The Spread of English

and its Appropriation

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Survey and Introduction

A personal preface

I first became interested in the topic of my thesis while on holidays in Crete; there a guide jokingly told us that if the capital of the island would be destroyed and unearthed a thousand years later, future archaeologists would probably conclude that the inhabitants spoke English because all the shop-signs are in that language. I thought at the time that it would be interesting to deal with the consequences of the spread of English in more detail - eventually, I was to wrestle with the topic for the next academic year. At times I felt, like Casaubon in George Eliot's Middlemarch, that I *was "toiling in the morass of authorship without seeming nearer to the goal*" (1994 [1872]:84). At other times, however, the process of writing was also extremely gratifying.

I would not have succeeded, though, were it not for the help of a few people: Professor Widdowson provided important suggestions and criticism as well as intriguing discussions in the seminar for M.A. candidates. Professor Seidlhofer was most helpful in granting access to her personal library and in providing insightful comments on a draft version of the thesis. I would also like to thank my colleagues Petra Janesch and Angelika Thal for important criticism regarding my questionnaire and Caroline Wellner for her comments on a draft version of this thesis. Herbert Siedler provided valuable information about the role of English in computer science. Ursula Semrad helped in recruiting medical students for my questionaire.

Structural outline

Before I go straight into the subject matter I would like to elaborate what this thesis sets out to do. Following the model suggested by Ammon (1991, see

below) I am going to shed light on the spread of English by using three different "spotlights", that is by investigating the topic from a global, a European and an Austrian perspective. The findings from the three perspectives will then be incorporated in a questionnaire to test their validity in a local Viennese context. By applying this "multi-regional" perspective I am not only able to give an account of the role and status of English at one level but also to discover similarities, differences and interdependencies between all three layers of inquiry. Similarly, my methodological approach is a combination of synchronic and diachronic, theoretical and empirical means.

Figure: Ammon's model
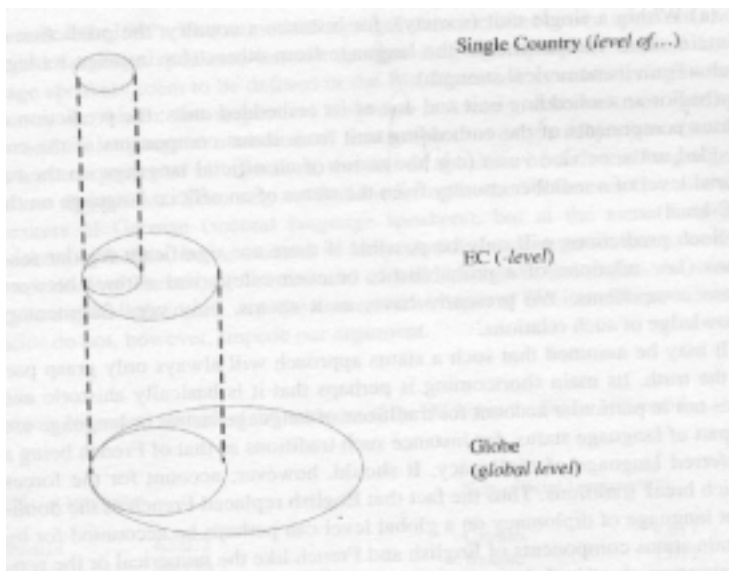
Figure: Structural Outline: The spread of English from a global, a European and an Austrian perspective.
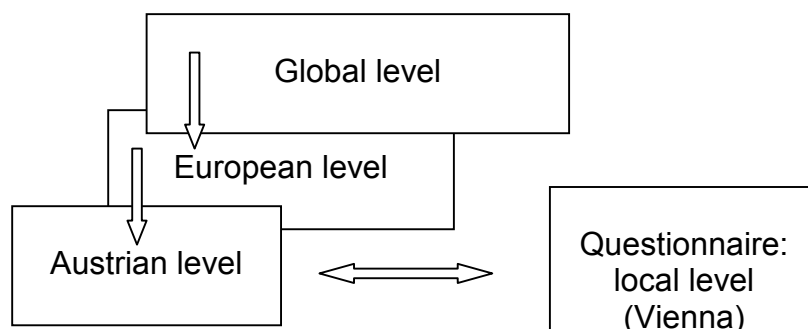
Formal aspects

Generally I follow the formal guidelines outlined in the style-sheet of the "Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik." However, I deviate from these recommendations in a few points. Firstly, I use bullets (•) in lists because I think this is a convenient and effective way to direct the readers attention to important points. Secondly, quotations up 32 words (and not 10 as suggested in the style-sheet) are incorporated in the text. In my opinion, this is a more effective use of space as it ensures that only long quotations are indented. To direct attention to a work by another author I use "see X" instead of "c.f. X". Bold print is sometimes used to highlight certain words or phrases. Page numbers are given on the bottom of the page and not on the top (as this is the more usual form). As parts of my topic are politically charged it is very important to clarify one's own position; thus I have sometimes used the personal pronoun and expressions such as "in my opinion."

Regarding bibliographical references I have used the designation "et.al" for a work by more than two authors (not three). Two authors are given as "X and Y". Furthermore, only one place of publication (namely the first) is given. When I quote a quotation ("X qtd. in Y") both titles are given in the bibliography. This is done to enable the reader quick access to all the information quoted. However, the information on the double-quoted work ("X" in my example) is sometimes incomplete, as I had to rely on the information provided in the piece of work where it was first quoted (Y). German quotations are usually translated into English in the footnotes; however in a few instances (where the German original was very short) it is only given in the English translation.

Regarding internet sites the full URL is always given in the bibliography. All internet pages were operational at the time this thesis was handed in (August 2000). Convenient access to the sites quoted is provided through my thesis homepage (http://www.geocities.com/dspichtinger/dipl.htm). Additionally to a link site a summary of the important points of the thesis and the bibliography is available online.

1. The spread of English: a global perspective

1.1. Introduction

Dealing with the first part of the threefold framework suggested in the outline is not a simple matter. After reviewing the huge amount of literature that exists I decided to start by giving the historical context and by introducing important terminology. After that I present two opposing "world-views" on the subject, exemplified by Phillipson's *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992) and Crystal's *English as a global language* (1997). Other issues involved will be explored with this framework in mind. Torn between the desire to tackle all the issues and the necessity of presenting a clear argument I have compiled an additional bibliography of works which cannot be dealt with in the main text because of restrictions of space, because of lack in overall relevance and because I do not feel that it is useful to make "one book out of twenty". This additional bibliography is given in Appendix A.

1.2. Historical roots of the spread of English

In 1914 Follick envisioned the global spread of a simplified form of English. Today, his vision has been enormously surpassed: English (with all its idiosyncrasies) is used as **the** global language - spoken in all fields which require international contact and co-operation (for a list see Crystal 1997: 8). It therefore makes sense to give a short historical sketch of how this "spreading"[1] of the language happened.[2] The foundations for the expansion of English were laid as the British Empire itself expanded (roughly between 1600 and 1900). English and English Language Teaching (ELT) served as a tool to strengthen

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[1] For a discussion of the notions of "spread" versus "distribution" see Widdowson (1997:136-140).
[2] See also Crystal (1997) and Pennycook (1994, 1998). Bailey (1991) provides valuable insights into how the attitudes connected with English have changed in the course of time.

British rule. The result of colonial education policies[3] was the creation of an English speaking native elite on the one side and a vernacular speaking majority on the other.[4] Thus Searle elaborates that

> ...when we talk of "mastery" of the Standard language, we must be conscious of the terrible irony of the word, that the English language itself was the language of the master, the carrier of his arrogance and brutality.
> (Searle 1983: 48 qtd. in Pennycook 1998: 6)

1.3. Describing the spread of English: different approaches and their terminology

Different linguists have provided a variety of labels to categorise the spread of English. Although these labels all describe the same phenomenon they are by no means synonyms; rather, they exemplify different theoretical backgrounds and different approaches. It is therefore necessary to give a brief overview of the terms the reader is likely to encounter in the relevant literature.

Traditionally, a distinction has been made between ESL (English as a Second Language) countries, where the language has official status, EFL (English as a Foreign Language) countries where this is not the case, and ENL (English as a native language) countries (see MacArthur 1998: 43).[5] However, this model has recently been criticised because it is difficult to apply in a context of multilingualism (see MacArthur 1998: 43-46 and Görlach 1988: 4 for a detailed critique).

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[3] Pennycook (1998) distinguishes between the Anglicists, who favoured English medium instruction and the Orientalists, who opted for education in the vernacular languages.
[4] At the same time, however, the English language was also used as a means of control in Great Britain itself. Social advancement was extremely difficult if one did not speak the standard of the elite - a fact which is aptly illustrated in G.B. Shaw's Pygmalion (1973 [1914]); see also Pennycook (1994: 128). Honey (1997), however, disputes this points of view. For the discussion on Standard English see also Bex and Watts (1999).
[5] Graddol describes a possible language shift: EFL speakers may turn into ESL speakers and ESL speakers, in time, might come to regard the language as a native one and thus turn into ENL speakers (1997:10).

Another classic model is Kachru's distinction of three concentric circles of English with an Inner Circle (containing the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), an Outer Circle (containing post-colonial English-using countries such as Kenya, the Phillipines or Nigeria) and an Expanding Circle (which holds the rest of the world) (1997: 214). More recently, Kachru has introduced the term "English using speech-fellowships" (1997: 220). He distinguishes between three types of such fellowships, namely norm providing (the inner circle in his terminology), norm-developing (the Outer Circle) and norm-dependent (the expanding circle) fellowships. He also notes that until recently the British model was the preferred one for the norm-dependent fellowship but this is slowly changing in favour of American English.[6]

Another term coined by Kachru is "World Englishes". Although the linguistic right sees the term itself as a proof of slipping standards, mainstream linguistics has accepted this terminology. According to Kachru the concept "symbolises the functional and formal variations, divergent sociolinguistic contexts, ranges and varieties of English in creativity, and various types of acculturation...This concept emphasizes "WE-ness" and not the dichotomy between us and them" (1995 [1992]: 232-3).

Additionally, the abbreviation EIL (English as an international language) is often used (see, for instance, Campbell et.al 1982). Modiano emphasises that in the teaching of EIL emphasis should be on a descriptive rather than a prescriptive model; this puts EIL in sharp contrast to the British English near-native speaker proficiency model promoted and practised in many parts of the world (1999a: 23).

It has also been discussed whether "English as an international language" may be an interlanguage. However, Nelson shows that this is not the case because EIL does not have a native-variety as a goal, EIL is not a fossilisation at a functionally unacceptable level and EIL does not have externally imposed

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[6] Naturally one must also distinguish between "educated" and "uneducated varieties" within a single country (see Kachru 1995 [1992]: 236).

functions (1988, qtd. in Davies 1989: 450). However, the interlanguage can, according to Davies, develop into EIL (1989: 465).

The term "English languages" goes one step further than "World Englishes" or "EIL" and seems to imply that varieties of English have already progressed into different languages - a view that cannot be sustained at the moment because, as Kachru points out, the various Englishes still have more similarities than differences to "mother" English (1986: 134).

Are the varieties of English dialects, as Crystal (1997: 137) calls them? In my opinion, this designation is inappropriate because in every day usage "dialect" implies that there is a "proper" standard from which the dialect deviates. Furthermore, as Widdowson points out, the varieties of English have sprung up on a global scale and can therefore not be equated with the gradual evolution of dialects through socially related communities. However, the varieties are dialect-like to the extent that they are user-oriented and serve the need of the community - but they are endonormative and independent (Widdowson 1997: 141-2).

Mufwene has recently criticised the term "non-native variety" because it allegedly disenfranchises these varieties as not really legitimate offspring of English (1997: 183). I cannot concur with this argument, though, because to acknowledge that the norms in New Englishes are set by non-natives, does not make such varieties "illegitimate" and anyone who says so clearly uses misguided metaphors.

1.4. English as a tool for linguistic imperialism? The alarmists (Robert Phillipson)

While the facts about the colonial spread of English (see ch. 1.2.) are not seriously in doubt, some scholars maintain that current English Language Teaching (ELT) policy is a direct continuation of such imperialist practices.

Robert Phillipson (1992) sees the promotion of English as a form of Western domination over developing countries. For him "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuos reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (1992: 47).[7] Phillipson develops the concept of linguistic imperialism which occurs if

> the lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life (Ansre 1979: 12-13 qtd. in Phillipson 1992: 56).

According to Phillipson, linguistic imperialism "takes place within an overarching structure of asymmetrical North/South relations, where language interlocks with other dimensions, cultural..., economic and political" (1996: 239).

1.4.1. The tenets and fallacies of ELT

Phillipson argues that the basic tenets upon which ELT is based favour linguistic imperialism (1992: 185). The first of these tenets - which, according to Phillipson, were worked out at the 1961 Makere conference - states that English is best taught monolingually ("the monolingual fallacy": see Phillipson 1992: 185-193). Other scholars agree with Phillipson that it is questionable to apply a monolingual approach to the multilingual situation in Africa or Asia (see for instance Kachru 1996). Generally,

> the problem is when an absolute virtue is made of local necessity by claims of global validity, when it is assumed that if the approach works here it ought to work, or made to work, everywhere else" (Widdowson 1994: 388).

The second tenet holds that the ideal teacher is a native speaker ("the native-speaker fallacy": see Phillipson 1992: 193-199).

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[7] Phillipson concedes that English is not the only imperialist language but says little about other languages, like Arabic, Chinese, French, German or Russian that have been used - or rather abused - in this way.

Again, criticism of the privileged status of the native speaker in ELT is widespread in current mainstream linguistics. Widdowson (1994), for instance, shows that the notion of the native speaker is connected with the idea that only naturally occurring, or "authentic", language should be taught. Because authenticity can only be determined by insiders, only native speakers can teach it. However, if one shifts the emphasis to context of learning, as Widdowson suggests, the non-native speaker gains the advantage because he (or she) knows what is appropriate in the context of language learning (1994: 387, see also Alptekin and Alptekin 1990 [1984], Kershaw 1996 and Widdowson 1992). The problem is, however, that despite those findings, native speakers are still sent around the world.

The other tenets - or rather fallacies - are that "the earlier English is taught, the better the results" ("the early start fallacy": see Phillipson 1992: 199-209), "the more English is thought, the better the results" ("the maximum exposure fallacy": see Phillipson 1992: 209-212) and "if other languages are used much, standards of English will drop" ("the subtractive fallacy": see Phillipson 1992: 212-215). The latter argument has been used to legitimate a continued British presence in former colonies, according to Phillipson.

1.4.2. Arguments to promote the spread of English.

According to Phillipson those who promote English - that is organisations (like the British Council, the IMF and the World Bank) or single individuals, (those who operate English language schools, for instance) - use three types of argument:

- English intrinsic arguments describe the language as God-given, rich, noble and interesting. These arguments usually assert what English is and other languages are not.
- English extrinsic arguments point out that English is well established. There are trained teachers and a multitude of teaching material. There are also abundant immaterial resources like knowledge of the language.

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- English functional arguments emphasise the usefulness of English as a gateway to the world.

Other arguments for English are:

- Its economic-reproductive function: it enables people to operate technology.
- Its ideological function: it stands for modernity.
- It is a symbol for material advance and efficiency.

(Phillipson 1992: 68-69)

That such arguments are indeed widely spread is confirmed by the British Council's English 2000 Global Consultation Questionnaire where 73% of the language professionals polled agreed that English is a major contributor to economic and social advance and 95% agreed that English is essential for progress as it will provide the means of access to information (given in Zhenhua 1999: 80).

Phillipson gives a list of terms that have been used to promote English and devaluate other languages:

Figure: Extracts from Phillipson's table

Glorifying English	Devaluating other languages
World language	Localised language
Additional language	Incomplete language
Link language	Confining language
Window onto the world	Closed language
Neutral language	Biased language

Source: Phillipson (1992: 282).

In connection with Phillipson's claims it is intriguing to compare Bailey's collection of historical "advertisements" (for want of a better word) for English which shows how the arguments for English have changed. While the emphasis in the 19th century was on anglophone racial superiority and on a perceived inherent beauty and simplicity of English, nowadays the spread of English through popular culture is stressed (see Bailey 1991: 116-121).

Although Phillipson's book has been rightly criticised on several important points (see the discussion below) I do think that it remains worth reading for everyone interested in global Englishes - not because of the answers that are provided but because of the questions that are raised and because of Phillipson's clear desire to implement ethical dimensions and accountability in ELT.

1.5. English as a tool for international understanding? The triumphalists (David Crystal)

Before I review the extensive criticism of Phillipson's thesis I would like to deal with David Crystal's *English as an International Language* (1997) in which a position contrary to that of Phillipson is taken. Crystal does not see English as an instrument of imperialism (he refers to Phillipson only in passing) but as a tool which "presents us with unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding" (1997: viii). While Phillipson states his political purposes quite openly, Crystal claims to have written a book without any political agenda, a statement which raises suspicions because, as Phillipson rightly points out, "even the wish to be apolitical involves political choices" (1999b: 266). Crystal does admit that native speakers might be in a position of power but his solution is to teach English from early childhood on (1997: 14), a suggestion which is likely to enrage those who, like Phillipson, want more emphasis on education in native languages. Crystal offers interesting information about the spread of

English - geographically, historically[8] as well as in such functional domains as tourism and pop music. However, his evaluation of English always remains positive even if he gives facts which might seem worrying: for Crystal there is apparently nothing wrong with the fact that 70% out of 160 linguistic journals are published entirely in English (1997: 85). Even the fact that farmers from Sri Lanka cannot read the instructions on the bags of imported fertiliser - because they are in English - is only given to emphasise the need for comprehensive English teaching. Crystal apparently does not see that, as more and more international communication takes place in the language of wider communication (that is English), other languages are in danger of being reduced to languages of "narrower communication" (see also ch.2.4.2.). Although Phillipson overstates his case when he calls the book "eurocentric and triumphalist" (1999b: 268, see also Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999: 21) I do feel that Crystal has disregarded some important criticism about the role of English. Because of Crystal's emphasis on global understanding it is important to point out that English can also act as a medium and subject of global **misunderstanding**. Indeed, such misunderstandings may even occur between speakers of two varieties of English: in a study reported by Platt (1989: 24) a group of English speaking Malaysian and Singaporean students had severe problems with communicative strategies used in Australia. They were, for instance, puzzled about the routine question "how'd you like it" in a bank because Singaporean and Malaysian bank tellers do not give customers the opportunity to choose what denominations of currency they would like (fives, tens, fifties...).

1.6. Linguistic imperialism: a critique

While Phillipson's thesis is conspicuously absent in Crystal's book many other scholars have participated in lively (not to say heated) discussions of Phillipson's claims. Particularly revealing (and amusing to read) is the review

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[8] Another of Phillipson's objections to the book is that the American continent is presented as though there were no languages before the Europeans took over (1999: 266).

article by Alan Davies in which he envisions the spectre of Phillipson demonstrating outside the Department of Applied Linguistics in Edinburgh:

> "Round up the usual suspects", he cries, outing those who have pretended all these years merely to teach applied linguistics, but who have really been plotting with the British Council to take over the world (1996: 485).

According to Davies two cultures inhabit *Linguistic Imperialism*: one is a culture of guilt[9] ("colonies should never have happened") the other is that of romantic despair ("we shouldn't be doing what we are doing"). Phillipson's claims are also not falsifiable: what "if the dominated...wanted to adopt English and continue to want to keep it? RP's unfalsifiable answer must be that they don't, they can't, they've been persuaded against their better interests" (1996: 488).

Phillipson has also not been able to satisfactorily deflect the criticism that the book is patronising (see Berns et.al 1998: 276, Davies 1996: 495, Bisong 1995 [1994]: 131 and implicitly Widdowson 1998a: 397). What is patronising, however, is less Phillipson's decision to speak for the developing world - after all it is not his fault that he is a Westerner - but his unrelenting conviction that developing countries are not capable of independent decision. Phillipson's framework, it seems, has a built in assumption of power asymmetry, or, as Conrad puts it: "to learn a language is to become dominated by it. Such a framework almost guarantees that the study will make empirical errors" (1996: 20).

What is also disconcerting is the assumption that the English language itself is imperialistic. As Henry Widdowson has argued "there is a fundamental contradiction in the idea that the language of itself exerts hegemonic control: namely that if this were the case, you would never he able to challenge such control" (1998a: 398).

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[9] Rajagopalan goes a step further and maintains that Phillipson's book has led to a guilt complex among ELT professionals (1999: 200).

Thus, it is surely not language itself that exerts hegemonic control but its **users**, who might see language as an **instrument** of domination, not as domination per se.

In my opinion it is entirely justified to question two of Phillipson's central claims. Not only is it an overgeneralization of Phillipson to maintain that the promotion of English necessarily implies a demotion of local languages, one also has to point out, as Holborrow does, that "not all Englishes in the centre dominate, nor are all speakers in the periphery equally discriminated against" (1993: 359; see also Conrad 1996: 23 and Bisong 1995 [1994]: 124).[10] Alternatively, Holborrow suggests that language conflicts often arise because one social dialect dominates over non-standard varieties - therefore the concept of social class cuts across the centre-periphery analysis (1993: 359). Furthermore, Phillipson's emphasis on native languages as a countermeasure against the spread of English is not without its own problems. Firstly it may be difficult to decide what the true native language of a country is - due to an age-old process of continuing linguistic assimilation. Secondly, "the promotion of the once native language may not be without its own oppressive strategies" (Holborow 1993: 360, also qtd. in Bisong 1995 [1994]: 126).[11]

It may really be that the adherents and the opponents of linguistic imperialism are in fundamental disagreement about the nature of language. While those who follow Phillipson see choices about language as externally imposed, the other camp sees them as decisions made by individuals (Davies 1997: 248).[12]

One gets the impression that proponents of linguistic imperialism are sometimes overly influenced by left-wing ideology. A good, or rather bad, example is Tsuda's paper about the spread of English in Japan (1997) which is

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[10] Irish English, for instance, might be seen as a non-dominating centre English.
[11] Actually, multilingual countries often have severe racial and economic problems (see Chew 1999: 41).
[12] Conrad makes a similar distinction between function theories which maintain that a modification of one part of the system entails adjustments throughout and conflict theories which put emphasis on the clash of incompatible parts (1996: 22). Linguistic imperialism would clearly belong to the latter group.

little more than a rant against American culture.[13] Indeed, the term "linguistic imperialism" itself is loaded with left-wing ideological connotation and might thus be not particularly suitable for linguistic discourse. A more appropriate term may be Ammon's "language spread policy", which comprises

> ...all endeavours, directed or supported by institutions of a state, which aim either at spreading a language beyond its present area and domains or at preventing the retraction from its present area and domains (1992: 7).[14]

This term allows the useful distinction between internal language spread policy (like the spread of standard English in Great Britain) and external language spread policy (like the spread of English in the colonies) and to explore their connection. Generally, Henry Widdowson's perceptive remarks on critical discourse analysis may also be applied to Phillipson's linguistic imperialism:

> It ought surely to be possible to say that an argument is confused, or an analysis flawed, without denying the justice of the cause they support. My view would be that if a case is just then we should look for ways of supporting it by coherent argument...And I would indeed argue that to do otherwise is to do a disservice to the cause. For the procedures of ideological exposure by expedient analysis...can, of course be taken up to further any cause, right wing as well as left...If you have the conviction and commitment, you will always find your witch (1998c:150).

Moving from criticism of content to criticism of style, one has to admit that Phillipson's tone, choice of words and terminology are somewhat confrontational and may seem even more so to those who are used to "detached" accounts of linguistic phenomena. Berns and her graduate class, for instance, found Phillipson's attitude towards the reader "condescending and patronising" (1998: 276) and go even as far as to accuse Phillipson himself of dominating his readership "through the imperialism of the printed word" (1998: 281). Although a close reading of the book does not warrant this conclusion (at least in my opinion) the way Phillipson deals with his critics is indeed rather

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[13] Tsuda goes as far as to state that "by buying and eating a McDonald's hamburger, a person becomes not only a consumer of an American meal but she/he converts into an ardent believer of American culture" (1997: 24). For a more balanced view on English in Japan see for instance Baxter (1991 [1980]).

[14] Spolsky refers to this as "language diffusion policy" and gives some interesting examples (1998: 67,75-77).

worrying: Alan Davies, for instance, is portrayed as the lackey of the British government (Phillipson 1996: 241) and in response to Berns Phillipson maintains that he has been favourably reviewed by more important people than her and that he is therefore not "too disturbed" by her criticism (Phillipson 1999a: 136).

Despite all that has been said so far I think it would be wrong to dismiss all of Phillipson's arguments; particularly his treatment of the ELT tenets and fallacies remains valuable. In principle, it might not be impossible for a situation of linguistic imperialism to occur; however, we must be very careful before we arrive at such a conclusion. In my opinion, if linguistic imperialism does occur it is likely to surface not in a country as a whole but in certain sub-sections or sub-groups. It is worrying, for instance, if, as Schmied reports, every student in Zambia and Zimbabwe who wants to enter university must have a pass in the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate in English (Schmied 1996 qtd. in Peirce and Ridge 1997: 173). This does indeed reek of linguistic imperialism but, again, to confirm or to falsify such claims a detailed study of the local education system and the role of the Cambridge exam within this system would be necessary. Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez provide a valuable starting point for such endeavours in their book *Post-imperial English*, which has the explicit aim of testing Phillipson's hypothesis by utilising the research of native experts (Fishman et.al. 1996). Therein Fishman concludes:

> English is now no longer as much a reflection of externally imposed hegemony...as it is part of the everyday discourse of various now substantially autonomous societies, all of whom are essentially following "their own needs and desires" (1996: 639).

Thus, one cannot but agree with Chew, who concludes that Phillipson's ideological world view has prevented him from realising the African or Asian nature of the respective varieties of English (1999: 41, see also Graddol 1997: 2).

Finally, the account of Sabine Swift, a biologist from the Philippines, shows that one's opinion on linguistic imperialism may be influenced to a high degree by one's socio-economic surroundings. Swift recalls that during her college time,

when she became politicised, she perceived the role of English as one of linguistic imperialism. Now, however, she values the language as a means of international communication (Swift, internet [i]). Similarly, de Kadt reports that college students from South Africa were more critical of the role of English than her control group, which consisted of non-academics (1993: 321).

1.7. Nigeria: a case study

When discussing the theory of "linguistic imperialism" it is crucial to evaluate local circumstances correctly and therefore native experts from the areas in question should be the ones to assess Phillipson's claims. For this case study Nigeria was chosen because of the large amount of literature available.[15] Bisong holds that people in the so-called periphery use English pragmatically - they send their children to English-medium school precisely because they want them to grow up multilingually. Regarding Phillipson, Bisong maintains that "to interpret such actions as emanating from people who are victims of Centre linguistic imperialism is to bend sociolinguistic evidence to suit a preconceived thesis" (1995 [1994]: 125). If English should be abolished because it is foreign, Bisong argues, then Nigeria itself would also have to be dissolved because it was conceived as a colonial structure.

Brann has confirmed the picture of Nigeria as a complex multilingual structure where one has to differentiate between the religious language (Arabic), the national language (English), major languages (Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba), languages which are used on the regional level (approximately 12), on the divisional level (approximately 51) and on the local level (400-513) (see Brann 1989: 383, 1994). Moreover, one can further distinguish between different varieties of Nigerian English according to the speakers' level of education (Bamgbose 1982: 100-1). Even Bamgbose, who regards English as a dominant language in

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[15] For other non-native countries where English is used see the references given in the appendix and the bibliography.

Nigeria, predicts that "its future appears to lie more as a component of a bilingual resource" (1996: 371, see also Bisong 1995 [1994]: 131). Ironically, minority speakers often feel linguistically dominated **by the speakers of Hausa, Igbo or Youruba** and thus opt for English. These people may indeed regard the English language as the best inheritance from colonial days (as reported in Brann 1994: 175). Correspondingly, Adegbija reports that attitudes towards English are more negative among the influential speakers of Hausa (1994: 151). Generally, though, it seems that English in Nigeria is no longer perceived as a tongue of the oppressor but as performing a useful function in a multilingual society. Even Adegbij (who is quite critical of English) advises that English should neither be made a scapegoat nor an overlord and warns: "policies formulated overnight and executed overnight to throw off the language of colonial dominance because of its presumed colonial trappings...do more harm than good and merely create avoidable political tension" (1994: 159). Therefore, it seems reasonable to reject Phillipson's claims at least for the situation in Nigeria; they are too simplistic to account for the complex language ecology of the country.

1.8. Capitalism and the spread of English

"What can be more universal to-day than commerce, finance and science?"
(Follick 1934 [1914]: 92)

In the 20th century the spread of English has continued because of the rising influence of the United States, which became the leading capitalist power. Today, English Language Teaching certainly is, as Pennycook puts it (1994: 154), not only good for business but also good business itself: 600.000 people come to Great Britain each year to learn English and in the course of doing so spend around 700 million pounds. British English language products alone are worth over 500 million pounds a year (British Council FAQ: i). It has been estimated that the world-wide EFL market is even worth 6.25 billion pounds (Pennycook 1994: 155). In countries which have recently opened up to the

capitalist system, most importantly the nations of Eastern Europe and Asian countries like China (see Zhenhua 1999) and Vietnam (see Kramsch and Sullivan 1996), the demand for ELT has exploded. In these countries English is often learnt because it is the international language of money.

But what are the implications of this "capitalisation" of English Language Teaching? Firstly, because ELT is such a big business, it is subject to market forces and to commercial policies. Thus Widdowson warns of tendencies to trim standards down to make ELT more cost-effective (1992: 337).

Secondly, EFL material for the international market has been criticised for being too anglo-centric: for Marc Deineire, his students from Western Europe, South Amercia, Africa and Asia have one thing in common: "they all use the same books, the same dictionaries, the same grammars, all written by people who often have no idea of the linguistic and cultural reality of these countries" (1998: 393-4, see also Prodromou 1988: 31, 35-6). Moreover, such textbooks may present norms which are in direct conflict with local social and cultural standards. Muslims, for example, may take offence at the way ELT textbooks portray the interaction between men and women (Pennycook 1994: 177). In a corresponding counter-movement some governments have decided to use only indigenous material in ELT. In time, such non-native ELT material may be exported to other non-native countries where it will again be modified to suit local demands.

Thirdly, because more and more books in the natural sciences are published in English, students of those sciences now have to reach a high level of competence in English to pursue their studies. At the Technical University of Vienna, for instance, students of computer science have to take a certain number of courses in English and are additionally required to read technical literature in that language (see ch. 4.3.5. below).

On the bottom end of the socio-economic scale of English learners are refugees to whom English is taught in US immigration centres. The gatekeeper function of English becomes particularly obvious here: according to Tollefson

refugees are only taught enough English to "compete effectively for minimum wages" (1988: 39 qtd. in Pennycook 1994: 18). However, I agree with Henry Widdowson that English also holds the key to challenge economic and political power (1998a: 397-8). Similarly, a student from Berns' class points out that ELT might be the best way to cope with the situation: "One could argue that those learning English...do so as a means of empowering themselves and their children and widening their range of communication possibilities" (in Berns et.al. 1998: 279).

1.9. English for elites, English as an alchemy

More dangerous than widespread ELT is ELT which is reserved for elites. A negative attitude towards English appears when perfect command of the language is seen as the symbol of a "small Brahmanic caste" (as Tickoo [1996: 234] writes in regard to the situation in India) while the masses are kept out. However, we must be aware that discrimination regarding access to English is only a symptom of wider societal tensions. Prodromou aptly puts it this way: "it is not English that creates the elites: the elites absorb and appropriate English" (1988: 28-29, see also Kramsch 1998 :76).[16]

In the education system of some developing countries English is used as a means of selecting the pupils most "suitable" for higher education. However, the argument above answers Roger's question (1990 [1982]: 11) whether it is ethical to go on teaching English to so many children in the Third World when only few of them will get a job where they can use it. The answer must be that "yes, it is ethical" firstly, because, as Abbott points out, not teaching English would make those children even less employable (1990 [1984]: 17) and secondly, because not teaching English would only strengthen the local elite.

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[16] This appropriation of a language by the local elite is nothing peculiar to English. In Germany, to give a historic example, French was for a long time the language of the upper class.

In some parts of Asia, the English-educated group is seen as pseudo-westernised and as having non-Asian values (Pakir 1993: 8). In regard to South Africa, de Kadt reports that those black students who spoke much English were perceived as being arrogant (1993: 319). One reason for this may be that English is often regarded as an "alchemy" (Kachru's term: 1986) for social change and those who fear this change project their fear onto English. But, as Kachru reveals, even among the anti-English faction the more pragmatic ones ensure that their own relatives are able to learn English (1986: 15, similar findings are reported by Adegbija 1994: 153 regarding Nigeria).

1.10 International English(es) and intranational English(es): two trends.

The future development of English is likely to be characterised by a contrast between a standard (or even standards) for international interaction and local varieties of English. The latter category has often been disregarded: it has been overlooked that besides being an **international** lingua franca, English is also used **intranationally** to impart local cultural traditions and values (Kachru 1995 [1992]: 244). Such intranational functions are the use of English in public education (Kachru's instrumental function), in public administration (the regulative function), in science and technology, in the mass media and the entertainment industry and for literature (the creative function) (see Strevens 1980: 73-4, Kachru 1986: 37).

It has been argued that local varieties of English will evolve into separate languages just as Latin did. However, because the present situation is unique it is risky to use analogies with past events. On the one hand English is spread more widely than Latin ever was and this could mean that local Englishes will dissolve into separate languages even faster than Latin did. On the other hand, the event which played a pivotal role in the transformation of Latin into other languages was, of course, the fall of the Roman Empire, its culture and civilisation. Today, by contrast, the position of the USA (the dominant English

speaking power) does not seem threatened. One should also take into account that the Romans did not have the technical means to stay in communication with their far-flung provinces effectively. Modern means of transport, the global media and the internet may be counter-forces against fragmentation. Another unifying factor may be the global youth and pop culture, in which English plays an important role. However, the actual influence of these **global** forces on **local** Englishes is still uncertain.[17]

Anyway, while these local forms of English (or intranational Englishes) will have a strong connection with community and identity, the standard for international transactions (international English) will be associated with communication and information (Widdowson 1997: 143). In a sense, Widdowson argues, international English has its communities too, for example the world-wide community of doctors, of lawyers, or of managers.[18] However, in contrast to local communities, such communities are "dislocalised" (my term), that is they are not tied to a geographical location. As a consequence I suggest that we speak of "international English**es**", instances of which are International Medical English, International Business English and so on. Thus, Widdowson (1997) concludes, English as an international language is English for specific purposes (ESP).[19] Because the in-group exerts a normative influence - after all the Medical Doctor from France wants his colleagues to understand what he is saying (that is why he uses English in the first place) - there is little danger of mutual unintelligibility within the specialised subgroup. In fact, Firth attests non-native speakers a "remarkable ability and willingness to tolerate anomalous usage and marked linguistic behaviour" (1996: 247). Because of the large amount of specialised vocabulary, someone who is not familiar with the ESP in question (Medical English in my example) might not understand a word, though.

Because international English(es) cut across national and local boundaries the distinction between EFL and ESL and between an outer and inner circle cannot be maintained (Widdowson 1997: 144, 1998a: 399). Hence Wilkinson's

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[17] For a more extensive discussion of the Latin analogy see MacArthur (1998:181-183).
[18] Crystal further distinguishes between a future World Standard Printed English (WSPE) and World Standard Spoken English (WSSE) (1999: 16).

suggestion that one should acknowledge the existence of different Englishes and teach pupils to switch between local and international English(es) as well as between English and other languages (1995: 49).

1.11. Status and standards of non-native Englishes

1.11.1. Internal standards

When dealing with World Englishes the question of internal and external status is one that has to be dealt with. Regarding internal status, to begin with, we are confronted with a variety of different findings. Regarding the situation in Malaysia, for instance, Gill reports that an educated British English speaker with an RP accent is found most suitable (1993: 234). Furthermore, Crismore Ngeow and Soo report that Malaysian speakers of English see Malaysian English as "mistakes" that have to be eradicated (1996: 334). For the situation in Sri Lanka, by contrast, Passe elaborates that those who speak English like a native speaker would be unpopular, because their accent would be seen either as an indication that they belong to a favoured class (see the chapter on English and elites above) or that they are trying to imitate their betters (1947: 33 qtd. in Kachru 1986: 24). Thus, it is the local socio-political context which has a crucial influence on the internal status of the local form of English. In South Africa, for instance, English had been associated with colonialism but came to be seen as the language of freedom during the Apartheid regime (de Kadt 1993: 319, 1997: 151). In this respect, it is crucial how the scholar him or herself evaluates the socio-political context: a pro-apartheid scholar will probably report and evaluate findings from South-Africa very differently than a former resistance fighter. Bailey provides valuable historical information which underscores this point: while one author writing in Liberia in 1862 maintains that "the spirit of the English language is...the spirit of personal liberty;...the spirit of

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[19] For a good overview of the international scope and influence of ESP see Johns and Dudley-Evans (1993). For the teaching of ESP see Strevens (1980:105-135).

law, of moral character, and spiritual benevolence" (Crummell 1862: 51 qtd. in Bailey 1991: 162) a scholar from Sierra Leone (writing only 14 years later) holds that "it is unfortunate for the English and other European languages that...they have come to the greater portion of the natives associated with profligacy, plunder and cruelty..." (Blyden 1967 [1876]: 76 qtd. in Bailey 1991: 162).[20]

With all these Englishes around, the question which standard should be used as a model is bound to arise. Surely, there must be some sort of standard, because, as Quirk points out, standards are necessary and people feel disoriented if there are none (1985: 5).[21] While specialised subgroups of English users (doctors, lawyers) will have their own international ESP variety (regulated by the members of the in-group) the question arises what the model for general ELT in a given country should be. According to Kachru this problem can be solved in two ways: one can either use an exo-normative model, that is a native-speaker standard (usually British or American English), or an endo-normative model, that is the local educated norm. The figure below shows very clearly that preferences vary enormously according to the local socio-political climate. Indians, for instance, seem to place much more confidence in their own variety than Thais.

Figure: preference for models of English among final Bachelor degree students

Model	Singaporeans	Indians	Thais
British	38.3	28.5	49.1
American	14.4.	12.0.	31.6
Australian	0.6	0.3	0.3
Own way	38.9	47.4	3.5
Others	7.8	11.8	15.5

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[20] Of course, attitudes in one and the same place may also vary in different periods of time (compare Görlach 1988: 9).
[21] MacArthur asserts that the argument about standards is really an argument about models, about how one pictures what is going on. He distinguishes between chronological models (Old English, Middle English, Modern English), biological models (language family trees) and geopolitical models (maps and circles) (1998: 78-99).

Shaw (1981) qtd. in Kachru (1986: 23).

Kachru distinguishes between three attitudinal stages regarding the acceptance of a local variety: in the first stage the localised form is not recognised. In the second stage the local form is extensively diffused. Finally, the educated localised norm is recognised by contextualising the teaching material to fit local socio-cultural situations, by recognising the intranational uses of English and by accepting local creative writing in English as part of the national writing (1986: 21). In the final stage, English may well be a link in culturally and linguistically pluralistic societies (Kachru 1991 [1976]: 35, see also the discussion on English in Nigeria above). All in all, Kachru concludes that the attitudinal conflict between external and indigenous norms is slowly being resolved in favour of the latter (1986: 25).

1.11.2. External status: non-native varieties and international discourse

Is the status of **local** forms of English relevant for **international** discourse? Widdowson's emphasis on "international English as ESP" (see ch. 1.10. above) seems to deny this, because international Englishes (for instance Medical English) cut across national and ethnic boundaries. However, at least in spoken English, such a clear-cut distinction between international Englishes and local forms of English might not be possible: while most doctors will speak a form of international English in the near future (which will to a high degree consist of medical terminology) this English will be spoken in different ways: the French doctor will speak it with a French accent (and will therefore, to a certain extent be confronted with the stereotypes associated with the French) and the Nigerian doctor will speak it with a Nigerian accent.[22] While accent is probably the most notable influence, grammatical or conceptual features of a different language or a localised variety of English may also "slip into" the International Medical English of the French or the Nigerian speaker. [23]

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[22] Of course, the written forms of international Englishes will be less influenced by local varieties of English.
[23] Innovations which account for the "Nigerianness" of Nigerian English (or any other non-native variety, for that matter) are not only lexical but involve "distinct culture-bound strategies" for writing letters, invitations and so on (Kachru 1986: 26).

Unfortunately, the different ways in which non-natives speak English[24] are often seen as "deficiencies" by native speakers of English. Henry Widdowson describes the attitudes of the self-appointed custodians of the English language:

> ...on the one hand there is pride, complacency even, that English has become an international means of communication, but on the other hand there is grave concern that it might be misused, corrupted in the mouths of all these foreigners...It was bad enough when we only had non-standard speakers among the English themselves to cope with (1993: 323).

This view is exemplified by Barry Newman's article about Business English in which he asserts that "the world speaks English - but often none too well" (1996: 16). Contrary to Newman's assertions of native-speaker superiority, studies have proven that native speakers are not more intelligible than non-native speakers (see the references in Berns 1990: 47-8). Still, even some linguists have voiced native-speaker centred opinions; perhaps the most famous instance is Prator's article on *The British Heresy in TESL* (1991 [1968]) in which he takes exception to the "heresy" that non-native varieties can serve as a legitimate model for ELT. Partly because of Kachru's well argued analysis of his work (1991 [1976]), in which he exposes Prator's views as ethnocentric, unrealistic, puristic, intolerant and unpragmatic, the native-speaker centred approach is nowadays less accepted. However, in a recent study about the intelligibility of Nigerian English Tiffen (1992) still talks about the "errors" of Nigerian speakers of English - what he probably means are deviations .

The influence and assertiveness of native speakers depends on their dominance in particular fields. While the United States' dominance in computer science, for instance, may lead to an ESP which is under pressure to use American terms and discourse strategies (in writing a research paper, for instance) other fields may, as Widdowson points out, be dominated by people

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[24] Features of local varieties are discussed in Kachru (1982: 46-47, 1985: 18-19) and Trudgill and Hannah (1994 [1982]). For an interesting essay on the influence of African languages like Swahili or Hausa on African English see Bokamba (1982: 77-98).

whose primary language is not English and who will therefore develop EIL registers without reference to Inner Circle Englishes (1998a: 399).

All in all, however, most cutting-edge research (particularly in medicine and the natural sciences, but also in other fields) comes from English speaking countries, particularly the US - thus I would venture to suggest that within many forms of international English there is a pressure to conform to an inner circle variety. To support this suggestion I would like to pinpoint to the fact that students wishing to go abroad are often required to take (and pass) tests assessing their proficiency in English, usually the TOEFL test or the Cambridge examination. Unfortunately, however, students from Nigeria or Malaysia cannot take the TOEFL test in Nigerian English or the Cambridge examination in Malaysian English; examination answers which might be correct by their local standard may well be incorrect by the British or American standard (which is the standard of the Cambridge and the TOEFL tests). This theory is underlined by findings from Bobda who reports that most language testing candidates from former British colonies fail in the listening comprehension which is solely based on American or British English (1999: 29). Similarly, in his analysis of the TOEIC (Test of English as an international language) Lowenberg concludes that the writers of the test still regard the native speaker varieties as norm-providing (1993: 104, see also Spolsky 1993). This is particularly worrying because the TOEFL test or the Cambridge examination are often a prerequisite for an international power-position (see for instance Zhenhua's report with regard to the situation in China [1999: 84]).

The crucial question is: what does the English language **itself** have to do with this? Is it true that, as Widdowson (1998b: 12) puts it, the E in ESP is innocent but the SP is not? I would suggest that one has to look at this question on two levels: firstly, Henry Widdowson is certainly right when he maintains that there is nothing hegemonic about the language (the internal structure) itself (1998b: 12). But, on a second level, one has to realise that it is **English** - and not Italian, Swahili or Bavarian - which is used for these special purposes and that the scientist or the politician who chooses English conveys a certain message through this choice. As a consequence, it is in my opinion paramount that those

who teach the English language should be aware of and deal critically with the issues raised in this paper (see also ch. 2.6., ch. 3.2.3 and ch. 5). Indeed, these issues might provide an interesting teaching alternative to overused topics such as "food" or "clothes".

1.12. Conclusion and summary: the appropriation of English

In conclusion, let us return for a moment to the works of Phillipson and Crystal. When Phillipson criticises Crystal's book as an oversimplification of the complexity and reality of global English (1999b: 270) he is himself guilty as charged. On the one hand, Crystal's and Phillipson's books are important because they raise fascinating questions; on the other hand, both are faulty because none provides a balanced account. In this regard, Kachru's "The Alchemy of English", although already a bit dated (1986), is a preferable alternative.

A crucial lesson that can be drawn from these three books, then, is that one walks a very thin line when dealing with such a politically charged topic as the spread of English in a global context. While an "objective" linguistic inquiry - as far as such a thing is possible - should under no circumstance disregard the political perspectives of English and ELT and while it should also take the unequal distribution of wealth, power and information around the globe into account one must at the same time make sure that one is not carried away by ideology. Rather, conclusions should be reached after a thorough review of the evidence. Below I provide an "ideological continuum" (my term) which is designed to show the ideological attitude of the most important writers on global English mentioned in this paper. I have come to my results firstly by taking into account the explicit attitude of the writer towards linguistic imperialism, their terminology and implicit hints in the text. Ultimately, however, the evaluation is based on my impressions and therefore subjective.

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        Tsuda  Phillipson  Pennycook  Kachru  Widdowson      Crystal
        1997      1992        1994      1986    1994,1997      1997
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English as a tool for   balanced view   English as a tool for

linguistic imperialism   global understanding
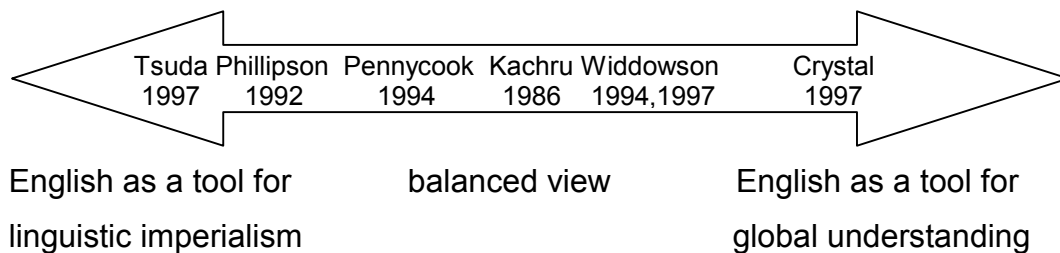
Because of the complex nature of the topic it would be preposterous to suggest
a definite conclusion to this chapter. However, I would like to restate some
important points that have been made so far:

- The two major forces which spread English throughout the world are British
  colonialism from the 17th to the 19th and American capitalism in the 20th
  century.

- Important criticism of linguistic imperialism centres on its assumption of
  power asymmetry, the fact that is not falsifiable, and the way Phillipson
  deals with critics. An analysis of the linguistic situation in Nigeria shows that
  linguistic imperialism is too simplistic to account for the country's complex
  language ecology.

- Mainstream linguists agree with Phillipson in his criticism of the tenets of
  monolingualism and the native speaker, which are, despite this criticism,
  widely spread.

- English has in some cases been appropriated by the elite.

- The future development of English will be characterised by a contrast
  between local varieties of English (intranational Englishes) and international
  Englishes (that is the standard used by globally acting professions like
  doctors or lawyers). I argue, however, that local varieties, say from Nigeria,
  will influence the Nigerian specialist's international English (at least in
  spoken discourse) - therefore a clear-cut distinction between the two groups
  may not always be possible.

- Because many native speakers regard non-native varieties with suspicion
  and because a knowledge of the British or American English may be
  necessary for international power positions (TOEFL/Cambridge

examinations) there is a pressure to conform to an inner circle variety within many - but not all - professions.

- Regarding the status of a local variety of English the socio-economic context - and how it is perceived by the respective scholar - is paramount.

The main finding seems to be, though, that English is appropriated for local purposes around the world. I have the strong suspicion that Phillipson's notion of "resistance" and Pennycook's critical pedagogy (1994) are, in fact, such appropriations. If, for instance, an ELT book from the West is used in a developing country in a different manner as conceived by the authors of this book, this can be regarded as both, "appropriation" or "resistance". Another form of appropriation/resistance is the use of indigenous teaching material. Let me give a few more instances of appropriation to show how widespread but also how diverse this phenomenon really is:

- Prodromou proposes that English in Greece should be taught by "recycling" Granglais, the Greek version of English (1990 [1988]).
- Baxter holds that the Japanese have successfully appropriated English for business purposes. More and more Japanese are dissatisfied with being told that they should speak English like a native-speaker (1991 [1980]: 59-60).
- Demonstrators in non-English speaking countries often use signs in English to convey their demands to TV-audiences around the globe. In some cases the person may not even understand what the sign he or she carries says (see for instance the pictures given in the appendix).
- Bobda shows how Cameroon has moved away from a monocultural, Anglo-centred way of teaching English and has gradually appropriated teaching material to a Cameroonian context. Non Western-topics treated are, for instance, the rule of Emirs, traditional medicine or polygamy (1997: 225). Bobda sensibly argues for bicultural education, that is, he wants to present both Cameroonian and Anglo-American cultures (1997: 234).
- Kramsch and Sullivan (1996) describe how Western methodology and textbooks have been appropriated to suit local Vietnamese culture.

- In ELT classes for immigrants to the Unites States not only English but also American values (like "being on time") are conveyed (see the case study in Tollefson 1991: 22-24).

- The Pakistani textbook "Primary Stage English" includes lessons such as "Pakistan My Country", "Our Flag", or "Our Great Leader" (Malik 1993: 5,6,7) which might well sound jingoistic to Western ears. Within the native culture, however, establishing a connection between ELT, patriotism and Muslim faith is seen as one of the aims of ELT, as the chairman of the Punjab Textbook Board openly states: "The board...takes care, through these books to inoculate in the students a love of the Islamic values and awareness to guard the ideological frontiers of your [the students] home lands" (Punjab Text Book Board 1997, see appendix).

- In Malaysia, English books for primary schools are rigorously checked to ensure that they conform to the local culture (Ozog 1990: 315 qtd. in Pakir 1993: 11). Thus, when Malaysian students use English text books they might well connect non-Western values with the language.

- In Saudi-Arabia, learning English is seen as a religious duty because it is useful for the teaching of Islam to non-Arabs (Al-Abed Al Haq and Smadi 1996: 477).

- When Kachru tells us (1985: 14) that English in South Asia is used by such diverse groups as Communists, Muslim Fundamentalists, Hindu Rightists as well as factions of the Congress Party he illustrates the seemingly paradoxical fact that although English is apolitical on one level (no language is political in itself) it is put to immensely political **uses** by the parties mentioned above.

- Similarly, Chew states that English is the courier of many cultures of myriad values, of different religions and of antagonistic political systems. Both in Singapore and ASEAN, where English is the official language, the dictum is "yes to English" and "no to Western values" (1999: 42).

As the appropriation of ELT is such a widespread phenomenon, not **authentic** (that is native-speaker centred) but **appropriate** pedagogy should be applied. Such appropriate pedagogy should "prepare learners to be both global and local speakers of English and to feel at home in both international and national

cultures" (Kramsch and Sullivan 1996: 211, see also my suggestions for a polymodel approach in ch. 2.6.).

The "internationalisation" of English might also bring new possibilities for native speakers of the language. McCabe elaborates:

> ...whereas for two centuries we exported our language and our customs in hot pursuit of...fresh markets, we now find that our language and our customs are returned to us but altered so that they can be used by others...so that our own language and culture discover new possibilities, fresh contradictions" (1985: 45).

Here, McCabe refers to writers from Africa and Asia who have used and appropriated the English language for their own purposes but whose usage of English has also made their works accessible to a wider audience. For Kachru, as soon as English acquired a new identity through creative writing, the language was liberated from its colonial past (1997: 232).

Finally, let me stress that the role of English is not only discussed by a small number of ELT professionals and linguists. On the internet I came across a passionate discussion about the very same subject by biologists. Some were quite happy with English, others pointed out alternatives like Esperanto or Interlingua. Because biologists know quite a lot of Latin, it has even been suggested to adopt this dead language, as it would be more neutral than present-day English (see Taxacom Biological Systematics and Biocollections Computerization Discussion Listserv Archive 1996).

2. The spread of English: a European perspective

2.1. Introduction

When one considers the wealth of literature on global English it is remarkable that relatively little has been said about English in Europe. In the bibliography of Global Englishes (1965-1983) Görlach (1984) lists only 4 items which deal with European English (as compared to 30 items for African English). Even in the bibliography for the years 1984-1993 (Glause et.al. 1993) this number does not increase significantly. Because a comprehensive account of English in Europe would probably require a multi-volume work it cannot be provided here. What I would like to accomplish in this chapter, then, is to give a concise overview of the most important aspects of English in Europe. To begin with, I will give a short historical account of the spread of English in Europe since 1945. Secondly, I will take a look at the status of English in different European regions and in different functional domains (without raising any claims of completeness). Last but not least, the language problem of the EU will be analysed as far as it touches upon the status of English.

2.2. English in Europe since 1945

Although it may be risky to take 1945 as a starting point for a survey about the role of English in Europe - because this approach carries the danger of

downplaying continuities from the war and pre-war period[25] - I will do so here because the immediate post-war period undoubtedly gave English in Europe a

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[25] The treaty of Versailles, where English was used alongside with French as the language of diplomacy for the first time, can also be taken as a in important milestone in the spread of the language in Europe.

big - maybe a decisive - boost. This happened for the following reasons:

- When the full extent of Nazi atrocities became known the prestige of German dropped sharply and as a result "in schools all over northern Europe, English became the unchallenged second language within a decade or two" (Dollerup 1996: 26). To a lesser extent, French may also have suffered a loss of prestige due to the bad reputation of the Vichy collaboration regime.

- The forces of the Western allies were under a unified command and, because of the leading role of English speaking countries in the Alliance, English was the main language of command. Contrary to World War 1, French played only a minor role.

- In most European countries the Allies were not seen as invaders but as liberators; this positive attitude influenced attitudes towards English (Hagège 1996: 39).

- A major factor in the reconstruction of Western Europe were American funds made available through the Marshall Plan. This large scale "European Recovery Program" (the official name) initiated an Americanisation process that undoubtedly affected language attitudes.

The main post-war trend, which was perhaps triggered by all these factors, was the formation of a youth culture oriented towards the USA (see Dollerup 1996: 27). Young people, now labelled "teenagers", listened to and identified with the popular music of artists like Elvis Presley. Today, English terms are used in youth subcultures like rap, hip-hop, break-dancing or graffiti (see the examples in Preisler 1999: 261).

Today, "any European...who switches on the radio has a very good chance of striking upon some popular music with an English-language text" (Ammon 1994: 1). Additionally, English is currently spread - or spreads itself (if no

agency is to be implied) - through film[26], TV[27], advertising and - perhaps most importantly in our technological age - software and the internet.[28] As a consequence, English is today the most important source for loans in all European languages. Ammon points out that "everyone in Europe has got used to at least bits and pieces of English. A normal person can, as a rule, not even avoid using such loans actively" (1994: 2).[29]

Today 42% of European citizens claim to be able to converse in English (Crystal 1997: 81). When it comes to language teaching, English is the language most widely taught in Europe. It comes therefore as no surprise that there is a significant generation-gap in English language proficiency.

2.3. European Englishes: several regions

Because of the marked differences between European countries it is reasonable to assume that the status of and the attitudes connected with English will vary considerably across Europe. In general, however, it is safe to assume that the function of English in Europe is "...not that of a popular vernacular, but of a necessary means of communication in certain well-defined situations" (Fettes 1991: i).

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[26] Within the film industry there are pronounced regional differences regarding the spread of English, though. In France 35% of all films are still French productions and 55% are American. In Germany, however, 90% of all films shown are American and only 6% are German (Truchot 1997: 69).

[27] An overview of English language satellite broadcasts over Europe is currently available on the internet at http://www3.mistral.co.uk/bradleyw/eng_eur.htm

[28] Currently 84,3% of all servers are in English. According to Graddol the internet is not simply encouraging the use of English but is transforming the language into "Net-English" (1997: 51).

[29] In this context, the ever-growing Anglicisation of product labels and instructions should be mentioned; some of these product labels did not even exists in the English language before, but were newly coined: the term "walkman", for instance, was invented by Sony. Still, one can safely assume that there is a connection between the Anglicisation of brand names and the values that are connected with English (see ch. 1.4.2.). Additionally, English inscriptions on products are nowadays often left untranslated.

Figure: English spoken as foreign language in EU countries.

Country	English speaking population
Netherlands	71%
Denmark	68%
Germany	35%
Belgium	34%
France	30%
Italy	19%
Spain	13%

Source: adapted from Labrie and Quell (1997: 24, appendix 1).

Based on the available data on the use of English in different EU countries I suggest that one can (roughly, of course) divide Western Europe into three parts:[30]

- Intense use of English: The Netherlands, Luxembourg and the Scandinavian Countries.
- Moderate use of English: Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium[31], France.
- Little use of English: The Mediterranean Countries (except in some tourist areas).

Before I proceed to give a more detailed survey of these three parts, which I have termed "supraregions" because each region contains several countries, three things should be noted. Firstly, I will not deal with the German speaking areas here, as they will be discussed in chapter 3. Secondly, France will be discussed in more detail because of the contrast between official pronouncements on and actual usage of English. Thirdly, it is obvious that I cannot deal with all the countries in the respective supraregion; however, I

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[30] Berns (1995b) proposes a different model suggesting three concentric circles of European Englishes. However, the model does not strike me as particularly convincing because countries where the intensity of usage varies considerably are grouped within the same circle (Greece and Denmark, for instance).
[31] For the status of English in Belgium see Goethals (1997) and van Essen (1997a).

would like to highlight certain features which, I suggest, apply to all countries within the supraregion. Please note that Ireland is an exception from this tripartite typology (see below).

Furthermore, let me emphasise that the typology suggested here is to a large extent one of usage and not of attitudes. In fact, a similar neat grouping according to language attitudes is, unfortunately, next to impossible - at least with the means to my disposal. The number of variables that might have an impact on language attitudes even within one single country is simply too high. Some of the relevant factors influencing attitudes are:

- GNP: attitudes in a rich province may be different from those in a poor.
- Education: those well-educated may have different attitudes than those poorly educated.
- Urban regions: attitudes in cities may differ significantly from those in rural areas.
- Ethnic makeup: minorities may differ in their attitude to English.
- Officially prescribed attitudes: a country may have an "official attitude" toward English which might not be necessarily shared by the populace (see the discussion of France below).

2.3.1. The Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands: English as a second mother tongue?

Starting with the Scandinavian countries, it could be said that they have most successfully assimilated English. Labrie and Quell attest Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands an "exemplary position in terms of the multilingual abilities of their citizens" (1997: 8) and Haugen even thinks that the Scandinavian peoples are well on their way to becoming bilingual (1987: 83).

Preisler suggests that English in Denmark is not (only) used for the purposes of the elite (what he calls "English from above") but is appropriated by the common citizen ("English from below") in domains like music, TV or youth culture in general (see 1999: 241-246, 260-1). In higher education, students of

virtually all subjects are expected to read books and journals in English (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999: 25). According to Phillipson the Danish minister of education even claimed that English is the second mother tongue of his country (1992: 9). This fits in with a ministerial note from 1978 which states that the official aim of ELT in Danish schools is to make the population bilingual (given in Preisler 1999: 241). Code-switching is also common.

Table: Extent to which English is experienced by adult Danes per week

Experience	Frequency
Hear/listen to English	93%
See/read English	88%
Speak English	27%
Write in English	12%

Source: adapted from Preisler (1999: 244).

Similarly, Ferguson (an American) praises the high level of English language competence in Sweden (1994: 420). To some extent this may be because in Sweden films and radio-programmes are often shown in English only - even without subtitles (Hollqvist 1984: 19). Therefore, Ljung's conclusion that English in Sweden is used by a surprisingly large percentage of people - not only for work but also in connection with leisure-time activities like watching television programmes in English - does not come as a surprise. Furthermore, a large number of Swedes also read in English (Ljung 1986: 374).

In regard to the situation in the Netherlands, Fettes suggests that the impact of English may only be superficial, despite the fact that EFL already starts in primary school:

> Dutch knowledge of English is far more often passive than active, tuned towards understanding films and texts rather than producing the films and texts themselves...Dutch pop groups often perform in English but Dutch actors rarely do so and Dutch writers (naturally!) never do (Fettes 1991: i).

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I suggest that this also holds true for the other countries of this region. Although English plays an important role it has not been used (appropriated) for local purposes to the same extent as in former British colonies (see chapter 1). All of the countries in this region are rather small speech communities; English is therefore often perceived as a "window to the world" which helps these countries to compete internationally (see Haugen 1987: 86, Hollqvist 1984: 19 and Truchot 1997: 73). At the university, some subjects may even be taught in English. Generally, English is seen as an indicator of modernisation and is therefore frequently used in advertising.[32]

Attitudes towards English seem to vary considerably, though. While Hollqvist demonstrates that in Sweden attitudes towards English are generally positive and Preisler comes to similar conclusions in regard to Denmark (1999: 253), Phillipson notes that there is a strong anti-English lobby in Norway (Phillipson and Skutnab Kangas 1994: 81) and Sajavaara shows that many Finns think that English has a detrimental influence on their language (1986: 65). It should be noted, though, that, as discussed in chapter 1.11.1, the attitude of the researcher him or herself may play a pivotal role when reporting such findings.

2.3.2. France

It is appropriate to deal with France in greater detail as this country is sometimes portrayed as the arch-enemy of English. The spread of English has been a welcome opportunity for some to rant against American culture: le Cornec, for instance, fears that the French elite of the future "will succeed in speaking bad English which is no longer that of Shakespeare but of Donald Duck" (1981: 429 qtd. in Flaitz 1993: 180). This conspiracy view reminds one of the comic *Asterix*: all of Europe may be conquered by English but France still does not give in. The French may not have a magic potion against English but they have passed several laws outlawing English loans (see Haas 1991 for a detailed account). One of the reasons why the French government portrays

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[32] Interestingly, English loans often add new shades of meaning to a language. In case of Swedish, for instance, "eplesaft" means canned apple juice while the English loan "eplejuice" refers to raw applejuice (Haugen 1987: 88).

itself as the defender not only of French but also of the linguistic variety of Europe (see Hagège 1996: 90) is that the spread of English is seen as a danger to the influence of French not only in Europe, but also in the world at large. This attitude is exemplified by Hagège's revealing comment that if English is used even in congresses which take place in France, then African nations who have opted for French as their official language might reconsider this decision (1996: 100).

In contrast to such official concerns, English seems to be quite popular and widespread in France as Flaitz' analysis of movies, radio programmes and job advertisements shows (1993: 182-188). The fact that 85% of schoolchildren decided to learn English as a foreign language and, moreover, the fact that even the Ecole Central de Paris requires fluent English for all its graduates (Bryson 1990: 181) supports Kachru's argument that even those who have a critical attitude towards English see to it that their children learn the language (see ch.1.9.). Thus even the French seem to admit - albeit somewhat grudgingly - that English is important in international communication. Some successful businessmen have even turned into supporters of English; Alan Minc considers the English language "the only contribution Britain has made to Europe" (qtd. in Truchot 1997: 73).
Furthermore, in accord with the European trend, a generation gap seems to exist: while the older generation tends to know only French, the young primarily use English to communicate with other nationalities (Labrie and Quell 1997: 12). Interestingly, Claude Truchot notes that the practice of using English in conversation, which was fashionable only in trendy circles ten years ago, has become more general (1997: 72).

Even the effect of the language laws seems to be rather limited. Haas notes that quite a number of English loans are used in different sections of the populace (1991: 154). All this, and the fact that 30% of the population speaks English - only 5% less than in Germany (see table above) - leads us to the conclusion that English is used more often than might be expected if one only relies on governmental sources. This conclusion is underlined by Hausmann's assertion that "it is the fashion to be theoretically against Anglicisms but to keep

the practical consequences within reasonable limits" (1986: 79). Finally, both Flaitz and Kibbee point out that those who voice anti-English feelings might in reality be angry at themselves because the influx of English words is seen as a dependence on others in fields where the French were once the leaders. These people see French as "about the last treasure we still possess" (1993: 191, 1993: 214-5, 217).

2.3.3. The Mediterranean countries: Italy and Spain

Italy provides a good example of a truly Mediterranean country. As in so many other European countries, it was post-war Americanisation through which English was spread. Italians borrowed a number of words from the fields of sport, music, entertainment, business and technical subjects. For Dardano English contributed substantially to a second Europeanisation of Italian (1986: 231). According to Pulcini

> the appeal of English words [to the Italians] is due not only to their
> cultural prestige, but...also to their structural features: their brevity and
> phonic effect..., their flexibility in word-formation...and their similarity to
> Italian words (1997: 79).

This brevity has, according to Dardano a connotation of modernity and efficiency - at least for some users (1986: 234). Today, Anglicisms seem to be accepted into the standard language at a rapid pace. Dardano emphasises that the influence of English is not only present in the upper classes, but is also felt at the middle and lower levels of the Italian linguistic community. The influx is particularly high in various technical sub-codes (1986: 236-7, 244). Still, in schools English is only learned by 60 percent of the pupils. Interestingly, Pulcini notes a decline of the American myth in Italy and thinks that the growing acceptance of European unification may lead "to a shift of interest from English to other foreign languages" (Pulcini 1997: 83).

The contemporary attitude towards English seems less marked by purism than in some other European countries; perhaps this liberalism is still a counter-movement to the extremely hostile reaction to foreign loans during the fascist

period when (similar to Germany) various substitutions for Anglicisms were proposed (Dardano 1986: 235).

In Spain, as a contrast, attitudes towards English loans seem to be more critical. One purist even put the use of an Anglicism on a par with lack of morals and personal hygiene (see Pratt 1986: 363). Generally speaking, Anglicisms are introduced because one needs to lexicalise an object or a process. In some instances, however, Pratt concludes that the English term may be used instead of the Spanish one because the user wants to appear modern and sophisticated (1986: 363). For Pratt, Spain, which has only in the recent past been able to make up some ground for its technological backwardness, is singularly drawn to all that smacks of progress and modernity (1986: 365).[33] The advertising industry has exploited this fact and uses technical or pseudo-technical Anglicisms to increase the attractiveness of products. English is thus used for image-making. Actually, this connotation with modernity seems to be widespread in Europe (and, in fact, in the world, as Phillipson shows [ch. 1.4.2.]; see also the discussion of the prestige factor in Austria [ch 3.2.5.]).

2.3.4. The exception: Ireland

Ireland has been referred to as "England's first colony". In regard to the status of English, I suggest that this judgement is quite true: the status of English in Ireland is in many ways more similar to (post)colonial Englishes than to English on the continent. Indeed, writers like Brian Friel have depicted English as the language of the coloniser (see for instance his play *Translations* [1981]). Gaelic, the official language of the country, is hardly spoken outside a small confined area (called the Gaeltacht) and this area is still shrinking. While pupils are compelled to learn Gaelic at school and while a knowledge of Gaelic is also a prerequisite for certain jobs, no one can force people to actively use the language. Particularly in the big cities the triumph of English has been overwhelming.[34] In Northern Ireland, the varieties of English spoken

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[33] Another reason for the growing use of English may be Spain's membership in the EU where a knowledge of foreign languages is most useful (see Platt 1986).
[34] The chief reasons for the decline of Irish are, according to Northover and Donelly, Ireland's closeness to Britain, the ease of immigration to Britain and the USA, the need for English to

"...distinguishes some Catholics from some Protestants as clearly as colour distinguishes an Afrikaner from a Zulu" (Todd 1989: 337). Actually, this fact may be an indication of the extent that English has become an Irish language. After all, some of the greatest "English" writers and poets were born in Ireland.

2.3.5. Eastern Europe: a case of linguistic imperialism?

During communist times, English was seen as the language of freedom by many intellectuals in the East. When the iron curtain finally fell the demand for and the use of English in Eastern Europe exploded. The following reasons for the popularity of English come to mind:

- Because of ideological reasons English was neglected in education while Russian played a prominent role.
- The necessity of understanding English texts
- The usefulness of English if one wants to use the newly won freedom to travel to foreign countries.
- The rising demand for competence in English in key professions.
- The desire to comprehend English which one encounters in daily life (advertisements, pop songs and so on).

Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas see (rather predictably) some parallels between developing countries and Eastern Europe (1994: 80); however one cannot draw simple conclusions. As Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas themselves point out, most East European countries have long-established national languages. Another factor is that in Eastern Europe there is a long history of foreign language learning built upon the principle that student and teacher have the same mother tongue. Hence Eastern European teachers are less eager to rely on authentic material and on a native-speaker teacher (see ch.1.4.1.). Still, it seems that English is gaining ground in Eastern Europe, particularly among the young (for English in Eastern Europe see also Slowinski [1998: i]).

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maintain job mobility, the attraction of British and American television programmes and, perhaps most importantly, the many relatives in English-speaking countries (1996: 39).

2.4. Two functional domains of English use

After this short sketch of the regional spread of English I would like to turn to the use of English in certain functional domains. As the available data is rather unsatisfactory I selected two domains which are reasonably well documented in secondary literature.

2.4.1. Business and jobs

Viereck, rather optimistically, forecasts that "in ten or fifteen years time there will be no national labour markets any more. Then an engineer from England or France will work in Frankfurt and a German engineer in Rome" (1996: 23). Consequently English, as a language of intercultural communication, will gain in importance. This development may already be in progress: out of 14 German multinational companies which were asked in which way their prevalent contact language for business has changed, 9 said that English has grown more important (reported in Ammon 1994 where even more evidence is given). Danish companies already use English in over 80% of international business contacts (Graddol 1997: 29). Similarly, Hollqvist's study of the use and status of English at the Svenska Handelsbanken, Ericsson and SAS reveals that it is the dominant foreign language in all the three companies (1984: 122). Indeed, a project leader at Ericsson told Hollqvist that without English the company would sell only one tenth of what it actually sells. However, while English is used extensively in documentation, it is only spoken when an interlocutor or listener does not speak Swedish (Hollqvist 1984: 140). Companies like IVECO, which is a French-Italian-German and Swiss co-operation, also use English for internal business because, as a manager says, "it puts us all at an equal disadvantage" (qtd. in Bryson 1990: 2, see also Truchot 1997: 68).

<u>Figure</u>: **The three most needed language skills in three European Countries**

Country	English	French	German
France	71%	--	11%
Spain	60%	21%	7%
Poland	46%	7%	26%

<u>Source</u>: Glück (1992) qtd. in Ammon (1994: 7) (extract).

Hollqvist examined about 100 consecutive Ericsson advertisements offering white-collar employment that were published internally and externally during the first half of 1981. One fourth of them included foreign language requirements. English was wanted in all of them. No advertisement mentioned French or Spanish exclusively (although a knowledge of these languages was considered an asset) (1984: 137).

The fact that English is required for more higher positions tends to be problematic for people who have advanced from the shop floor and for senior employees (Hollqvist 1984: 118). At SAS, blue-collar workers resent the fact that most of the technical documents concerning the Airbus are in English. Young new workers may be given the "best" jobs because they know English better (Hollqvist 1984: 120).

2.4.2. English in European science

We are fast approaching an epoch of universal conferences...If there were a universal language it would be indifferent in which part of the world the conference were held...(Follick 1934 [1914]: 93).

Within the academic field it has been said that one has to "publish in English or perish" (Viereck 1996: 20). In some domains, English has, to a very large extent, replaced German as a scientific language. This becomes visible in the renaming of journals: the *Archiv für Kreislaufforschung*, for instance, was turned into *Basic Research in Cardiology*. Around 1950 all contributions to the *Zeitschrift für Tierpsycholgie* were in German - now 95% are in English (Viereck

1996: 20). Other European languages, most prominently French (see Kibee 1993: 216) and Italian, had to give way to English too. Weinrich suspects that the English language is used as a convenient strategy for coping with an ever-increasing amount of information: everything that is not in English is simply disregarded (1988: 309-10 qtd. in Domaschnew 1996: 35).

Interestingly, different sciences use English to a different degree: within the Pure Sciences, Medicine and Mathematics, English is the only language of communication; in the social sciences there is a trend towards English. The humanities, however, rather remain a domain of national languages (see also ch. 4.3.7.). Treanor (i) lists the consequences of the dominant status of English in some academic areas:

- If a second language is required for entrance to a university it is almost always English (Treanor, i). This is certainly true; it should not be forgotten, though, that in German speaking areas (but not in the UK) Latin is also often a prerequisite, particularly for those wishing to study modern languages, medicine and law.
- A native speaker of English can become a Professor of Physics without knowing any other languages. (Treanor, i). Furthermore, one could add, English speakers often have the opportunity of going abroad without knowing local languages.
- Publications in major international journals are considered more valuable and those journals are almost all in English.
- Almost all academic journals published in English refuse to accept contributions in another language.

Regarding the situation in Denmark, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999: 27-8) divide scholars in three broad groups according to the use of mother tongue and/or English for academic purposes:

- "English Only": the member of this group are mostly from natural sciences and feel that English is the natural language of science.

- "Danish Mostly" [or, more generally, mother tongue mostly]: use Danish for topics which they regard as of little interest to outsiders or which they urgently want to communicate to a Danish audience
- "Multilingual"

Arthur van Essen's analysis of different linguistic books and journals indicates that Britons and Americans tend not to quote from outside their language area: while more than 65% of the references in the French journal (*linguistique applliquee*) are to non-native sources, only 1% of the references in the American journal (*language learning*) are to sources outside the Anglo-Saxon language area. Similarly, regarding the number of non-native contributors the French score topmost while the Americans end up at the very bottom (van Essen 1997b: 2068-69).

One of the dangers of the increasing use of English in science is that it widens the rift between specialists and laypersons: in the worst case, the specialist will not be able to talk about his subject in his mother tongue. This would effectively lead to a breakdown in the communication between the scientist and the public at large. Thus, while courses in ESP for specialists in various fields (medicine, physics...) are necessary and advantageous, the use of English as a **medium** of instruction in Europe is questionable (see also ch. 4.3.8.).

2.5. English and the institutions of the E.U.

The debate about the use of English in the institutions of the EU is, it seems to me, basically a conflict between those who opt for more efficiency and uniformity, and therefore welcome one lingua franca (see for instance Smith 1996), and those who wish to preserve the rich linguistic repertoire of Europe (see for instance Joint Interpreting & Conference Service: i). Members of the latter group often use the rather lofty argument that the use of "English only" (that is English as the only lingua franca) would run counter to the "nature" of plurilingual Europe (Hagege 1996: 8 for instance). In reality, however, many

countries support multilingualism only because they want to prevent a downgrading of their language. This view is still rooted in the 19th century where national languages came to be regarded as **the** markers of national identity (Coulmas 1991: 18-19). As Coulmas (1991: 14) points out, it is ironic that it is exactly the great importance that nation states attach to their national languages which motivates their backing of linguistic plurality on the Community level.[35] Officially, then, the languages of all member states are regarded as equal (de jure status).

In the day to day workings of the EU institutions, however, an equal treatment of all eleven official languages does not occur: some languages, namely French, English and German, are "more equal than others" and thus unofficially designated "working languages" (de facto status).[36] German, however, is constantly in danger of loosing this special status.[37]

<u>Figure:</u> **Use of languages in the European Commission**

Language	In writing	Orally
French	92.5%	90.1%
English	73.3%	60.8%
German	18.3%	15.0%
Spanish	6.7%	9.2%
Italian	8.3%	6.7%

<u>Source</u>: Haselhuber (1991) qtd. in Ammon (1994: 8).

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[35] On the national level, then, member states are often far less keen on promoting multilingualism.
[36] The influence of these languages is also due to geopolitical reasons. Today, most of the EU institutions are located in French speaking areas. If those institutions were to be moved, say to Germany, the influence of French would decline while that of German would increase.
[37] In 1999, Finland's decision not to provide a German translation service during its EU presidency resulted in severe protest by Germany and Austria.

The implications of the language debate are often portrayed as being largely financial: and it is certainly true that one in every three employees works in translation which amounts to a third of all administration costs (Bryson 1990: 82) - but only about 2 % of the overall budget. But Volz argues that there is another side to the problem: if English were introduced as the only working language, he maintains, its native speakers would gain an enormous advantage: they would be able to work more efficiently than their non-native speaker colleagues. Consequently, they might be regarded more highly by their superiors. Non-native speakers, on the other side, would feel frustrated because they would have to work in a foreign language and may be corrected by a native speaker (Volz 1994: 91).

Interestingly, there seems to be a deep division between official bureaucrats and members of the European parliament concerning the language question. While the former favour a solution where English and French are designated working languages (35 percent) or a trilingual solution which includes German (33 percent) the latter prefer a multilingual solution with English, French, German and Spanish as official languages (41 percent) (see table in Schlossmacher 1994: 118).

Currently the European Union tries to balance the opposing trends of uniformity on the one side and linguistic diversity on the other side by opting for a pragmatic approach: EU policy, also in respect of future enlargement, states that

> ...for reasons of principle, legal acts and important documents should continue to be translated into the official languages of all member states. To ensure effective communication in meetings, pragmatic solutions will have to be found (European Commission 1992 qtd. in Dollerup 1996: 32).

Regarding written documents Schlossmacher suggests that a hierarchy of texts will develop where the most important texts will be translated into all languages while the least important ones will only exists in one or two. Interestingly, Born's findings suggest that such a hierarchy already exists (1992: 3). Thus, a policy in this regard may simply emerge as a matter of expediency.

Schlossmacher regards the absence of clear regulations regarding language use as negative, but the Union's pragmatic approach to the language problem and the unofficial designation of working languages can also be seen as positive, particularly if one keeps in mind how sensitive a topic national languages are (see for instance Roche 1991 for a favourable evaluation). However, in at least one respect the Union's pragmatic approach can be said to have had a serious flaw: it has led to a legal vacuum. Therefore, any country which feels excluded from the inner circle of working languages (Spain, for instance) may at any time trigger a new debate on European language policy. As the further enlargement of the EU continues, more definite solutions will have to be found because "a Europe of 30 nations may need other solutions than the Europe of Twelve, a Europe of 80 nations others again" (Fettes 1991: i).[38]

2.6. Summary and conclusion: European English(es): problems and opportunities

Before I outline a possible place for English in contemporary and future Europe let us take stock of the findings so far:

- Due to various factors the use and prestige of English increased greatly in the period following World War Two. English is particularly popular among young Europeans.
- One can roughly distinguish three EU supraregions according to the intensity of English usage.
- Since the fall of the iron curtain, the demand for and the use of English in Eastern Europe has vastly increased. This cannot be seen as an instance of linguistic imperialism, though.

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[38] One solution that has been suggested is the so-called "polyglott dialogue" (see Posner 1991: 6-10). Even less realistic seems the suggestion of Latin or Esperanto (see Chiti-Batelli 1994) as a neutral lingua franca. The main areas of a possible future EU language policy are outlined in Born (1993: 1-3).

- English is an important business language (especially in multinational companies) and business factor in Europe. If a foreign language is required for a job it is almost always English.

- English has become the most important language for European Science (especially in the pure and natural sciences). A knowledge of English is often required if one wants to publish in influential journals.

- In many European countries English is a prestigious language associated with modernity.

- The language policy of the EU is torn between the desire for more efficiency (favouring one lingua franca) and the wish to preserve European multilingualism. Particularly larger member states are against a downgrading of their language as this could be seen as a loss of prestige. Therefore, "English only" is at the moment politically unacceptable. Currently the Union tries to balance the two opposing trends by opting for a pragmatic approach.

All these findings confirm that English is fairly well established in Europe. However, many Europeans still seem to regard the language as belonging to the British or Americans - hence the fear that English will displace native languages. The way forward, I suggest, is to learn from the experiences of former British colonies (see chapter 1) and to make the language European, to appropriate it for our own purposes. We should see English, as Berns aptly puts it "...not [as] a means of imitating English or American culture, but [as] a medium for expressing culturally and socially unique ideas, feelings and identities" (1995a: 24) - as a way of communicating not only with native speakers but with people from all over Europe. Put shortly, we should see English as a second rather than as a foreign language.

This appropriation process is already taking place in certain domains. EU officials, for instance, have developed their own variety of English (sometimes called "EU-English", "Eurospeak" or "Euro-English"). The following characteristics seem to be typical for Euro-English:

- The widespread use of acronyms (COERPER, ECOFIN...).
- The use of metonyms ("Maastricht" for the program of further unification...).

- The creation of new terms ("komitology").
- The influence of other languages.
- Eurospeak is sometimes used on purpose to keep matters vague.
- One tries not to use irony, jokes or metaphors, because of possible translation problems.

(Born 1996: 70-75, see also Crystal 1999 and Dollerup 1996: 35).

Thus, Euro-English is not "bad" English, it is English appropriated for the purposes of those working in the European institutions. Volz' arguments against English (see above) can only be upheld if we regard native speaker norms as the only correct ones. But if Euro-English is seen as an appropriate standard for those working in the European institutions, the advantages of the native-speakers are significantly reduced because both native speakers and non-native speakers would have to conform to a non-native standard. While this would certainly diminish the advantage of the native speaker of English it does not completely abolish it, as a native speaker would probably learn Euro-English easier.

European varieties of English are also frequently encountered in the business world and, at least in Sweden, French English, German English, Thai English and American or British English are treated on the same level (Hollqvist 1984: 119). Actually, it seems as if the role of business in the appropriation of English has been undervalued. SAS (the Scandinavian airline), for instance, uses a mixture of Danish, Norwegian and Swedish interspersed with a great many English words, which has been jocularly designated "SASkinavisk" or "SASperanto" (Hollqvist 1984: 111). Moreover, Hollqvist reports that Ericsson even tried to create its own version of English, referred to as "Ericsson English" aiming at a carefully restricted range of vocabulary and structures without loss of accuracy and appropriate tone (1984: 93, see also Graddol 1997: 31). However, the project turned out to be a failure because it was not sufficiently accepted by the employees.

If we regard English as belonging to the Europeans this leads us to the question whether it is really appropriate to teach British or American English. If

we reject such an exo-normative model (see ch. 1.11.1.) we face the problem that it would be extremely difficult to find a common European endo-normative model, because regional European Englishes (German English, French English and others) may vary considerably. Thus I suggest a polymodel approach with a **limited** orientation on British **and** American English as well as an emphasis on the features of supranational (EU) and national European Englishes. The curriculum of such a polymodel approach would also have to include references to the local Englishes of developing countries (see ch. 1; in ch. 3.2.3. I develop a course-outline for an EIL course). British and American Englishes should be recognised as the "mother language" from which European Englishes originate but from which they might deviate in some respects - in the same way as Indian English deviates from British English (of course this view does away with the traditional dichotomy between ESL and EFL). Particularly in pronunciation it should not be the aim to teach an American or British model: national accent - as a marker of one's identity - should not be stigmatised. Instead, a standard should, as Modiano suggests, include those characteristics of pronunciation which are discernible to a majority of native and proficient non-native speakers (1999b: 10, for a description of such characteristics see Jenkins 2000). In other words, the guideline for evaluating deviations would have to be mutual intelligibility.[39]

The polymodel approach would have to be descriptive rather than prescriptive. Thus, it has the advantage that it addresses the concept of standards and models from a perspective which cherishes rather than condemns diversity and which is thus more appropriate for multilingual Europe than the current Anglo-centric model (see also ch. 1.12. for appropriate pedagogy).[40] Admittedly, the polymodel approach puts the teacher in a rather difficult position. He or she must be able to "distinguish *deficiencies* in the acquisition of English...from

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[39] The notion of "intelligibility" can be subdivided into three components, namely intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability. Context and cultural factors may also have a decisive influence on intelligibility (see Berns 1990: 32-37 for more details).
[40] Keeping the material benefits that Britain has reaped from a native-speaker oriented ELT in mind, (see ch.1.8.) it is hardly surprising that decision makers in the UK - for instance Nick Tate (a chief executive of the British Qualification and Curriculum authority) - continue to advertise British English as best for Europe (as reported in the Global English Newsletter: i).

varietal *differences* in the students' usage..." (Lowenberg 1993: 101, although he makes this remark in regard to examiners). Here, further methodological suggestions would be extremely helpful.

Moving from grammar and pronunciation to content, it seems clear that in teaching English as a European language one would have to put less emphasis on embedding English in an Anglo-American context. Rather, teaching material should focus on interaction in English between non-native speakers (see also Berns 1995a: 27-28). Furthermore, it should be emphasised that English is not only the inter-European language of business of commerce but that it can also be a means of expressing one's European identity.

It must be stressed, though, that to affirm the "Europeaness" of English is not equal to a plea for "English Only"; it does not in any way mean that other languages are not important as well. If we want to make English a truly European language we should avoid the fallacies of monolingualism and of the native speaker (see ch. 1.4.1.) at all costs. Thus, rather than seeing the EU's language "problem" as a question of "English Only" versus "Language Ecology" (that is the emphasis on the equal rights of all languages) as Phillipson and Skutnabb Kangas do (1996), I propose that one should try to find a synthesis of these only seemingly contradictory approaches. Pfeiffer suggests that one should simply regard different languages as having different functions: not every small language has to function as an international means of communication. This is what we have English for. Smaller languages can - and should - act for local purposes (Pfeiffer 1992: 372). But bigger languages like Spanish, French or Portuguese can be a valuable asset in the non-English speaking world. Because the customer still prefers to buy in his (or her) own language such languages might provide an important advantage for European business against American competitors who all too often rely on people speaking English. On the level of the individual, the politician or the scientist has to choose for him or herself whether he or she wants to emphasis his/her nationality and use his/her own mother tongue or if it is more important to him/her that he/she is understood by the maximum number of people, in which case he/she will opt for one of the big languages, probably English.

Fears that with the intrusion of English as the dominant language diaglossia "may be imminent" (Phillipson and Skutnabb Kangas 1996: 446, see also Chiti-Batelli 1994: 70 and Denison 1981: 5) are unfounded and unwarranted. Although the dominant use of English in European Science may be worrying, particularly if it involves a discrimination of the non-native speaker, I do not concur with van Essen's conclusion (1997b: 2070), that language imperialism exists in Europe. As my analysis of the three Western European supraregions has shown, such a conclusion is not even warranted for the area of intensive usage.

The crucial question is if English will function as an intra-European language outside of specialised functional domains. On the one hand, this seems likely because more and more Europeans from different countries will get into contact with each other due to increased co-operation and cultural exchange between the members of the EU. On the other hand, it is not certain that the general populace will accept English as a language of their European identity. In this respect Berns' assumption that "if national identity is linked with a particular language, then a supra-national identity can be linked with a language too" (Berns 1995a: 24) might be too naive. In any case, linking English with a European identity can only be a long term project. While I agree completely with Coulmas' opinion that the ideological dead weight of the 19th century, that is linguistic nationalism, must be dropped, (1991: 27) I am also aware that this is much easier said than done. EU programmes like LINGUA are a step in the right direction but much remains to be done.

The resistance to English is sometimes (but not always) an indication of the resistance to globalisation; in this function it signals the desire of those who are uncomfortable with the breakdown of traditional barriers by the rapid improvement of transportation and information technology to return to the "safer" times of "right or wrong, my country". To counter this movement by trying to replace national identity (and language) with a supranational one is certainly the wrong way. Instead we should try, as Haarmann (1991: 111-112) suggests, to achieve a **balanced** identity where the basic needs of national

self-recognition do not collide with supranational integration. This aim would be achieved if it is realised that it is perfectly possible to be a Viennese, an Austrian and a European (to give just one instance).

3. English in the German speaking areas, with particular reference to the situation in Austria.

3.1. The spread of English in Austria and Germany: a historical perspective

3.1.1. Introduction

In the first part of my paper I mentioned the historical aspect of the global spread of English but did not go into detail because I felt that several books already deal adequately with the subject. The spread of English in Austria and Germany,[41] however, has been somewhat neglected (particularly in the anglophone areas) and therefore merits more extensive treatment. Connected with this description is the second aim of this chapter, namely the study of how English was appropriated in the two countries and what stance was taken towards the spread of English in different historical periods.

3.1.2. From the 18th century to National Socialism

German and Austrian merchants who had trade connections with the British Isles certainly used English before the 18th century. I have chosen this period as a starting point, though, because from 1700 to 1800 one can witness a rising interest in the English language and culture outside the merchant class.

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[41] In the following Austria and Germany are treated together because they are highly interdependent speech communities.

Although French was at the time still the most prestigious language, Klippel already speaks of "Anglophilie" (a love for all things English) at the end of the century (1994: 39). Disregarding the merchants, the first group that became interested in English were scholars for whom the language already represented "a door and a key to other sciences" (Lediard 1725 qtd. in Klippel 1994: 47, see also 265). This development corresponds to the slow but steady decline of Latin as a lingua franca. In the middle of the century another motive for learning English arose: more and more people wanted to read English literature. Thus the English language profited from the general rise in literacy and the development of a literary culture in the German speaking areas.

Between 1770 and 1840 English was established as a school subject in Germany. Now adolescent learners began to learn English in great numbers. Whether English was offered and to which extent depended on the type of school: those schools which were more practically oriented and/or which were attended by the middle classes put more emphasis on English while the elitist Gymnasium with its emphasis on Latin and Greek remained sceptical for a long time. Those who wanted a place for English at the Gymnasium had to argue that modern languages had not only a practical but also an educational value (Klippel 1994: 296, Pazelt 1994: 41).

In the multilingual Habsburg Empire, English faced competition from various native languages. Generally speaking, Austria introduced English much later than Germany:[42] in 1778 the first effort to establish English at the University of Vienna had failed because the Empress Maria Theresia regarded the English language as dangerous for the morals of her citizens (see Reiffenstein 1985/86: 163 and Malzacher 1996: 71-2). However, only twenty-two years later attitudes had changed; knowledge of English was now seen as being of advantage to the student. Thus, a teacher of English was installed at the university.[43] At Austrian

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[42] In Germany, English had been taught at the universities by so-called "Sprachmeister" well before 1850. For an overview of the development of English studies at German universities see the references given in Klippel (1994:33-4, fn 67).
[43] In the beginning, English studies were not considered of enough merit to be given a chair of their own but were combined with other languages.

state schools, however, Pazelt maintains, there was virtually no ELT before 1848 (1994: 161). Interestingly, in 1908 the demand for an expansion of ELT at the university was already justified with the argument that English was of growing importance as an international medium of communication (Reiffenstein 1985/86: 179-80).

The influence of English also increased steadily outside the education system. Due to Britain's position as the workshop of the world the influx of loans intensified.[44] In 1889 this development was harshly criticised by Herman Dummler at a congress of the newly found "Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein." Bismarck, when asked what he considered to be the decisive factor in modern history, replied "that the North Americans speak English" (qtd. in Crystal 1997: 76-7). However, both in Austria and in Germany English remained the second foreign language behind French.

With the arrival of World War One German and Austrian society changed radically. Dummler's essay about the usefulness of EFL in wartime Germany (1917) is a fascinating case-study of how English was appropriated at the time. Dummler's main argument is the lingua franca use of the language. It is not, he argues, the superiority of German goods which is responsible for the success of the German trade industry but the German merchant's clever adaptability in the field of language - that is his ability to use English (Dummler 1917: 21-22).

Dummler considers England[45] Germany's arch enemy; hence English should be learnt because it can be used as a weapon against Britain. In fact, not learning English would only increase the enemy's position because without knowledge of English the German merchant would be easily ousted from international trade (1917: 22-23). With this background in mind it hardly comes as a surprise that Dummler rejects teaching pupils what London looks like and how to behave there (1917: 28). Rather, because it is closely related to German, English should be used to make them aware of the history of the German language. Within limits, Dummler thinks that English also encourages

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[44] Drube holds that there were 11 English loans in 1800 and 392 in 1900 (1968 [1994]:60). However, these findings may be influenced by Drube's purism.
[45] German texts often use England when they actually mean Great Britain.

(logical) conceptual thinking (1917: 40). Generally, the children should learn about other cultures so that they are better able to evaluate their own. Dummler already exploits the ideological opportunities ELT provides: the pupils should be made aware of the fact that the first world war was a result of the British claim for world power. He concludes: "Nicht um liebevolle Vertiefung in die englische Kultur handelt es sich also, sondern es ergibt sich für uns die Notwendigkeit einer kalten, sachlichen...Erkenntnis des fremden Volkstums" (1917: 42).[46]

The author sees ELT as intimately connected to the teaching of history: emphasis should be put on the Anglo-Saxons and how the British built their Empire (1917: 43). Here, again, the ideological component is clearly visible. Britain is portrayed as an oligarchy ruled by the landed gentry and is described as interfering in the affairs of other nations. Still, Dummler holds that the good sides of the English characters should be mentioned: he contrast English national pride favourably with German love of foreign things.

After the war, in the Weimar Republic, the view that EFL should deal with British culture rose to prominence (see Funk 1991: 42-96). In schoolbooks of the time the British empire is often described approvingly. The British, one text concludes, "...must be the mightiest people of the earth. Nearly a quarter of the whole world is English. What a great country the Motherland of this vast Empire must be" (Bolle and Bohlen 1929: 107 qtd. in Funk 1991: 88). At the end of the nineteen-twenties and beginning of the thirties the tone of the textbooks became more nationalistic, though.

From 1934 to 1938 Dollfuß and Schuschnigg ruled autocratically in the Austrian "Ständestaat". In the Ständestaat, like in the Third Reich, education was seen as ideological indoctrination: the two pillars of Austrian education at the time were religious-ethical and nationalistic ("vaterländische") education (Magistrat 1937: 6). The emphasis on modern languages was increased: in Vienna the number of English courses was doubled. Modern Languages in general and

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[46] Our aim is not the loving immersion in English culture but it is necessary for us to gain insights into the foreign people in a cold, objective way (my translation).

English in particular were appropriated for several aims. Firstly, English was used as a means of selecting pupils "suitable" for higher education.[47] Secondly, the teaching of foreign languages was meant to stress the European dimension of Austrian education and, implicitly, the European nature of the Austrian state itself (which had been in a perpetual identity crisis after the dissolution of the monarchy). Furthermore, pupils should be made "fit for survival" by being able to work in tourism and trade (Magistrat 1937: 39). However, as the table below shows, English was only taught from the 3rd or 4th form onwards and was never the first foreign language.

<u>Figure</u>: **modern languages in the Ständestaat education system**

Type of school	1st form	3rd form	4th form
Gymnasium (school for elite)	Latin	Greek	**English**
Realgymnasium (more stress on natural sciences)	Latin	**English**	French or Italian
Realschule (common school)	French or Italian	---	**English**
Frauenoberschule (common school for women)	French or Italian	**English**	----
Oberlyzeum (elitist school for women)	French or Italian	Latin	**English**

<u>Source</u>: figure adapted from Helmhart (1997: 44).

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[47] English still serves a similar function in some developing countries (see ch. 1.9.).

English was also popular outside the school. The "Kronen-Zeitung", a popular newspaper, had its own English language course. In it the author emphasises that English should be learned because it is a world language and therefore important in tourism and, generally, in any interaction with foreigners (Steiner 1937: 1-2). The Kronen-Zeitung English course is explicitly directed to the poorer sections of the populace who might not be able to afford more expensive textbooks (see Steiner 1937: 2). It seems to have been quite a success and Steiner praises the hard-working people who after a day's work get down to learning English (1937: 69).

3.1.3. The Third Reich

Generally, the Nazis exerted considerable influence over education as they saw it as their prime means of forming the national socialist human being.[48] The "Kulturkunde" approach was now brought in line with National Socialist thought: other cultures should be studied so that the pupils get to know what it means to be a (Nazi) German.

In 1935 Krüper argued that English should be made the first foreign language.[49] His arguments reveal how English was more than appropriated, it was twisted for National Socialist purposes. Krüper starts by saying that the English language is more closely related to German than French and is less likely to harm the child's mind (Krüper 1935: 3, see also Harlander 1936). But decisive for the preference of English were political reasons: English is the language of a Germanic nation that has, like no other before it, conquered the world; without knowing English one is not able to keep track of what is going on in the world. Also, the decision should be for English because the English have always had strength of character and healthy bodies (Krüper 1935: 6). For Krüper another proof for the supremacy of English is that, when schools were allowed to choose between English and French, they often opted for English. A conservative counter-movement which wanted to re-install Latin and French

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[48] For the ways in which control over the educational system was achieved see Funk (1991: 115-117).
[49] From 1924 until 1936 German schools had had the possibility to choose English or French as the first foreign language.

was thwarted by the national-socialist government, according to Krüper (1935: 7). For ideological purposes Krüper sees English language teaching as being closely connected with history: "Dem jungen Deutschen tut es dringend not, daß ihm im Unterricht der Werdegang eines anderen großen germanischen Volkes gezeigt wird, dem eine glücklichere Entfaltung seiner Anlagen und Kräfte vergönnt war" (1935: 7).[50] For Krüper the ideal of Nordic-Germanic life can be found in all of English literature (1935: 76).

It is not known what influence Krüper's paper had. In any case, English was installed as the first foreign language at the turn of the year 1936/7 on the ground that it was regarded as more Germanic than French. Furthermore, with the Anglo-German fleet treaty and the Olympic Games, relations between Britain and the Reich were at an all time high. In fact, a good example of the rising importance attached to English is the official newspaper of the Olympic games held in Berlin in 1936. Although most of the paper is in German, the subtitles of pictures are also given in English - but not in French (see Olympia Zeitung 1936). Zeller's (1934: 157) argument that foreign languages should not (only) be taught and learned because of material benefits but that Germans should learn them to become a "Weltvolk" (a world people) is highly revealing; it shows that the national-socialist emphasis on ELT must be seen as being part of the desire to become a world power again.[51]

Funk (1991: 137) identifies three main arguments which were brought forward in favour of the English language:

- Reasons connected with power policy ("Machtpolitik"), that is the importance of the English Language and the British Empire in world politics.
- Reasons connected with racial policy. For Harlander, for instance, the English and the English language are formed less by the logic of abstract thought than by the logic of blood (1936: 50).

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[50] It is urgently necessary for the young German that he is shown the development of another great Germanic people that was granted a happier evolvement of its facilities and powers (my translation).
[51] It must be kept in mind, though, that the Nazis were strictly against **mixing** German and English and that they tried to purge German from all foreign influences, including English loans.

- Reasons connected with economic policy. English as a language of world trade.

With the German school-reform of 1937/38 a new ELT curriculum was designed, which takes up many of Krüper's points. The curriculum explicitly stresses the accomplishments of the British in building an Empire and making English the language of world trade. Thus Funk concludes:

> Wenn Schüler jener Jahre heute erklären, daß sie mitten im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland doch recht anglophil erzogen worden seien, so erklärt sich dies sicher zum Teil aus dem Vorbildcharacter des britischen Imperialismus in Schulbüchern und Fachliteratur... (1991: 129).[52]

The curriculum also tells teachers to mention the present-day decline of English. It advises to present great generals, explorers and statesmen of the British, thereby personalising events. However, at the same time the curriculum holds that the achievements of the British are mainly due to their Nordic blood (Erziehung und Unterricht 1938: 217 qtd. in Funk 1991: 144-5).

Again, a strong connection with history is made. This connection - and the emphasis on military adventure stories - is visible if one looks at the literature used and recommended[53] at the time. Book reviews list such titles as "Great War Adventures", "Cecil Rhodes", "Tank Warfare" or "Balloon Strafing" (see Glöde 1937/38). In his analysis of schoolbooks from the 30ties and 40ties Funk (1991: 193) distinguishes between 3 kinds of texts used in national-socialist schoolbooks.

- texts which were already present in the same or in a very similar form in schoolbooks of the 1920ties (between 30 to 50% of all texts)
- texts which were reinterpreted by the Nazis: (ca. 25%)
- new texts (25-50%).

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[52] If pupils of the time state that they were educated in an anglophile way in national-socialist Germany, this can be partly explained by the fact that British imperialism was presented as a model in schoolbooks and in technical literature (my translation).
[53] The NSLB (the National Socialist Teachers' association) published recommendations for the selection of texts and historical topics .

The aim of teaching modern languages in general and English in particular is made quite explicit: the national socialist teacher, Wächtler trumpets, knows only one ambition: to be loyal to the Führer and to educate the youth in his spirit (1939: 353). However, one cannot be certain to what extent this rhetoric was actually realised in the classroom. After all, it was possible for teachers to resist and subvert the blatant ideological bias of the teaching material. One pupil recalls:

> Da hatten wir einen Lehrer, der uns also gesagt hat: hier den nächsten Satz streicht ihr aus...und da klammert ihr ein, das ist Unsinn. So hatten wir das Buch "bearbeitet" in der Schule (Müllner and Knopp 1999: tv).[54]

However, critical teachers had to be suspicious both of their colleagues and fanatical pupils. Furthermore, teachers had to be members of the NSLB and it was preferred if they were also members of the NSDAP. It is no wonder, then, that many of them preferred to keep quiet.

In what Funk (1991: 150) calls "eine zweite Gleichschaltungswelle" (a second wave of streamlining) the necessity of the coming war was stressed in teaching material. Generally speaking, the war necessitated a sudden reorientation of the ideological outlook of German "Anglistik" (English Studies). The concept of England as a Germanic brother race was suddenly outdated, even dangerous (one certainly did not want to be regarded as supporting the enemy). However, new themes were quickly formulated by Wolfgang Schmidt. These were British war-crimes of the past (for instance in the Boer war), the cruel fight against Ireland, the British policy of "balance of power" (which was interpreted as "Europe fights for Britain"), and the exploitation of the colonies. Even now, however, Schmidt still concedes: "Der Aufbau des britischen Weltreichs und des britischen Handels ist eine große Kraftleistung, wenn auch die brutalen Methoden der Eroberung und Ausbeutung zu verwerfen sind" (1939: 634).[55] Ideology, Schmidt demands, must also play a role in English Studies courses at

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[54] We had a teacher who told us: you delete the next sentence here and you put this in brackets here, that is nonsense. This is the way we "adapted" the book at school (my translation).
[55] The construction of the British world empire and of British trade was an act of great power, even if we reject the brutal methods used in conquest and exploitation (my translation). Considering the extent of Nazi attrocities this argument is rather cynical.

the university (1940: 12). He concludes that it is still the duty of the English language teacher to underline the great achievements of racially related poets like Shakespeare or the romantic poets. This opinion was shared by many of his colleagues. Particularly Shakespeare was regarded very highly during the whole period of national-socialist rule. Holzer, for instance, sees him as the "new Homer", the "modern Sophocles" (1940: 6) and even as a representation of the "Übermensch" (super-human) (1940: 90).

In Austria, the whole school-system was radically changed when the Nazis took power in 1938. The only purpose of a whole section of the former Austrian ministry of education was to transfer the Austrian into the German system (see Helmhart 1997: 24). In the new system the so-called "Oberschule" took 8 years with English as the first foreign language starting in the first form. Only in the 7th form was Latin added (Helmhart 1997: 46). This completely reversed the Ständestaat educational policy (see table above).

I will now take a closer look at the schoolbook *Round the Anglo-Saxon World*[56] (parts 1 and 2) by Baschiera and Haberler (1940a, 1940b) to analyse how ELT was appropriated for ideological purposes. In part one, to start with, one of the authors devotes a whole chapter to the topic "Germany and the British Empire". The first story "Frederic the Great and the English" is an extract from Macaulay which describes Frederic and Germany in glowing terms. The next subsection, "The World War", features such stories as "a German Hero's Death" or "When Tank fought Tank". The second part of the series (also published in 1940) contains a description of the British Empire by an Englishman. A connection to national socialist thought is established at the end with the question: "What have we to say to this Britisher's point of view. Deliver a short speech about *our* fight for Lebensraum" (1940b: 52). Rather predictably, the extract from Shakespeare is from "The Merchant of Venice": the text starts with the first act where Shylock lends Antonio the money. After that, the editors jump directly to the last act where Shylock demands his pound of flesh - thereby reducing a complex play to an anti-Jewish tract (see appendix).

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[56] Inexplicably, although the book was published in 1940 (two years after Austria's incorporation in the Third Reich) it was issued by the Austrian Landesverlag. Usually, great care was taken to replace "Österreich" (Austria) with "Ostmark" (literally "eastern province").

Another text, entitled "Democracy?", which is apparently written by a British supporter of Oswald Mosely, supports Hitler as "the expression of current German manhood..." (1940b: 87). The pupils are then asked to give an account of Hitler's life and work: "imagine that you have to explain it to a foreigner" (1940b: 87). In the chapter "Present Day Problems" a history of submarines is given. Following the text the pupils are asked to "tell one or the other heroic deed of our navy". (1940b: 95) A different text deals with the German colonies, which are described as well governed and as having been unjustly annexed by the Allies. The main message is clear: "it is inconceivable that Germany...is doomed to exclusion from the rank of colonial powers and it is perilous to stake the peace of the world upon a hypothesis so unreasonable..." (1940b: 98-9, see appendix).

When one considers all these facts about National Socialist ELT one can only regard Engelhardt's assertion (1941: 17) that the Englishman should be portrayed as he is as particularly cynical. As Harlander's essay (1936) clearly shows, the true aims of ELT were entirely different: together with the other subjects ELT was supposed to make pupils realise the "superiority" of the "Nordic race" (of which the English were considered part of). This indoctrination was - in Harlender's terms - designed to produce voluntary, dedicated and bold soldiers with the holy mission of serving the German people (Harlander 1936: 65, 67). ELT was thus a small piece of a much larger mosaic of lies and half truths and those who contributed to it (by writing such indoctrinating EFL material as analysed above) should have been held accountable. It is an indication of the failure of post-war denazification, then, that Baschiera was able to continue to publish ELT books after 1945.[57]

3.1.4. The post war period

The end of Nazi rule led to a decrease of the prestige of the German language in Germany and Austria (and also in the rest of Europe: see ch. 2.2.). Conversely, the Germans and Austrians became even more open to the (main)

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[57] For an analysis of Baschiera's post-war schoolbook " I learn English" see Ömer (1999: 108-112).

language of the Western Allies, English. Post-war philologists, however, did not deal critically with the Nazi period (as Funk demonstrates at length [1991: 242-267]). Rather, it was the Americans who placed great emphasis on the denazification of education (Funk 1991: 271). While German had been the most important subject in NS education, in post-war Germany English played a leading role. The dominance of English as the first foreign language was thus not only retained but extended. The main differences between textbooks of the 50's and the 30's are:

- a pervasive renunciation of military topics and heroes.
- the abandonment of racial studies
- the relinquishing of nationalistic criticism of Great Britain
 (Funk 1991: 349)

Post-War ELT textbooks, influenced by re-education, feature texts about democracy, religion (as a factor in history and philosophic thought), humanitarism and politics. The unity of European culture is also emphasised (Funk 1991: 349, 351).

In post-war Austria the number of pupils learning English increased from 39.199 (1946/7) to 64.631 (1954/5) (Ömer 1999: 4). Conflicts arose between the American educational personnel who favoured contemporary children's literature and best-sellers and the native Austrian teachers (mostly from the older generation) who put emphasis on classical English literature (Ömer 1999: 62). Thus the new ELT curriculum was a conglomerate of diverging educational policies which were simply added to the 1928 curriculum. Although it was ready by the academic year 1946/7 the curriculum was rejected by several provinces: in Voralberg the 1935 curriculum was used, Upper Austria used the 1928 curriculum and Carinthia and Styria a mixture of both. This resulted in a confusing mix of different types of schools in different provinces starting either with Latin, French or English as the first foreign language (Engelbrecht 1988: 403 qtd. in Ömer 1999: 31). Ömer notes that the differences between the 1946 curriculum and the national-socialist one are, regarding the choice of literature, marginal. What is changed are the ways of interpretation:

> Der britische Imperialismus wird als Entwicklungshilfe interpretiert; die Scout-Bücher sollen nicht mehr Kampfbereitschaft und Kameradschaft vermitteln, sondern Bereitschaft zur guten Tat...Shakespeare darf zwar nicht mehr als "artverwandter nordischer Dichter" vereinnahmt werden, dafür wird er mit seinen Werken zum Inbegriff "edelsten Menschentums" (Ömer 1999: 69).[58]

Thus, Ömer concludes, Allied denazification efforts regarding the curriculum were turned into a farce (1999: 69). However, some authors that were banned in NS times were included in the reading lists.

In everyday life the Austrians soon got accustomed to the foreign troops. In fact, as a cartoon in the magazine "Film" (1946) suggests, the Austrians became "Americanised" while the Americans, in turn, became "Viennised". One way in which this Americanisation process was aided by the US institutions was through the appropriation of ELT. Books were donated in large amounts and the magazine "Erziehung" (education) - which was of course heavily influenced by American ideas - was sent to 35.000 teachers and 6.000 schools for free (Wagnleitner 1991: 190). But although the new curriculum contained more emphasis on the US, Austrian teachers continued to favour British English; Wagnleitner concludes that American English spread not **because** but **despite** ELT at school (1991: 204). For the pupils British English may well have been associated with formal education while the American variety was the one of leasure time communication with the new role-models, the GIs.

In tertiary education, exchange programs (like the Fullbright programme) enabled young scientists to go to the Unites States but also brought American visiting lecturers to Austria. Consequently, the number of lectures dealing with the US exploded: while only 50 courses had dealt with the US in the period from 1919 to 1945, in 1946 alone there were already more than 100 (Wagnleitner 1991:196-8).

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[58] British Imperialism is interpreted as development-aid; scout-books are no longer meant to convey combat-readiness and comradeship but readiness for a good deed...Shakespeare must no longer be regarded as a "related nordic poet", instead he and his work are the embodiment of "most noble humanity" (my translation).

The British both co-operated and competed with the Americans in the battle for the hearts and minds of the Austrians. Similar to the Americans, they donated books and installed guest lecturers at the university. The British Council organised a variety of cultural activities to convey the British way of life to the Austrians (see Feichtinger 1995: 59-62). Naturally, the British supported the intention of giving ELT a prominent place in Austrian education. However, they had far less money to their disposal than the Americans; hence their aim was to "re-educate the educators" (Feichtinger 1995:61-2); thus they concentrated on the elites rather than on the masses. Generally, by speaking English in post-war Austria one established a connection with the victors. The possibility to communicate with the Allied forces directly increased one's social status and prestige. In brief, somebody who knew English was important.

3.1.5. The 60's: textbook analysis

In 1960 a new ELT book, *Ann and Pat,* - which eventually became the best known and most widely used Austrian ELT book - was published. It therefore makes sense to take a good look at the way the spread of English is dealt with and appropriated in this series. In fact, in the first edition the book for the fourth form (secondary school) was even called *English opens the World for you* (Kacowsky 1960). Kacowsky points out that the aim of the book is "durch die völkerverbindende Kraft des Englischen unserer Jugend das Bild des Menschen anderer Erdteile zu zeigen" (w.d. [without date]: 1).[59] However, the book has also a more materialistic aim, namely "to put knowledge of the English language in the service of tourism in Austria" (Kacowsky w.d: 1, my translation). This emphasis on tourism, which was neglected during the Third Reich, connects with the treatment of the issue during the Ständestaat. With these two aims the book tries to combine education and training.[60]

The Empire has been quietly replaced by the Commonwealth, the colonial past of which is not mentioned critically. Rather, the author states, the learner should

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[59] To show our youth the picture of the human being from other parts of the earth through the people uniting power of English (my translation).
[60] When looking at the texts their relevance for tourism often seems doubtful, though.

see the Commonwealth as "the prime example of a union of free nations" (Kacowsky w.d.: 2, my translation). The impression of one big, happy family of English speaking nations is conveyed. The narrator describes the wonderful work the British were doing in fighting "terrible African diseases" (Kacowsky 1960: 5). Thus, while 1930ties textbooks approve of the military empire builders with their battles and victories, the post-war textbooks emphasise the ideal of a voluntary association of nations (see Funk [1991: 344-5], who gives examples from different textbooks).

This introductory chapter of *Ann and Pat* sets the tone for the rest of the chapters dealing with the former colonies. Rather than taking a critical look at the present-day situation in 1960 or at the colonial period, anecdotal stories like "how the rhinoceros got its skin" by Kipling (whose imperialist tendencies are not mentioned) are given. In general it is fair to say that only a distorted picture of other cultures is provided. Only at the end of the book, in a letter by Pat directed to the reader is the international use of English (outside the colonies) mentioned. It is described as the lingua franca of 270 million people: "there is no country where it is not taught, from the Soviet Union to India, from Norway to Ghana". In the next sentence the materialistic advances that a knowledge of English brings are made clear: "whatever your job, your chances in life will be better, if you speak English". Only in the last paragraph is it mentioned that English has not only practical value but that it is also "the language of some of the world's greatest poets, artists philosophers, explorers and inventors" (Kacowsky 1960: 128).

3.1.6. The 80's: textbook analysis

Let us now jump forward in time and look at a textbook which was approved for use in state schools twenty-one years later. *The English-Speaking World* (revised edition from 1983) is ideal for comparison to *Ann and Pat 4*, not only because of its title but also because it was also written by Walter Kacowsky. A close look at various parts of the series reveals both continuities and differences from *Ann and Pat.* Again, the aim of the book is to make the pupil realise the power of the English language to unite peoples (Kacowsky w.d. b:

1). The first volume *of The English speaking World* has the introductory text "A World Language". Here the English language is explicitly mentioned as a link between Britain and its former dominions and colonies (Kacowsky 1983: 7). But Kascowsky now goes beyond that and refers to English as a "tool" for international communication "...for all people of all races and cultures". He continues:

> a Swede and a Dutchman meeting in Vienna will converse in English; an Egyptian politician will address his European colleagues in English; a Russian pilot...will talk to the airport tower in English; and even a French playboy will use English when flirting with a Philippine beauty (Kacowsky 1983: 7).

Kacowsky goes on to say that English is not only used in politics, trade, business, journalism and transportation but that, furthermore, many of the world's most beautiful literary works are written in English (1983: 7). Similar to *Ann and Pat* it is pointed out that a second language improves your chances in life. Kacowsky emphasises that "English lessons at school are free; later you must pay for them" (1983: 7).

Kacowsky also mentions that pupils should not be afraid to make mistakes. This point is taken up in the next lesson which is entitled "Nobody speaks English perfectly". Under this heading an extract from George Mikes' *How to be an Alien* (which makes fun of English attitudes towards accent) is printed (Kacowsky 1983: 8). This topic is again taken up in part three of the series which deals with varieties of English. Kacowsky distinguishes varieties due to time, place and usage. The author then goes on to discuss the problem which pronunciation should be regarded as standard. However, he solves this in a rather conservative way, by recommending RP as a model (Kacowsky 1984: 23).

Regarding Britains' place in the world Kacowsky remarks: "Britain is no longer an Empire" (1984: 48). He names three equally important international ties of Britain, namely the Commonwealth, the EC and the United Nations (1984: 48). The Commonwealth of Nations is described as an institutions which provides "equality at last" - thereby at least implicitly acknowledging that there was no

equal treatment at the time of the Empire (Kacowsky 1984: 48). After talking about decolonisation, Kacowsky tells us that the English language has become a true world language because the British nation has been able to spread its culture around the world. Now, English is used both as a lingua franca and as a native language in former parts of the Empire (Kacowsky 1984: 48).

In conclusion, it is rather evident that *Ann and Pat* and *The English-Speaking World* differ not only in the layout and the text-picture relation but most importantly in their whole approach to ELT. As the treatment of the Commonwealth shows, *Ann and Pat* is still very much influenced by post-war propaganda. In *The English-Speaking World*, by contrast, the author has managed to convey information about the spread of English in a less biased way. A strong emphasis on the material advantages a knowledge of English brings is present in both books and is thus the most important continuity.

3.1.7. Interlude: Switzerland and the GDR (DDR)

In this interlude I would like to give a short overview of two German-speaking speech communities which have been neglected so far. Although the German Democratic Republic (GDR) has ceased to exist as an independent nation the attitudes towards English during communist rule are an interesting field of study. East Germany delimited "herself offensively from a language infiltrated with Americanisms and Anglicisms being spoken and written in the imperialist Federal Republic Of Germany" (Die Weltbühne 1974 qtd. in Lehnert 1986: 129). Lehnert, however, maintained that many English loans and borrowings were also firmly rooted in East Germany, especially for new technical products like "Digitaluhr" (digital watch), but also for items or procedures of American origin like "Cornflakes" or "meeting" (1986: 130). Some terms occurred in the GDR only, for instance "Broiler", a fried chicken which is called "Brathähnchen" in West Germany or "Brathendl" in Bavaria and Austria (see Lehnert 1986: 133). Person and Weber hold that among East-German teenagers using English was a means of provocation against the system (1984: 30).

Switzerland has often been portrayed as a model for the peaceful co-operation of different speech-communities. Recent research suggests that English could play an important role in this plurilingual environment: 60% of German speaking and 57% of French speaking Swiss see English as a bridge between the linguistic groups. Furthermore, 90% of schoolchildren would opt for English as the first foreign language (data from Ribes-Gil 1999: 16). Ribes-Gill holds that in the commercial and financial spheres the Swiss "already converse more freely in English with their peers from other linguistic groups than in their national tongues" (1999: 17, similarly Durmüller 1994: 59). Thus, rather than being a model for a multilingual European language policy (as Domaschnew [1994: 41] suggests), Switzerland seems to follow the European trend of increased English use. In fact, Durmüller holds that Swiss multilingualism may be a myth rather than reality (1994: 44). He maintains that there is a split attitude regarding English: on the one hand there is agreement that English should not become an official language of Switzerland, on the other hand people in their everyday activities turn more and more towards English. The attraction of English lies mainly in the economic benefits that come with a knowledge of English. Furthermore, English is associated with modern Western, mainly American, culture (Durmüller 1994: 57).[61]

3.2. English in contemporary Austria

3.2.1. Introduction

As a general introduction some statistical data about English in Austria may prove helpful: The 1990 *Mikrozensus* revealed that while only 36% of all Austrians had had a knoweldge of English in 1974, this percentage had increased by 22% (to 58%) at the time of the census (Statistische Nachrichten 1991: 234).[62] Interestingly, 55% of the men but only 51% of the women have

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[61] On English in Switzerland see also the online edition of the Swiss Revue:
http://www.revue.ch/Englisch/3-99/index.htm
[62] For French (the second-most learnt language), as a contrast, the figure only increased by 2%, from 9% to 11%.

learnt English (regarding Italian and French the women are in the majority). In correspondence with the European trend young people know English best. With regard to occupation, employees and civil servants are in the top positon. The larger and less agrarian the community, the more English is known. The most important findings from the *Mikrozensus* are summarised in the tables below:

Age-group	Knowledge of English	Occupation	Knowledge of English
15-19	87,5%	Employees and Civil Servants	85%
20-24	83,4%	Self-Employed	74%
25-44	66%	Workers	48%
45-59	42,4%	Housewives	43%
60-69	24%	Farmers	30%
70 +	13%	Retired	10%

Source: Statistische Nachrichten (1991: 235-6).

Province	Knowledge of English
Wien (Vienna)	64,2%
Salzburg	55,4%
Oberösterreich (Upper Austria)	52,2%
Tirol (Tyrol)	51,6%
Niederösterreich (Lower Austria)	50,2%
Steiermark (Styria)	48,2%
Vorarlberg	48,1%
Kärnten (Carinthia)	45,9%
Burgenland	42,2%

Source: Statistische Nachrichten (1991: 238).

In Austria one can, generally speaking, encounter English in many domains, from business, advertising, or marketing to culture. There are two English language theatres, CNN and NBC Europe (for cable viewers), some cinemas which show films in English (without dubbing them as is usually customary) and a range of English-language magazines. In 1979 a new radio station called "Blue Danube Radio", which broadcast only in English, was founded. Originally it was meant for employees of the new UNO-City in Vienna but it soon found a wider audience.[63] Of course, the Americahouse and the the British Council also have a branch in Austria. The Austrian British Council issues the language teaching journal "ELT News" and offers the Cambridge Examinations. Other societies which aim at furthering relations between Austria and Great Britain or Austria and the USA are the Anglo-Austrian Society, the Austro-American Society and the Österreichisch-Britische Gesellschaft (see also Malzacher 1996: 89-91). Furthermore, in a pilot-project called "English Language Teaching across the Borders" (ELTAB) English was used as a bridge to Austria's eastern neighbours (see Prochazka 1995 for details). In recent years a number of important developments have taken place:

- Blue Danube Radio was closed down and incorporated into the youth channel FM4, which also features some English language programmes.
- The British Council's library was somewhat downsized. Instead, a multi-media centre with CD-ROMs and Internet access was installed.
- The Americahouse has drastically reduced its service to the public (opening hours).

These developments may have resulted in a slight decrease of English language offers in Vienna. This might be the case (and I can only speculate here) because some English-language organisations have rapidly expanded in the Eastern Countries and have to save money somewhere else. Cuts in Austria can be easily justified because the demand for English is so great that

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[63] English language radio goes back to the time of the Allied occupation, when the Americans installed a mobile English language radio station.

promotion is hardly necessary.[64] However, as far as I can see, the partial withdrawal of some state-sponsored organisations does not mean that there is more room for the development of Austrian English. Rather on the contrary, private schools and Austrian state schools strictly adhere to native-speaker standards, as we will see below.

3.2.2. English in the education system

In the current system, English is already taught in primary school. How this should be done has given rise to some debate, even in parliament. In a session dedicated to educational policy the conservative position was voiced by a member of the Freedom Party (Monika Mühlwert) who was of the opinion that it is essential for pupils at primary school to have a native-speaker teacher; she argued strongly against primary school teachers who teach English "with a certain Ottakring [a Viennese district] accent". At the time these arguments were criticised by Günther Leichtfried (Social Democrats), who saw the teaching of English in primary schools as a step in the right direction if it is done in a playful manner, and Uta Pühringer (Conservatives), who (very rightly) pointed out that it is most important that the children are able to communicate in English, not what accent they speak (stenographisches Protokoll Bundesrat 1998: i, my translation). Mayer (1995: 62) holds that the EFL approach in primary school should be explicitly monolingual.

At secondary schools English is an obligatory subject taught between 3 and 5 hours per week (Hebenstreit 1998: 35). The officially prescribed goals are that the pupils should be able to understand authentic[65] written and spoken texts and learn to express themselves appropriately. However, communicative competence was never the sole objective. While the 1961 curriculum specified that EFL should also teach pupils objectivity, industriousness, distance and the recognition of authority (Malzacher 1996: 57) nowadays modern languages are meant to promote tolerance of other cultures, to broaden the pupils' horizons

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[64] Particularly in demand are general language tests like the TOEFL and the Cambridge exams as well as more specialised ESP tests.
[65] For a criticism of the notion of authenticity see ch.1.4.1. and Seidlhofer (1995).

and to contribute to the development of their personalities (Malzacher 1996: 51). It does not seem to me as if these aims are sufficiently realised in current Austrian ELT textbooks, though.

In many schools English can additionally be chosen as an optional subject. As Feichtinger's (1998) interviews with various teachers indicate, the ways such optional ELT is taught differ enormously from teacher to teacher and offer an outlet for the creativity of the teacher which in regular classes is all too often stifled by a strict curriculum.

Recently, it has become fashionable to use English as a working language in projects at school, most often in combination with history and social studies but sometimes also in geography and economics (Felberbauer 1996: xv). In 20% of the projects where English is the working language only English is spoken, in 60% German is used to translate technical terms. However, in most cases terms are only translated into German when the pupils indicate that they do not understand them (Felberbauer 1996: 115-6). Abuja and Heindler recommend native speakers as teachers for such projects (1993: 14, 18). While these projects are a laudable idea in principle, care should be given that pupils remain able to talk in German about the specialised subjects discussed.

As EFL in state schools is often not sufficient for business life, the pupils of private or international schools (where English is given more room or is even the language of instruction) may be in a favoured position regarding their job prospects. It is therefore little wonder that private lessons in English are a flourishing business. Even children in pre-schools and primary schools are sent to private institutions to improve their English because parents fear that they will not be able to compete otherwise. The programme "English for Children", for instance, is designed for children aged four and upwards and is recommended to parents who want to give their children a good foundation in the language; this, it is promised, will be of use to the children later on. Another programme, the English Language Day Camp for Children, suitable for children aged 6 to 14, explicitly takes the school-curriculum as a basis for part of its programme.

Both programmes advertise their reliance on native speakers as an advantage (English for Children: 2000, given in the appendix).

Although the 1993 curriculum is remarkably liberal in its emphasis on the ability of making oneself understood in an international setting (Hebenstreit 1998: 37) in practice the native speaker is still the model in a majority of cases. Regarding the two accepted varieties, British English (with RP accent) and American English (with General American pronunciation), it seems that the former is still valued more highly. In Hebenstreit's matched guise experiment with Austrian pupils the British female speaker received significantly higher ratings on a majority of traits. She was perceived as especially polite, likeable, industrious and friendly. It is particularly revealing that she was also regarded as the ideal newscaster, which reveals the preference for RP as the standard model. Furthermore, she was also the one which the pupils were best able to understand (1998: 58-9). Hebenstreit concludes that the female RP speaker is preferred because this is the variety the pupils encounter on a daily basis, as most teachers are women who speak (or try to speak) RP (1998: 61).[66]

In a study conducted by Wieden, 60,2% of the Austria teachers interviewed rate the importance of pronunciation as high and 33,6% as moderate (1991: 18). According to Seidlhofer's research 60% out of 100 teachers said that their main emphasis as teachers was to become as near native as possible (1999: 241). On the side of the learners, 31% of them are highly and 58% are moderately interested in improving their pronunciation. Intriguingly, learners from Salzburg and Vienna seem more concerned with pronunciation than those from Innsbruck (see Wieden 1991: 18-20).

Interestingly, although English is in most cases not taught as an international or European language learners seem to be aware of the lingua-franca status of the language, as interviews conducted by Felberbauer show. Asked whether they are going to need English one pupil responded: "Ja, weil English ist eine

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[66] However, when asked directly, 49,6% of the pupils said they liked American English better, only 21,1% named British English (Hebenstreit 1998: 63). The explanation that is put forward for this is that when pupils think of American English they think of everything connected with American culture, which is very often regarded as cool (Hebenstreit 1998: 64).

internationale Sprache, das kann fast jeder und Deutsch, das ist halt - das kann nicht jeder"[67] and the other added "Englisch sprechen die meisten"[68] (given in Felberbauer 1996: 183).

In teaching material the differences in the evaluation and attitudes towards non-native accents are striking. In the tapes accompanying *Make your Way with English*, for instance, although RP is ranked first (103 speaking roles) and GA second (38 speaking roles), non-native Englishes have 16 speaking roles and thus rank third before Popular London, Northern English or Scottish English. (Prem 1999: 43). The authors even explain that they include non-native speakers of English because "English is the world's primary lingua franca, the language most used to communicate by people whose native languages are different" (1984: 5.10 qtd. in Prem 1999: 52). In *Meanings into Words*, by contrast, non-native varieties only have 4 speaking roles, thus being in the 7th place, well below RP (87 speaking roles), GA (18 speaking roles) but also Conservative RP, Near RP, Scottish and Irish English (Prem 1999: 60, see also 62-3).

The attitudes of "Anglistik" (English studies) students at the University of Vienna are, unfortunately but not surprisingly, similar to those of high-school students. In a matched guise study the speaker of RP was rated most positively throughout while ÖEBr, that is Austrian British English, was by far the least attractive accent (Dalton-Puffer et.al 1997: 121). Thus, quite perversely, Austrian advanced EFL learners display negative attitudes towards their own non-native accent.[69] This pathological situation is reinforced by the current curriculum for Anglistik & Anglistik (English and American Studies), which includes a so-called "Sprechpraktiukum" where, according to the current Study Guide, the students' pronunciation should "become as native-like as possible, taking either standard British or standard American as the model" (Institut für Anglistik & Amerikanistik 2000: 32) . While I am not in principle against some

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[67] Yes, because English is an international language, nearly everyone speaks it and German that is, well, not everyone knows it (my translation).
[68] Most people speak English (my translation).
[69] However, the respondents that had gained personal experience in English speaking countries "revealed more individualised, situation-specific attitudes" (Dalton-Puffer et.al 1997:126).

sort of language tuition or pronunciation training the aim should certainly not be to ape a native speaker. After all, the standards selected for imitation are only spoken by a tiny minority in the English-speaking world. Rather, students should be given a chance to express their own identity in English (see also Malzacher 1996: 106). However, contemporary educational policies hardly question the orientation on Great Britain and the US. Leitner warns: "wer mit dem anglo-amerikanischen Englisch des Jahres 1961 den Englischunterricht des Jahres 2001 zu befruchten gedenkt, verfehlt die Herausforderungen des Englischen als Weltsprache von vornherein" (1991: 36).[70] One can only hope that the new curriculum for Anglistik and Amerikanistik (which is under construction at the moment) will be a step in the right direction.

In conclusion, one must face the fact that, generally speaking, conservative tenets are largely upheld in the Austrian education system. Thus, in Austria the ideal English teacher is still a native speaker and the ideal pronunciation is native-speaker like. Most educators do not seem to be aware that, generally speaking, non-native speakers have a heightened awareness of the problems learners face. Native speakers, by contrast, might know English (and English or American culture) but they don't know English **as a foreign language** or, as Seidhofer puts it: "Man könnte sagen, daß Native-Speakers zwar die Destination kennen, nicht aber das Terrain, das durchquert werden muß um dorthin zu kommen: sie haben diese Reise selber nicht gemacht" (1995: 221).[71] Similarly, Jenkins holds that in pronunciation native-speaker norms as a goal are "neither a desirable nor in fact a likely outcome" (1998: 124, see also Harmer 1991: 22). Furthermore, the native-speaker centred approach is hardly compatible with the goals of multicultural awareness and European identity building. Rather, a polymodel approach (as outlined in ch. 2.6.) should be applied.

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[70] Those who try to fertilise the English language education of 2001 with the Anglo-American English of 1961 miss the challenges of English as a world language from the outset (my translation).
[71] One could say that native speaker know the destination but not the way to get there. They have not made that journey themselves (my translation).

3.2.3. Teaching English as an international language (TEIL): an outline

In today's multipolar world international English plays an important role and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. Hence a paradigm shift from Anglo-Saxon centred ELT towards TEIL (teaching English as an international language) is urgently needed - both in general and in the Austrian education system in particular. Unfortunately, though, international English is currently rather disregarded, both in ELT at school and, perhaps even more disturbingly, at TESL/TESOL programmes (Vavrus 1991 qtd. in Brown 1995: 238,239, see also Liu 1998) as well as in teacher education. As my own small contribution to remedy this sad situation I would like to suggest a possible outline for a course on international English.[72] However, I am aware that it will in some cases not be possible to cover all of the suggested fields in detail. This course fits into the framework of critical pedagogy as outlined in Pennycook (1994: 295-327) and Kramsch (1993: 244-247). Furthermore, it is also appropriate pedagogy (see ch.1.12) as it is part of the polymodel approach which I recommended as being most suitable for ELT in Europe (see ch. 2.6.). A course in English as an international language would have to deal with the following issues:

- The colonial period. It is important to realise that the spread of English was a result of the expansion of the British Empire. Consequently, a course in international English would have to deal with colonial education policy as far as it concerns ELT (see the short overview in ch.1.2.). It might also be interesting to explore connections between English as an instrument of rule in the colonies and the way standard English (and particularly an "acceptable" pronunciation) were vital for social advancement in Great Britain itself. Suggested readings on this topic are Pennycook (1998) and for the debate about standard English the articles in Bex and Watts (1999) as well as Honey (1997), who offers a somewhat dissenting voice. A critical reading of Shaw's Pygmalion may also be valuable.

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[72] The following recommendations are based on my own approach and thus most of the suggested topics are also discussed in this thesis. However, Kachru's study isolates quite similar issues (1992 [1995]: 233, see also the framework for a paradigm shift on page 246-8). On pages 248-50 Kachru provides a list of resources.for teaching EIL. Similarly, Brown includes a list of selected readings for students of an EIL course (1995: 244).

- Features of non-native varieties of ELT: "the Empire talks back". Because of the limited amount of space available I have not dealt with this issue in my essay. Nevertheless, this is a highly interesting field, particularly if audio material is available which enables teacher and students to compare and contrast features of varieties from many different locations. Students might also be interested in learning lexical items from non-native varieties. Ideally this exploration should make students aware that non-native varieties are an expression of the creativity and richness of the English language and its users. For a description of various native and non-native varieties consult Trudgill and Hannah (1994 [1982]) which includes a useful cassette. For more detailed information about a specific non-native variety see the references given in the bibliography and the appendix to chapter 1.

- Literatures in English: "the Empire writes back". Another way of illustrating how English has been appropriated to express local identities is by reading and discussing literary works by non-native authors. Care should be given to represent a variety of different cultures. The works of Rushdie, Rao and Achebe may be a good place to start. Also of interest may be Narayan's "The English Teacher" (1980 [1945]). Ashcroft et.al (1989) and Walder (1998) provide good introductions to post-colonial literature while more detailed information about authors of literatures in English can be obtained from Ross (1991). Pennycook (1994: 259-294) may also be consulted for an overview.

- English as a world language: danger or opportunity? This topic entails a critical discussion of the two main ideological positions regarding the spread of English, namely on the one hand Phillipson's (1992) assertion that the spread of English is nothing less than linguistic imperialism and on the other hand Crystal's (1997) view that English is a neutral tool for international communication (for an extensive discussion of this topic see ch.1.4., 1.5. and 1.6.). From the wealth of literature available I would (besides the two works mentioned above) recommend Kachru (1986) for a critical but less ideologically biased view. Valuable insights into the linguistic imperialism

debate can also be obtained from Bisong (1995 [1994]), Conrad (1996) and Davies (1996).

- The appropriation of English and ELT. To begin with, a critical look should be taken at the ELT industry which churns out "international" textbooks designed for anglocentric examinations (TOEFL, Cambridge) (see ch.1.8.). Secondly, non-native ELT material should also be analysed critically. Such an analysis reveals how indigenous ELT material has been appropriated to convey non-Western values (for instance, Islamic ones) or even propaganda (see ch.1.12.). A non-native speaker from a developing country could be invited to talk about the functions of English in his or her country. Thirdly, it would be appropriate to introduce a historical perspective because a historical analysis of the spread of English in a particular region (for instance the German speaking area) not only reveals the different ways in which English was taught but also (and perhaps more importantly) shows the underlying ideological purposes to which English and ELT were put. Rather than suggesting any particular secondary material, a critical re-reading of popular textbooks is essential for this topic. As an example of a historical perspective see my analysis of the spread and appropriation of English in German speaking areas above.

- International Englishes. While the issues discussed above deal with local, intranational forms of English (and their appropriation) the second form of international English, namely the use of English in certain international domains (law, medicine...) also merits considerable attention. This topic comprises the analysis of the English spoken at international meetings (one accessible instance of such gatherings were the NATO press-conferences during the Kosovo war). Of course, the course would profit by someone who has participated in such international meetings him or herself. Within this topic the dominant role of English in some scientific areas could also be discussed. For the argument in favour of " international English as ESP" see Widdowson (1997, 1998a, 1998c) and ch.1.10.; regarding the status of English (and German) as a scientific language Skudlik (1990) and Ammon (1998) should be consulted (see also ch.2.4.2. and 4.3.7).

- English in Europe. One could start on this topic by taking a look at the use of and the attitudes towards English in the institutions of the European Union. This would also entail a discussion of the Union's so-called "language problem" (see ch.2.5). After that, the role of English in different European countries could be discussed (see ch.2.3.). For this purpose it would be advantageous if exchange students were among those attending the course. They could give a useful account of English in their home countries. One lesson of an analysis of such different "European Englishes" is that a national accent is not necessarily bad, as long as it remains intelligible. This would then lead to a discussion of the "European-ness" of English, that is whether such a thing as "European English" exists at all and if yes in which domains it is used and whether it could turn into an appropriate way of expressing one's European identity (see ch. 2.6.). Finally, one would have to deal with the question how such a European English could be taught at school (see ch. 2.6.). The essays in Coulmas (1991) offer interesting perspectives on the EU's language policy. For an outline of English as a European language see Berns (1995a, 1995b). The only extensive collection of papers about the status of English in various European countries is Viereck and Bald (1986).

- English in Austria. This part of the course would have to deal with the socio-economic and socio-political aspects of English and ELT in Austria. This could be achieved by analysing the various sections of newspapers (see below) and by looking at advertisements, commercials, posters and various TV programmes. Finally, the course could be transplanted from the ivory tower to the streets by asking "common Austrians" about their opinion. The results could then be scientifically analysed and processed to enlarge the currently rather small research on English in Austria. "English in Austria" has been the topic of Malzacher's thesis (1996); also of interest are Hebenstreit (1998), Kwacizk (1993), Pazelt (1994) and Prem (1999).

3.2.4. English loans in the Austrian media

Probably the most visible instance of the spread of English is the influx of Anglicisms into other languages. Although Drube's opinion that the rise of English terminology is largely to blame on the German press, who are dependent on American news agencies (1994 [1968]: 65), sounds too much like a conspiracy theory it is certainly true that the press is the most visible "habitat" of Anglicisms.[73] In her analysis of Austrian daily newspapers, Karin Viereck found that between 1974 and 1984 Anglicisms had increased by 105% in the superregional "Presse" (read mostly by people with a university education) and 124% for the "Kleine Zeitung", a more regional paper which draws most of its readers from the middle class (Karin Viereck 1986: 167).

Anglicisms used in the media are usually not explained. Thus the question arises how many of them are understood by the public. In a survey conducted in Styria the greatest knowledge and highest use of Anglicisms occurred in fields which relate to travel, radio and TV as well as advertisements. The younger generation (18-30) were more familiar with English loans than older people. When a loan is not understood it is often misunderstood for a similar German or other foreign word (see Karin Viereck 1986: 172-3).

Rather than analysing big newspapers where the use of Anglicisms is, after all, rather likely I have taken a look at more obscure magazines to see how deeply Anglicisms have penetrated into Austrian-German. The magazine of the "Zentrum für Berufsplanung" (centre for job planning) (*zbp aktuell*), for instance, features English loans in headlines, for instance "High Challenge - High Chance", in a subtitle: "das größte Management Buy Out des Jahres" and in an article about summer jobs entitled "Summer in the City" (1999).

Klein&Kunst, a magazine for cabaret, theatre and culture (2000), was the next item I looked at. Here we find English loans for the designation of different sections, like "Newsflash", "Cover" (the article dealing with the topic depicted on

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[73] Regarding the situation in Germany, Carstensen notes that the German "Spiegel" uses many words from British or American English and incorporates these words into a "Spiegel language" (1971: 59).

the cover of the magazine) or "Interview" (although this term is so widespread that it is hardly regarded as foreign). Generally, though, there are fewer loans than in "zbp aktuell".

The Vienna-Business school's newspaper, by contrast, has an English title, *openhouse* (1999), and uses a remarkable number of English loans, for instance: "Neues Schuljahr startet mit Workexperience", Neue Wege des "work-placements", "Vienna Business School an der NY Stock Exchange", "HAS Floridsdorf goes INTRANET" "In Teamarbeit zum Schulabschluß" and "Full House beim Ball der Vienna Business-School". One article is even completely in English. As the school is supported by business, the large number of loans is also indicative of the acceptance of English in the Austrian business community.

VIA, the journal of the airport Graz is also full of "headline-anglicisms" (my term), with articles about "Steirische Greens" (golf courses in Styria) or reports such as "First Class - Wasser für Graz", an article about "Electronic Business und Kunden-Service"[74] or "Steirisch Art". Rather ironically, in the same issue columnist Mathias Grilj objects to the excessive use of Anglicisms and refers to a radio presenter as "Anglizismen Junkie" (Grilj 1999: 71). Of course, "junkie" is itself a loan word.

Thus, although the number of Anglicisms in the different magazines varied, it can be safely said that English loans are frequently used in headlines; this practice occurred in all magazines, even though they were taken from different locations and dealt with different spheres of life.

Unfortunately, no research has been conducted on English loans in Austrian television; however, Kwaczik has analysed English loans on Austrian radio. His findings indicate that there is a particularly large number of loans on Austria's most popular radio-station "Ö3", which broadcasts an average of 1.37 English loans per minute (1993: 45). Of course, the number of loans depends on the

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[74] Note that the older loan "Kunden-Service" is still partially translated (from customer service) while the new loan "electronic business" is a direct borrowing. This could be taken as indicating that direct loans are nowadays more readily accepted.

type of programme, its topics and the music that goes with it. However, it is very likely that some of the lexical items which Kwaczik classifies as loans (for instance "sport" or even "fan") are no longer regarded as foreign by the listeners. Interestingly, it is also explicit policy of Ö3 to broadcast only English-language songs because this is allegedly what the listeners want to hear. Ö3 also has English terms for its products ("Ö3 Star Countdown" or "Ö3 Charts"), its listeners' association ("Club Ö3") and even its employees ("Ö3 team" and "Ö3 crew") (terms given in Kwaczik 1993: 109).

Figure: Most commonly used Anglicisms on Ö3

Loanword	Tokens
Live	45
Fan	35
Album	32
Sport	29
Hit	28

Source: extract from Kwaczik (1993: 48).

The prestige connected with using English (see below) may be one of the reasons why loans are used in the headlines of various print media and on the radio. The different motives for using Anglicisms[75] are well summarised by Galinsky:

- Providing national American [or British] colour of settings, actions and characters.
- Establishing and enhancing precision.
- Offering or facilitating intentional disguise ("euphemisms").
- Effecting brevity to the point of terseness.
- Producing vividness.
- Conveying tone ranging from playfulness to a sneering parody on America and Americanised Germany [or, in our case Americanised Austria].

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[75] In 1962 Galinsky still distinguished between Anglicisms and Americanisms. Because of the global use of English such a clear-cult distinction is in many cases no longer possible.

- Creating or increasing variation of expression.

(Galinsky 1975 [1962]: 71 qtd. in W. Viereck 1986: 122, see also Kwaczik 1993: 53-62).

3.2.5. The prestige factor

Denison doubts arguments that English loans are used because of a modern need for shortness and holds that the "prestige factor" seems to outweigh any linguistic or rational consideration where these might be expected to militate against borrowing (1981: 12). As I see it, this "prestige factor" consists in connotations of modernity and international flair which are associated with the English language (see also ch. 1.4.2.). In this connection it is interesting to note that advertisements often use English loans with an anglicised spelling e.g. creativ (instead of kreativ), Club (instead of Klub) and so on (Karin Viereck 1986: 170). Furthermore, Austrian products often have English sounding names. This is obviously done to increase the prestige of the product and consequently the desire to buy it (see also ch. 2.3.3. for the situation in Spain). English phrases are most often introduced as elements which can be easily decoded, like "Holiday on Ice" or "Made in Austria". Again, many of these loans might not be regarded as foreign anymore (Denison 1981: 9, similarly Kwaczik 1993: 39-14).

Political parties have not been able to resist the prestige and the connotations of modernity that come with English loans either. The Viennese Socialists, for instance, have launched an initiative called "Team Für Wien". The "team-Mitglieder" (team members) consequently get a folder called "team mail" which tells them the "team-news" and about the "team-projects", presents the "team-idee", praises the "team-vorteil" (team-advantage) and gives "team-tips" (see Team Mail 1999 given in the appendix).

In Austria, the prestige of English seems to a considerable extent to be connected with the prestige of the USA: while British English was regarded as the only correct form for a long time, nowadays the predominance of the US

has resulted in an increasing influx of loans from American English and the acceptance of American forms. For instance, in a project at the Media Studies institute in Vienna, the head of the PR company "Hauska & Partners" argued for the term "Public Relations Transfer Center" instead of "Centre" as he admitted to explicitly orienting himself on American usage (personal communication).[76]

4. Students and the spread of English: a microstudy

4.1. Methodology and structural outline

Rather than serving as a means to a specific end, empirical work is, unfortunately, all too often used to hide underlying weaknesses of one's theoretical constructs.[77] To avoid this pitfall my study is designed as a supplement to the extensive theoretical discussion of the preceding parts. When doing empirical work as part of a thesis one of the major difficulties is representativity: it is quite arduous to get a number of subjects large enough to make statistically relevant propositions. Thus I would like to warn the reader that the findings reported below are, from a purely statistical point of view, not representative. However, as my study found remarkable differences between the various courses of study, these findings my well be a strong indication of certain trends.

After thinking at length how I could use the limited resources at my disposal I decided not to look at a cross section of the Austrian populace at large but to

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[76] This project is available at www.prtc.at

[77] One example is Kay's research on colour universals (Kay et.al 1997, see also the criticism by Lucy 1997).

deal with a specialised subgroup in more detail. For this purpose I have adopted the term "microstudy" from Historical Anthropology. This branch of history does not look at countries (or even continents) but at small "microcosms" like towns, villages, hamlets and even single persons (see Dressel 1996, particularly 188-93, 249-50).[78] For my study I decided to deal with the microcosm of Viennese university students. For this purpose I devised a questionnaire dealing with the most important points discussed in the theoretical part of my essay. The questionnaire was designed with the well known "kiss" (keep it short and simple) formula in mind so that students would firstly understand the questions and secondly be able to answer them fairly quickly. For the latter reason and because most questions were designed to be answered with a clear "yes" or "no" I decided against using gradeable scales.

Two often used variables, namely sex and age, where not elicited because they were not regarded as essential for my research. However, when choosing my 160 subjects, which I all interviewed in person, I took care to get a roughly balanced male-female ratio. Regarding age, I only asked people from their late teens to mid-twenties - mature students were not interviewed.

Concerning the field of studies I asked for a broad classification into humanities and social sciences (GEWI/GRUWI), medicine (Medizin), law (Jus), technical studies (TU) and economics (WU).[79] I did not feel it was necessary to make further subdivisions, because my interest is in broad differences between the students of those faculties. Taking into account that there are pronounced difference between academics from different disciplines in their use and evaluation of English (see Ammon 1998, Skudlik 1990 and below) my hypothesis is that students from the humanities, technical subjects, economy and medicine will have rather diverging views as well.

The questionnaire is in German, firstly so that students with poor or no knowledge of English are able to give their opinion and secondly so that the

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[78] Bietenhard (1988), for instance, deals with a rural community in the 18th century and Ginzburg (1990) reconstructs the life and world-view of a miller from the detailed files of the Inquisition (see Dressel 1996: 116 fn121, 249 fn41).
[79] A sample questionnaire is reproduced in the appendix.

psychological barrier against answering questions in a foreign language is avoided. I conducted a pre-test with 10 students which revealed no major difficulties with the design of the questionnaire and the ability to understand and answer the questions. Students were interviewed at the following locations in Vienna: Hauptuni, Universitätscampus AAKH, TU, WU, Juridicum, and the AKH. At each location interviews were conducted on 2 separate days so as to minimise the chances of getting only students from a certain lecture or a certain year (semester). 160 questionnaires were valid (32 for each faculty). Although I asked people studying in Vienna this should not be taken to mean that I only asked Viennese. Many people from the provinces come to Vienna to study and the university also has a lot of foreign students.

In the next chapter I will introduce the questions asked, give the results for each question and discuss my findings. After that, I will put these results into a more general perspective.

4.2. Results according to questions

I will proceed by giving a detailed discussion of the 14 questions asked. For each question I will give the German version as it appears in the questionnaire and the English translation (in bold type). My treatment of the questions is divided into "initial hypothesis/question design" in which I give reasons for the phrasing of the questions and my own preliminary hypothesis, "results" and "discussion" in which I deal with the most notable features of the results. The questionnaire itself is divided into 3 sections: general questions (1-6), the teaching of English (7-9) and English and your field of study (10-14). Because the sample of 32 students per faculty is not representative I include the absolute number of respondents in brackets.

I. Allgemeine Fragen - general questions

Question 1. Ist Englisch (Deiner Meinung nach) die "Sprache des Fortschritts"? Is English (in your opinion) the "language of progress"?

Initial hypothesis/question design: A connotation between English and progress has been frequently established: one instance is the use of English in advertising. In phrasing the question the term "progress" was deliberately not defined more clearly (with terms such as "technical" or "scientific") so that students could relate "progress" to whatever they felt was their own definition of the term. My hypothesis was that a high percentage would agree that English is indeed the language of progress and that this percentage would be highest among students of technical subjects, as these fields of study are most influenced by innovations from the US. Conversely, students from the humanities were assumed to be least of that opinion - as these subjects are not that much influenced by research from the US.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	81.25% (26)	15.625% (5)	3.125% (1)
Medizin (Medicine)	84.375% (27)	15.625% (5)	0
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	65.625% (21)	28.125% (9)	6.25% (2)
Jus (Law)	84.375% (27)	9.375% (3)	6.25% (2)
WU (Economics)	93.75% (30)	6.25% (2)	0
Total	81.875% (131)	15% (24)	3,125% (5)

Discussion: The overwhelming majority of students (nearly 82%) agreed that English is the language of progress. Contrary to my initial hypothesis the percentage of people who agree is highest among economics students. As suspected, students of the humanities and social sciences agree substantially less.

Question 2. Findest Du, daß es zu viele englische Einflüsse (englische Wörter, Songs etc.) im heutigen Deutsch gibt? Do you think there are too many English influences (English words, songs) in contemporary German?

Initial hypothesis/question design: As I have shown above, English loans are an important factor in Austrian German, particularly in the language of the media. This question was designed to test whether students share the complaint that this development gets out of hand.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	**21.875% (7)**	**75% (24)**	**3,125% (1)**
Medizin (Medicine)	**31.25% (10)**	**65.625% (21)**	**3.125% (1)**
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	**34.375% (11)**	**62.5% (20)**	**3.125% (1)**
Jus (Law)	**21.875% (7)**	**78.125% (25)**	**0**
WU (Economics)	**34.375% (11)**	**65.625% (21)**	**0**
Total	**28.75% (46)**	**69.375% (111)**	**1.875% (3)**

Discussion: A substantial majority of students oppose the view that there are too many English influences in the German language. When asking this question a considerable number of students replied that there were indeed quite a lot of Anglicisms but that this did not disturb them. As is visible from the table above, students of technical subjects and students of law particularly rejected the purist notion while the largest number of those agreeing comes from students of the humanities and social sciences and economics.

Question 3. Empfindest Du Englisch als "coole" Sprache? Do you feel that English is a "cool" language?

Initial hypothesis/question design: "Coolness" seems to be one of the main values of young people. Thus the question was meant to measure the attitudes young people have in regard to English. My initial hypothesis was that English, as the language of youth, would be regarded as cool to a significant extent.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	43.75% (14)	46.875% (15)	9.375% (3)
Medizin (Medicine)	37.5% (12)	40.625% (13)	21.875% (7)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	37.5% (12)	50% (16)	12.5% (4)
Jus (Law)	43.75% (14)	34.375% (11)	21.875% (7)
WU (Economics)	37.5% (12)	53.125% (17)	9.375% (3)
Total	**40% (64)**	**45% (72)**	**15% (24)**

Discussion: Interestingly, students were rather divided on this question: a 72:64 majority said that English was not a cool language. Some students were not able to define "cool" in regard to English, which might explain the large number of "don't know" answers. Two explanations for this surprising result come to mind: some students who were in the early or middle twenties did not want to associate themselves with the teenager-term "cool". Secondly, the "coolness" of the English language might not be a phenomenon which can be measured with such a straightforward question - rather it might be an unconscious experience which can only be evaluated with a more subtle questionnaire design.

Question 4. Wie würdest Du Dein Englisch bezeichnen? How would you designate your English?

Initial hypothesis/ question design : Respondents could choose between British English, American English, Austrian English and "other, please state". As in question 9, Austrian English was not defined but it was left to the respondents to decide for themselves whether they speak an Austrian variety of English. Varieties such as "European English" or "International English" were not given. Rather, I wanted to know how many respondents would recall these varieties unprompted (and would thus give them in the "other, please state" category). Because of the high status of British English (particularly RP) in Austria (see

above) a large number of students was expected to refer to their own English as British.

Results:

Subject	Brit. E.	Am. E.	Austr.E.	Brit.+Am. E.	Other
TU (Technical Subjects)	31.25% (10)	18.75% (6)	28.125% (9)	3.125% (1)	18.75% (6)
Medizin (Medicine)	37.5% (12)	25% (8)	21.875% (7)	12.5% (4)	3.125% (1)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	43.75% (14)	12.5% (4)	25% (8)	0	18.75% (6)
Jus (Law)	40.625% (13)	28.125 (9)	18.75% (6)	3.125% (1)	9.375% (3)
WU (Economics)	56.25% (18)	12.5 (4)	31.25% (10)	0	0
Total	41.875% (67)	19.375% (31)	25% (40)	3.75% (6)	10% (16)

Discussion: As predicted, many of the students in my sample think they speak British English (42%). Austrian English is second with 25% - however, during the interviews many students equated it with bad English. Thus, there still seems to be a stigma attached to Austrian English. American English follows in the third place with 19%. Although not included as a fixed option, the category "British and American English" was chosen by 6 people (either in "other, please state" or by marking both varieties).

The results for European English and International English are disappointing: only 1 person defined his English as European and none as international. Other varieties given were a mixture of British and Austrian English (2), American and Austrian English (1) School-English (2), a mixture of all three (2), the (in Austria rather unusual) native variety Canadian English (1) and foreign non-native varieties such as Turkish English (1) Slovak English (1), and Hungarian English (1).

Question 5. Ist es für Deine (zukünftige) Karriere wichtig Englisch zu können? Is it important for your (future) career to know English?

Initial hypothesis/question design: This question was meant to verify if English, as is often claimed, is essential for one's career. A large number of yes responses was expected.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	93.73% (30)	6.25% (2)	0
Medizin (Medicine)	87.5% (28)	9.375% (3)	3.125% (1)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	90.625% (29)	3.125% (1)	6.25% (2)
Jus (Law)	93.75% (30)	6.25% (2)	0
WU (Economics)	93.75% (30)	6.25% (2)	0
Total	**91.875% (147)**	**10 (6.25%)**	**1.875% (3)**

Discussion: The overwhelming majority agreed that English was important for their career. Medical students agreed least; however, the differences between the faculties are rather minute.

Question 6. Sollte Englisch die einzige Amtssprache de EU werden? Should English become the only official language of the EU?

Initial hypothesis/question design: This question refers to chapter 2.5. of my essay where I dealt with English in the EU. It was meant to measure the support for those who, in the interest of economic gains, would like to see English as the only official language of the union.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	25% (8)	68.75% (22)	6.25% (2)
Medizin (Medicine)	31.25% (10)	65.625% (21)	3.125% (1)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	25% (8)	71.875% (23)	3.125% (1)
Jus (Law)	21.875% (7)	68.75% (22)	9.375% (3)
WU (Economics)	28.125% (9)	68.75% (22)	3.125% (1)
Total	**26.25% (42)**	**68.75% (110)**	**5% (8)**

Discussion: The students interviewed clearly reject the idea of English as the only official language of the EU. Medical students are a bit more open to the idea, law students somewhat more against the notion. However, the differences are hardly significant.

II. Englischunterricht - The teaching of English

Question 7. Wird English am besten ausschließlich auf Englisch unterrichtet (d.h. ohne Zuhilfenahme der deutschen Sprache)? Is English best taught in English (that is without using German)?

Initial hypothesis/question design: This question is a simplified phrasing (so as to make it easier to answer for the lay student) of the tenet that English is best taught monolingually ("the monolingual fallacy" - see ch.1.4.1.). As conservative tenets are largely upheld in Austria, I assumed that most people would agree.
Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	56.25% (18)	37.5% (12)	6.25% (2)
Medizin (Medicine)	68.75% (22)	31.25% (10)	0
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	62.5% (20)	28.125% (9)	9.375% (3)
Jus (Law)	56.25% (18)	43.75% (14)	0
WU (Economics)	71.875% (23)	15.625% (5)	12.5% (4)
Total	**63.125% (101)**	**31.25% (50)**	**5.625% (9)**

Discussion: It does not come as a surprise that most of the students interviewed agree that English is best taught monolingually. A few students emphasised that one cannot teach beginners in this way but that all in all, English should be taught without using German. Those who thought that the mother tongue can and should be used at all stages of foreign language learning were clearly in the minority. It is interesting to note that the students of law and technical subjects were less convinced of the usefulness of the monolingual approach than their colleagues from other faculties.

Question 8. Wird Englisch am besten von jemandem unterrichtet dessen Muttersprache Englisch ist? Is English best taught by somebody whose mother tongue it is?

Initial hypothesis/question design: This question deals with the response of students towards Phillipson's second tenet ("the native speaker fallacy") - again in simplified form. Similar to question 7 I expected a large number of "yes" answers.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	68.75% (22)	21.875% (7)	9.375% (3)
Medizin (Medicine)	56.25% (18)	37.5% (12)	6.25% (2)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	65.625% (21)	28.125% (9)	9.375% (3)
Jus (Law)	53.125% (17)	40.625% (13)	6.25% (2)
WU (Economics)	71.875% (23)	15.625% (5)	12.5% (3)
Total	63.125% (101)	28.75% (46)	8.125% (13)

Discussion: Exactly the same number of students (101) as in question 7 agree with this statement. And again the least number of yes responses can be found among law students. Interestingly, however, more technical students answered the question with "yes" (22 compared with 18 for question 7) and fewer medical students did so (18 as compared with 22) - thus the two faculties have switched place. Both in question 7 and 8 the WU-students are most enthusiastically in favour of the two fallacies (23 in both cases).

Question 9. Welche Art des Englischen sollte in der Schule unterrichtet werden? Which kind of English should be taught at school?

Initial hypothesis/question design: This question is a particularly interesting in connection with the evaluation of the students' own English (question 4). It was meant to test which standard Austrians accept. Again, I expected a preference for British English.

Results:

Subject	Brit. E.	Am. E.	Austr.E.	Brit. and Am. E.	Other	Don't care
TU (Technical Subjects)	40.625% (13)	6.25% (2)	3.125% (1)	34.375% (11)	9.375% (3)	6.25% (2)
Medizin (Medicine)	59.375% (18)	21.875% (7)	0	15.625% (5)	6.25% (2)	0
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	46.875% (15)	6.25% (2)	3.125% (1)	31.25% (10)	3.125% (1)	9.375% (3)
Jus (Law)	62.5% (20)	18.75% (6)	0	12.5% (4)	0	6.25% (2)
WU (Economics)	71.875% (23)	0	0	15.625% (5)	3.125% (1)	9.375% (3)
Total	55.625% (89)	10.625% (17)	1.25% (2)	21.875% (35)	4.375% (7)	6.25% (10)

Discussion: As expected British English is with 55.6% the preferred variety for teaching - WU students in particular are in favour of that variety. Some students justified their preference of British English over American English with the argument that British English is more European - thereby implicitly acknowledging that a European variety is most suitable for teaching (a point which I discuss in ch. 2.6.). Another reason that was given for the preference of the British variety was that is considered "the original English" and thus regarded as "superior".

What is particularly interesting is that, although it was not explicitly given as an option, a mixture of British and American English is ranked second with 21.9%. It has most followers among students of technical subjects and the humanities and social sciences. American English alone as a model ranks third with 10.7%. This lack of acceptance is interesting because of the large-scale Americanisation process in the post-war period (see above). As British English

is mostly spoken in Austrian classrooms it may be the case that American English is regarded more as an informal language - as the language of free time - than as the language of instruction or education.

The ranking of Austrian English is indicative of the low prestige of that variety: only 1,25% or 2 people would have it taught at school. An additional person suggested a combination of British and Austrian English .

Only one person named European English as a suitable norm and two others opted for International English. This may not appear much but, as the naming was unprompted, it does show that a few people are aware that these varieties exist, although even fewer speak them (see also question 4). Another person suggested that the pupils themselves should have the opportunity to choose which model they would like to learn. This is an idea which deserves some attention because, after all, the pupils will have to use and live with the variety of English they learn.

III. Englisch und Dein Studium - English and your course of study.

Question 10. Gibt es in Deinem Studium Unterrichtseinheiten (Vorlesungen, Übungen...) die in englischer Sprache abgehalten werden? Are there any units in your course of study (lectures, exercises...) which are taught in English?

Initial hypothesis/question design: This question is meant to reveal the importance of technical English (ESP) in the different faculties. It was assumed that ESP would be least used in the humanities.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	90.635% (29)	6.25% (2)	3.125 (1)
Medizin (Medicine)	43.75% (14)	28.125% (9)	28.125 (9)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	46.875%	50%	3.125

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
Jus (Law)	(15) 87.5%	(16) 6.25%	(1) 6.25%
WU (Economics)	(28) 84.375% (27)	(2) 15.625% (5)	(2) 0
Total	70.625% (113)	21.25% (34)	8.125% (13)

Discussion: This question reveals some interesting differences between the various faculties. Almost all students of technical subjects (90.6%) said that some units are held in English. In the humanities, by contrast, only 46.9% were able to confirm this. Surprisingly, in medicine the percentage of people who answered with yes was even lower (43.75%) and there was a particularly large number of uninformed students (28.1%).

Question 11. Hältst du in Deiner Studienrichtung die Präsentation von Fachwissen auf Englisch für sinnvoll? Du you think the presentation of technical content in English makes sense for your field of study?

Initial hypothesis/question design: This question is a follow up question to the preceding one: while the former question concentrated on the facts, the latter deals with the students' opinion on and attitude towards technical English. Regarding students of technical subjects positive reactions seemed likely.
Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	93.75% (30)	6.25% (2)	0
Medizin (Medicine)	81.25% (26)	12.5% (4)	6.25% (2)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	59.375% (19)	31.25% (10)	9.375% (3)
Jus (Law)	75% (24)	15.625%(5)	9.375% (3)
WU (Economics)	96.875% (31)	3.125% (1)	0
Total	81.25% (130)	13.75% (22)	5% (8)

Discussion: The fact that 81.2% of the students agree that a presentation of technical content in English makes sense is an indication of the importance of technical English at the university. Technical English (ESP) is particularly important for students of economics and technology and least important for the

Humanities and Social Sciences students. Even in the latter group, however, nearly 60% would agree that a presentation of some content in English would make sense.

Question 12. Hast du das Gefühl, für dein Studium oft Fachbücher oder Artikel in englischer Sprache lesen zu müssen? Du you feel that you often have to read technical books or articles in English for your course of study?

Initial hypothesis/question design: Again, this question tests the importance of English for a particular field of study. Particularly in technical subjects my hypothesis is that books in English will be in widespread use, as much of the relevant research comes from Anglo-American countries.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	62.5% (20)	37.5% (12)	0
Medizin (Medicine)	37.5% (12)	56.25% (18)	6.25% (2)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	53.125%(17)	34.375% (11)	12.5% (4)
Jus (Law)	12.5% (4)	87.5% (28)	0
WU (Economics)	71.875% (23)	25% (8)	3.125% (1)
Total	**47.5% (76)**	**48.125% (77)**	**4.375% (7)**

Discussion: This question shows some interesting contrasts between the different courses of study. Most salient are the figures for law where only 12.5% stated that they need to read technical literature in English. In medicine the figure is also quite small (37.5%). Interestingly, more than half of the humanities and social sciences students interviewed (53.1%) said they often needed to read technical literature in English. The largest number of yes responses (71.9%) comes from WU students.

Question 13. Gibt es in deinem Studium eigene Kurse für das Erlernen von fachspezifischem English (z.B. Medizinisches Englisch, Englisch für

Juristen etc.) ? Are there separate courses for technical English in your field of study (e.g. medical English, English for lawyers and so on)?

Initial hypothesis/question design: While the questions above concentrate on the **use** of technical English, this question was designed to test to what extent students are given the opportunity to **learn** the sort of English which they might need to follow lectures in English and later on in their future profession.

Results:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	53.125% (17)	21.875% (7)	25% (8)
Medizin (Medicine)	87.5% (28)	3.125% (1)	9.375% (3)
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	28.125% (9)	71.875% (23)	0
Jus (Law)	90.625% (29)	6.25% (2)	3.125% (1)
WU (Economics)	75% (24)	15.625% (5)	9.375% (3)
Total	66.875% (107)	23.75% (38)	9.375% (15)

Discussion: In this question the humanities and social sciences clearly stick out: in these subjects only 28.1% stated that ESP courses exist. Interestingly, only 53.1% of technical students said that ESP courses for their subjects were in place. Furthermore, in technical subjects a lot of students simply did not know whether such courses existed or not. In this connection it is interesting to recall that 46.9% of Gewi/Gruwi students and 90.6% of TU-students said that some units of their field of study are held in English (see question 10). Thus, one must conclude, that the students from these faculties (and from this particular sample) are expected to **know** English for Special Purposes (after all they must be able to follow their course) but that they seldom have the opportunity to **learn** it in a separate course. A different picture emerges for law and medicine. Here ESP courses seem to be firmly entrenched (90.6% and 87.5%).

Question 14. Sind fachspezifische Englischkurse Deiner Meinung nach sinnvoll? In your opinion, do courses in technical English make sense?

<u>Initial hypothesis/question design</u>: This is a follow up question to the factual question 13. With this question I wanted to test the acceptance of ESP courses.

<u>Results</u>:

Subject	Yes	No	Don't know
TU (Technical Subjects)	**93.75% (30)**	0	**6.25% (2)**
Medizin (Medicine)	**90.625% (29)**	0	**9.375% (3)**
Gewi/Gruwi (Humanities and Social Sciences)	**93.75% (30)**	**6.25% (2)**	0
Jus (Law)	**93.75% (30)**	0	**6.25% (2)**
WU (Economics)	**96.875% (31)**	0	**3.125% (1)**
Total	**93.75% (150)**	**1.25% (2)**	**5% (8)**

<u>Discussion</u>: These results underline the importance that the students of my sample ascribe to ESP courses. The overwhelming majority of students (93.75%) seems to think they make sense.

4.3. English in different domains: the university and beyond

In this chapter I summarise and comment on the most notable results obtained for each of the five courses of study analysed. Again, I would like to emphasise that although my study may not be representative it is indicative of certain trends. To increase the validity of my findings I include secondary sources (although there is, unfortunately, little material available). Furthermore, I deal

with some general issues which arose in connection with the questionnaire (for instance the future role of English at the university).

4.3.1. Medicine

In my study, students of medicine often occupy a middle rank. However, regarding the question whether some units are held in English medical students had the highest "don't know" and the lowest "yes" rate. One tutor explained to me that lectures held in English are not strictly speaking part of the curriculum. Rather, they may be attended voluntarily for additional information. Furthermore, the medical students interviewed do not feel that they have to read much technical literature in English. The current situation thus seems to run counter to the requests made in parliament regarding the medical curriculum. There, one MP demanded "English, English and again English" (Stenografisches Protokoll 1998 106 session: i). And a colleague from a different party agreed that for an M.D. an excellent command of English is nowadays essential because it is the international scientific language. Having worked for a pharmaceutical market research company at medical conferences I can only confirm this. Both at the ECCO 10 conference (that is the annual gathering of cardiologists) and the ESC 2000 (the European Stroke conference) English was invariably the only conference language. As the ECCO 10 conference was much larger than the ESC 2000 (7824 participants as compared to 1178) size does not seem to influence the choice of language. While English was officially prescribed as the only conference language at the ESC congress (ESC 2000 Final Congress Programme 2000: 63) this was not the case at ECCO 10. There, the dominant position of English seems to have been taken for granted. As both conferences took place in Vienna they were attended by nearly as many German as English speakers (see below). Still, German was only spoken among Germans and Austrians (and perhaps a few Swiss) and was not used for any lingua franca purposes (personal observation).

<u>Figure</u>: Participants from English and German speaking countries at two medical conferences in Vienna.

Speech Communities	ECCO 10 1999	ESC 2000
English speaking (inner circle)	1196 (15.286%)	310 (26.316%)
+ outer circle (total)	1351 (17.267%)	331 (28.098%)
German speaking (Germany and Austria)[80]	1041 (13.305%)	299 (25.386%)

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[80] Switzerland is not included as not all Swiss would be speakers of German.

ECCO 10 Conference Manager, ICOS Congress Organisation
(personal communication).

Because English is so important in the medical world one might consider
enlarging the number of units held in English at the university. After all, a
substantial majority of medical students (81.25%) agrees that it makes sense to
present medical content in English and a sufficient number of ESP courses also
seems to be available.

4.3.2. Business

The importance of English in business was clearly reflected in my study.
Generally speaking the sample of economics students was quite enthusiastic -
if somewhat conservative - in its evaluation of the language: 93.75% regarded
English as the language of progress but among WU students there was also
the highest number of those who thought that there were too many English
influences in German. Furthermore, the WU students were strongly in favour of
British English as the standard for teaching; they were also adherents of the
monolingual as well as the native-speaker centred approach. A high percentage
of economy students often has to read technical literature in English.

English is also important in business life outside the university: 84% of
companies want English as a foreign language, only 32% demand French (data
from Felberbauer 1996: 63). In the Austrian job market, English is regarded as
a basic qualification; consequently not knowing English may be a decisive
deficit. In Austrian businesses which operate internationally the internal use of
English is not so much a feature as it is in Scandinavia (see ch. 2.3.1.).
However, such companies not infrequently recruit higher-level staff by means of
English language advertisements in Austrian newspapers (Dension 1981: 8-
9). Obviously, to what extent English will be necessary differs very much
according to what position one holds. According to research conducted by
Stockinger, secretaries, for instance, are expected to be able to hold telephone
conversations in English while technicians have to be able to read technical
literature in English (1995: 229).

According to Stockinger, 42.8% of the companies in Upper Austria have taken some measures in foreign language education (1995: 233). Among bigger companies that offer English Language Courses for their employees are IBM Austria and EA Generali Insurance (Malzacher 1996: 87). While large corporations often teach English with internal trainers, smaller businesses are more likely to rely on courses offered by a variety of institutions like Berlitz, the Berufsförderungsinstitut (BFI), the Business Language Centre, Talk Partners, Das Sprachinstitut der Industrie, Inlingua, International House Vienna, the Volkshochschule, International Language Services and the WIFI (Malzacher 1996: 88).

4.3.3. Law

When devising the questionnaire I was not sure if I should include both law and economics students as I felt that their answers would be quite similar. However, the analysis of the questionnaires has now convinced me that I was right to retain both groups; in fact the opinion of the law students is often opposed to that of the WU students. The sample of law students decisively rejected the notion that there are too many English influences in German. Rather, they regarded English as a cool language. They also least agreed with the monolingual and the native-speaker fallacy. Only 12.5% of them said that they often have to read technical literature in English. Concerning the demands and wishes of professional lawyers I was not able to come up with much secondary material. However, in the parliamentary debate on medical English, Sonja Ablinger (SPÖ) confirmed that Austrian lawyers, too need to be able to speak good English in international settings (stenographisches Protokoll 1998 106 session: i).

4.3.4. Humanities and Social Sciences

Students of the humanities and social sciences were least of the opinion that English is the language of progress. Conversely, 34.38% thought that there

were too many English influences in German. A majority (although rather a small one) was in favour of British English as the standard for teaching English. Few students said that there are units which are held in English; however, a surprisingly large number said they often have to read articles or books in English (53.12%) and nearly 60% agreed that it would make sense to have some content taught in English - which is not too bad for a faculty where English has traditionally not had that much of an impact. These results, and the fact that 90.62% stated that it is important to know English for their future career, may be an indication that English becomes more important in the humanities.

4.3.5. Technical subjects

Before I started the statistical evaluation of the questionnaires, my hypothesis was that English would play a particularly important role among students of technical subjects. This turned out to be only partially true. Above all, the TU students from my sample seem to take a pragmatic attitude towards the language. Interestingly, they are rather against the monolingual approach but in favour of the native speaker. Those opting for British English as the model for teaching have a tiny majority, but many students of technical subjects opted for a combination of British English and American English. Maybe this is the case because American English is used a lot at the TU but does not have the prestige as a teaching norm that British English has. Almost all students (90.63%) said that some units were held in English and even more agreed that the presentation of content in English makes sense. Interestingly, only 62.5% said that they often have to read technical literature in English. Initially I had presumed that this percentage would be higher.

Among the subjects taught at the technical university computer sciences is likely to be one of the most influenced by American English. Although many of the important programs are now available in other languages than English for the end-user, the computer scientist has to know and apply a good deal of

technical English as most computer languages use English terms.[81] This sometimes leads to an interesting mixture of German and English as the following example from SQL ("Structured Query Language" - a "language" used to query a database) shows:

```
INSERT INTO Angestellte IN 'c:\firma\xy.mdb'
SELECT Nachname, Vorname, Geburtsdatum FROM Neueingestellt
WHERE Einstellungsdatum < Now() - 30
(example provided by Herbert Siedler)
```

It seems that students of computer sciences also have to read a particularly large amount of technical literature in English. Furthermore, they are required to do units (6 hours) in English with a final examination in the foreign language. Pronunciation does not seem to play an important role at these examinations, though (personal communication).

4.3.6. English for special purposes

The participants of my study evaluated ESP very positively: 70.6% stated that there were units held in English and 81.2% said that a presentation of technical content in English makes sense. However, regarding the availability of ESP courses there were huge differences between the various faculties. While students of medicine and law were to a very large extent aware that such courses existed, students of the humanities to a considerable extent said that such courses were not in place. The fact that ESP courses are in high demand is underlined by a report from Robert Beck about English courses at the University of Agricultural Sciences (an institution not covered in my study). The number of students who attend these courses, which have a strong ESP component, has grown from 20 (1991) to 180 (1995) (1996: 111). At the Agricultural University, English for Scientific Writing is offered on demand against a fee. Here the aim is the American norm or, more specifically the

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[81] Consider one example from my own experience: in html, the code used to create internet webpages, <center> is a valid command (placing a text in the middle of the page) while <centre> is not.

standard of journals such as the New Scientist and the Scientific American. As a knowledge of ESP seems to be getting more important in a variety of fields such courses should be integrated into the curriculum; to demand extra fees seems a doubtful practice as it tends to discourage students from participating - particularly those who are not well off.

Outside the university ESP courses are offered by some of the English language institutions mentioned in the chapter on business. The programme of the Volkshochschule Stöbergasse, for instance, contains the following ESP courses: Business English Certificates, Business and Legal English, English for Medicine, English for Veterinary Medicine and English for Secretaries (Polycollege Stöbergasse 2000: 44-51).

4.3.7. The German speaking scientist and English

As shown in chapter 2.4.2., English has become the language of European science. But what are the attitudes of German-speaking scientists and how do they use English? The most comprehensive research on this topic has been conducted by Skudlik (1990). She groups the various fields of studies into three categories (1990:214-16):

- anglophone sciences: according to Skudlik's research these are physics, chemistry, biology, and some parts of medicine. Scientists in these fields usually have an excellent knowledge of English but of no other foreign languages.
- anglophone influenced sciences: these include veterinary medicine and the applied natural sciences (like agricultural studies, forestry and earth science) as well as economic science, psychology, sociology, philosophy and, last but by no means least, linguistics. While there is a tendency to use national languages where regional topics are concerned or where there is a strong tradition of using the national language, English is preferred in international settings.
- Sciences influenced by the national languages and multilingually oriented sciences: this category includes law, pedagogy, sciences in which German

still plays a considerable role (like theology, archaeology or classical philology) and "cultural sciences" like Assyrology, Slav Studies or Indogermanic studies (see also Ammon 1998: 170)

Skudlik concludes that the line between anglophone and non - or less - anglophone sciences coincides with the division into natural sciences and the humanities. If one compares Skudlik's findings with my own study it seems that this division already affects students - after all students are socialised into the academic culture of their specific field of study. Thus, the fact that English was not an important factor in law and that it is least regarded as the language of progress by students of the humanities fits rather neatly into Skudlik's typology.

4.3.8. The future role of English at the university

At some faculties English already has a strong position, in others courses taught in English and ESP courses are still more the exception than the rule. It seems, though, that even in the humanities English is more and more recognised as the international lingua franca. Thus the question arises to what extent lectures and seminars should be held in English. For some fields it has even been suggested that one should switch to English as the only language of instruction. Ammon suggests a general bilingualism of German and English at the university, primarily with natural sciences and particularly at postgraduate-level (1998: 235). However, his arguments are not really convincing. Rather than insisting on general bilingualism it would suffice to have extensive ESP courses which teach students everything they need to know to participate in international scientific discourse. To familiarise the students with content presented in technical English it is also reasonable to have lectures or even seminars in English. The number of such lectures should not be too high - maybe 25% of the course of study would be an adequate margin - and students should have the possibility to choose between a German and an English lecture on the same topic. These safeguards against too much English are necessary; it has to be ensured that the already difficult discourse between academics and the lay audience is not additionally burdened because the academics are not able to explain details of their work in their mother tongue. Rather, experts must

at all times be able to communicate their specialist knowledge in their native language.

4.4. Summary and conclusion of chapters 3 and 4

As chapters three and four are interconnected it seems appropriate to summarise the findings of these two chapters together.

- As my historical analysis of the spread of English in German speaking countries has shown, English and ELT have been appropriated for a variety of purposes over the course of time. The ideological purposes to which the language was put range from the indoctrination with National Socialist thought to the post-war glorification of British culture.
- In Austria English is widespread and used for a variety of purposes.
- In the Austrian education system conservative tenets are largely upheld. The ideal English teacher is still a native speaker and the ideal pronunciation is native-speaker like. The spread of English and non-native Englishes do not feature prominently in contemporary educational policies.
- I have outlined which issues would have to be discussed in an EIL course in an Austrian setting and in the context of a polymodel approach.
- The Austrian media make frequent use of English loans. The prestige factor involved in the use of such loans should not be underestimated.
- In my microstudy on Austrian students and the spread of English I have collected and analysed the opinions and attitudes of my fellow students in regard to the most important points raised in this paper.

In this chapter I have applied a diachronic as well as a synchronic approach to illustrate the many purposes English has served in Austria. My research about English in Austria can be regarded as a case-study which shows that English always has to be seen as part of a complex local linguistic ecology. The situation in Austria is thus also further evidence against linguistic imperialism

(see ch. 1.4. and 1.6.) and, indeed, any other theory which over-generalises and simplifies such complex processes as the interplay between the national language and the lingua franca.

5. Epilogue: the appropriation of English and ethical issues

In this essay I have looked at the spread of English and its appropriation from a global, a European and an Austrian perspective. My frequent cross references from one perspective to another show that these three levels intersect and interconnect at various points. If I were to wrap up my thesis in one or two paragraphs I would disregard the complexity of the topic. Those interested in a summary of my findings should consult the respective chapters ("summary and conclusion") in each of the three parts of my paper. I finish my work not with a definite conclusion but with a sense of wonder about the many purposes English serves in today's multipolar world.

However, the appropriation of English and ELT raises some ethical questions which I would like to deal with in this chapter.[82] It seems to me that the process of appropriation should not be uncritically applauded. Appropriation is neither "good" nor "bad", it is a neutral procedure. Thus, English can be appropriated for both: colonialism (as the British did in the 19th century) and resistance to foreign influences (as some developing countries do now). I suggest that a closer look should be taken at the specific purposes to which English is appropriated. One must be aware that schooling always teaches certain values and that, therefore, ELT, wherever it is taught, will also be used to convey one

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[82] As I put ELT in the bigger picture here, I have to stray somewhat from the core of my topic.

or another form of ideology. It is therefore **impossible** to teach "just English". Is it in this connection not shocking to learn that the chapter headings "Our flag" or "Our great leader" are not taken from a national-socialist ELT textbook but from a contemporary Pakistani one? (see Malik 1993).

These headings clearly show that English language teaching at school is part of an identity-building process. I suggest that one can distinguish two kinds of such identity-building processes: a negative identity-building process (my terms) defines national identity as contrasting with other peoples' national identity ("The Germans are Germans because they are not English, the Pakistani are Pakistani because they are not Indian"). Implicitly or explicitly one's own identity is considered superior. A positive identity building process, by contrast, deals critically with one's own culture and compares and contrasts it with different cultures without ascribing fictional values to these foreign cultures.

Of course it is not always easy to judge which values are acceptable and which are not.[83] As wa Thiong'o rightly points out, the search for universal values has often meant "the West generalizing their experience...as the universal experience of the world. What is Western becomes universal and what is third world becomes local" (1992: 149). A guideline may be that we cannot accept values which violate the innate dignity of human beings - like the National Socialist system of beliefs but also like widow-burning in India. Polygamy, by contrast, may be acceptable if all wives are treated equally. Such questions are important as the above examples may well occur in ELT schoolbooks - or have done so in the past.

Educators in general and English teachers in particular must actively resist the negative-identity building processes and promote a positive way of establishing identity, for instance by teaching a polymodel approach as outlined in ch. 2.6. In this regard the propositions by Pennycook (1994) and Kramsch (1993) may be

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[83] In fact, as a counter-movement to colonialism, which saw Western values as the only valid ones, cultural (or moral) relativism holds that all cultures (and hence their values) are equal. However, this reasoning is clearly flawed as it allows the Chinese government to state that

a help - although more practical suggestions what a critical pedagogy curriculum should look like are necessary (but see my EIL outline in ch.3.2.3).

Remarque's *All quiet on the Western Front* is (among other things) a powerful account of what happens if educators uncritically pass on propaganda to their students. If English teachers - wherever they might be - succumb to propaganda the verdict of future generations may be as harsh as Remarque's evaluation of teachers in pre-World War One Germany:

> Sie sollten uns Achtzehnjährigen Vermittler und Führer zur Welt des Erwachsenseins werden...Mit dem Begriff der Autorität, dessen Träger sie waren, verband sich in unseren Gedanken größere Einsicht und menschlicheres Wissen. Doch der erste Tote, den wir sahen, zertrümmerte diese Überzeugung...Das erste Trommelfeuer zeigte uns unseren Irrtum, und unter ihm stürzte die Weltanschauung zusammen, die sie uns gelehrt hatten...Während sie den Dienst am Staate als das Größte bezeichneten, wußten wir bereits das Todesangst stärker ist (1999 [1929]: 18).[84]

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human rights, as a Western concept, do not apply to Asian cultures and that they are, therefore, perfectly entitled to torture and kill the opposition.

[84] They were supposed to be intermediates and guides to the world of being grown-up for us eighteen-year olds...In our minds, there was greater insight and human knowledge connected with the term authority, which they carried. But the first dead body that we saw, shattered this conviction. The first drumfire showed us our error, and under it the weltanschaung which they had taught us collapsed...While they designated service to the state as the greatest thing, we already knew that the fear of death was greater (my translation).

Appendix
(online version)

Chapter 1

Additional Bibliography

Picture from *Amnesty International Folder* (w.d.).
Picture from the *Kurier* (19.11.1999).

Bibliography of further material in connection with the spread of English from a global perspective.

The following works were not used in the main part of my thesis because constrictions of space - but also concerns about the clarity of my argument - led me to the conclusion that only material I deemed essential for my argument were to be included. Because I feel that other works might still be relevant for readers interested in Global Englishes (and the issues connected with it) I have included these books separately in the appendix below. Secondly, further bibliographies on World Englishes are given.

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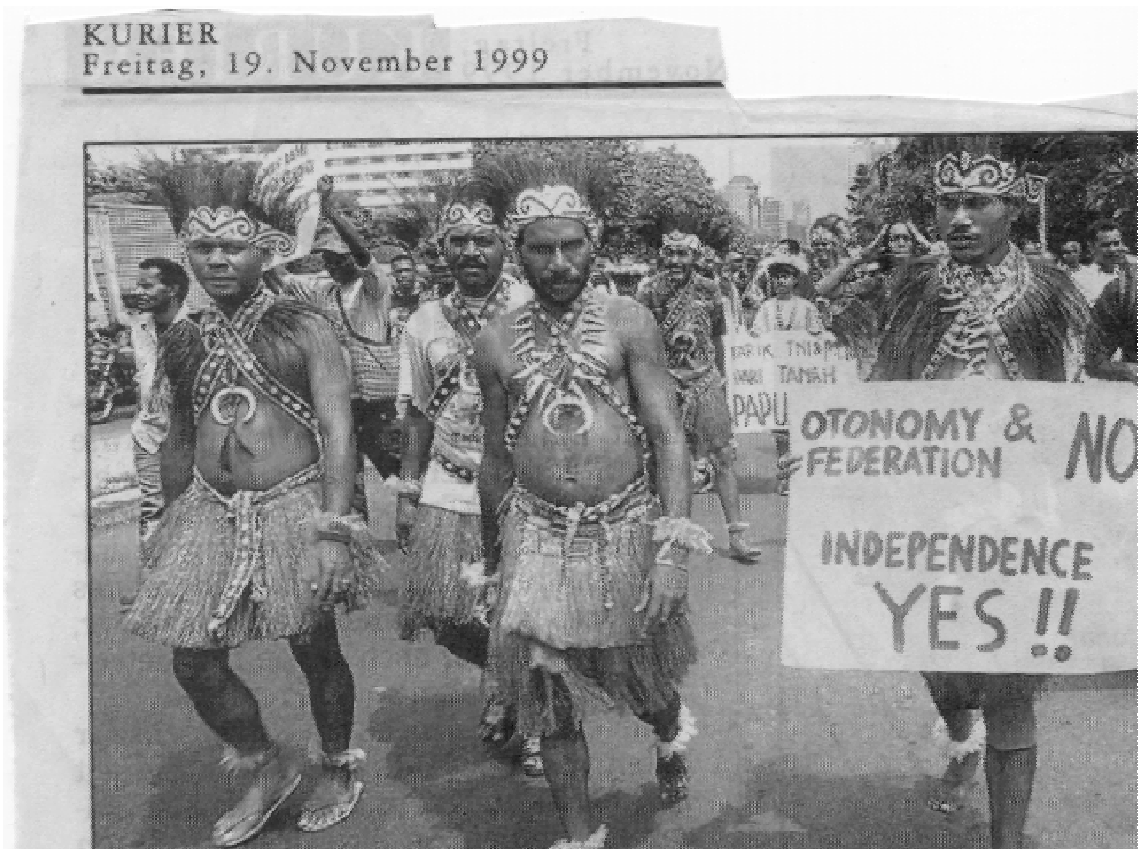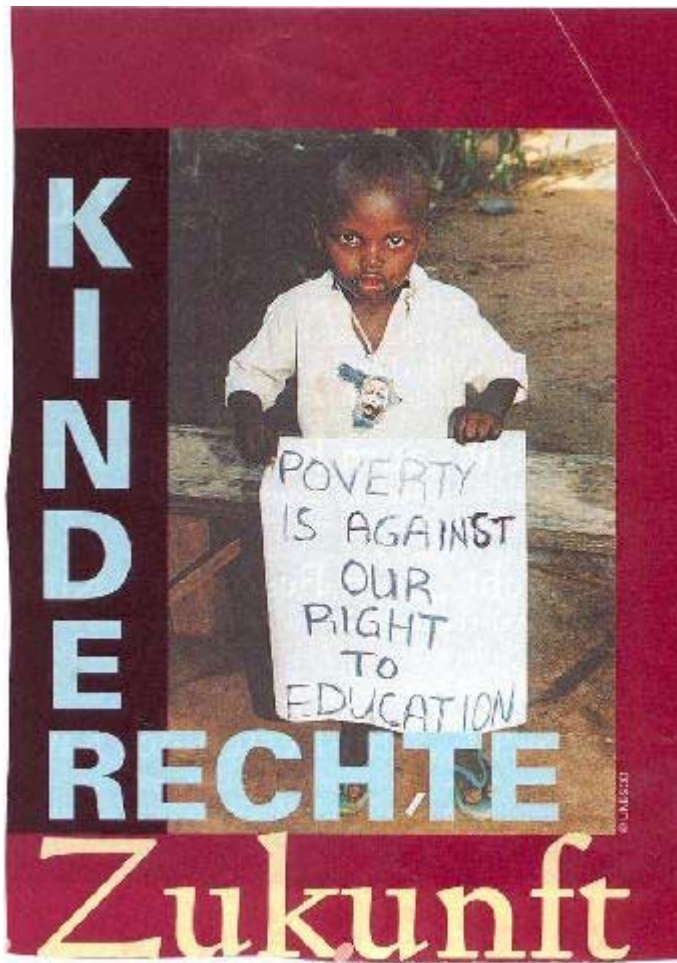In: Viereck et.al. A Bibliography of Writings on Varieties of English. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 225-308.

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POVERTY IS AGAINST OUR RIGHT TO EDUCATION

KURIER
Freitag, 19. November 1999

OTONOMY & FEDERATION NO

INDEPENDENCE YES !!

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