often perceive discordance when their lecturers' academic authority is not accompanied by linguistic authority. This is evident in numerous quotes where students point out that the lecturers' position by default requires them to outperform students not only academically, but also linguistically (cf. Chapter 6.3).

This explanation takes us back to the role of the native speaker in EMI. It would be short-sighted to interpret students' derogatory comments about NNS English in general and their lecturers' NNS English in particular as manifestations of their ingrained adherence to the NS ideology resulting from previous exposure to ideologically biased ELT. Instead, we should interpret them as expressions of a desire to avoid (linguistic) uncertainty and to have a consistent and respectable role model in all regards (rather than only academically).

We have seen that students are critical towards their own competence in English, using the NS norm as a benchmark in their self-evaluation. In getting prepared for professional life in a global context, as explained above, students consider EMI as linguistic training opportunity, with EMI lecturers ideally being their role models. In this role, lecturers are expected to avoid incongruity and display a proficiency level which students can take for granted to eventually orient to. Avoidance of inconsistency and incongruity requires rules and norms and in the absence of an alternative linguistic norm, NS standard norms are considered the default model for linguistic reliability.²¹⁹

To conclude, we can say that the native speaker does indeed play an important role in EMI. On an abstract level, native speaker norms constitute an idealized unambiguous standard and compliance with this standard serves as prestige symbol, legitimizing institutional power. In other words, EMI lecturers' institutional authority requires legitimization not only through demonstrations of academic superiority, but also through demonstrations of linguistic authority. If EMI students feel that they are linguistically more competent than their lecturers, they are likely to call the lecturers' general institutional authority into question. In concrete interaction in EMI, NS (student) participants are assigned the role of linguistic authorities from whom students and lecturers frequently seek approval of their ELF use to rule out ambiguities.

Thus, the claims put forth by ELF researchers that "nativeness loses both its relevance and its traditional positive connotations" (Jenkins 2013: 38) and that the prestige of NS English has "restricted relevance to other [=lingua franca; SG] users of the language" (Seidlhofer 2011: 148) cannot be confirmed. There is

of course have considerable influence on each other, especially in collaborative learning activities which are an integral part of the REM programme.

²¹⁹ Note that reliability here refers to EMI stakeholders' beliefs about NS standard norms, not to the author's understanding of standard.

no evidence that EMI stakeholders negotiate their own language usage norms “in the absence of linguistic authority other than communicative efficiency” as has been proposed for ELF use in academic settings (Mauranen 2012: 6).

On the contrary, linguistic authority continues to be linked to the NS target norm and is far from being reduced to ‘communicative efficiency’. The native speaker, both as abstract concept and as interlocutor, continues to play a powerful role as linguistic authority in EMI and has significant impact on how EMI stakeholders perceive and negotiate institutional power.

8.2 The interplay between language(s) and culture(s) in EMI

EMI is customarily offered as a monolingual venture in which the language and culture of the surrounding environment are merely the backdrop. EMI stakeholders are commonly only required to provide proof of an appropriate proficiency level in English, appropriateness being defined by institution-specific threshold language entry levels for students (and lecturers usually being exempt from providing proof of language proficiency). Yet, Chapter 7 has shown that English language proficiency alone is not sufficient to master the challenges of studying and teaching in an EMI programme, as EMI entails a variety of challenges that go beyond ELF use.

If speakers from a variety of linguacultural backgrounds communicate with each other in ELF in an institutional setting with the high-stakes aim of achieving (or facilitating achievement of, on the part of lecturers) academic expertise in a new field of studies, their communication is constrained by more than just their English language use. House (2005) claims that ELF in its function as a means of communication among primarily non-native speakers of English has become “de-nationalized” and does no longer sustain and perpetuate Anglo-American (cultural) norms and values (ibid.: 56). While this is partly true, it does not mean that ELF can be used as ‘culture-free’ construct, since its speakers (or users, in ELF terminology) already have norms and values from their own cultures which influence their communicative behaviour.²²⁰

Yet, the question remains in which way the surrounding language and culture in which the ELF interaction takes place also have an effect on the communicative outcome. In their study of the “habitat factor” in ELF, Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006) conclude that the linguacultural environment of an ELF community of practice has considerable influence on how the speakers involved use the language, with language use forms being “‘locally colored’ and variable according to local context” (ibid.: 154).

Drawing on the findings from the REM case study, the habitat factor indeed exerts considerable influence on concrete forms of language use, as noticeable for example in English-German code-switching or in the transfer of culture-

²²⁰ An example for such “de-nationalization” in the REM case study is found in some lecturers’ explicit rejection of Anglo-American forms of address in favour of the German convention of using last names (cf. Chapter 7.3.1).

specific forms of address into English. In the following I will argue that it does not only have linguistic relevance in concrete interaction in EMI, but also plays an important role in displaying and enacting institutional power.

In Chapter 5.4 we have seen that lecturers frequently make use of the German language in the REM classroom. Code-switching into German rarely occurs accidentally (e.g. individual words in teaching materials), but is rather used intentionally as a repair strategy to request translation help from students (Chapter 5.5.2). It thus serves as a “linguistic fall-back option in cases of momentary lapses in expressing oneself in English” (Smit 2010: 371). Among students, this use of the local language in the classroom is surprisingly scarce. Students with advanced or native proficiency in German frequently speak German outside the classroom (e.g. at private parties), but avoid using the language in and around the REM lecture hall when talking about study-related matters (Chapter 5.3.2).

At first sight, this behaviour seems contradictory to students’ beliefs about the relative advantages for German (native) speakers in studying the REM programme (Chapter 7.2). Regardless of their individual competence in German, almost all of the REM students believe that proficiency in the surrounding native language German is a decisive factor for study success, not only because it enhances lecture comprehension (through the ability to decipher German interference in lecturers’ English) but also because it enables access to a wider range of learning and training opportunities (through the possibility to work as student assistants at the hosting institution or to talk to local experts in guest lectures and on-site visits).²²¹

It would be plausible to assume that students are keen to improve their German skills through practicing German with their peers, but this is not the case. The fact that they avoid using the German language in interaction among students and stick to English even if the situational conditions would allow the use of German (e.g. when only fluent speakers of German are involved in a conversation) is indicative of REM students’ low degree of interpersonal competition and an underlying desire to foster and maintain equality within the student body (cf. Chapter 7.4.1).

In this respect, REM students behave differently from the students in Smit’s (2010) case study where German language use initially caused massive problems for those who were not yet fluent enough in German and thus felt excluded from communication (ibid.: 126). In the course of the EMI programme, the German language gradually became an additional linguistic resource which was widely used among participants and enriched communication (ibid.: 127). Smit however noticed that the students in her case study perceived the German language as institutionally more powerful than other languages in the EMI classroom.

This awareness of the “symbolic power” (Bourdieu 1991: 166, quoted in Smit 2010: 127) of the local native language is also evident in the REM community,

²²¹ For similar findings with regard to the relevance of the surrounding local language in EMI see Söderlundh (2013) and Fandrych & Sedlaczek (2012).

not only in students' avoidance of its use in order to maintain equality, but also in their attitudes towards their lecturers' English language use. German students are particularly critical towards their lecturers and frequently express fears that their non-(native) German speaking peers could have difficulties in understanding the lecturers' German English. They act as advocates of linguistic equality in order to downplay their institutional advantages as 'insiders' who are well acquainted not only with the local language but also with the peculiarities of the local (institutional) culture.

The fact that German students do not exploit their special status as institutionally privileged insiders should not be attributed to a coincidental accumulation of harmony-oriented minds. Instead, it is rather indicative of a strongly positive group identity which has been nurtured by the REM programme from the very beginning through a schedule that enhances social interaction and building rapport, especially in the first weeks (cf. Chapter 5.3.1). The students rapidly developed a group identity as "REMs", with subgroups or smaller "interactional networks" (Smit 2010) playing only a minor role in the classroom setting. This, again, is different from the case studied by Smit where the students initially built what she calls "linguacultural nets", i.e. subgroups according to students' L1 and/or cultural backgrounds. Smit describes this social process as a phase of diversification

[...] at the beginning of which many students seemed to have concentrated on forming small 'subcommunities' at the expense of the larger group. The main shared repertoires in these 'subcommunities' were the respective L1s and associated national cultures. (Smit 2010: 131)

The reason for this development is attributed to the fact that their EMI programme started immediately *in medias res* without an introductory phase where students and lecturers could build rapport (ibid.: 124).

By contrast, in the REM programme, students have various opportunities to informally get to know their peers and their lecturers and build rapport at the beginning of the programme. Although there is not necessarily a causal relation between socializing opportunities granted and/or organized by the faculty on the one hand and the formation of a solid group identity on the other, the REM case shows that the social dynamics in an EMI community can be positively influenced by restraining content-oriented teaching in the first weeks and providing room for social exchange, e.g. through excursions or introductory events.

As mentioned above, local students have an edge over their peers not only because of their practical bilingualism, but also because of their familiarity with the local culture in general and locally typical learning and teaching practices in particular. International students are particularly disadvantaged with regard to the latter as we have seen in Chapters 7.3 and 7.4. The challenges arising from this disadvantage are noticeable both in interpersonal interaction with peers and lecturers and in the realization of study-related tasks.

On an interpersonal level, different role expectations towards the lecturer can cause considerable irritation on the part of international students in the beginning (see also Maiworm & Wächter 2002), especially when students are invited to critically discuss and challenge lecture contents (cf. Chapters 7.3.1 and 7.3.2).

With regard to performing study-related tasks, unfamiliar assessment practices (e.g. oral presentations), examination regulations (e.g. re-sit opportunities) and academic writing practices (e.g. different notions of plagiarism) can present obstacles for those unfamiliar with the local education system (cf. Chapters 7.3.3 and 7.3.4), although the foremost challenge for international students clearly lies in adapting to a culture which strongly emphasises learner autonomy and self-responsibility in the learning process. In the local learning culture, lecturers fulfil the role of facilitators rather than of authoritarian experts, and students are required to actively engage in accessing knowledge (e.g. through independent searches for relevant research literature) and applying it in collaborative tasks which do not only require academic efforts but also relational work with their peers (cf. Chapters 7.3.6 and 7.4.3).

The aforementioned challenges are not specific to EMI, but apply to any educational setting that involves students from other cultural and/or educational backgrounds. It is safe to assume that students who are not acquainted with the local learning culture and its implications on institutional roles and communicative and educational practices have a different point of departure than those who have ‘grown up’ in the local system.

The crucial problem in EMI is that these challenges are frequently overlooked because the impact of the linguacultural environment is marginalized to leisure time relevance only (cf. Chapter 5.1.4). This misconception of EMI as non-referential ‘culture-free’ setting is often the source of problems that appear to be linguistically motivated on the surface but are in fact culturally rooted.

In other words, EMI participants often attribute misunderstandings to linguistic comprehension problems (e.g. caused by an unfamiliar non-native accent or by lexicogrammatical deviations from the NS norm) although they are in fact either caused by a mismatch between the denotation of a linguistic form and its culture-specific connotation or reference point (e.g. in the example where a student did not capture the connection between wood pellets and litter for pet animals; Chapter 7.4.2) or by a conceptual gap in their cultural or academic knowledge systems (rather than in their linguistic repertoires, e.g. when students are asked to prepare a “literature review” or a “portfolio” (PO, SM)). Misunderstandings of this sort occur when lecturers are not aware of their implicit reference to locally rooted knowledge in their utterances which may display linguistic accuracy but make reference to a context that remains opaque to ‘outsiders’ of the host culture (cf. Chapter 7.4.2).

EMI lecturers are usually well aware of the pluriversity in the EMI classroom (culturally, academically and linguistically). Wächter reports that German lecturers are particularly aware of the challenges raised by students’

academic heterogeneity which inevitably brings about a variety of opportunities but also pitfalls (Wächter 2003: 104).

What is often missing, however, is a thorough reflection of the impact of this pluriversity and of implementing wrongly assumed ‘common’ practices and references to ‘common knowledge’. International students have an understanding of the history, politics, economy, etc. of their home countries but not necessarily of the EMI host country. Thus they have to acquire the new knowledge system in order to achieve *double knowing* (Singh & Shresta 2008) and decipher lecturers’ references to the local context. Since *double knowing* represents a valuable knowledge resource, EMI lecturers should avoid viewing their students from a deficit-oriented perspective (linguistically as well as interculturally) and rather appreciate and integrate students’ different knowledge systems in the international classroom (Tange & Kastberg 2013).

In sum, we can confirm that EMI means more than just using the English language for classroom instruction. EMI is a complex interplay between English language use on the foreground and cultural diversity and local reference – which includes explicit and implicit uses of the local language – in the background (Figure 8.1).

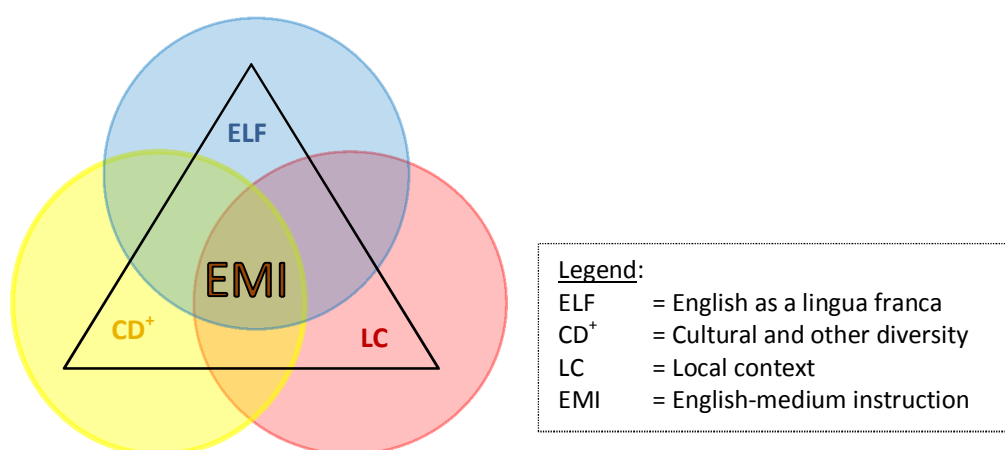


Figure 8.1: The EMI triangle, representing the interplay between language, culture and local context

This finding relates to the three main challenges of EMI identified by Smit (2010) which include “individual repertoires” (i.e. varying degrees of competence in English and other languages), “established practices” (i.e. varying degrees of familiarity with culture-specific learning and teaching practices) and the diversity in students’ cultural backgrounds (ibid.: 153).

It needs to be stressed here that the sources of these challenges (represented by the three circles in Figure 8.1) are only of equal importance from an outsider’s (i.e. researcher’s) perspective. From an insider’s perspective, the linguistic challenge of ELF use is clearly on the foreground and frequently seen as the single reason for difficulties. This is the case, for example, when students criticise their lecturers’ English although they actually refer to their teaching

style and didactic competence (e.g. criticising the syntactic complexity of a lecturer's speech but in fact referring to his inability to break down complex information into digestible units). Likewise, lecturers often mention that some students are hard to understand because of their non-native accents, although comprehension in many cases is rather distorted by a mismatch in culture-specific degrees of explicitness (cf. Chapter 5.2.3).

If we conceive of the EMI triangle in Figure 8.1 as an iceberg we can say that EMI participants are conscious of ELF use which is perceptible above the water surface, while cultural diversity and local context are only found below the surface and are thus less obvious as potential sources of trouble (Figure 8.2).²²²

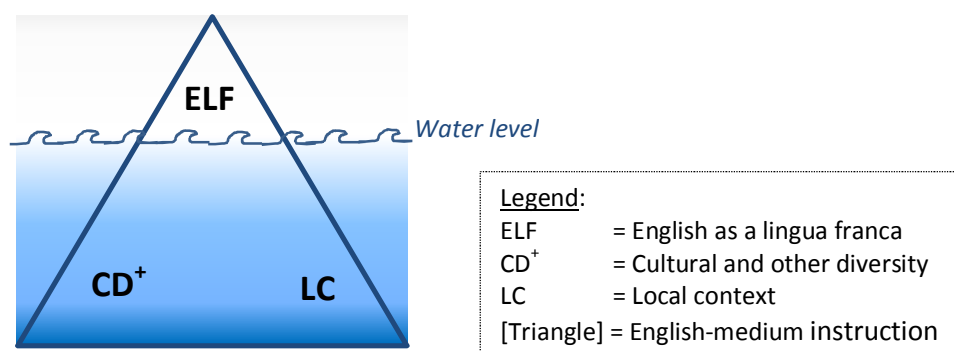


Figure 8.2: The EMI iceberg, representing the obvious challenge on the surface and the implicit challenges underneath

In conclusion, ELF use indeed constitutes a challenge for students and lecturers in the EMI classroom, but it would be shortsighted to conceive of ELF as a culturally and contextually neutral way of using the English language. The institutional and cultural habitat of EMI and the linguistic, academic and cultural make-up of its stakeholders have considerable influence on linguistic and social interaction. Several studies have come to the conclusion that intercultural issues remain largely unaddressed in EMI practice and deserve greater attention in the future if EMI is to work successfully to all stakeholders' satisfaction (e.g. Soltau 2007).

While it is certainly recommendable for EMI stakeholders as well as for EMI researchers to take a closer look at the implications of pluriversity on EMI – as suggested for example by Jenkins (2013) – it is equally important to consider the impact of the local context, including the local language, locally established educational practices and local knowledge.

²²² In analogy to the iceberg model proposed by Ruch & Zimbardo (1974) – based on the Freudian topographical model of the human psyche – we could say that ELF use belongs to the conscious area, while cultural diversity is found in the preconscious area and local reference mostly at the unconscious level.

EMI as a special form of studying and teaching in higher education requires awareness among its stakeholders of the interplay between the three key challenges of EMI. Although several HEIs hosting international EMI programmes already offer intercultural training for international students, there is an urgent need to shift the focus from targeting international students towards targeting all stakeholders involved (thus including teaching staff), and from addressing only intercultural issues to including also the other EMI challenges.

8.3 Recommendations and suggestions for EMI

As we have seen in the previous subchapters, the native speaker model plays an eminent role for EMI stakeholders and continues to be the preferred target model for language use as well as the yardstick for linguistic and institutional authority (cf. Chapter 8.1). Moreover, the challenges of EMI involve a complex interplay between language, culture and local environment and cannot be reduced to English language use and proficiency (cf. Chapter 8.2).

The question remains what can be recommended and suggested for EMI stakeholders and hosting institutions to meet and overcome these challenges. The REM students and lecturers in this study have proposed a large variety of bottom-up and top-down suggestions (cf. Chapter 7.5), each of which can be considered valuable for discussions of how to improve EMI. A triangulation of their suggestions with the results from my analyses as presented in the previous subchapters identifies four major strategies to enhance learning and teaching in EMI which will be explained in the following.

If we take students' and lecturers' evaluations of their own and others' English serious, it is not sensible to ignore language proficiency issues and deny the perceived relevance of the native speaker target model in EMI. Yet, it would be short-sighted to recommend English language proficiency screening and training for EMI lecturers with the NS model as the benchmark, as frequently suggested by EMI students (cf. Chapter 7.5.2; see also Van Splunder 2010: 214f.) and researchers (e.g. Maiworm & Wächter 2002).²²³ Standardized language proficiency descriptors as defined in the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001) have been identified as unsuitable for an EMI context (Pilkinton-Pihko 2013; see also Seidlhofer 2011: 184f. and Mauranen 2012: 238f.). An evaluation of EMI lecturers' language proficiency against a NS yardstick is likely to ignore communicative skills that are far more essential for a successful implementation of EMI than native-like accuracy in grammar or pronunciation. After all, communication in the EMI classroom is not a one-way road and lecturers therefore do not only need suitable productive skills, but also receptive skills,

²²³ Maiworm and Wächter recommend that EMI programmes only be taught by certified lecturers, i.e. by those who can prove their English language proficiency (Maiworm & Wächter 2002; see also Wächter 2003). However, they do not discuss which threshold of language proficiency can be considered appropriate.

i.e. competence in understanding (non-native speaker) students in order to respond appropriately. If staff screening is to be implemented in EMI hosting institutions, it is advisable to reassess and adjust established testing criteria to focus on skills relevant to EMI.

Testing alone is of course not sufficient. EMI hosting institutions also need to provide useful training opportunities geared towards EMI lecturers and addressing the complex interplay of language, culture and local context (cf. Wächter 2003: 108). Instead of language training that focuses primarily on ‘pure’ language skills (e.g. grammar, lexis, phonology), EMI lecturers need target-specific training modelled to the EMI conditions. Such training should address the significance of pragmatic and rhetorical skills (e.g. speaking with an appropriate speech rate, using verbal signposts to structure talk, and several other communicative strategies as proposed by REM students in Chapter 7.5.1) and also emphasise the importance of didactic planning and appropriation to meet the special challenges of EMI.

Findings from the REM case study show that students do not generally measure EMI lecturers’ teaching competence in linguistic terms against a NS benchmark, but rather judge lecturers on how they “make content accessible” (Pilkinton-Pihko 2013: 180), or in other words, how they convey their message didactically. Several lecturers in the REM programme have already participated in didactic training proper and invariably stress the added value of such training for their teaching practice not only but specifically in EMI programmes.²²⁴ Students and lecturers in the REM programme both emphasise that didactic competence is essential for success in EMI and can compensate for linguistic shortcomings (cf. Chapter 7.5.2). I strongly support this claim and would like to make a plea for a reconsideration of didactic competence as indispensable for teaching in higher education in general and in an EMI context in particular. It is advisable for EMI lecturers to broaden their EMI teaching competence through training that encompasses linguistic, intercultural and above all didactic elements.

If we acknowledge the complexity of EMI involving an interplay between ELF use, the pluridiversity of its stakeholders and the subtle influence of the local environment with its institutional culture and surrounding language as shown in Chapter 8.2, it is clear that one-dimensional support with focus either on language skills or on intercultural issues is not useful. EMI stakeholders need to raise their awareness towards the interplay of various factors, which can only be achieved through integrated discussion, ideally in the form of an EMI-specific training workshop.

For EMI students at the University of Freiburg, a model EMI workshop was designed and conducted by the author in October 2011 and 2012. This facultative workshop with the title “Studying in Germany” (StinG hereafter) is a multipurpose introductory course for students enrolled in EMI Masters’

²²⁴ Four of the interviewed REM lecturers hold the *Baden-Württemberg-Zertifikat für Hochschullehre* issued by the state ministry of education. For further information on the certificate see Chapter 7.5.2, section *Mandatory didactic training for lecturers*.

programmes at the University of Freiburg, comprising twenty teaching units spread over five days with the overall aim of preparing students theoretically and practically for the challenge of studying in a foreign language and/or in a foreign (academic) environment.

The multipurpose approach of the StinG workshop consists in the thematic combination of ELF use, intercultural matters and local reference on the basis of the EMI triangle (cf. Chapter 8.2). Based on these themes, it pursues multiple objectives: participants do not only receive information about locally-specific interactional and educational practices (e.g. forms of address or teaching formats), but also reflect on their previous learning experiences and existing knowledge with the aim of raising awareness to *double knowing*. In addition to these cognitive-oriented objectives, participants also experience affectively what exposure to EMI in Germany means and what challenges it entails. The latter objective is pursued through the general framework of the course simulating a typical EMI classroom: the course is taught entirely in English by a local German lecturer to a linguistically, culturally and academically diverse audience.²²⁵

Furthermore, the learning and teaching methods applied in the StinG workshop are manifold, covering a wide range of group arrangements (individual tasks, partner tasks, group tasks, etc.), teaching formats (teacher-centred vs. student-centred methods, lecture format, seminar discussion, etc.) and interactive tasks (mock oral presentations, office hour simulations, etc.). Through direct exposure to a variety of (locally typical) learning and teaching scenarios, course participants do not only explicitly learn about didactic diversity and differences, but also experience them first-hand.

At the end of both StinG courses, participants' feedback was extremely positive. Many participants emphasised the added value of the course in general and of its didactic concept in particular as it helped them to discover and familiarize with a new way of learning and teaching (i.e. EMI) through the hands-on simulation in a protected environment.²²⁶ For future implementations of the StinG course concept, minor readjustments are necessary, especially in the course description and advertisement, as the course is principally geared towards all EMI students and not only those with an international background. The participation of local students would greatly enhance the learning experience and outcome of the StinG workshop, as it would add another perspective and would allow room for discussion and critical reflection

²²⁵ Both model StinG workshops were taught by the author, i.e. by an L1 German speaker with German nationality and several years of experience in German higher education both as student and as lecturer/researcher. Participants in both workshops came from a variety of different countries (including Ukraine, Iran, Nigeria and the United States, among others) and were trained in a range of academic disciplines (including computer science, mechanical engineering and chemistry, besides others).

²²⁶ For example, one participant explained that she benefitted greatly from the implementation of interactive tasks and teaching methods because she had never experienced instruction in such a way before and she realized that she could also learn a lot from exchange with her fellow participants.

of the social and institutional implications of being 'local' in an international classroom.

Having said this, I should emphasise that preparatory EMI training is not only advisable for students, but also for (prospective) EMI lecturers. Integrated training for lecturers as explained above should not only include language and didactics, but also provide room for lecturers to specifically reflect on local reference in their ways of speaking and teaching and raise their awareness of the subtle challenges of EMI that often go unnoticed on the surface but can cause considerable confusion within the EMI community.

Additionally, informal and/or institutionally organized exchange of practical experiences among EMI colleagues does not only have a relieving effect (in terms of sharing doubts and fears about teaching in English) but also helps to share examples of good practice, with regard to teaching as well as social relations. REM lecturers set a good example of how their approachability²²⁷ and flexibility (e.g. in respecting and catering for special needs; cf. Chapter 7.4.4) contribute to students' overall satisfaction and study success.

As mentioned elsewhere (cf. Chapters 7.3.2 and 8.2), building rapport is essential for a constructive learning atmosphere in general and even more so in an EMI community of practice with inherent diversity on various levels. Good rapport between students and lecturers can eventually also compensate for linguistic and other shortcomings on both sides and contribute to a balanced role-relationship pattern without threats to institutional authority or cultural integrity. EMI programme coordinators and lecturers are thus specifically recommended to acknowledge the significance of rapport in an EMI community of practice and do their best to facilitate and exploit occasions for socializing especially in the starting phase of an EMI programme.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that any recommendations for support of EMI stakeholders and programmes are only beneficial if offered and realized as long-term measures. Integrated EMI training for lecturers can only be successful if lecturers continuously reflect and readjust their language use and teaching practice. The motivation to do so, however, is likely to diminish rapidly if EMI training is a singular event. Therefore it is recommendable to follow up on lecturers' progress in handling the EMI challenges through offering continuous support which can eventually also address newly emerging issues.

In the same vein, EMI support (workshops) for students should ideally comprise one or more follow-up meetings during or at the end of one term, not only to enable a 'grounded' discussion and reflection of students' experience with EMI, but also to enhance the quality of the workshop and fine-tune its concept to appropriate it to participants' individual needs.

²²⁷ The meaning of approachability is best explained from the student perspective: "[I]t's great that the professors interact so many times, even in a month, in a week so, and it's never a thing that you are not heard upon, you always have a chance to tell them, to interact with them, to tell how you feel, so which means there are ample opportunities for you to cope up with the system, [...]" (PI Dan).

In sum, there are ample strategies to enhance the quality of learning and teaching in EMI and it is recommended that EMI stakeholders and hosting institutions implement at least some of them, not only for the sake of EMI students' and lecturers' satisfaction or relief, but also to aim for optimal quality assurance in light of the continuous spread and growing importance of EMI in higher education.

8.4 Further areas of research

The findings from the REM case study as condensed in the grounded theory of the native speaker in EMI (Chapter 8.1) and captured in the EMI triangle model (Chapter 8.2) raise a variety of further questions which deserve attention in future research of EMI and ELF in general.

If we acknowledge the hidden presence of the NS in EMI, it would be interesting to compare the findings from the REM programme – which represents a prototypical EMI setting with regard to its disciplinary orientation in the field of engineering and natural sciences – to other EMI programmes with different disciplinary orientation, e.g. in humanities and social sciences, to see to what extent the strong orientation towards the NS prestige variety is linked to students' career aspirations and lecturers' involvement in the international academic community of their disciplines.

Although the NS model finds strong support among EMI stakeholders, it is doubtful whether NS norms are a suitable benchmark for defining EMI-specific language proficiency. The question whether and in what ways students' and lecturers' language skills should be tested to ensure an appropriate threshold level that allows them to successfully master the linguistic challenge of EMI has been raised by various EMI practitioners (e.g. Wilkinson 2008, Klaassen & Räsänen 2006, cf. Chapter 3.2.3), but still calls for further exploration. Initial empirical investigations of this issue have come to the conclusion that established testing criteria and formats are not appropriate in an EMI context but need to be adjusted and expanded (e.g. Pilkinton-Pihko 2013).

These findings have serious implications for EMI in practice. If EMI continues to spread – which is far from unlikely given recent growth figures (cf. Chapter 1.2) – EMI programme developers urgently need to reflect on the appropriateness of their current policies for student and staff admission and screening. EMI quality management requires the development and implementation of EMI-specific testing criteria which focus on essential interaction-oriented skills as identified in ELF and particularly EMI research rather than testing general language proficiency.

Furthermore, apart from the formulation of benchmark criteria for EMI-specific language proficiency, screening procedures also require reconsideration as it is disadvantageous to rely solely on externally validated test results (e.g. from the TOEFL or IELTS tests in case of students) or on results obtained from

an artificial testing situation (e.g. from interviews or lecture simulations in case of lecturers).

A further lacuna in EMI research – and more generally in applied linguistics – is the role of language in oral and written assessment and the practical question how to distinguish language proficiency from content knowledge. EMI lecturers constantly face the challenge of evaluating students' academic performance on the basis of spoken and oral assignments in English, which is usually neither their students' nor their own native language.

From an ELF research perspective, it remains to be discussed whether and how written ELF use can be assessed (in the sense of graded assessment in an educational setting) with an 'effectiveness'-oriented approach. Future analyses of the corpus of written academic ELF discourse (WrELFA, currently being compiled at the University of Helsinki) will hopefully inspire this discussion.

From an applied linguistic perspective, future research needs to develop useful guidelines for EMI lecturers on how to assess student assignments in practice without overrating or underestimating their linguistic expression at the expense of the underlying content knowledge.

In previous sections (Chapter 7 and 8.2) we have seen that EMI poses challenges to its stakeholders that go beyond mere English language use and are caused by other factors, namely by the pluriversity of the stakeholders and the implicit influence of the local environment with its institutional culture and surrounding language. In order to assess EMI from an all-encompassing perspective, EMI research would do well to broaden its scope and move away from an exclusively linguistic orientation towards an interdisciplinary approach by integrating insights from educational science, cultural anthropology and the psychology of learning. It is hoped that this study with its findings enriched by insights from different perspectives – pedagogic (e.g. Chapter 7.3), intercultural (e.g. Chapter 7.4), psychological (e.g. Chapter 8.2) and other – serves as a case in point.

Last but not least, a few words on methodology are in order. EMI as well as ELF research have already recognized the added value of ethnographic data in empirical explorations of ELF use in EMI and other domains. Yet, implementation of ethnographic research methods is still scarce in ELF research and even scarcer in EMI research. Drawing on my fieldwork experience, I assume this reservation to be caused primarily by time constraints. Ethnographic fieldwork requires above all time and patience to familiarize with the setting and build rapport with participants. Secondly – and especially if fieldwork is undertaken from a grounded theory perspective – ethnographic fieldwork yields substantial amounts of data which all need to be scrutinized carefully to identify which data sets are relevant for (further) analysis and which can be discarded, the latter category easily making up two thirds of all available data.²²⁸

²²⁸ In the present study, approximately only half of the available data was used for the analyses presented in Chapters 5 to 7.

With regard to time investment, ethnographic research methods are certainly less efficient than other (qualitative) data gathering techniques. Yet, in terms of the breadth and depth of its coverage, ethnographic methodology clearly outperforms other methods as it uncovers categories and interrelations which would otherwise remain unknown. As a side effect, the intensive and personal contact with research participants presents an enriching experience on its own for the researcher. It remains to be hoped that more ELF and EMI researchers recognise the investigative benefits of ethnographic research and follow suit.

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FRAUW – Freiburger Akademie für universitäre Weiterbildung. University of Freiburg. <http://www.zuv.uni-freiburg.de/organisation/frau> (last accessed 23 Nov 2014)

ICE – International Corpus of English. Various institutions. <http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm> (accessed 23 Nov 2014)

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APPENDIX

A.1 Consent Form



ALBERT-LUDWIGS-
UNIVERSITÄT FREIBURG

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in the evaluation of the Renewable Energy Management (hereafter REM) study programme. I understand that this evaluation is being conducted by Susanne Gundermann, PhD student of English linguistics at the English Department of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, to assess and improve the REM study programme. I understand that part of the evaluation results will be the basis of Susanne Gundermann's doctoral dissertation.

I understand that the evaluation methods that may involve me are

- 1) the researcher's recorded observations of classroom activities and interaction.
- 2) the researcher's analysis of written sources such as letters of motivation, written examinations, written reports and non-confidential e-mail correspondence.
- 3) my completion of evaluation questionnaires.
- 4) my participation in an interview.

I grant permission for the interview and some of the classroom visits to be tape recorded and transcribed, and to be only used by Susanne Gundermann for analysis.

I grant permission for the evaluation data generated from the above methods to be published in an evaluation report to the REM programme management, and in the doctoral dissertation and future publications.

I understand that any identifiable information in regard to my name will **NOT** be listed in the evaluation report, in the dissertation or any future publications.

Research Participant: _____

Date: _____ Signature: _____

A.2 Overview of research participants

A.2.1 REM students

<i>Pseudonym</i> ¹	<i>L1</i> ²	<i>Gender</i> ³	<i>Group</i>
Adriana	Romanian	F	REM09
Andrés	Spanish	M	REM09
Bernd	German	M	REM08
Birendra	Nepalese	M	REM09
Bulat	Kazakh	M	REM09
Cai	English	F	REM09
Chao	Chinese	M	REM09
Chen	Chinese	F	REM09
Claudio	Spanish	M	REM09
Claus	German	M	REM09
Colin	English	M	REM09
Daksha	Nepalese	M	REM08
Dan	Malayalam	M	REM08
Daniela	Spanish	F	REM09
Demet	Turkish	F	REM08
Derya	Turkish	F	REM09
Dhiraj	Hindi	M	REM09
Dilara	Turkish	F	REM09
Donald	Malayalam	M	REM09
Donovan	Afrikaans	M	REM08
Eun Hee	Korean	F	REM09
Ferdinand	German	M	REM08
Finn	German	M	REM09
Francisco	Spanish	M	REM09
Gavrail	Bulgarian	M	REM08
Gavrilis	Greek	M	REM09
Gisa	Portuguese	F	REM08
Ismail	Arabic	M	REM08
Jimena	Spanish	F	REM09
Joy	English	F	REM09
Justus	German	M	REM09
Kerstin	German	F	REM08

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>L1</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Group</i>
Knut	German	M	REM09
Kosimo	Spanish	M	REM09
Manel	Catalan	M	REM08
Mario	Spanish	M	REM08
Martín	Spanish	M	REM09
Máximo	Spanish	M	REM09
Maya	German	F	REM08
Miriam	German	F	REM09
Muhammad	Uzbek	M	REM08
Muiris	English	M	REM08
Naomi	English	F	REM09
Nina	German	F	REM09
Nirav	Gujarati	M	REM09
Nishant	Gujarati	M	REM08
Oksana	Russian	F	REM09
Pascual	Spanish	M	REM09
Patricio	Spanish	M	REM08
Pramod	Telugu	M	REM08
Sari	Indonesian	F	REM08
Sayyid	Urdu	M	REM09
Setiawan	Indonesian	M	REM09
Severin	German	M	REM08
Shashank	Marathi	M	REM08
Siegfried	German	M	REM09
Sigmund	German	M	REM08
Silas	German	M	REM09
Silvan	German	M	REM08
Sören	German	M	REM08
Stefan	German	M	REM09
Sunil	Nepalese	M	REM08
Svenja	German	F	REM09
Teo	Greek	M	REM08

Group	REM Students' home countries⁴
REM08	Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Costa Rica, Germany (7), Greece, India (4), Indonesia, Ireland, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Nepal (2), South Africa, Spain, Turkey, United Arab Emirates
REM09	Canada (2), Chile (3), China, Colombia, Germany (10), Kazakhstan, Mexico (3), Nepal, Pakistan, Romania, Russia, South Korea, Taiwan, Turkey (2), United States, Venezuela (2)

¹ Students' pseudonyms were chosen by the students themselves (based on criteria assigned by the researcher) and correspond to the students' first language and/or the language of the student's real name.

² First languages represent REM students' L1s by self-report.

³ F = female, M = male.

⁴ Home countries represent the respective countries in which REM students have spent most of their lives, they do not necessarily represent REM students' countries of birth or are linked to their citizenship.

A.2.2 REM lecturers and administrative staff⁵

<i>Pseudonym</i> ^{5,6}	<i>English translation</i>	<i>First language</i>	<i>Gender</i> ⁷	<i>Affiliation</i> ⁸
Prof. Arve	<i>Arolla pine</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Cypress	<i>Cypress</i>	English	F	EHEI
Prof. Douglasie	<i>Douglas fir</i>	Russian	F	EHEI
Prof. Eibe	<i>Yew</i>	German	M	EHEI
Prof. Fichte	<i>Spruce</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Kiefer*	<i>Pine</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Lärche	<i>Larch</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Pinie	<i>Pine</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Redwood	<i>Redwood</i>	English	M	EHEI
Prof. Sequoia	<i>Sequoia</i>	French	F	UFR
Prof. Sichelanne	<i>Cryptomeria</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Spirke	<i>Mugo pine</i>	German	M	ERI
Prof. Strobe	<i>Weymouth pine</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Tanne*	<i>Fir</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Thuja	<i>Thuja</i>	German	M	UFR
Prof. Tsuga	<i>Tsuga</i>	Greek	M	UFR
Prof. Wellingtonie	<i>Wellingtonia</i>	German	M	EHEI
Prof. Zeder	<i>Cedar</i>	German	M	EHEI
Dr. Ahorn*	<i>Maple</i>	German	M	UFR
Dr. Birke*	<i>Birch</i>	German	F	UFR
Dr. Buche*	<i>Beech</i>	German	M	UFR
Dr. Eiche*	<i>Oak</i>	German	M	UFR
Dr. Erle	<i>Alder</i>	German	M	ERI
Dr. Espe	<i>Aspen</i>	German	M	EEP
Dr. Kastanie	<i>Chestnut</i>	German	F	UFR
Dr. Linde	<i>Basswood</i>	German	M	ERI
2Dr. Pappel	<i>Poplar</i>	German	M	ERI
Dr. Robinie	<i>Robinia</i>	German	M	UFR
Dr. Sycamore	<i>Sycamore</i>	English	M	UFR
Dr. Ulme*	<i>Elm</i>	German	F	UFR
Dr. Weide	<i>Willow</i>	German	M	UFR
Mr. Buchsbaum	<i>Boxwood</i>	German	M	UFR
Ms. Esche	<i>Ash</i>	German	F	UFR
Ms. Flieder	<i>Lilac</i>	German	F	UFR
Ms. Forsythia	<i>Forsythia</i>	Italian	F	EEP
Mr. Ginster*	<i>Gorse</i>	German	M	UFR
Mr. Hasel	<i>Hazel</i>	German	M	UFR
Ms. Holunder	<i>Elder</i>	German	F	EEP
Mr. Liguster*	<i>Privet</i>	German	M	UFR
Mr. Oleander	<i>Oleander</i>	Spanish	M	UFR
Mr. Schwarzdorn	<i>Blackthorn</i>	German	M	UFR
Ms. Wacholder	<i>Juniper</i>	Russian	F	UFR
Mr. Weißdorn	<i>Quickthorn</i>	German	M	EEP

⁵ To avoid inference to their real names, the pseudonyms for REM lecturers' and administrative staff were systematically assigned by the researcher. The default language of staff pseudonyms is German (except for lecturers with English as their first language) which does not necessarily represent the language of their real names (in contrast to the student pseudonyms).

⁶ An asterisk after a pseudonym indicates that this lecturer had been interviewed (PI data set).

⁷ F = female, M = male.

⁸ UFR = University of Freiburg, EEP = External Expert Practitioner, EHEI = External Higher Education Institution, ERI = External Research Institution.

A.3 Sample questionnaire on sociolinguistic background and overt beliefs (QO)

(Version as distributed among REM09)

This questionnaire is part of the PhD project "English as a lingua franca in an international English-medium instruction Master's programme - Attitudes and Use" (working title) by Susanne Gundermann. It asks you questions about your individual sociolinguistic background as well as about your experience with the REM programme. Its 37 questions can be answered in approximately 15 minutes. Your answers are confidential and will only be used for the purpose of my PhD research.

The questionnaire is designed as a personalized (i.e. not anonymous) questionnaire because I need to relate your answers to the data I already have from my classroom visits and the speech recordings. I assure you again that any personal information you give me is considered confidential and will not be released to anyone without anonymisation! Thank you in advance for your confidence and your collaboration!

1. Please enter your name and year of birth.

e.g. John Smith, 1977

2. In which country have you spent most of your life until now?

3. In which country did you do your previous university degree?

4. Which language(s) do you speak with your parents?

5. Which language(s) do you consider your mother tongue(s)?

6. Which was the main language of instruction when you went to primary school (elementary school)?

7. Which was the main language of instruction when you went to secondary school (high school)?

8. Which was the main language of instruction in your previous university degree course?

9. Which foreign language(s) have you learnt at school or university?

If more than one, please state them in the order of acquisition.

10. In which language(s) do you consider yourself a fluent speaker?

11. Do you speak German?

Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.

<input type="checkbox"/>	I am a native speaker of German.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I can speak German fluently.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I have a fairly good command of German.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I have an average command of German.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I have a basic command of German.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I know some German, but I cannot speak it.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I have only just started to learn German.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not know any German at all.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify):

12. Do you or did you take any German language lessons?

If yes, please indicate location and period of time.

--

13. Which language do you mostly speak in Freiburg (outside the REM classroom)?

Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.

<input type="checkbox"/>	English
<input type="checkbox"/>	German
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify):

14. At what age did you start to learn English?

--

15. How did you get to speak English?

Multiple answers possible. Please mark your choice(s) with a cross (x) in the left column.

<input type="checkbox"/>	I speak English with my parents.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I speak English with relatives.
<input type="checkbox"/>	English is an official language in my country.
<input type="checkbox"/>	English is not an official language, but widely used in everyday life in my country.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I had English as a school subject in primary school.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I had English a school subject in high school.
<input type="checkbox"/>	English was the language of instruction in my previous university degree programme.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I took English language lessons at my former university.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I took English language lessons at a private language institute/ language school.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I spent time in an English speaking country.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I spent time in a non-English speaking country where I had to use English in order to communicate.
<input type="checkbox"/>	English was the work language in my previous job.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify):

16. Have you ever spent time in an English speaking country?

If yes, please indicate country, length and purpose of your stay.

--

17. Have you ever spent time in a non-English speaking country where you had to use English in order to communicate?

If yes, please indicate country, length and purpose of your stay

--

18. Do you regularly use English in your leisure time?

Multiple answers possible. Please mark your choice(s) with a cross (x) in the left column.

<input type="checkbox"/>	I read books (fiction) in English.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I read newspapers/ magazines (print or online) in English.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I listen to English speaking radio stations.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I watch television in English.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I watch movies in English.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I talk to my roommates/ friends in English.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I write emails to my friends in English [excluding REM emails].
<input type="checkbox"/>	I use English on social network websites such as Facebook or StudiVZ.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify):

19. With which of the following statements do you agree?

Multiple answers possible. Please mark your choice(s) with a cross (x) in the left column.

<input type="checkbox"/>	I like it if other people can tell by my accent where I am from.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I dislike it if other people can tell by my accent where I am from.
<input type="checkbox"/>	My target is to speak English with an internationally intelligible pronunciation.
<input type="checkbox"/>	My target is to sound like a native speaker of English.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify):

20. How do you rate your competence in speaking English?

Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.

<input type="checkbox"/>	(Near-)native competence - I can always express myself appropriately without difficulties.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Fairly good - I can usually express myself without difficulties.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Satisfactorily - I can often express myself without difficulties.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Sufficiently - I often have difficulties expressing myself.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I always have difficulties expressing myself.

21. How do you rate your own competence in speaking English compared to the other REM students?

Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.

<input type="checkbox"/>	I am among the most competent speakers.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am a good speaker, only some are more competent than me.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am an average speaker.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am a weak speaker; the majority are more competent than me.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am among the least competent speakers.

22. How do you rate your competence in writing English?

Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.

<input type="checkbox"/>	(Near-)native competence - I can always express myself appropriately without difficulties.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Fairly good - I can usually express myself without difficulties.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Satisfactorily - I can often express myself without difficulties.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Sufficiently - I often have difficulties expressing myself.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I always have difficulties expressing myself.

23. How do you rate your own competence in writing English compared to the other REM students?*Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.*

<input type="checkbox"/>	I am among the most competent writers.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am a good writer, only some are more competent than me.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am an average writer.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am a weak writer; the majority are more competent than me.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am among the least competent writers.

24. Who from your fellow REM students do you find easiest to understand?*Please explain briefly why.*

--	--

25. Who from your fellow REM students do you find hardest to understand?*Please explain briefly why.*

--	--

26. Do you think your English has changed during your first REM semester?*Please state briefly what has / has not changed and why / why not.*

--	--

27. How would you generally rate the communication in English among REM students?*Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.*

<input type="checkbox"/>	Excellent - it always works out very well.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Good - it usually works out very well.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Average - it works out okay.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Sufficiently - it works out, but at times there are problems.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Insufficiently – often there problems.

28. Do you think that German language competence is an advantage in the REM programme?*Please state briefly why or why not.*

--	--

29. Do you think that native speakers of German have advantages in the REM programme?*Please state briefly why or why not.*

--	--

30. Do you think that native speakers of English have advantages in the REM programme?*Please state briefly why or why not.*

--	--

31. How do you rate your REM lecturers' competence in speaking English?*Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.*

<input type="checkbox"/>	Excellent - All of them can express themselves appropriately.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Fairly good – The majority can express themselves appropriately.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Satisfactory - Half of them can express themselves appropriately, half of them cannot.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Sufficiently – The majority cannot express themselves appropriately.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Poorly – Nearly none of them can express themselves appropriately.

32. Which lecturer's English did you find easiest to understand?*Please state briefly why.*

--

33. Which lecturer's English did you find hardest to understand?*Please state briefly why.*

--

34. How do you rate your overall satisfaction with the REM programme?*Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.*

	Excellent - much better than I expected.
	Good - better than I expected.
	Okay - just what I expected.
	Sufficiently - worse than I expected.
	Poorly - much worse than I expected.

35. Would you choose to study REM again?*Please choose only one answer and mark your choice with a cross (x) in the left column.*

	Yes, definitely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	No, definitely not
	Don't know

36. If a fairy granted you three wishes, which 3 things would you change in the REM programme?

--

37. Any further comments?

--

THANK YOU VERY MUCH
FOR FILLING IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
AND SUPPORTING MY RESEARCH!

Best regards,
Susanne Gundermann
[E-mail, Institution]

A.4 Sample questionnaire on covert attitudes (QC)

REM² QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of my PhD project on English as a lingua franca in the REM Master's programme. Your answers will only be used for this purpose and will be treated with confidentiality.

Imagine your brain would work in the same way as computers do. The speech centre in your brain (capacity of nearly unlimited GBs) is responsible for your language proficiency. You are efficiently running and using the programme "English for studying in an international Master's programme".



(1) Now imagine you could **download one of the following accent plug-ins for your English language programme for free**. It would enable you to speak English with the chosen accent. Which one would you choose and why? (You may only choose one!)

British English	because
Irish English	because
Canadian English	because
American English	because
Australian English	because
New Zealand English	because
South African English	because
Indian English	because
Singaporean English	because
Hong Kong English	because
_____ English (please specify!)	because
I would not download any accent plug-in	because

(2) Imagine you could download a free demo-version of one of the following programme extensions for personal use. Which one would you choose and why? (You may only choose one!)

ARTICULATOR	(enables you to clearly pronounce all sounds of the English language)	because
FLUENCER	(enables you to speak fluently without interruptions)	because
GRAMMAR REVISER	(enables you to produce grammatically correct sentences)	because
DICTIONARY	(extends your vocabulary to double the amount of the one you already have)	because
CONFIDENCE BOOSTER	(enables you to ooze confidence when you are speaking English no matter to whom about what)	because
NATIVE SPEAKER IMITATOR	(enables you to speak like a native speaker of English)	because
None	No download of any extension.	because

(3) Now imagine REM management would announce that they were going to buy a one-year class license for one of these programme extensions (i.e. all REM students could use it). Which one do you think would be most beneficial for all of you and why?

ARTICULATOR	(enables all of you to clearly pronounce all sounds of the English language)	because
FLUENCER	(enables all of you to speak fluently without interruptions)	because
GRAMMAR REVISER	(enables all of you to produce grammatically correct sentences)	because
DICTIONARY	(extends everyone's vocabulary to double the amount of the one you already have)	because
CONFIDENCE BOOSTER	(enables all of you to ooze confidence when speaking English no matter to whom about what)	because
NATIVE SPEAKER IMITATOR	(enables all of you to speak like a native speaker of English)	because
None	No download of any extension.	because

For statistical purposes:

Please write down your native language(s):

Please write down the language(s) in which you consider yourself a fluent speaker:

A.5 Sample response sheet from listening experiment (LE)

NAME: _____

LISTENING EXPERIMENT

- Please fill in your name on top of the sheet.
- Please do NOT interact with any of the other participants! Do not talk to anyone and do not look at what others are writing down during the experiment.



PART 1: TREASURE HUNT

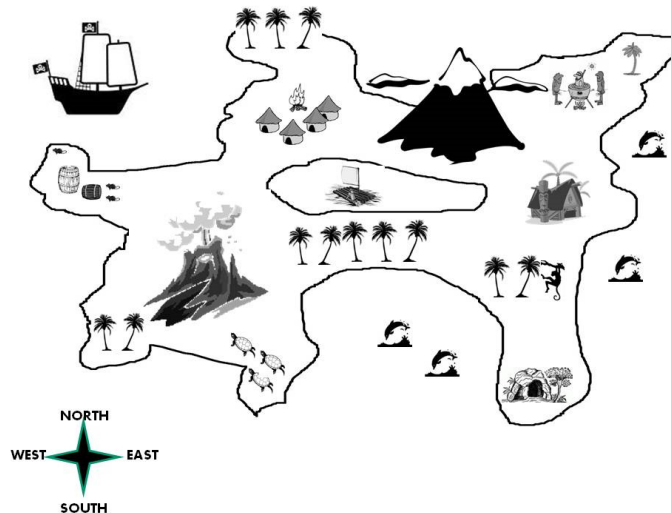
- Treasure Island is a former pirate hideaway.
- Six treasures are still hidden on the island.
- Six speakers will give you directions how to find them (a different treasure each).

Your task:

- Please listen carefully to what each speaker says.
- **Mark** the way to the treasure and the site of the **treasure on the map**.⁹
- **Evaluate** what you have heard: put a cross (x) on the appropriate point on the scale for each pair of adjectives.

Speaker A¹⁰

(1) Please listen carefully to what Speaker A says and mark the way to and the site of the treasure on this map.



(2) Now please evaluate what you've just heard:

TREASURE HUNT		
	\longleftrightarrow	
directions easy to follow	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	directions hard to follow
fast	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Slow
hesitating	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Fluent
clear pronunciation	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	unclear pronunciation

⁹ The map on this page represents a decreased image of the original. The original map on the response sheets has about double the size of this representation; otherwise participants would not have been able to draw on it.

¹⁰ The following extract from part one appears six times on the response sheet, i.e. six identical copies of the island and speech evaluation box, but each referring to a different speaker (A-F).

PART 2: WIZARD STORY

- Six people are going to read aloud a wizard story ((extract from J.K. Rowling’s novel *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone*)
- The recordings are slightly longer than in part one (Ø 01:24 min. each).

Your task:

- Please **evaluate each reader’s personality** WHILE you are listening.
- Give **intuitive** and **spontaneous** judgments - I will not analyse the “correctness” of your answers, but only your perceptions of the speakers.
 1. Put a cross (x) on the appropriate point on the scale for each pair of adjectives.
 2. Put a cross (x) on the appropriate box for each question.
 3. Guess where each speaker is from and write down your answer.
- When you are finished earlier than the others, please just wait and don’t talk!

Reader A

1. Reader A is / has		
smart	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Simple
shy	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	self-confident
unmotivated	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	ambitious
popular	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	unpopular
humourless	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	good sense of humour
talkative	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	reserved

2. Would you like Reader A	definitely	very much	much	little	Hardly	not at all
...						
... to be your English teacher?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... to be your boss?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... to be your colleague at work?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... to accompany you to a party?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Guess where Reader A is from:

PART 3: SUBCONSCIOUS MEMORY TASK

Please try to remember the text you have just heard and choose your answer for each sentence.

Example:

The story is about ... 19th century architecture. Treasure Island. Harry Potter.

The story takes place in ...	<input type="checkbox"/> Hogsmeade	<input type="checkbox"/> Glasgow	<input type="checkbox"/> London
Harry is travelling together with ...	<input type="checkbox"/> Hermione	<input type="checkbox"/> Hagrid	<input type="checkbox"/> Dumbledore
They are travelling ...	<input type="checkbox"/> by train	<input type="checkbox"/> by boat	<input type="checkbox"/> by car
Towards the end, they enter the <i>Leaky Cauldron</i> , which is ...	<input type="checkbox"/> a hotel	<input type="checkbox"/> a shop	<input type="checkbox"/> a pub

Have you read books or seen films about Harry Potter before? yes no

EXPERIMENT EVALUATION

1. How did you find this experiment, now that you have completed it?					
really great	Enjoyable	Okay	bearable	annoying	abhorrent
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Would you volunteer to participate in a follow-up experiment in May?		
Yes	no	don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Any comments about the experiment?

THAT WAS IT!
THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

A.6 Overview of interviews with lecturers (PI)

Lecturer	Interview date	Interview duration
Mr Liguster	January 2009 (pilot interview)	00:46 h
Prof. Tanne	December 2009	01:36 h
Dr. Ulme	December 2009	00:58 h
Dr. Buche	January 2010	00:49 h
Dr. Ahorn	February 2010	00:47 h
Dr. Eiche	February 2010	00:30 h
Mr Ginster	February 2010	00:52 h
Dr. Birke	March 2010	00:56 h
Prof. Kiefer	April 2010	00:30 h
Total		07:44 h

A.7 Summary of REMo8 students' feedback on the research project

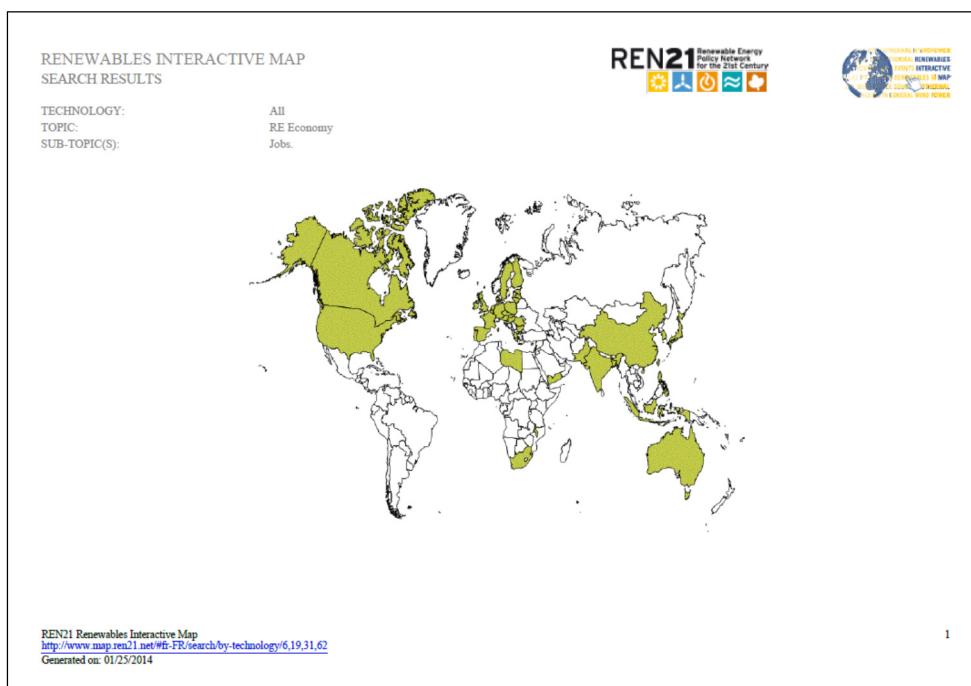
The following feedback questionnaire was distributed among REMo8 students in January 2010. The results were presented to them at our final meeting (a privately organized weekend stay in a hut in the black forest). Data from this questionnaire were used for self-reflection on the research and fieldwork process only and were not considered in the analysis sections of my study.

ANONYMOUS FEEDBACK – SUMMARY (n= 25)

RESEARCH TOPIC	1	2	3	4	5	6	n/s	Mean
Interestingness of the research topic?	4	14	5	2	0	0	0	2.2
General usefulness of the research topic?	2	15	5	2	0	0	1	2.3
Personal relevance of the research topic for you?	0	6	11	3	2	2	1	3.3
Comprehensibility of purpose of research?	1	8	12	1	2	1	0	2.9
ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE	1	2	3	4	5	6	n/s	Mean
General outline and structure of the research project?	0	11	7	3	0	0	4	2.6
Timing and previous announcement of individual tasks?	10	7	5	3	0	0	0	2.0
Feasibility of workload caused by participation?	10	13	2	0	0	0	0	1.7
Appropriateness of the applied methodology?	4	14	3	1	0	0	3	2.0
Comprehensibility of the tasks?	7	12	4	1	1	0	0	2.1
COMPREHENSIBILITY OF LANGUAGE	1	2	3	4	5	6	n/s	Mean
• in speaking?	15	9	1	0	0	0	0	1.4
• in handouts?	18	6	0	1	0	0	0	1.4
• in questionnaires?	16	7	1	1	0	0	0	1.5
• in emails?	14	10	1	0	0	0	0	1.5
SUSANNE'S BEHAVIOUR	1	2	3	4	5	6	n/s	Mean
Respectfulness?	20	5	0	0	0	0	0	1.2
Equal treatment of everyone?	21	2	1	0	0	0	1	1.2
Unobtrusiveness?	14	7	2	0	0	0	2	1.5
Intercultural sensitivity?	15	9	0	0	0	0	1	1.4
Sociability?	21	4	0	0	0	0	0	1.2
RESEARCH METHODS	really great	enjoyable	okay	bearable	annoying	abhorrent	n/s	Mean
How did you find ...								
Participatory observation in classroom?	1	17	7	0	0	0	0	2.2
Audio recordings during lectures / meetings?	1	9	15	0	0	0	0	2.6
Audio recordings during group work?	2	7	16	0	0	0	0	2.6
Questionnaire I (Feb 2009)?	2	10	12	0	0	0	1	2.4
Questionnaire II (Oct 2009)?	3	9	11	1	0	0	1	2.4
Personal interviews (Dec	10	13	2	0	0	0	0	1.7

2009)?								
Listening experiment (Feb 2010)?	4	11	6	0	0	0	4	2.1
Anonymous feedback form (now)?	1	11	12	0	0	0	1	2.4
OUTLOOK					YES	NO		Don't know
Would you participate in such a research project again?					<u>20</u>	2		3
Would you study REM again?					10	7		8
Would you study an English-medium-of-instruction Master's course again?					21	2		2
Would you study an international Master's course again?					21	2		2
Would you like to get notified of the completion and publication of the PhD dissertation?					<u>24</u>	0		1
COMMENTS [selection only]								
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • useful research, will be helpful for other international English-medium-of-instruction programmes ☺ • will help management of such programmes to rethink their recruiting methods for teaching staff (find staff who speak better English) ☺ • Doubt that the results of this project will have an influence on the teaching in REM ☹ • The project was enjoyable. ☺ • Susanne was a good addition to the class / good company (in general / on the field trip to Wolpertshausen) ☺ 								

A.8 REN21 Renewables Interactive Map



Job opportunities in the renewable energy sector (as of January 2014)

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG IN DEUTSCHER SPRACHE

Die vorliegende Arbeit befasst sich mit einem noch relativ unerforschten, aber stetig an Verbreitung und Bedeutung gewinnenden Phänomen: Englisch als Unterrichtssprache in der Hochschullehre, die sogenannte *English-medium instruction* (im Folgenden mit EMI bezeichnet). Das Englische stellt hierbei nicht den Unterrichtsgegenstand dar (wie beispielsweise in anglistischen Studienfächern), sondern dient ausschließlich als *Lingua franca* in der Unterrichtskommunikation zwischen Sprechern unterschiedlicher Muttersprachen.

In Kapitel 1 wird diskutiert, wie im Zuge der fortschreitenden Internationalisierung der akademischen Welt immer mehr Universitäten in nicht-englischsprachigen Ländern EMI-Studiengänge anbieten. In Deutschland ist die Anzahl an EMI-Masterstudiengängen innerhalb des letzten Jahrzehnts exponentiell angestiegen. In aller Regel sind die beteiligten Akteure keine Muttersprachler des Englischen. Während innerhalb der EMI-Studierendenschaft verschiedene Nationalitäten, Kulturen und Sprachen vertreten sind, sind die Lehrenden in der Regel Einheimische der lokalen Gastgeberkultur und Muttersprachler der Landessprache. Diese spezifische Kommunikationssituation birgt eine Vielzahl grundsätzlicher Herausforderungen, die drei Leitfragen aufwerfen. Deren Beantwortung erfolgt im Rahmen einer Fallstudie und unter Heranziehung des Ansatzes der gegenstandsbezogenen Theoriebildung.

- 1) Wie gehen Studierende und Lehrende in EMI-Studiengängen mit der *Lingua-franca*-Situation sprachlich um?
- 2) Wie nehmen Studierende und Lehrende die *Lingua-franca*-Situation wahr, worin bestehen aus ihrer Sicht die sprachlichen Herausforderungen und welche Relevanz haben hierbei (auch unbewusste) Einstellungen zu muttersprachlichen Normen des Englischen?
- 3) Welche Herausforderungen begründen sich durch die Verwendung des Englischen als *Lingua franca*, welche haben andere Gründe, und welchen Einfluss hat das sprachkulturelle Umfeld?

In Kapitel 2 wird der Forschungshintergrund dargestellt. Zunächst wird das Konzept des *Native Speakers* eingeführt und vor dem Hintergrund der *World Englishes*-Forschung diskutiert. In diesem Forschungsfeld wird das Konzept des *Native Speakers* traditionell kritisiert und abgelehnt, da dahinter eine Ideologie sprachlicher Diskriminierung – teilweise zu Recht – vermutet wird. Eine bedeutend längere Tradition hat die Betrachtung des *Native Speakers* als (einzig) erstrebenswertes Ziel im Fremdspracherwerb, wie ein kurzer Abriss der angewandten Sprachwissenschaft in diesem Zusammenhang zeigt. Die Forschung zum Englischen als *Lingua Franca* (im Folgenden mit ELF

abgekürzt) versteht sich als Brücke zwischen den zuvor genannten Forschungsbereichen, indem sie die Kritik des *Native Speaker*-Konzepts in der *World Englishes*-Forschung aufgreift und auf ELF-Kontexte überträgt. Muttersprachler und deren Standardnormen werden in diesen Sprechumgebungen marginalisiert, da Nichtmuttersprachler in ELF-Situationen 'effizienter', 'effektiver' und 'erfolgreicher' kommunizieren, wie mehrere empirische Studien zu belegen versuchen. Abweichungen von *Native Speaker*-Sprachnormen werden demnach nicht als Fehler, sondern als 'Variationen' oder 'Innovationen' bezeichnet. Ziel der ELF-Forschung ist die Aufweichung der Bedeutung des *Native Speakers* im Fremdsprachenunterricht hin zu einer *Lingua franca*-orientierten Pädagogik.

Kapitel 3 beschreibt den gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand zu EMI. Nach einer begrifflichen Abgrenzung von EMI gegenüber dem integrierten Fremdsprachen- und Sachfachlernen sowie einer Unterscheidung verschiedener Arten von EMI, werden vier Forschungsperspektiven skizziert. Zum einen befasst sich die EMI-Forschung deskriptiv mit der Verbreitung und den Grundprinzipien von EMI, zum anderen mit ideologischen Diskussionen über den (meist negativ betrachteten) Einfluss von EMI auf Status und Verwendung der Landessprache. Des Weiteren gibt es zahlreiche Berichte aus Sicht von am EMI-Qualitätsmanagement beteiligten Akteuren, welche an universitären Sprachlehrzentren mit der sprachlichen Unterstützung und Weiterbildung von EMI-Lehrenden und -Studierenden betraut sind. Zu guter Letzt wird exemplarisch eine Auswahl an empirischen Studien zu EMI dargestellt, die sich mit konkreten Situationen der Verwendung des Englischen im universitären Unterricht auseinandersetzen. Insgesamt lässt sich festhalten, dass die EMI-Forschung noch in ihren Kinderschuhen steckt und wesentliche Themen, wie beispielsweise die Frage nach der Rolle muttersprachlicher Standardnormen des Englischen im Unterrichtsgespräch oder in der Bewertung von Prüfungsleistungen, noch nicht beachtet wurden. Die vorliegende Arbeit möchte hierzu einen ersten Beitrag leisten.

In Kapitel 4 werden die Methode, der Untersuchungskontext und die Datengrundlage der Studie erläutert. Nach einer Einführung zum Ansatz der gegenstandsbezogenen Theoriebildung (*grounded theory*, Glaser & Strauss 1967) wird der vorliegende Fall, der EMI-Masterstudiengang *Renewable Energy Management* (im Folgenden REM) an der Universität Freiburg, vorgestellt. Darauf folgt eine umfassende Beschreibung der zweijährigen Feldforschung, in der sowohl der chronologische Ablauf als auch inhaltliche Erweiterungen, fallspezifische Besonderheiten und die zugrundeliegende Forschungsethik erläutert werden. Im Anschluss werden die aus der Feldforschung generierten Datensätze vorgestellt. Hierbei handelt es sich um Feldnotizen aus mehr als 265 Stunden teilnehmender Beobachtung, persönliche Mitteilungen, ein Korpus aus mehr als 3000 Emails von Studierenden, ein Korpus aus mehr als 250 Lehr- und Lernmaterialien, Tonaufnahmen von Unterrichtssituationen mit einem Umfang von mehr als 38 Stunden, jeweils 64 Fragebögen zu offenen und verdeckten Einstellungen und Überzeugungen,

Interviews mit 69 Studierenden und Lehrenden mit einem Gesamtumfang von ca. 43 Stunden, und schließlich Daten von 50 Studierenden aus einem psycholinguistischen Experiment zu Hörverständnis und verdeckten Einstellungen. Diese umfassende Datensammlung bietet die Grundlage der in den nachfolgenden Kapiteln vorgestellten Analysen.

In Kapitel 5 wird die ELF-Interaktion im REM Studiengang genauer beleuchtet. Zunächst werden die sprachlichen, kulturellen und akademischen Hintergründe der Akteure sowie deren Vorerfahrungen mit EMI, dem deutschen Gastgeberland und dessen Sprache vorgestellt. Hierbei lässt sich feststellen, dass die Studierenden eine äußerst heterogene Gruppe darstellen, die sich durch Pluridiversität in allen Bereichen auszeichnet, während die Lehrenden eine relativ homogen strukturierte Gruppe aus überwiegend deutschstämmigen Muttersprachlern des Deutschen bilden. In der darauffolgenden Beschreibung der emischen Perspektive auf EMI wird deutlich, dass beide Gruppen zwar sprachliche Schwierigkeiten wahrnehmen (wie beispielsweise die Schwierigkeit von Lehrenden, Studierende mit unbekanntem Akzenten zu verstehen), jedoch auch viele Vorteile in EMI sehen (wie beispielsweise die Erweiterung ihrer Sprachkompetenzen). Analysen der ELF-Interaktionen unter Studierenden zeigen, dass sprachliche Verständnisschwierigkeiten untereinander, insbesondere auf phonologischer Ebene, in erster Linie eine Frage der Gewöhnung sind und sich bereits im Laufe der ersten Wochen reduzieren. Des Weiteren fällt auf, dass grundsätzliche Missverständnisse sehr selten sind und die Studierenden untereinander kooperative Strategien verwenden, um potenzielle Fehlkommunikation zu vermeiden. Die Sprache der institutionellen Umgebung, Deutsch, spielt unter den Studierenden nur eine untergeordnete Rolle und wird in studienbezogenen Interaktionen so gut wie nie verwendet. Bei Lehrenden hingegen stellt sie die Alltagssprache dar und kommt am Rande von EMI-Lehrveranstaltungen (z.B. während Pausen) zum Einsatz. Die ELF-Sprachverwendung der Lehrenden im Unterricht weist eine Reihe an sprachlichen Abweichungen von englischen Standardnormen auf, insbesondere in den Bereichen Phonologie und Lexis, die in aller Regel durch Erstsprachinterferenzen verursacht werden. Eine häufige Strategie bei sprachlichen Unsicherheiten ist die Verwendung von deutschen Begriffen und das explizite Ersuchen um eine Übersetzung von Seiten der Studierenden. In der gemeinsamen Interaktion zwischen Studierenden und Lehrenden kommt es gelegentlich zu Missverständnissen, die in der Regel jedoch durch kooperative Kommunikationsstrategien, wie beispielsweise durch selbstinitiierte Reparaturen oder fremdinitiierte Paraphrasen, schnell geklärt werden können. Alles in allem zeigt sich, dass die Lingua-franca-Verwendung des Englischen objektiv betrachtet reibungslos funktioniert.

In Kapitel 6 wird die Relevanz und Rolle des *Native Speakers* genauer untersucht. Ausgehend von vielfach geäußerten Befürchtungen der Studierenden, dass das nichtmuttersprachliche Englisch der Lehrenden einen negativen Einfluss auf ihre eigene Sprachkompetenz und ihren Studienerfolg haben könnte, werden die vorherrschenden Diskurse in Bezug auf die

Bedeutung und Relevanz des *Native Speakers* untersucht und mit Daten aus Fragebögen und Experimenten trianguliert. Die Auswertung des Materials zeigt, dass der *Native Speaker* gegenüber Nichtmuttersprachlern nicht nur als sprachlich und kommunikativ privilegiert betrachtet wird sondern auch sozial und ästhetisch eine höhere Attraktivität besitzt. Im Rahmen des REM-Studiengangs wurde sowohl von nichtmuttersprachlichen Studierenden als auch von Lehrenden den englischsprachigen Studierenden eine legitime und erwünschte Rolle als sprachliche Autorität zugewiesen. Trotz der unumstößlichen Überzeugung, dass Nichtmuttersprachler Muttersprachlern *per definitionem* unterlegen sind, zeigen die Studierenden aber widersprüchliche Aussagen und Einstellungen. Sie haben einerseits den deutlichen Wunsch, von Lehrenden mit (quasi-)muttersprachlicher Kompetenz unterrichtet zu werden, um ihre eigenen Englischkenntnisse zu verbessern, erkennen andererseits die EMI-Realität an und legen einen flexiblen Pragmatismus an den Tag, vor allem gegenüber den Lehrenden.

Im letzten Teil der REM-Fallstudie (Kapitel 7) werden die Herausforderungen untersucht, die über die Verwendung des Englischen hinausgehend für EMI-Akteure bestehen. Hierzu zählen zum einen die Relevanz der Umgebungssprache Deutsch und die damit verbundene Ausgrenzung aller Akteure mit zu geringen Deutschkenntnissen, zum anderen der Einfluss der deutschen Wissenschafts- und Lernkultur auf die Lehr-Lern-Situation im EMI-Unterricht und die daraus resultierenden Schwierigkeiten besonders für internationale Studierende. Diese entstehen beispielsweise durch die Forderung eines kritischen Dialogs im Unterricht oder durch die starke Betonung von Lernerautonomie und Selbstverantwortung. Eine zusätzliche Herausforderung stellt die Multikulturalität der Studierenden dar, die einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf die soziale Dynamik sowohl unter den Studierenden als auch zwischen Studierenden und Lehrenden hat, wenn sie auch von allen Beteiligten als Gewinn betrachtet wird. Im Anschluss folgt ein Katalog mit Vorschlägen von REM-Studierenden und -Lehrenden zur Verbesserung der englischsprachigen Lehre in EMI-Studiengängen, der Selbsthilfemaßnahmen und langfristige institutionell unterstützte Maßnahmen beinhaltet.

In Kapitel 8 werden abschließend die zentralen Ergebnisse der Fallstudie zusammengetragen und zur aktuellen Forschung in Bezug gesetzt. Zunächst kann die Grundannahme der ELF-Forschung bezüglich der marginalen Rolle des *Native Speakers* in EMI nicht bestätigt werden. Im Gegenteil, der *Native Speaker* als abstraktes Ideal stellt eine feste Bezugsgröße für EMI-Akteure dar. Der Grund für das Festhalten an diesem Ideal kann zum einen mit dessen lebensweltlicher Relevanz begründet werden (beispielsweise im Hinblick auf die berufliche Zukunft der Studierenden), zum anderen mit dessen Prestige, da (quasi-)muttersprachliche Sprachkompetenz zur Legitimierung institutioneller Autorität dient. Die Autorität von EMI-Lehrenden darf sich aus Sicht der Studierenden nicht nur aus deren akademischer Überlegenheit ableiten, sondern muss sich auch durch sprachliche Überlegenheit zeigen. Wenn die

Studierenden ihre eigene Sprachkompetenz im Englischen höher einstufen als die des Lehrenden, gerät dieses Bild ins Wanken. Daraus folgt beinahe zwangsläufig, dass die Studierenden die gesamte institutionelle Autorität der Lehrenden in Frage stellen. Die Rolle des *Native Speakers* in EMI hat also einen bedeutenden Einfluss auf die Wahrnehmung und Verhandlung institutioneller Rollengefüge. Zudem wird das Zusammenspiel der drei verschiedenen Einflussfaktoren in EMI genauer erklärt und neu bewertet. Neben der Verwendung von ELF spielen sowohl die sprachkulturelle Umwelt, d.h. die (akademische) Gastgeberkultur und deren Sprache, als auch die Pluridiversität der Akteure im Hinblick auf deren sprachliche, kulturelle und akademische Heterogenität eine entscheidende Rolle in EMI. Die sprachlichen und nicht-sprachlichen Herausforderungen in EMI-Studiengängen (Kapitel 5 und 7) lassen sich auf partielle Überschneidungen dieser Faktoren zurückführen, wie das daraus entwickelte EMI-Dreiecksmodell veranschaulicht. Da die Verwendung des Englischen für die beteiligten Akteure im Vordergrund steht und meist als alleinige Ursache für Schwierigkeiten in und mit EMI betrachtet wird, wird empfohlen, den Einfluss der anderen beiden Faktoren stärker in das Bewusstsein der Sprecher zu rücken. Dies sollte idealerweise durch integrierte Vorbereitungskurse geschehen, in denen allen drei EMI-Einflussfaktoren gleichermaßen Rechnung getragen wird, wie am Beispiel eines Modellkurses veranschaulicht wird. Weitere Empfehlungen umfassen integrierte Weiterbildungsangebote für EMI-Lehrende, die neben Sprachtraining und interkultureller Sensibilisierung besonders die gezielte Erweiterung von didaktischen Kompetenzen beinhalten sollen. Die Arbeit schließt mit einem Ausblick auf wünschenswerte Forschungsthemen in der Zukunft ab.

In line with the ongoing internationalisation of academia, English-medium instruction (EMI) in Higher Education is becoming increasingly popular in Europe. Based on an ethnographic case study of an English-taught Master's programme at a German university, this book assesses the role of the native speaker (both as participant and as abstract norm provider) in an EMI community of practice, identifies generic challenges of EMI and provides practical recommendations for EMI quality management.

Multifaceted analyses of a rich data base, focusing in particular on emic perspectives on EMI by its stakeholders, reveal that the English native speaker is linguistically privileged in EMI, while the German native speaker enjoys institutional privilege. These privileges can be explained by the non-existence of an alternative lingua franca identity, by the impact of native English in academia and in global markets, and most conspicuously by the impact of institutional power roles within an EMI community of practice. The resulting practical implications for EMI are that EMI stakeholders need to acknowledge the impact of the institutional and lingua-cultural EMI habitat and (on the part of lecturers) to prioritize EMI-specific didactic competencies over general language proficiency and linguistic performance.

In the breadth and depth of its coverage, this is to date the most comprehensive study of language use in EMI and stakeholder discourses on EMI in higher education in Europe. It does not only contribute to linguistic research in the areas of sociolinguistics (English as a lingua franca / ELF) and applied linguistics (English for specific purposes / ESP), but also provides helpful insights into EMI practice with concrete recommendations both for EMI teaching staff and EMI programme developers.

Susanne Gundermann studied English and Spanish Philology and German Linguistics at the Universities of Freiburg (Germany) and Granada (Spain) and worked as a research and teaching assistant in English linguistics at the University of Freiburg before receiving her doctorate degree from the University of Freiburg in 2014. In the same year, she became a full-time member of the "English Medium Instruction" project at the University of Freiburg's Language Teaching Centre where she is responsible for providing in-lesson feedback and support for lecturers teaching in English and for developing quality criteria and quality management tools for English-medium instruction.

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