



Not Your Cup of Tea?

An exploration of attitudes towards English as a lingua franca in Europe's cultural sector.

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Abstract:

Over the past two decades, English has undeniably become the lingua franca of Europe, making it the language of choice for intercultural exchange between speakers of different native languages. However there is something of a dearth of research on attitudes towards this language phenomenon. This thesis investigates perspectives and opinions towards English, with a focus on the cultural sector of Europe. Using material from personal and Skype interviews with European cultural workers, I attempt to build a picture of how English as a lingua franca is viewed and expressed in narrative and discourse. I also explore the idea of suitability in relation to English as a lingua franca. A 2005 journal article in *English Today* by author Ross Smith concludes that “English is a poor lingua franca”. I argue against this claim using ideas from the interview material and Bourdieu’s concept of linguistic capital to assert that English is an effective lingua franca for Europe.

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Definitions of Terms:

Lingua franca: A language used for the purposes of communication between people who do not share a native tongue.

Participants: The people who kindly agreed to do interviews with me for the purposes of this thesis are variously referred to as interviewees or participants.

The cultural sector: For the purposes of this thesis, references to the cultural sector are intended to mean the sector of creative industries made up of organisations concerned with production, dissemination and education in areas including theatre, dance, music, visual arts, multimedia arts and sub-categories of these. This definition also encompasses structural organisations such as networks and national and international independent and state-funded bodies within the same field.

Cultural organisation: Any organisation which fits within the cultural sector as defined above.

Cultural worker: A person working for any cultural organisation as defined above.

Abbreviations Used:

EU = European Union

UK = United Kingdom

USA = United States of America

EFL = English as a Foreign Language

Chapter 1 – Introduction

“English is the current lingua franca worldwide, and in Europe too.”¹

1.1 A Common Tongue

For decades now, the advance of technology, especially in areas such as communications and transport, has been a key factor in the growing worldwide interchange of products and ideas that we call globalisation. The ability to send instant messages, video call, and fly to visit people on the other side of the world has contributed to the modern impression of a shrinking world.² Accordingly, as the world gets smaller, the need for a global common language has been steadily growing. Half a century ago there might have been five or six contenders for the position of global lingua franca. Nowadays it is widely acknowledged that the most obvious candidate for the title is English.³ Linguistic scholars, such as David Crystal⁴ and Philippe Van Parijs⁵ emphasise that English has not simply replaced former lingua franca languages such as Latin but rather, powered by the ease of modern communication, English has developed a global presence far beyond what any language has achieved before. In his book *English as a Global Language*, Crystal describes the position of English in the world as “virtually unassailable”.⁶

This thesis is mostly concerned with Europe, where the story is similar. The most recent Eurobarometer survey: *Europeans and their languages* (conducted in 2012) states that “English is the most widely spoken foreign language”⁷ and that “two-thirds of Europeans (67%) consider English to be one of the two most useful languages for themselves”.⁸ Unlike the language’s dominance in Australia and North America, this prevalence of English in Europe is not a result of conquest and colonisation. Instead English arrived via a

¹ Juliane House, “English as a threat to other European languages and European multilingualism?” in *The languages and linguistics of Europe*, ed. Bernd Kortmann and Johan van der Auwera. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2011), 594.

² R.F. Nayef Al-Rodhan and Gérard Stoudmann, *Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition* (Paper published as part of the Program on the Geopolitical Implications of Globalization and Transnational Security. Geneva Centre for Security Policy 2006).

³ Philippe Van Parijs, *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for The World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11.

⁴ David Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 14.

⁵ Van Parijs, *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for The World*, 22.

⁶ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 71.

⁷ Eurobarometer report *Europeans and Their Languages*, (2012), accessed 05-02-2013: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf. 6.

⁸ *Ibid*, 7

roundabout route, through the medium of a consumer culture that began in the UK and the USA after the industrial revolution. English became the language of the newly-established field of advertising,⁹ and later, thanks to the USA's status as an economic superpower, the language of business. British and American culture, in the form of popular music, Hollywood movies, TV shows and worldwide news updates began to be consumed worldwide, but especially in the developed countries of Western Europe. The invention of computers, and later the Internet, gave English another boost in the European language community.¹⁰ Thus it happened that the language of a country on Europe's periphery came to be spoken across the continent.

1.2 A Topic of Study

It seems that English will not be easily ousted from its standing across the world. The fascinating aspects presented by this unique language trend could be said to justify resources devoted to studying it. There are even stronger research incentives to be found in its worldwide scope and in the implications for important domains such as education, academia and business. The choice of a common language in large international bodies such as the EU may be controversial and have important political implications, particularly in relation to countries where people speak it as a native tongue. It is therefore all the more important to understand the basis and development of language phenomena such as this. The topic recently received its own academic journal: *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, edited by Barbara Seidlhofer and Anna Mauranen. However, research is still patchy. Päivi Pahta and Irma Taavitsainen note that “[t]o date, there is no systematic comparison of the uses and functions of English covering all the various regional, social and situational contexts... across the whole of Europe”,¹¹ although they admit that existing research gives a valuable, if incomplete, picture. They also highlight that the question of attitudes among European citizens towards English as a lingua franca has yet to be given sufficient attention.

It is that very question of **attitudes** that provides the inspiration for this thesis. Statistics show that a large proportion of people in Europe have learned to speak English as a second

⁹ David Graddol, *The Future of English?* (London: publisher? 2003) 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 30.

¹¹ Päivi Pahta and Irma Taavitsainen, “English in intranational public discourse,” in *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe – A Comprehensive Guide*, Ed. Bernd Kortmann and Johan van der Auwera (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 617.

language.¹² Many of them learned it in school as a compulsory subject. The question is how do these people feel about the language? What do they think about having been required to learn it in order to keep pace in today's employment market? It may be thought to be a convenient situation for everyone to learn a common language that allows easy communication with most of the world. However, it would be a mistake to make quick assumptions about a matter (i.e., language) which is so closely connected with identity and therefore has important cultural and political implications. Are the Europeans who learn English pleased? Indifferent? Do they resent that it was not their own language that became the lingua franca? Do they associate English strongly with English-speaking countries such as the UK and the USA? Or has the language developed an independent standing as a lingua franca? These are examples of questions that could be asked on the topic. The first aim of my thesis is to collect material to build up a picture of the opinions and perceptions that Europeans hold towards English as a lingua franca.

Another line of inquiry asks questions about the **suitability** of English for the role it plays. Is it a "good" lingua franca? Do its fundamental characteristics make it fit for the position it holds in the everyday life of European citizens? In an article in *English Today*, Smith makes the case against English, concluding that it is "a poor lingua franca".¹³ The second aim of my thesis project will be to investigate the legitimacy of these conclusions in light of material collected relating to attitudes and the current position of English as a lingua franca in Europe.

1.3 Thesis Structure

This chapter provides an introduction to my thesis project by first introducing broad themes and then by narrowing down the research aim to the specific questions that I have chosen to pursue. It includes brief description of my research project and justification for the focus I have chosen.

Chapter two aims to describe and explain published literature which I deemed to be relevant to the topic and to the specific focus of my research questions. The literature review begins by explaining general ideas related to English as a lingua franca. This is followed by in-depth consideration of those topics most relevant to my research goals.

¹² Eurobarometer report, *Europeans and Their Languages*, 6.

¹³ Ross Smith, "Global English: gift or curse?" *English Today* 21:02 (2005), 61.

Chapter three draws on material considered in the literature review to present the theoretical framework for the research study. This is followed by a detailed explanation of the research methodology.

Chapter four discusses the results of the study, structuring material collected through interviews into proposed answers to the research questions. Chapter four also includes a critical reflection on the research methodology.

Chapter five draws conclusions from the research results and suggests implications and further study.

1.4 Focus on Culture

This section and the next one will shed further light onto the line of research that I have chosen to follow for the purposes of this thesis. The question of attitudes towards English in the whole of Europe is a large topic. The limited time allowed for the writing of a master thesis imposes obvious restrictions on the scope of the research questions. Accordingly I decided to limit the study to a single field of work, taking **The Cultural Sector** as a case study. Culture has been increasingly recognised as an important sector in Europe because it is a key factor in building and maintaining a sense of shared identity.¹⁴ A study by the European Cluster Observatory (an initiative of The European Commission) shows a clear link between prosperity and culture in various European regions.¹⁵ Tretter describes culture as “a motor of wealth creation”, when it is connected to consumerism, and as a source of intellectual property.¹⁶ Cooke and De Propis highlight culture as an important source of innovation.¹⁷

Culture then is an important concern, not just for the individual state, but also for international bodies such as the EU. I have a particular fascination with the cultural sector, as a result of a long-standing interest in theatre and dance. I also completed a four-month internship with a cultural organisation, based in Malmö, Sweden, as part of my master programme. These experiences have made me familiar with social and organisation norms in the cultural sector which puts me in a good position to interpret qualitative data

¹⁴ Eliot Tretter, “The ‘Value’ of Europe: The Political Economy of Culture in the European Community”, *Geopolitics*, 16 (2011), 928.

¹⁵ Dominic Power, *Priority Sector Report: Creative and Cultural Industries* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2011), 5.

¹⁶ Tretter, *The Value of Europe*, 926.

¹⁷ Phil Cooke and Lisa De Propis, “A policy agenda for EU smart growth: the role of creative and cultural industries”, *Policy Studies* 32:4 (2011), 366.

collected from this environment. I also gained a number of contacts which I anticipated being of use in writing this thesis.

1.5 Research Questions

There is apparently little research done to date regarding uses of English as a lingua franca in the various walks of life in Europe. Still less that relates to opinions or attitudes towards the language. Some survey research has been carried out in Europe, most notably, work done by Eurobarometer. However, it must be borne in mind that questionnaire-based studies do not always accurately reflect the opinions of a population. People may not take the time to analyse and express their true feelings, or the range of pre-defined answers may not offer any avenue to do so. This thesis is a qualitative study that hopes to address at least one of these neglected niches, using **interviews** to explore the perspectives of cultural workers in Europe towards English as a tool for communication in their work. The research questions may be explicitly stated as:

- How do cultural workers in Europe view English and its role as a communication tool in relation to their work?
- How can narratives from interviews with cultural workers be used to explore the idea of suitability or appropriateness in relation to English as a lingua franca in Europe?

The first question is an exploratory enquiry, intended to provide a space of expression for the myriad of views that may exist among Europe's cultural workers in order to build a conceptual picture of the attitudes held. Question two is motivated by the article from Smith mentioned above. Smith undertakes to challenge the position of English as lingua franca, pointing to various (mainly technical) reasons for why it does not deserve to occupy this position. His main argument is based around a claim that English fails in the most important characteristic of being easy to learn because of the complexity of its structure.¹⁸ In chapter four I draw on material collected during the practical phases of my research to suggest that the assessment of whether English is easy to learn (and thereby whether it makes a good lingua franca) could be based on other criteria, which may be more relevant to the modern European context.

¹⁸ See: Ross Smith, "Global English: gift or curse?" *English Today* 21:02 (2005), 61.

1.6 Research Design

I will now turn to a brief description of the research design for the thesis, devised in the attempt to suggest answers to the above research questions. Both issues revolve around the intangible and subjective matter of opinion towards English as a language, and therefore require a research project based upon qualitative methods. An ideal approach would give the research participants an opportunity to voice their thoughts and ideas without restriction. Accordingly, I decided to collect material by conducting **interviews** with cultural workers based in European countries. I planned semi-structured interviews of around 30 minutes, during which I invited European cultural workers to talk about the ways that they use English in their work and their feelings towards the language. All interviews were in English, and were a mixture of face-to-face meetings and Skype video calls. The latter being for those participants living outside Sweden. The material collected from the interviews was then analysed using a mixture of discourse and narrative analysis, with the intention of proposing answers to the research questions.

Regarding the sample group: owing to the emphasis on European perspectives, I wanted to widen the scope of the study beyond a single country. However, for reasons of limited time and resources I was forced to set boundaries, and eventually ended up with a sample population of four countries. I chose **Sweden** and **Austria** for reasons of convenience and easy access. I was living in Sweden at the time of the research, and have been involved in the cultural sector in both Sweden and Austria. Accordingly, I had contacts who could potentially agree to participate in the research, and who could provide access to others in their field in these two countries. I also chose the **UK** and **France**, for their interesting and somewhat opposing perspectives on the English language. French could be considered to have been thrust aside as a popular second language by the encroachment of English, and there has been something of an “anti-English” stereotype associated with French people ever since. Furthermore, the French government has employed protective measures designed to halt the influence of English on the French language.¹⁹ I was interested to see whether French cultural workers conform to this image, and if not, what the range of their feelings towards the English language were. I thought that British cultural workers might have some interesting points to add from their unique standpoint with regards to English.

¹⁹ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 22-23

There was an added advantage in including people from my own country as a measure of control over the unwitting influence of my own ideas and perspectives on the research.

This chapter has introduced the thesis paper by providing an initiation to the thesis topic in general terms, and then by explaining the narrowed focus on attitudes and on the cultural sector. A brief description of the research project was followed by support for the choice of countries in the sample group. The next chapter is the literature review, where previous research on the topic of English as a lingua franca will be explored in more detail and some of the main issues and debates relating to the field described and critically discussed.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and critically examine some of the most relevant literature relating to my topic and research questions. This is in order to acquaint the reader with the most pertinent issues under debate, and to set the scene for my own research project which was introduced in the previous chapter and is described in more detail in chapter three. This chapter is divided into sections, the first of which addresses general ideas by respected scholars associated with the field. Later sections describe more specific concepts, which have direct relevance to my chosen research topic.

2.1 Background to the spread of English

Linguistic scholar David Crystal has been described as “the world’s leading expert on the globalisation of English”.²⁰ His popular book *English as a Global Language* was published in 1997, with an updated second edition in 2003. The book tells the story behind the progression of English to its current position as the global lingua franca, suggesting that English “repeatedly found itself in the right place at the right time” by being the language behind various powerful global trends.²¹ Crystal claims that the survival of any language on the world stage has little to do with the characteristics of that language, but rather is a product of the power associated with its speakers.²² He notes that this power may take various forms, exemplifying how the economic and technological power of the USA was just as important a factor in the success of the English language as the earlier military conquests and colonialism of the UK.²³ Criticism of the early edition of Crystal’s book was published by another important scholar within the field: Robert Phillipson (see next section for discussion of his work). In the review Phillipson disparages Crystal for being unscholarly and triumphalistic, as well as focusing too much on the USA. He also claims that Crystal ignores some of the less-pleasant aspects of English’s rise to the top, and pays scarce attention to important social and political issues that arise as a result of its dominant position.²⁴ Crystal addresses some of these shortcomings in the later edition where he

²⁰ Ross Smith, “Global English: Gift or Curse?,” *English Today* 21:02 (2005): 56.

²¹ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 120.

²² *Ibid*, 7-9.

²³ *Ibid*, 59.

²⁴ Robert Phillipson “Voice in Global English: Unheard Chords in Crystal Loud and Clear”, Review of *English as a Global Language*, by David Crystal, *Applied Linguistics* 20/2 (1999), 265-276.

claims to adopt “a more conventional academic style of presentation”,²⁵ however, I tend to side with Phillipson in believing that Crystal, in his zeal to appeal to the popular reader, tends to over-romanticise, closing his eyes to some of the more serious and controversial aspects of the hegemony of English.

An important contemporary in the field of English as a lingua franca is British linguist, David Graddol. His first book on the topic, *The Future of English?*, and its later update: *English Next*, were both commissioned by the British Council. The latter is a state-funded body concerned mainly with the cultural politics of promoting the UK, especially the English language, abroad. In these publications, Graddol also describes and explains the growth of English but his approach to the topic differs in that he is far more economically focused than Crystal. His books have something of the perspective of a large company assessing the development of their leading product in international markets. He draws attention to proliferation of English-speakers as a source of advantage and income for the UK, particularly in the growth of the language-teaching industry.²⁶ However, he also points out that the language has spread so far that native speakers are no longer its chief stakeholders,²⁷ and in fact may cease to become relevant to new models of global English (see also section 2.5).²⁸

While their work gives a good introduction to the topic, it is also important to note that both Crystal and Graddol are native speakers of English, who grew up and were educated in the UK. As such, they and their work must be considered to fall within certain discourses related to the UK and Europe. In particular, Graddol’s work was commissioned and published by an organisation which publicly states the goal of promoting the standing of English within the foreign (non-UK) community and is therefore part of UK branding discourse.²⁹ Both Crystal and Graddol address problems associated with the dominance of English. Crystal’s perfunctory list includes power imbalances, native-speaker complacency and language death.³⁰ Graddol offers a more subtle rendering of ethical concerns, pointing out that the rise of English has so far largely been a process of “economic rationalism”,³¹

²⁵ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, xi

²⁶ David Graddol, *English Next*, (Online version: The British Council, 2006), 116.

²⁷ David Graddol, *The Future of English?*, (Online version: The British Council, 1997), 3.

²⁸ Graddol, *English Next*, 114.

²⁹ “About the British Council”, accessed 12/5/2013: <http://www.britishcouncil.org/about>

³⁰ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 14-25.

³¹ Graddol, *The Future of English?*, 4.

and that equitable treatment towards the languages of different nations may become an important issue in future years, leading to a requirement for more careful consideration of the social and cultural effects of language policy in large international bodies and state education systems.

2.2 The Expediency vs. Equality Debate

The question of social equity is a key concern related to the spread of English, and is one of the main premises of Robert Phillipson's book *English-Only Europe?*. He discusses the degree to which English has spread throughout Europe, describing it as a "linguistic cuckoo",³² which, once planted in the nest proceeds in violently evicting the former occupants (i.e., the other languages of Europe), causing the continent to become increasingly monolingual. He declares that European citizens are bombarded with English on a daily basis and warns that diminishing linguistic diversity may lead to a homogenisation of cultures and thought-patterns, predicting a demise of the "Blessings of Babel".³³ Phillipson remarks that English is effectively the working language of the EU, despite the fact that French and German have equal official status.³⁴ The reason is one of expedience, but he claims that it creates social inequality by giving an undue advantage to native speakers of English (e.g. UK) in policy-making negotiations, and because it denies smaller countries the right to have their language recognised on an equal standing.

On the other side of this debate is Belgian philosopher Philippe Van Parijs. His book *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World* holds the pursuit of justice to be the most important concern for mankind, a goal which he declares not possible without a common language.³⁵ He asserts that the search for a worldwide *demos*, achieved only through the efficient communication of a shared tongue, outweighs narcissistic concerns of social equity in relation to languages.³⁶ While acknowledging and discussing alternatives to English as a worldwide lingua franca, he holds that it would be foolish to ignore the expedience of a massive head-start already gained by English towards this goal. He declares that the advantage for Anglophones of being able to use their native tongue is shrinking, and predicts that it will eventually disappear. He urges democratisation of world

³² Phillipson, *English-Only Europe*, 4.

³³ Ibid, 24-60.

³⁴ Ibid, 123.

³⁵ Van Parijs, *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*, 29.

³⁶ Ibid, 37.

communication by ensuring that everyone learns English as quickly as possible. It is interesting to contrast his depiction of language diversity as “the curse of Babel”,³⁷ with Phillipson’s portrayal of the “Blessings of Babel”. The two authors could be considered to reside at either end of a spectrum in this aspect of debate.

2.3 Bourdieu and Linguistic Capital

Expedience in the previous section could in some cases be replaced with the word “profit”. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Graddol describes the spread of English as a process of “economic rationalism”,³⁸ meaning that English grew to be used so widely because it was economically profitable for people to learn the language. The equation of language with profit is by no means a new idea, and may be traced back as far as a 1977 paper by French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who uses profit in the sense of utility. In this article Bourdieu portrays language as an instrument of power, noting that the right to speak in a certain context may also equate to the right “not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished”.³⁹ He observes that people change their mode of speech, depending on the circumstances, and describes linguistic competence as the ability to produce appropriate speech in the right situation. This competence, he denotes as a type of cultural capital (linguistic capital), which may translate into a “profit” (of being understood, respected etc.) if used in relation to the appropriate “market”.⁴⁰ To illustrate with an example of my own devising: a university professor would be expected to garner respect and approval by speaking about his knowledge in a lecture hall, but would undoubtedly have the opposite effect if he did so on-stage at a rock concert. This illustrates the importance of the setting for his (the professor’s) type of discourse, and thus his linguistic capital (made up of speech related to knowledge of his field) is limited to certain markets. Bourdieu asserts that there is no intrinsic value in language itself, only in the social position of the speaker in relation to their situation, and goes on to propose that “a language is worth what those who speak it are worth”.⁴¹ In this manner, his model of linguistic capital may be extended to encompass whole languages, for example at one point in the article he notes the “devaluation” of French in relation to English.⁴²

³⁷ Ibid, 209.

³⁸ Graddol, *The Future of English?*, 4.

³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, “The economics of linguistic exchanges”, *Social Science Information* 16 (1977): 648.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 650.

⁴¹ Ibid 652.

⁴² Ibid, 651.

To develop this line of thinking, if linguistic capital (which leads to social profit or utility) is the ability to produce appropriate speech in various situations, I would suggest that the ability to speak English bestows the greatest amount of linguistic capital on its speaker, because the worldwide relevance of English makes it appropriate in so many countries and areas of life. Acquiring English increases the learner's linguistic capital exponentially, because it provides access to so many new "markets". This developed concept of linguistic capital is important to my final conclusions, and will also be used to support the discussion in chapter four.

2.4 Perspectives and Constructions

I will now consider the question of attitudes held towards English and the stereotypes created within current discourse. Bourdieu remarks that language does not possess "intrinsic virtues" outside of its use as a tool for communication within a certain social context.⁴³ Nevertheless, Crystal,⁴⁴ and Phillipson,⁴⁵ note the existence of discourses related to a supposed inherent superiority of English, the origins of which may be found in ideologies engrained during colonial times and in an exaggerated reverence for the language of famous writers such as Shakespeare. Phillipson remarks that ideas of linguistic superiority tend not to prevail to any great extent in modern educated societies. However, Smith (supported by my own experience) holds that these discourses persist, particularly in relation to American English.⁴⁶ There is also a related, and more tenacious strain of discourse linked to the role of English as a medium of business and advertising. English has been branded as "the language of power",⁴⁷ one which "connotes pleasure, employment, influence, and prestige" as a result of being associated with so many fields of work and leisure.⁴⁸ Phillipson explains the enduring popularity of English as a result of correlation between requirements imposed by education and the job market and the compelling incentives presented by activities and interests such as sport and popular music.⁴⁹ Opposing discourses see English in the negative sense explained in section 2.2, as an oppressive tyrant, ignoring and displacing smaller languages. Graddol notes that French has received some small gains in the European language market due to its handy position

⁴³ Bourdieu, *The economics of linguistic exchanges*, 651.

⁴⁴ Crystal, *English as a global language*, 74.

⁴⁵ Phillipson, *English-Only Europe?*, 48.

⁴⁶ Smith, *Global English*, 57.

⁴⁷ Ombudsperson for Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gret Haller, 1999, cited in *ibid*, 5.

⁴⁸ Phillipson, *English-Only Europe?*, 7.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 89.

as a large language that is “not English”.⁵⁰ However, these negative associations do not necessarily have factual backing. A study by House concludes that English is not necessarily a threat to multilingualism in Europe.⁵¹ Graddol concurs, explaining that the spread of English cannot usually be blamed as the direct cause of language loss. The demise of smaller languages is better attributed to the effects of globalisation that trigger urbanisation and the break-up of smaller linguistic groupings.⁵² Nevertheless, English may displace other languages in certain social functions of multilingual societies.⁵³

2.5 EFL and The Fourth Age of English

The English spoken by non-natives (often called “English as a Foreign Language”, abbreviated to EFL), is now coming to be recognised as a specific mode of communication and is categorised as a distinct variety of English. It has even spawned a separate linguistic discipline known as EFL studies.⁵⁴ This type of English is primarily a tool for communication, and thus excludes one of the usual functions of language as a means of identifying with a certain community.⁵⁵ Or conversely, EFL could be described as a means of identifying with the rest of the world. Another name for EFL in some contexts is “Global English”, which Graddol describes as a new era in the history of the English language, set within the context of a restructuring of the entire world’s language system.⁵⁶ Graddol defines English as a “global resource”, in which native speakers are increasingly becoming “minority stakeholders”.⁵⁷ Although the UK still reaps £1.3 billion a year from teaching English,⁵⁸ (according to the British Council, the English language is second only to North Sea Oil in importance for the UK economy)⁵⁹ the language can no longer be said to belong to Britain, nor to any other English speaking nation, and is almost totally independent of the control of any single authority. Consequently, native speakers of English are being increasingly displaced from their discursive hegemony as guardians of

⁵⁰ Graddol, *The future of English?*, 9.

⁵¹ House, *English as a threat to other European languages and European multilingualism?*, 601.

⁵² Graddol, *The future of English?*, 39.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵⁴ Margie Berns, “English as lingua franca and English in Europe,” *World Englishes* 28:2 (2009): 192.

⁵⁵ House, *English as a threat to other European languages and European multilingualism?*, 595.

⁵⁶ Graddol, *English Next*, 58-60.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁸ Lord Neil Kinnock, foreword to *English Next* by David Graddol (Online Version: The British Council, 2006), 4.

⁵⁹ Cited in Phillipson, *English-Only Europe?*, 77.

an imaginary “standard English”.⁶⁰ Worldwide variations of grammar, spelling, syntax and vocabulary are coming to be accepted on an equal standing, rather than falling on either side of the correct/incorrect dichotomy.⁶¹ Phillipson remarks that this to some extent makes learning English hard, since there is no generally accepted standard.⁶² Likewise, speakers of widely different versions of English may encounter trouble in understanding each other. Ironically, it is most often native speakers of English who have communication problems in a multilingual situation.⁶³ Native speakers are often monolingual, since a result of speaking the world’s lingua franca is that it reduces the incentive to learn other languages. As a result they tend to be ignorant of the challenges of speaking a foreign language and unused to adapting their speech to make it more understandable. They may have a daunting effect on non-natives arising from persistent discourses which view native English as “correct”.⁶⁴ Furthermore, concerns about “declining standards” of English may exist only in a native speaker context, since they draw on the afore-mentioned native-speaker discourses of correctness.

However, there may still be a place for the native speaker in EFL contexts. Linguist Kurt introduces a social constructivist perspective on English as a lingua franca with the notion of the “My English” condition, which describes the version of English that each speaker acquires through a process of creative construction.⁶⁵ This personal construction is based on the individual’s requirements of performance for the language (for example, whether they are aiming at fluency or just understandability) and their desire for identification with and participation within a speech community. A person’s “My English” model is inevitably different to the target model that they were intended to adopt and this is because standards of correctness against which the speaker measures themselves are also an internal self-construction, created through exposure to language interactions. Kohn describes this construction of an internal standard or target model as the ultimate ownership of the language, and prescribes exposure to native speakers as important for its construction.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Kurt Kohn, “English as a lingua franca and the Standard English misunderstanding” in *English in Europe today*, ed. Annick De Houwer and Antje Wilton (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 74.

⁶¹ House, *English as a threat to other European languages and European multilingualism?*, 594.

⁶² Phillipson, *English-Only Europe?*, 140.

⁶³ Graddol, *English Next*, 87.

⁶⁴ Kohn, *English as a lingua franca and the Standard English misunderstanding*, 71-72

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 79-84.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 84.

2.6 The Question of Appropriateness

EFL and Global English are often presented as simplified versions which reduce the idioms and inconsistencies of native speech that make the language difficult to use in lingua franca situations. Despite these modifications, an article in the journal *English Today* questions whether English is an effective or suitable lingua franca. The author, Smith, makes no attempt to deny the obvious position of English as the world's lingua franca, but challenges whether the language *deserves* that status. He compares English with the notion of an “ideal” lingua franca, listing various features that would be expected in the latter and commenting that English falls woefully short of achieving these expectations. Among the aspects that make it “unsuitable” as a lingua franca he mentions: “unpronounceability, irregularity, over-complexity, and ambiguity”.⁶⁷ To Smith's mind, the most important feature of a lingua franca is that it should be easy to learn, and he argues that English fails in this for the reasons listed above.

Smith's viewpoint may be contrasted with Graddol, who proposes that English is an effective lingua franca because of its hybrid nature and flexibility.⁶⁸ As noted above, Graddol's work lies firmly within UK discourses for the promotion of English, but his point is a valid one, even allowing for the rose-tinted spectacles of a native. In my opinion, Smith takes too technical an approach in crafting his criteria of suitability, basing them only on linguistic features, and ignoring important social aspects. I would argue that English is easy to learn, but for reasons of accessibility, prevalence, and the motivation of profit or utility arising from the reward of the ability to communicate with the rest of the world. To my mind, these factors play a greater role in language learning than the points of grammar and spelling that Smith mentions. I suggest that Smith makes the mistake of equating the worth of a language with its inherent linguistic features, when the wisdom of Bourdieu's linguistic capital (see above) makes it clear that the worth of a language lies in the respect and acclaim earned by those who speak it. These issues form the basis for my discussion of the second research question, which addresses the question of suitability in relation to English as a lingua franca, in chapter four.

⁶⁷ Smith, *Global English*, 58.

⁶⁸ Graddol, *The Future of English?*, 6.

2.7 Conclusion to the Literature Review

This chapter has reviewed thoughts and theories from some of the most important scholars in the field, and has drawn attention to a few key debates and topics. A background discussion was followed by elucidation of the equity/expedience debate, which led the way into an explanation of Bourdieu's linguistic capital. I then covered discourses related to positive and negative constructions of English as a lingua franca. This was followed by an exploration of EFL as a separate mode of communication and its place in the global linguistic context. The final section dealt with the question of whether English is a suitable choice for the world's lingua franca. Smith thinks not, but I disagree with his view. I use Bourdieu's conception of the relationship between language and power to contend that Smith bases his criteria of "suitability" on factors which may be irrelevant. These final ideas are particularly pertinent to my second research question about the suitability of English as a lingua franca. They will be used alongside interview extracts in the discussion of material in chapter four. The next chapter is an explanation of the methods, where I describe the interview techniques and theoretical approach of my thesis in more detail.

Chapter 3 – Methods

3.1 The Research Questions

As explained in chapter one, the purpose of the research behind this thesis is to use material collected from qualitative interviews in exploring the following questions related to English as a lingua franca in Europe's cultural sector:

- How do cultural workers in Europe view English and its role as a communication tool in relation to their work?
- How can narratives from interviews with cultural workers be used to explore the idea of suitability or appropriateness in relation to English as a lingua franca in Europe?

This chapter will first describe the epistemological framework underpinning the theoretical approach of this thesis. This is followed by a justification of the interview methodology and a critical explanation of the interview process. The latter will include reflection on the limitations of the chosen methods, and acknowledgement of my role as researcher and native speaker of English.

3.2 Theoretical Approach

This thesis is written using a theoretical approach drawn from hermeneutics in that it is based heavily on interpretation of qualitative material with the aim of producing knowledge by discerning social and cultural meanings from text and narrative. The research questions are concerned with the subjective matter of attitudes towards a language. The material collected is therefore not susceptible to reliable measurement. Instead I make great use of interpretive tools such as discourse analysis in my analysis of the interview texts, assessing how the choice of words and the meanings expressed relate to social context and the body of “truths” related to a topic. I also make some use of narrative analysis, assessing how the interviewees use stories to explain their understanding of situations and contexts. My approach has something of a post-modern perspective because I am interested in the different thoughts and stories that may emerge from the interview process. Rather than looking for confirmation of strict hypotheses and pre-defined themes, I hope to be open to the suggestions of new ideas and notions, ready to

explore the landscapes of meaning that may be constructed as a result of allowing the interview interaction to run its natural course. This approach corresponds to Kvale's postmodern conception of the interviewer as a traveller.⁶⁹ Social constructionism is another key theory underlying my approach to the research. I draw particularly on the ideas of Bourdieu and Kohn (see chapter two) in my conception of language as a social construct, created through interaction. Bourdieu notes that people changes their mode of speech according to the situation.⁷⁰ I take this to mean that there may be various different "versions" of a language which emerge or disappear depending on the circumstances. A linked concept is the "My English condition" explained by Kohn,⁷¹ which describes a person's constructed version of a second language as compared to an equally constructed vision of an ideal model for that language.

3.3 The Interview Methodology

My interest in interviewing arose mainly as a result of the interviewing practice included in the methodology course that was a part of my master programme. The research questions and interview methodology behind this thesis were developed in conjunction, out of a wish to gain more experience with interviewing for research. Aside from my interest, I consider interviews to be the most appropriate method of approaching my research questions, both of which call for qualitative material from individuals in a narrow sample group to form and support an answer. Interviews allow for the asking of open-ended questions and invite the participant to express much more depth and subtlety of meaning. Furthermore, the length and the interactive nature of an interview encourages the interviewees to open up and relate stories from their experience and memories. The collected material therefore has greater authenticity than, for example, a survey where responses are limited to pre-determined choices. These stories and recollections are often the richest source of material to support the arguments presented in a research paper. Moreover, conclusions drawn by implication out of a thorough analysis of discourse and narratives may provide a clearer and more reliable answer for the research questions than those garnered simply by asking direct questions.

⁶⁹ Steiner Kvale, *Doing Interviews* (London: Sage Publications, 2007) 19-20.

⁷⁰ Bourdieu, *The economics of linguistic exchanges*, 648-651.

⁷¹ Kohn, *English as a lingua franca and the Standard English misunderstanding* ,71-94.

I chose to do semi-structured interviews, meaning that I entered the interview situation with a list of questions, but that I was free to change or rephrase or re-order questions, and to add or remove questions as the mood arose. I felt this method to be most appropriate for the collection of material on which I later intended to use discourse and narrative analysis. The freedom to adapt my questioning according to the natural progression of the interview was essential to the process of collecting stories from the participants. For example, questions eliciting further detail on a certain point show that I, the researcher, am interested in their anecdote and they are encouraged to continue without the potentially unsettling changes of topic that could arise from a set question list. Before the interviews, the participants were told about my thesis topic (i.e. that I was interested in perceptions of English as a common language as used in their work), and about my background as a student in Sweden coming originally from the UK. Some of the interviewees were friends or people that I knew well, meaning that there was a danger of them relying to some degree on my implicit knowledge about them in their answers to my questions. I tried to combat this by asking them to give all information related to their answers even if they were aware that I already knew what they were telling me. It was important to get as much information as possible onto the recordings in order to avoid having to fall back on my knowledge of their working situation, thereby avoiding the risk of me remembering things wrongly or putting my own interpretation on a matter.

The interviews were a mixture of interviews in person, and others carried out using the online video-call service: Skype. Using the method of distance interviewing via video-calls was a way to make the most of limited resources and broaden the sample group. By using video-calls I was able to interview people who were located in other countries. As a justification for the mixture of Skype and personal interviews, those participants who were located nearby were generally the people that I knew outside of the research project. I felt that to insist on a Skype interview with them for the sake of consistency would make the interview situation seem unnecessarily contrived and perhaps inhibit them from sharing their thoughts, without necessarily adding anything in the way of benefit. Using Skype had an additional advantage in that it enabled me to speak to highly placed personnel such as artistic directors, who may not have otherwise agreed to speak to me. A video-call that can be done from the comfort of your own desk (or in my case, the kitchen at home) at an agreed time may be perceived as being less trouble than a meeting in person. Meetings require time preparation in the form of arrangements for travel, space and personal matters,

e.g., dress. Video calls require only the time of the call duration, but are superior to telephone calls because the parties are able to see each other. Although some interaction in the form of body language may be lost as a result of the reduced visual, this is negligible, especially since the analysis is done mainly from the interview recordings. All interviews were recorded on a Dictaphone and later transcribed (see appendices for transcriptions). The sound quality for the Skype interviews was slightly worse, especially if the connection was bad, with the occasional word being unintelligible. However, unintelligible sections were also present in the recordings of the in-person interviews, and overall this did not significantly affect the analysis.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethics are an important concern for every researcher, but particularly so for those conducting interviews, which often target controversial topics and entail delving deeply into the subjects personal or work life. The resulting data may be sensitive enough to require steps to be taken to protect the interviewee from any negative consequences of publishing the results. The interview process should be based on the principal of informed consent – meaning that the interviewees know the scope and purpose of the research – and should not result in any adverse effects on the participants' lives⁷². For the purposes of my research, the important thing was to make sure that the use of the participants' responses in writing my thesis paper would not result in any harm to either them or the organisations that they represented. The topic of my research, while it would probably not be deemed controversial in most European countries, nevertheless has cultural and political significance. Furthermore, it is important not to make assumptions about the importance of these matters in other people's lives as there may be unknown factors at play. Accordingly, at the start of all interviews I asked the permission of the interviewee with regards to recording the conversation. At the end of all interviews I asked the participant whether it would be ok to use their name in connection to their responses when writing up the thesis. Consent was given on all counts, with the exception of one participant who requested that I not use the names of any co-workers that might have been mentioned without first asking permission. In this case I offered instead to simply take out the names, which was deemed to be an acceptable compromise.

⁷² Steier Kvale, *Doing Interviews*, 28-31.

3.5 The Sample Group

As stated in the introduction and the research questions above, the research is concerned with European cultural workers, meaning people working at various organisations in the cultural sector in Europe. Participants for the research were a mixture of friends, contacts and other participants garnered by way of writing prospective emails to cultural organisations. The research participants were concentrated in four countries, namely Austria, France, Sweden and the UK. The short time period allotted for the research meant that I could not interview an unlimited number of people. I decided to limit the research to just four countries in order to be able to speak to more than one person in each country to allow for any marked national opinions to emerge. I chose the countries indicated for the reasons explained in chapter one. In the table I have divided the participants into two age-groups which roughly represent the ‘older’ and ‘younger’ generations. There is an even split between these two groups, although not necessarily within the same countries. The mix of genders is heavily weighted on the female side, but I would argue that this is something of a reflection of the population of cultural workers, and gender should not have a significant effect on the results. Table 3.1 describes the demographics of the sample group, who are listed in the order in which they were interviewed.

Table 3.1 Participant Demographics

Name	Organisation & Country	Nationality	Gender	Age Group
Ludivine Veysiere	Malmö Oper, Sweden	France	Female	Under 30
Caroline Ulvsand	Drömmarnas Hus, Sweden	Sweden	Female	Over 30
Lisa Klien	Schauspielhaus Graz, Austria	Austria	Female	Under 30
Ariane Bieou	In-Situ Network, France	France	Female	Over 30
Alice Sobel	Tamam, Sweden	Sweden	Female	Under 30
Michael Walling	Border Crossings, UK	UK	Male	Over 30
Margot Michaud	Banlieues d’Europe, France	France	Female	Under 30
Andrea Klien	Musikkonzept, Austria	Austria	Female	Under 30
Claudia Eipeldauer	Wochenklausur, Austria	Austria	Female	Over 30
Clymene Christoforou	Isis Arts, Uk	UK	Female	Over 30

3.6 Limitations of the chosen methodology

All research methods are subject to drawbacks and limitations. The job of the researcher is to try to use time and resources effectively, designing the research method so as to get the most reliable data possible to answer the research questions. Interviews are no exception to the rule, being by definition an interactive process between the researcher and interviewee, producing what could be described as “fuzzy knowledge”, meaning qualitative data which requires interpretation by the researcher to become useful. The interpretative process necessitates that the data be passed through the subjective filter of the researcher’s mind where it will be processed according to his or her knowledge and experience, but will also be subject to that person’s prejudices, opinions and preconceptions. Semi-structured interviews, as used in this research project, intensify researcher influence on the results by adding the potential for missing and leading questions. The subjective factors described above reduce the reliability of the findings and make it difficult to replicate a study of this kind, but do not necessarily render the results worthless. Instead it is important to recognise the role of the researcher as an additional subject in the research process. In the current research project I have tried to combat the effects of my subject-position, by making explicit, wherever possible, the effects of my role as the researcher and as a native-speaker of English. Another key limitation in the methodology included the choice of interview language (i.e. English) on the sample and on the efficacy of communication during the interviews. The largely self-selecting sample was limited to people who could speak English well enough to be interviewed about their opinions on the language. I chose to do this mainly because I did not feel comfortable enough with any other language to be able to interpret interviewee responses reliably. This resulted in an obvious bias towards people possessing a certain degree of skill with the language which may correlate with holding certain opinions about that language. Furthermore, limiting the interaction to only English may have limited the expression of those participants who were not communicating in their native language. Moreover it discursively limited the interaction to certain meanings and expressions existing within English. Consideration of these factors and speculation as to their effect on the results are discussed in more depth in the next chapter.

3.7 Details of the Interviews

The standard list of questions used during interviews with all participants except those from the UK may be found in Appendix 1. The question list was modified for the UK subjects to take into account their unique position in relation to English. This modified list

may be found in Appendix 2. The questions were designed with the research objectives in mind, also holding the theoretical framework described earlier in contemplation. The first interview with Ludivine Veyssiere took place a while before the others, and was originally designated as a pilot interview, in order to test the question list and interview structure. When it emerged that no major changes were necessary to the interview design, the data from this interview was held to be comparable and was included in the discussion with the rest of the material. The interviews were, on the whole, successful, with the participants becoming engaged in the process and giving willing responses to the questions. I enjoyed doing the interviews, while also finding them draining due to the degree of concentration required to listen carefully and keep the conversation on track. With regards to the Skype interviews, there were occasional problems with hearing and understanding each other caused by a bad connection. There were also sporadic problems with the video image freezing, or in one interview being entirely absent because the participant did not have a camera. The video problems were less important than the sound ones, but still had an effect in, for example causing uncertainty about whether the other party had finished speaking or not.

3.8 The Transcription Process

All interviews were recorded using a Dictaphone and the resulting sound files were transcribed by myself. The transcriptions are available in appendices 3-12. Appendix 3 also includes an explanation of the rules I followed while transcribing, regarding which sounds were to be included in the transcription and which could be left out. Transcribing the interviews made me realise anew the degree of interpretation that goes into translating a text from spoken to written language. Since people rarely speak in full sentences the use of emphasis and punctuation can make all the difference in the meaning of a written text. Since I was the one who would be interpreting the transcriptions, I tried to transcribe the sound so that it would be easy for me to understand, while at the same time also fairly clear for those coming from outside. The transcription was also an experience in learning about my own interview style and made me realise that I occasionally could have been clearer in phrasing my questions and more consistent in the way that I asked them.

This chapter has described and explained the methodological design of my thesis. It began with the research questions and theoretical approach, going on to describe the process of designing and carrying out the interviews. As mentioned above, the section considering limitations of my chosen methods will be developed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 – Findings and Discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the collected material and use it to suggest answers for the research questions.

4.1 Overview Of The Analysis Process

The material collected for a qualitative study, such as this one, requires interpretation by the researcher in order to discover and elucidate meanings that have value in the research context. Findings discovered through a process of interpretation cannot necessarily be displayed in graphs or tables, but instead are explored in prose over the course of this chapter. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the interviews went generally well, aside from negligible problems with internet connection. The twin processes of interviewing and transcribing made me very familiar with the material, and were a key step in the primary analysis of the material. This early exploration also highlighted some modifications that needed to be made to my initial research plan. I had originally intended to make a comparison between the different countries that my research participants came from, but in the absence of marked national differences I decided instead to organise the analysis into sections devoted to providing answers to the research questions (on reflection, the kind of comparison I had originally planned would be better served by a different research design, for example a survey with a large sample group). The discussion below includes small extracts from the interviews. For the most part, these extracts appear exactly as they are written in the transcription and accordingly may include repeated words and false starts. This was an intentional strategy to preserve the authenticity of the meanings expressed. Each question and reply has been numbered, which corresponds to the numbers given with the named quotations in the discussion.

4.2 Views on English

This section concentrates on answering my first research question:

- How do cultural workers in Europe view English and its role as a communication tool in relation to their work?

References to English were generally positive, which was perhaps a reflection of participants' fluency in the language. In the pilot interview, Ludivine Veyssiere

commented “*your relationship to a language...very much depends on how good you are at it*”.⁷³ It would be reasonable to assume that the participants chose the kind of work that they do because they were attracted by the chance to use their language skills. However, there are also examples that make it clear that good English can be consequence of, rather than just a reason for, working in the cultural sector:

*“...I think from these three years I’ve been more, I feel more comfortable with speaking English. Because in the beginning of the project I felt like this is not gonna work... I’m gonna be so nervous and I’m, I don’t have the words and I’m don’t know how to speak and so on. But for me, one result of this work have been that, yeah I feel quite comfortable. I know I’m not speaking it perfect, not even near, but it’s ok for me to speak English..”*⁷⁴

Caroline Ulvsand, Sweden

Positive attitudes towards English are supplemented by a serene acceptance of the language and its place within society. None of the non-natives I spoke to seemed resentful of English or viewed it as a threat to their own languages, and in fact there was a strong correspondence of perceptions towards English as a means of relating to the rest of the world. The following extracts exemplify this:

*“...I think it’s, it’s very important that there is a language that’s so big so that many people know how to speak it, so we can, I mean we can talk to each other, and it’s ok for me that this language is English.”*⁷⁵

Caroline Ulvsand, Sweden

*“..I like [English] because I really use it very often and it’s very helpful...I have Spanish friends coming over for example, and you know we are with German people and they all speak English. That’s our common language...it’s really a link from everyone to everything, which is wonderful I think..”*⁷⁶

Andrea Klien, Austria

⁷³ Appendix 3, no. 18.

⁷⁴ Appendix 4, no.18.

⁷⁵ Appendix 4, no. 42.

⁷⁶ Appendix 10, no. 87.

*“For me I don’t feel threatened. I don’t feel that people will stop now to speak German because English is so used...I feel it’s always good to have like some possibilities to communicate with someone, and then if you’re really a sensible user of the language you might feel very quickly that just you know the language is not enough to understand someone who is using different words to describe the world, and this I think is a benefit.”*⁷⁷

Claudia Eipeldaur, Austria

*“...I think it’s like the base language. And now I get very annoyed at people that don’t speak English, because I feel like they **should** speak English.”*⁷⁸

Ludivine Veyssiere, France

*“I feel like, like Babel language kind of, like it’s connecting people from all over the world.”*⁷⁹

Alice Sobel, Sweden

These extracts from a variety of participants show that English is a positive and necessary part of their lives. Note the reference to Babel, the biblical legend, which was also used by both authors in the equity vs. expedience debate regarding English (see section 2.2). Alice’s meaning in this quotation takes the view of Van Parijs⁸⁰ towards the spread of English, because in the context she obviously regards it as a positive thing to be connected to other people by sharing a language.

It is perhaps unsurprising, when asking people about a second language that they use primarily for their work, that their impressions should be based around its role as a tool, and around conceptions of “usefulness”. Consider the following extracts:

*[Interviewer: “What is your opinion of English? What kind of associations do you have towards it?”] “Towards the language? I would say usefulness. Very useful.”*⁸¹

Andrea Klien, Austria

⁷⁷ Appendix 11, no. 40.

⁷⁸ Appendix 3, no. 18.

⁷⁹ Appendix 7, no. 62.

⁸⁰ Van Parijs, *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*, 209.

⁸¹ Appendix 10, no. 86-87.

*“for me it’s a tool. It’s a tool and it’s a communication tool.”*⁸²

Ariane Bieou, France

*“It’s a massive tool you know, and it’s for communication, it’s for referring to things, and that’s very interesting...”*⁸³

Claudia Eipeldaur, Austria

*“In France we are very active to be learning English very soon because we are encouraged to, because everybody knows that it’s the...language you are going to use for your work, when you travel or for papers or whatever...”*⁸⁴

Margot Michaud, France

Note in the last extract that Margot makes reference to public discourse on English skills in France by stating that “everybody knows” about the usefulness of English. These statements by various interviewees seem to be in opposition to Phillipson’s argument for social equity (see section 2.2), which he supports by declaring language policy to be “politically explosive” because language is too closely linked to our perception of reality to be regarded as merely a tool for communication.⁸⁵ Some of the participants confirm the constructionist conception of a link between language and reality:

*“...language is the way our, it cuts different reality from the world when you use a language and you think that things are quite different, slightly different and you can’t translate them. So definitely, it’s a different way of telling the world, of telling reality.”*⁸⁶

Margot Michaud, France

*“then I sometimes find it’s really nice to understand also how language is kind of creating...reality and so on.”*⁸⁷

Claudia Eipeldaur, Austria

⁸² Appendix 6, no. 79.

⁸³ Appendix 11, no. 40.

⁸⁴ Appendix 9, no. 26.

⁸⁵ Phillipson, *English-Only Europe?*, 108.

⁸⁶ Appendix 9, no. 54.

⁸⁷ Appendix 11, no. 14.

However, there is no hint of the anger towards the imposition of an alternate reality which one would expect from reading Phillipson, and the language seems to be widely accepted as simply a tool (see also the first extract from Claudia Eipeldaur where she states “*I don’t feel threatened*”). The answer may lie in a distinction between first and second languages highlighted by Clymene Christoforou:

“I think [English has] been a threat to French in a European context actually, since the opening up of the East and...Central Europe. But that’s in the context of vying for position of second-language. I don’t think it’s going to be a threat to first-language speakers.”

Clemene Christoforou, UK⁸⁸

The conclusion here is that, although English has spread widely across Europe, there is no feeling of panic among European cultural workers or fear of losing their native language. English is seen as a welcome and useful means of communicating with people outside their own country.

One negative aspect of English as a lingua franca, mentioned by several participants, is the influx of English words into their own languages, which according to Alice Sobel leads to a loss of “*nuance*” when speaking Swedish because English words constantly infiltrate the vocabulary.⁸⁹ Crystal, who is a native English speaker, discounts similar concerns in French newspapers, noting that English itself was built through similar influence from other languages and proposes that these additions are a development, rather than a degeneration of language.⁹⁰ This “development” discourse appears to abound among native speakers, being confirmed by Clemene Christoforou and Michael Walling:

“..perhaps it’s not a danger, perhaps it’s a progression, but words get adopted into languages because they’re being used, from other sources...an English word being

⁸⁸ Appendix 12, no. 46.

⁸⁹ Appendix 7, no. 64-67.

⁹⁰ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 23.

made to sound a little bit Greek for example...whether that's a threat or just a natural progression of language through time I don't know...."⁹¹

Clemene Christoforou, UK

*"..language has always been a rather fluid, open thing, I mean...English itself is a hybrid isn't it. A lot of it's French, a lot of it's German. A lot of modern English is Hindi or goes back to African languages by complex routes. And, no I think that, you know language has always been a dynamic thing and you would expect it to have the interchange. It's when the process works the opposite way and language becomes impoverished rather than enriched that I feel there are difficulties....."*⁹²

Michael Walling, UK

This is not the only example of dissimilarity of discourses between natives and non-native speaker contexts. While non-native opinions seem to be free of anger or resentment against English, conversely, native speakers in the UK appear to have inherited a degree of guilt for the oppressive actions of their forefathers during the UK's period of colonial expansion, which could perhaps be compared to the long-standing remorse of Germany for the memory of actions of the Nazis during the Holocaust:

*"[Interviewer:... do you see the spread of English in a global sense as a positive thing or negative or sort of a bit of both or neither?] ...I feel very ambivalent about it. It has its advantages, it also has its disadvantages. And the truth is that also it's the result of an Imperial period which is not something we should be desperately proud of."*⁹³

Michael Walling, UK

This discourse of inherited contrition is something of a native-owned construction in the European context. A discernible feature among European non-natives is the absence of political association of English with any particular country or continent:

"I can understand that this is very different from where you come from. For me from Sweden...[it is not tainted, there is no sub-text, I mean if you come from a former

⁹¹ Appendix 12, no. 46.

⁹² Appendix 8, no. 34.

⁹³ Appendix 8, no. 30.

colony' translated from Swedish] ..do you understand? There is no, like we don't have any hard feelings."⁹⁴

Caroline Ulvsand, Sweden

*"there's so many cultures that speaks English as their mother tongue so I don't associate it with like England or America or Australia or India or whatever country...."*⁹⁵

Alice Sobel, Sweden

*"...I think, what's kind of becoming established with English is that maybe there is no like such specific association with the language. Like in the sense of that, I don't know French is considered sexy...I think English doesn't have like such a like specific connotation, that it remains a little more neutral... I think also with globalisation people are getting more and more used to hearing English with accents, and that it's ok to have an accent as well."*⁹⁶

Lisa Klien, Austria

These viewpoints correspond to Cogo's depiction of English as "a symbol of globalisation, ...[detached]...from its historical associations with certain locations"⁹⁷ and with Graddol's portrayal of English as a global resource in which native speakers are becoming increasingly less relevant (see also section 2.5).⁹⁸ "Ownership" of the language is no longer restricted to natives and it is no longer only natives who hold the right to determine the language's development. This point is exemplified, using narratives from the interviews, in the next section.

A related point is the linguistic distinction between EFL (or Global English) and the English spoken by native speakers. Both natives and non-native participants acknowledged this difference in their modes of speech. Caroline describes how, during an international

⁹⁴ Appendix 4, no. 44-46.

⁹⁵ Appendix 7, no. 62.

⁹⁶ Appendix 5, no. 48.

⁹⁷ Alessia Cogo, "French is French, English is English": Standard language ideology in ELF debates". In *Linguistic Diversity in Europe, Current Trends and Discourses* ed Patrick Studer and Iwar Werlen (London: De Gruyter, 2012): 233.

⁹⁸ Graddol, *English Next*, 58-60

project, a group from a UK organisation called CCE took care to adapt their speech in order to make it easier for the non-natives to understand them:

“I could hear that when, the people working at CCE, when they speak to each other it felt... different than when they spoke to us...so they...speak more clearly and maybe not the same words and so on.”⁹⁹

Caroline Ulvsand, Sweden

Clymene Christoforou gives a native speaker perspective on the same matter:

“We have particular idioms and ways of speaking in English that’s very different from say a German-speaker or a Macedonian speaker. So yes you have to be a little bit less English about the way that you communicate. There’s a very lovely thing that went round on Facebook not so long ago that you might have seen, that was ‘a translation of The English into English’. ‘Perhaps you might consider doing this’ equals ‘I absolutely want you to do that’. I think that’s very true...we use a lot of words when perhaps we don’t need to and it’s not always very clear in English to the outsider.. what you’re trying to say directly. I think I’m familiar with that because I speak another language quite comfortably so I understand that it doesn’t translate directly, so you have to think about it in much plainer terms.”¹⁰⁰

Clemene Christoforou, UK

It is interesting to note her reference to a need to be “less English”, meaning in this context, to speak less like a native speaker and more as a speaker of EFL or Global English. As discussed in section 2.5, native speakers often experience problems in adapting their speech to communicate effectively in multilingual situations.¹⁰¹ Clymene acknowledges that it is her knowledge of Greek that gives her the insight enabling her to communicate effectively. The translation table that she mentions finding on Facebook (shown in appendix 13) is a good example of the rule that meanings in the English spoken by native-speakers can be infused with a sub-text that is not immediately clear to the non-native listener. It shows that acknowledgement of these difference exists in public

⁹⁹ Appendix 4, no. 30.

¹⁰⁰ Appendix 12, no. 22-24.

¹⁰¹ Graddol, *English Next*, 87

discourse. The other UK participant, Michael Walling, is also aware of the difference between these versions of English and comments on influence from the USA:

“I’m an English person and Global English is not English, it’s American and it’s very very different...Specific English usages tend not to fit very easily into the Global English vocabulary.”

“English is becoming a means for people from very very disparate backgrounds to be able to talk to each other and that’s the advantage. The disadvantage is that the language is becoming over-simplified, Americanised, commodified and you know we’re not dealing anymore with the same language which was spoken by Shakespeare and Milton...it’s becoming very very easy to name things and to quantify things in English as a business language. It’s becoming much less easy to find the poetry”¹⁰²

Michael Walling, UK

He is not the only one to notice this change in the language:

“I think that there’s an evolution of the language. I used to study literature and I love the English from the nineteenth century. But nowadays the type of English I use, I think it’s too much straight to the point...I think it has lost a bit of its poetry if I may say.”¹⁰³

Margot Michaud, France

Margot’s portrayal of English as being “*straight to the point*” is somewhat in opposition of Clymene’s description above where she notes that “*we use a lot of words when perhaps we don’t need to*”. Margot is of course talking about non-native versions of English, which according to Michael Walling are much simpler. While Michael defines this simplification as a disadvantage, other non-natives seem to appreciate the directness of EFL:

¹⁰² Appendix 8, no. 28 and 22.

¹⁰³ Appendix 9, no. 50.

*“I think it is a language that goes quite to the point...When I translate things from English to French or French to English... if I’ve got a French document that is ten pages it’s going to be eight pages in English....”*¹⁰⁴

Margot Michaud, France

*“...what I do like about [English] is that..[it] is very to-the-point in comparison to German for instance.”*¹⁰⁵

Lisa Klien, Austria

Kohn notes that each person creates their own version of the language through individual processes of absorption and interaction, and this constructed “My English” becomes their model for communication.¹⁰⁶ He also remarks on the intimidating power of natives in a multilingual context. These sentiments imply the persistence of discursive power held by native speakers to define correctness in relation to the language and were reflected by both natives and non-natives in the interviews:

*“Well obviously the natives speak better... It’s more of an equal relationship between non-natives. You know the natives are [holds hand high], like yeah. They’ll always speak better. I could spend my whole life in an English speaking country and I will still have that French accent that I just can’t get rid of.”*¹⁰⁷

Ludivine Veysiere, France

*“I was on a workshop in Berlin last summer which was around inter-culturalism and ...I was the only native speaker there and the organisers, who had the most perfect English you’ve ever heard, said that actually a lot of people found it very daunting because if they’re all speaking English but nobody’s native then they’re not scared of getting it wrong, whereas if someone is native they know that you know. And so actually some people can be quite put off by that presence”*¹⁰⁸

Michael Walling, UK

¹⁰⁴ Appendix 9, no. 48.

¹⁰⁵ Appendix 5, no. 48.

¹⁰⁶ Kohn, *English as a lingua franca and the Standard English misunderstanding*, 79-84.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix 3, no. 52.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix 8, no. 16.

Conclusion to section 4.2:

It seems that cultural workers in Europe view English in a primarily positive light, seeing the language as a useful tool in communicating with the rest of the world. There are few conflicts of interest because English is unlikely to replace first languages by becoming more popular as a second language. However there were some differences in viewing of the influx of English words into other languages, with native English-speakers seeing this as a “natural development” and non-natives seeing in a less favourable light. Alongside this, there was a clear distinction in modes of communication for natives and non-natives, which is reflected in the division between versions of native and Global English. Although English is no longer associated with any particular country, there is some persistence in discourses of correctness associated with native speakers which can have a damaging effect on non-native confidence.

4.3 A Suitable Lingua Franca?

This section uses discourse and narrative analysis to explore my second research question:

- How can narratives from interviews with cultural workers be used to explore the idea of suitability or appropriateness in relation to English as a lingua franca in Europe?

English is a poor lingua franca according to Ross Smith (see also section 2.6) because it fails in the criterion that he rates as being most important, that of being easy to learn.¹⁰⁹ However, the interviews with European cultural workers yielded material supporting the opposite argument: that English is in fact easy to learn. The supporting reasons for this tended to fall into the following categories:

- Because it is widely available and prevalent in Europe.
- Because there is a huge incentive to learn it in order to be able to communicate with the rest of the world.
- Because the nature of the language allow one to begin to communicate within a very short space of time.

I will take each of these reasons in turn, beginning with **widely available**.

¹⁰⁹ Smith, *Global English*, 58.

*“I do think that makes a very big difference because it is the easiest to have access to...English films books and anything like that in comparison to any other language. Like even Spanish which is like such a popular language but it’s much more difficult to get access to that. I think it’s like it’s a bit of a question of which was first, like whether English came first as a universal language or it became because the access is easier.”*¹¹⁰

Lisa Klien, Austria

*“I think that makes it easy to learn because it’s so available at all times. Every, like most movies you watch are from Hollywood...it’s so easy to see, to hear English everywhere we even use it you know in our own commercials, so I think it’s so present everywhere that it makes it a lot easier than to learn, I don’t know, French for example.”*¹¹¹

Andrea Klien, Austria

*“...a Russian researcher...and when you hear him, it was just perfect...but he watched a lot of movies and their TV was all in English and that’s why he spoke so well..”*¹¹²

Margot Michaud, France

These extracts pick up on the aspects described by Phillipson when he describes “bottom-up” incentives to learn English because of its relation to leisure activities.¹¹³ The second category of **communication** was discussed in some detail at the beginning of the last section. The basic premise is that, while for non-natives, English is not a means of identifying with one’s own culture, it can be a means to connect to the rest of the world. This is strengthened by the **ability to communicate with very little knowledge**, as explained in these extracts from interviews with Lisa and Claudia:

“...English is very easy in the beginning and then gets all the more difficult the better you want to speak it...grammar is very easy to pick up like the basics and then and you can very quickly say basic things and I think that’s what makes it so convenient to

¹¹⁰ Appendix 5, no. 46.

¹¹¹ Appendix 10, no. 71.

¹¹² Appendix 9, no. 40.

¹¹³ Phillipson, *English-Only Europe?*, 89.

have it as a universal language because like you don't need to invest a lot of time in order to communicate the basics, whereas you need more time with any other language almost to do that."¹¹⁴

Lisa Klien, Austria

*"with the minimum of words, you can start to communicate. Whereas for example in French I have the feeling the grammar is a bit more complicated to learn, so you need more pre-study before you can really start a decent conversation. Whereas in English you can also with only few words you can already start a basic conversation."*¹¹⁵

Claudia Eipeldaur, Austria

The ease of learning grammar and pronunciation may differ depending on one's previous language experience and the disparity between English and one's native tongue. However, the advantage of wide availability, the incentive for communication and the ease of beginning to speak with very little study are surely universal to everyone in the world.

The collected material may also be used to exemplify the flexibility of English. Two narrative extracts from the interviews follow. In the first story, Lisa describes the creation of a new English phrase related to the theatre project that she was involved in:

*"...And then what happens as well is that...within the context of your project and working in the same field, people kind of develop their own like lingo... I remember one word specifically, that was invented in the context of our production... it doesn't really exist in German either I think but they kind of invented it in German, and then translated it into English, which was 'Suitcase Production'. ... and I was like I don't think this is a word. But they invented it because what it meant was that the production needs to be so simplistic in, on an organisational level, with respect to set and costumes, that everything has to fit into suitcases so that it can be transported on a plane, so with no extra costs of transporting sets from A to B. That's what this word meant and they invented it for instance. And then everybody knows what it means so within the circle of people that were involved they understand what that means."*¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Appendix 5, no. 44.

¹¹⁵ Appendix 11, no. 34.

¹¹⁶ Appendix 5, no. 26.

In a related story, Claudia describes the adoption of German words within an English-speaking project carried out in Israel:

*“..we always said for example schmusen, that we want to schmuse with someone which means to, you know, start to have now a conversation with someone in a very kind way, in a very nice way you know...we want to bring someone into a specific direction and so we go there and be very nice and pleasant to this person, and so we always said we go now to schmuse with this person, and schmusen is a very German expression you know.”*¹¹⁷

Claudia Eipeldaur, Austria

Both Claudia and Lisa tell their stories from a first-person plural perspective, emphasising the importance of the community in which these words or phrases came to be used. Lisa also emphasises that it was quite a closed community, referring to “the circle of people that were involved” in the ownership of this newly-created phrase. Both stories also use a number of sentences to explain the concept expressed in the new word or phrase, implying that it was a significant communicative advantage for them to have it available. For both examples, the word or phrase has been significantly “Englishified” to make it fit within the context of the language that was being used. The ease with which they managed this supports Graddol’s depiction of English as a language that is flexible and easily expands to encompass new terminology.¹¹⁸

Conclusion to section 4.3:

Chapter two identified arguments against the position of English as a lingua franca. This section has used material collected during interviews with European cultural workers to consider the question of whether English is an effective lingua franca. The arguments presented, supported with extracts from interviews with non-natives, could be considered to undermine Smith’s argument that English is difficult to learn. The reasons supporting my assertion that English is easy to learn revolve around the widespread availability of the language, the communication possibilities available to its speakers, and the fact that a

¹¹⁷ Appendix 11, no. 28.

¹¹⁸ Graddol, *The Future of English?*, 6.

learner can begin to communicate with relatively little pre-study. Analysis of two more narrative extracts also confirmed Graddol's proposal that English is flexible and can easily adapt to new communicative contexts, which is a further argument for it being a suitable lingua franca.

4.4 Reflections on the Research Process

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the interviews were generally successful. However, this section will reflect on features of the methodology that may have caused the results to be less reliable. The first of these is the sample technique. Participants for the interview were identified either because they were personal contacts, or because they were kind enough to answer to the prospective emails I sent out to various cultural organisations in my chosen countries. The organisations that I chose to write to were limited to those who had an English version of their website, and who seemed to be involved in international activities (and therefore both would have reason to use English in their daily work and would be able to speak it well enough to do an interview with me). These selective aspects were coupled with a requirement for a Skype account, and may have deprived my research of some different and perhaps opposing views. The requirement for fluency in English was of particular significance in limiting the sample. It seems reasonable to conjecture that a person who has spent time learning a language and uses it every day is more likely to have a positive view of it. Accordingly, I consider the sample to have been comprised of people who were more likely to be naturally oriented towards a certain view of English. However, this does not necessarily preclude it from being an accurate reflection of Europe's cultural sector. The use of English may also have limited expression in some of the participants who were not native speakers. Doing interviews via Skype may have affected interaction, particularly where there were problems experienced with connection. There were a few problems with the picture during the interview with Margot Michaud (France) which she found quite distracting. Another example was the interview with Clymene Christoforou (UK), who did not have access to a webcam. I found it slightly more difficult to interact with her when I could not see her, as it was more difficult to tell when she had finished speaking and was ready for the next question. The occasional sound problem caused by a bad connection was also an issue during transcription of the interviews, which is an imprecise process at the best of times.

Another concern for the reliability of the interview material is the effect of asking leading questions, meaning questions which are posed in such a way as to influence the interviewee by suggesting a certain answer. Researchers using interview methodology are often advised to avoid this type of question for the sake of preserving the validity of answers received, as it is not certain that the participant would venture the same opinion without the effect of the leading question. My question lists (see appendices 1 and 2) included some leading questions, for example I asked all participants whether they considered English to be a threat to other languages in Europe. This question is clearly not neutral because it introduces the impression of English as “threatening”. My defence for this style of questioning is partly one of necessity. I wanted the participants to talk about this aspect of English in Europe, and was unable to think of a way to lead the conversation to that point without using a direct question. I also took guidance from Kvale, who recommends using leading questions systematically in an interview situation, because interviewees have “..an open range of response possibilities, including a rejection of the premise of the interviewer’s questions..”.¹¹⁹ This approach was justified in the case of the question mentioned above, as almost all of the participants disagreed with my use of the word “threat”.

Aside from technical issues of the research design, it is also important to consider my effect on the interaction and material collected, especially the potential influence my status as a native speaker may have on the replies given by the interviewees. An interview situation is by nature one of unequal power relations, but the participants may have been prey to an added factor, namely the daunting effect of a native speaker that Kohn points out (see above). Furthermore, in discussing what they know to be my own native language may have been less likely to express negative opinions or point out shortcomings. An example of this is the interview with Margot, who was not at first aware that I was a native speaker of English, and expressed her opinion of English lessons as “boring” before discovering this fact.¹²⁰ This leads me to question the reliability of the answers given by the other participants. Aside from the effect during the interviews, there is the wider concern of my pre-conceptions about my own native language. Having lived abroad for several years I like to think that my perspective has been broadened through living in multilingual communities and having constant contact with non-natives. However, it is

¹¹⁹ Kvale, *Doing Interviews*, 89.

¹²⁰ Appendix 9. No. 30.

inevitable that even these broadened perceptions are subject to bias and prejudice that I myself am perhaps not aware of. Likewise my interpretation of the material probably inclines towards certain understandings and interpretations that I cannot detect because I am positioned within native-speaker ex-pat discourses. It would be interesting to repeat the transcription and analysis processes with a non-native researcher and see whether different interpretations and meanings are discovered.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has analysed and discussed the material collected through research interviews with European cultural workers and used interview extracts and theory to propose answers for my research questions. The final section reflected on my research process, highlighting factors that may have caused the collected material to be less reliable. The answers to the research questions will be summarised and contextualised and final conclusions drawn in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 – Conclusions

This final chapter of my master thesis will recount the findings of the previous chapters and summarise the answers to my research questions which were proposed by the interview material collected and the process of interpretation. It will also place the findings of this research study in the wider context of literature and theory in the field. I will draw conclusions and highlight the implications of my findings, finishing by suggesting the uses for the information contained in this thesis and further research to be done on the same topic.

5.1 Summary of Findings

My first research question related to opinions and attitudes towards English as a common language in the cultural sector in Europe:

- How do cultural workers in Europe view English and its role as a communication tool in relation to their work?

I was interested to know how people feel towards the language that has become the lingua franca of choice in Europe. I took the cultural sector of selected countries (namely: Austria, France, Sweden and the UK) as a case study, using interviews with cultural workers to gain material to build a map of perceptions held towards English.

The main findings from analysis of the interview transcriptions is that cultural workers in Europe appear to have generally positive opinions of English, seeing it as a useful and necessary tool for their work and “*a link from everyone to everything*”.¹²¹ There was no discernible resentment towards English having displaced other languages in order to take on the role of Europe’s lingua franca, and a general disagreement that English could be a threat to Europe’s established languages. This could be because of the distinction between first and second language. Generally, a person’s first language is the primary building block of their individual and shared identity. Since English has only displaced second languages in Europe it has not gendered resentment because it poses no threat to identity in this context. This could be considered an argument against Phillipson’s reasoning that the spread of English in Europe is a threat to social equity, since he does not make the

¹²¹ Appendix 10, no. 87.

first/second language distinction.¹²² Some participants explicitly commented that for them, English represents a means of communication with the world outside their own country. They also mentioned that they have ceased to regard English as being associated with any particular country or nation. As explained earlier, English became popular in Europe by way of a growing consumer and business culture and through its strong connection to various leisure activities. This explains the absence of a “colonial hangover” and the lack of primary association with the UK. There was a marked difference between native and non-native versions of English, as well as in native and non-native perceptions of the language. Native versions tended to be indirect and use more words while non-native perceptions were of a language that goes “straight to the point”. This disparity confirms Graddol’s theory about the “4th age of English” as a new development of the language in the context of a global language restructuring.¹²³ There were also differences in perceptions of English’s influence on other languages, with natives seeing it as “development”, while non-natives saw more as an encroachment. There was evidence of the intimidating effect that native speakers may have in lingua franca situations, and an apparent persistence in the discursive power of natives to define “correct English”, which concurs with Kohn’s view of native speakers as potentially “discouraging” for non-native learning and communication.¹²⁴

My second question addressed the question of whether English is a “good” lingua franca:

- How can narratives from interviews with cultural workers be used to explore the idea of suitability or appropriateness in relation to English as a lingua franca in Europe?

An article from Smith in *English Today* claimed that “English is a poor lingua franca” because, as he asserts, the complexity of its structure makes it difficult to learn. The last chapter discussed an opposite reading of the situation, where English could be considered easy to learn because it is so prevalent and because there are such major incentives for learning it. The essence of my arguments is the suggestion that Smith uses the wrong criteria in his assessment of what makes a language suitable as a lingua franca. He focuses on features inherent in the language. Drawing on ideas from Bourdieu, I argue that linguistic characteristics are not nearly so important as the social standing of the language

¹²² Phillipson, *English-Only Europe?*, 24-60.

¹²³ Graddol, *English Next*, 58-60.

¹²⁴ Kohn, *English as a lingua franca and the Standard English misunderstanding*, 72.

in question. The advantages to be reaped from learning English, in terms of the new fields of work and leisure that open up, ensure that its contribution to a person's linguistic capital is usually higher than any other language. A third factor is the characteristic of English, which makes it easy to begin communicating with very little study. This was noted by more than one interviewee and contributes another justification to the position of English in the world.

5.2 Final Conclusions

The overall conclusions that I draw from the findings of this thesis are related to positive cycles. During the pilot interview at the very beginning of the research process Ludivine Veysiere remarked that *“your relationship to a language...very much depends on how good you are at it”*.¹²⁵ I interpret this to mean that the more one learns of a language, the more positive are one's feelings toward it. Accordingly, it seems that most people in Europe who learn English will have positive feelings towards it because they become “good at it” through the numerous opportunities for use provided by the network effect of a global lingua franca. To state this in the terms used by Bourdieu: people react positively towards the language that provides them with the greatest amount of linguistic capital, because it may be used to generate “profit” (utility) in the highest number of “markets” (transnational situations). Likewise, the question of whether English is a “good” or appropriate lingua franca is largely irrelevant in today's global linguistic context because a negative decision (deciding that English is a poor lingua franca, as Smith did) will not change the state of things. The utility of a common language is based on how widely it may be used. Positive reinforcement from the effects of such a wide network constantly increase this utility, making the language “easy” to learn because of the overriding motivation to learn it. Therefore English is a “good” lingua franca because it IS the lingua franca.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Research

As I pointed out while reflecting on my methods, limiting the sample of participants to only those cultural workers who spoke English may have had a significant effect on the sample by causing it to be made up of people with a predisposition to favour English. This was further exacerbated by my own position as a native speaker of the language under

¹²⁵ Appendix 3, no. 18.

question because it may have discouraged people from voicing negative feelings towards English. It would be interesting if the study were repeated in other languages by researchers who were not native speakers of English, in order to find out whether there are negative feelings towards English hidden behind the language barrier. This would also help to isolate native discourses that I may have unwittingly woven into my analysis and interpretation of the findings. Of course the study of attitudes could also be expanded beyond the countries I chose, and developed to encompass areas of life and work beyond the cultural sector. Another interesting angle that would require bilingual researchers would be the analysis of differences in discourse depending on the language of expression. For example, whether and in what way the modes of expression on certain topics are limited to the boundaries of existing discourses within that language.

5.4 End Word

Since beginning to live abroad I have come into a greater understanding of my good fortune in being a native speaker of the language that has become the world's lingua franca. I have always been interested in how people perceive English and this research project has allowed me to combine my fascination for this topic with my interest in the cultural sector. I have made discoveries about the position of English as a lingua franca, but also about myself, my convictions, and my approach as a researcher. I have developed my creative and problem-solving skills, as well as the discipline and motivation needed to carry through an independent project of this size. I am certain that these things will hold me in good stead in my future career.

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Appendix 1 – Interview Questions

Background Info:

My Thesis project is based around the concept of English as a lingua franca, and the perceptions and opinions of its use by those who use it in Europe. Reflecting my own interest and preferences I have narrowed the scope, taking the cultural sector as a case study. I am interested in talking to cultural workers in different countries in order to get their perceptions of English as a common language, and their opinions on the language and its use in their work.

Before Starting:

- Fine not to answer any questions and can stop at any time
- Ok to record? (check dictaphone working)

Questions:

- How would you describe the organisation where you work? / describe your job?
- Do you use English a lot as part of your work & in what ways? (please give examples)
- How useful are other languages in comparison?
- Are there any English slang words or catch-phrases that have come to be used regularly in your workplace?
- Is there a difference between speaking to a native speaker of English and speaking to another non-native speaker?
- Do you ever find that you can't remember the work for something in your own language?
- Why did you choose to learn English?
- How did learning English compare to learning other languages?
- Do you think speaking English as part of your work could ever threaten your competence with your native language?
- Is there a difference between talking about your work in English and talking about it in your own language?
- What is your opinion of English compared to other languages?
- How would your organisation look if you didn't use English? (competitive advantage?)

After:

- Do you have any questions or anything to add?
- Is it ok to use your name?
- Would you like to read the finished project?

Appendix 2 – Interview Questions: UK Version

Background Info

My Thesis project is based around the concept of English as a lingua franca, and the perceptions and opinions of its use by those who use it in Europe. Reflecting my own interest and preferences I have narrowed the scope, taking the cultural sector as a case study. I am interested in talking to cultural workers in different countries in order to get their perceptions of English as a common language, and their opinions on the language and its use in their work. I have mainly spoken to foreign organisations, but interested in getting native speaker perspective too.

Before Starting:

- Fine not to answer any questions and can stop at any time
- Ok to record? (check dictaphone working)

Questions:

- How would you describe the organisation where you work? / describe your job?
- Could you describe your international collaborations?
- Do you always use English? Do you use other languages? How useful are other languages in comparison?
- Do foreign organisations use English or use an interpreter?
- Do you change your way of speaking at all when you speak to a non-native speaker?
- Do you ever have problems understanding or being understood by non-natives?
- Have you ever encountered problems as a result of using English in your work (practical problems/attitude problems)
- Are there any foreign words or phrases that have come to be used regularly in your workplace? Have you in the organisation ever made up your own words, or have any words come to have a different meaning? Have you had to explain words to others?
- Do you think that English is becoming more wide-spread? Do you see that as positive?
- Could English ever become a threat to other languages?
- Do you think it's an advantage being a native speaker or English?
- How do you feel about being a native speaker? What is your opinion of English compared to other languages?
- How would your organisation look if no-one else spoke English? Would it be possible to work internationally using other languages? (which ones?)

After:

- Do you have any questions or anything to add?
- Ok to use your name?
- Would you like to read the finished project?

Appendix 3 – Interview with Ludivine Veysiere, France

Transcript: Ludivine Veysiere. 13th March 2013 (In person)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

L – Ludivine Veysiere (interviewee)

... - short break in the recording or irrelevant interruption

Bold – emphasis in the speech

Italics – significant gestures or expressions

(brackets) – interviewer’s notes to the text

= interruption/overlapping text

In order to streamline both transcription and reading, the sound file was transcribed using the following guidelines.

- Pauses are not indicated unless significant.
- sounds made by either party while thinking or searching for words, such as “um” and “er” have been left out.
- Most responses of acknowledgement, agreement or encouragement made by the interviewer (such as “oh”, “yes”, “yeah”, “uh-huh” or encouraging laughs), have been left out.
- Significant facial expressions, body language or gestures are indicated using round brackets. Note that the recording of these are based on the interviewer’s memory, since no visual recording of the interviews was made.
- Some repeated words and occasional meaningless phrases, such as “like”, and “you know” have been omitted.

1	V	Yes, this is an interview with Ludivine
2	L	Yes
3	V	And I’ll just check... good. Good. Yep, so, start again. So, to start off, how would you describe the organization where you worked, i.e. Malmö Opera?
4	L	Like on which level?
5	V	Like what kind of work do they do?
6	L	Ok, well I worked for the marketing department, so it’s like, ten-ish people? Something like that. And, well obviously, they do marketing, but I think it’s a very interesting kind of marketing actually, because the Opera never makes money. The point is to lose as little money as possible, because it’s so expensive to, like, to run an opera. The aim for opera houses is basically to aim at zero. So I, like, I reflected on that a bit on my internship report, and I think it’s very interesting, marketing for that. But I conducted my own project. They wanted me to tell them how they could modify their marketing so more students would coming. And so that’s what I did for ten weeks, so I worked very little with them.
7	V	Ok, so it was quite an independent project.
8	L	Yes, I was completely on my own. I had contact with two people. One was Linn-Ann, my supervisor right on top of me, and once in a while I had contact with the head of the marketing department, that’s it. So I worked in my little corner and reported once a week. Came in when I wanted, didn’t come in when I didn’t want to, so it was very, extremely flexible.
9	V	Sounds really nice.
10	L	But I went last night actually, because they had a student evening and, they are extremely open, and I think that’s quite surprising as an organization like the opera. They have implemented most of what I told them to do.

11	V	Nice! It must be really satisfying.
12	L	Yeah, it is.
13	V	So did you work completely in English all the time?
14	L	Yes. My Swedish is non-existent. Well, it's a bit exaggerating, but, I understand better and better, but I, like, I don't speak. And I can't say that I understand most of it. So yeah, I did, everything went in English. Some in French=
15	V	=But there were no problems in communicating in English with them.
16	L	No, well since I had one person to communicate with, I mean they are marketing people so they all speak very good English as well, so it was never a problem.
17	V	Ok, so that's the work part, and, as I said I'm interested in perceptions, so what do you think of English? How do you feel about it as a language?
18	L	I think, well there's a little history in order to answer that question. I don't know if you're familiar with the French system? But, we suck at English. You've probably heard of it before: the French can't speak English. It's a catastrophe. So I came out of high school I was seventeen and my English, like, it was a slaughter. And I left a year for the US, and that's basically where I spoke English, where I learned how to speak English. I had a constant headache for about three months, and one morning I woke up and I understood what people were telling me. But I think there really was a shift there. Because, like your relationship to a language is very much, very much depends on how good you are at it, I think. And so English was always like something I had to take in school and now that I'm basically fluent and I can say whatever I want whenever I want to say it, I think it's like the base language. And now I get very annoyed at people that don't speak English, because I feel like they should speak English. You know like, and I think that's quite unfair to Sweden, but since so many Swedes speak English I get very annoyed when I run into a Swede that doesn't speak English. And then I remember that in France no-one does. But yeah it's, well, I don't know my whole life revolves in English right now. I study in English, I speak English with my boyfriend, because he's Swedish, so we speak English together,
19	V	What would you say was the main reason you chose to become fluent in English?
20	L	I don't really think I chose to become fluent in English, I really, after, like after I graduated high school I really needed to leave, and
21	V	Leave France?
22	L	Yeah I needed to go very far away somewhere. Far away. And I ended up in Kentucky, and, it's not that I left to learn English, I left for other reasons, and I happened to learn English. But it's very handy, and I guess if I hadn't, like, I really feel like this year was kind of, like a bridge. If I hadn't spoken English I wouldn't be here today, obviously, since you have to have quite high results in order to study in English. Well that, yeah. Otherwise you'll just drown.
23	V	Do you speak other languages as well?
24	L	I took nine years of Spanish and it was part of my undergrad. I majored in English and Spanish applied to Economics and Law. So I basically did English and law, no, economics and law in three languages. It was hell, I hated it, and that's one of the reasons why I came here. But so=
25	V	=But how would you say that learning English compared to learning Spanish?
26	L	Well I think what's missing with my Spanish is that I spent way too long in classrooms like nine years studying a language is a lot, and I'm pretty sure if I went to, anywhere where they speak Spanish right now I would get fluent in like three months, because I have so much basis
27	V	Yeah like: French, Spanish
28	L	But no, plus I have nine years of it. But I don't speak Spanish anymore, really. Because I never use it. And I was, yeah I did economics so I have a great economic vocabulary in Spanish, but I can't buy a beer, well I do kind of buy beer but like, so that's the main difference is how I learned. I never completed that last step of going in the country and taking care of it once and for all. I guess I should one day.

29	V	So since you live most of your life in English as you said now, do you ever feel that it's strange to speak French?
30	L	It takes a few days to adapt. Like I have a French friend here, she lives somewhere upstairs, we've lived together basically since we moved to Sweden, and we speak French together, and that's perfectly fine but she's the only person I'm willing to speak French with. Here I don't speak French with anybody else. I think it's just weird.
31	V	Even French people?
32	L	No, I speak English with them.
33	V	Okay!
34	L	She's the only one I speak French with. I, I don't know, I feel like they're lazy somehow that they want to speak French. But we're foremen here together so that is why we speak French together. It's just easier.
35	V	I guess you have a habit with her.
36	L	Yeah, and plus we've known each other for so long, but I don't speak French with anyone else. And when I go home it takes me a couple of days like, when I wake up and still half asleep I usually say "morning", and then my little sister looks at me like, yeah it takes a couple of days to go back. But I've felt, I feel like I've lost most of my French, well not most of it, but, yeah.
37	V	So do you sometimes have difficulty finding the word for something in French?
38	L	Yeah, that happens, and I used to have great spelling abilities, and, like I never made any spelling mistakes in French. And now, once in a while, I try to write a word and I'm aware there's a huge spelling mistake but not something small, like something huge , and I can't see it. And I know the word is not spelled like that, but I just can't fix it.
39	V	I think I know what you mean.
40	L	And I think that's because I don't read in French anymore.
41	V	Ok, so, to come back to what you were working on, do you think the project that you did would have been possible to do if it you hadn't done it in English? I mean that's quite hard to, it's kind of speculation, coz if you had been,
42	L	Well I think it would have worked perfectly well in Swedish, if I spoke Swedish. But I also emphasized the importance of international students and how, like, I don't know if you've noticed that, but they are always the ones that are curious, because they arrived in a new place, and they are always the ones that really want to do things, and so I told them it's very important that you don't forget about them. Put stuff in English because they know people. It's not just them. And I think if I had done it in Swedish I guess I would have put myself more on the Swedish perspective and maybe would have missed out that part of the project.
43	V	I guess so, yeah.
44	L	But, well there's not many languages I can work in. I mean it's basically French and English and after a few months maybe Spanish. Hopefully.
45	V	Yes but you said that they have adopted your recommendations, so have they started putting their marketing in English now?
46	L	Some of it. That's not what they have been the best at listening to. But it's funny because like, for instance last night it was a student evening and they gave eight-hundred tickets away just for free, so students would start coming in. And that's a huge, huge money investment, well it's money they won't get in. But something that tiny, as translating the, like, the website or just like even the student section of the website they don't do.
47	V	Why do you think that is?
48	L	I don't know, maybe they don't see it as being that important. And they don't realize that, I mean Lund University is more than three-thousand international students. And probably about half of that in Malmö. And yeah they don't realize that, it's what I said, that they are very much more prominent in these kind of stuff. It's always them going forward. Like I had a good Italian friend of mine in Paris, and she came exchange, then

		she met a guy and stayed, but she gave me so many of those tips. I grew up in Paris, I spent thirteen years of my life there, and she, she just, like free this, and that, and just, tips for everything constantly, and I grew up there and I had no idea. Because, yeah she really was, she wanted to just see everything and on a student budget and, so she had tips for everything it was great. And that's why I think it's important to, especially in Sweden where everyone, well ok not everyone, we're not going to make a terrible generality, especially in Lund where most people speak English I think it's a small effort, and it's a big reward. So. But, some are very English friendly. Like even here at the nation. Some, most are very willing to put everything in English, but some of them are still very reluctant, and think this is Sweden. And,
49	V	Do you ever get the feeling that they feel like English is threatening Swedish in a way?
50	L	No, no not really, I think it's more like, like a bad reaction towards immigration I would say. But, well the few people I know who do that, it's like "you're in Sweden, just learn how to speak Swedish. It's not because we speak English that we're going to speak English with you." And, I think, I have this very annoying acquaintancy, like she's Italian but she keeps saying "yeah it's Sweden, it's their country, it's their culture, it's their language and you have to respect them and learn Swedish". How is it disrespectful to speak English to them? I don't know. But, no I don't think they feel threatened, more annoyed that we take for granted that they do speak English. Which is true, we do take for granted that they do speak English=
51	V	=I understand yeah. So with regards to speaking English to various people, do you find that there is a difference between speaking English to a native speaker and speaking English to another non-native speaker?
52	L	Well obviously the natives speak better. But, I don't know once in a while the natives come up with a word I've never heard, well that happens with a few non-natives as well, but then I ask, and I learned a new word, and that doesn't happen very often anymore so it's quite nice. And I tend to correct people when they make mistakes, because I like when people correct me, otherwise you don't ever get better, and like I say "thanks god", while people told me twenty million times it's "thank god", but, like, I said it for years before anyone told me I was saying it wrong, and you can't get better unless someone tells you you're saying it wrong, so I think that's mostly it. It's more of an equal relationship between non-natives. You know the natives are (<i>holds hand high</i>), like yeah. They'll always speak better. I could spend my whole life in an English speaking country and I will still have that French accent that I just can't get rid of.
53	V	Have you and you friends, or boyfriend or whatever, have you ever made up words for stuff in English?
54	L	Well with my boyfriend we make up words all the time, and I guess they're in English, so yeah I guess we do that. But it's more like a language between the two of us, so it's very ridiculous things, and it's like no-one knows about, and I guess it could be in any language. It's just that since we communicate in English everything goes in English.
55	V	Yeah so it's becomes like, your version of the language.
56	L	Yeah, but we do it, yeah we do it together quite often.
57	V	Yeah. (<i>pause</i>) Yeah I think that is about it. So, thank you very much.
58	L	You're welcome. That was quick!
59	V	Yeah it was very interesting. Is it ok if I use what we discussed in my research?
60	L	Yeah of course
End of transcript		

Appendix 4 – Interview with Caroline Ulvsand, Sweden

Transcript: Caroline Ulvsand, 2nd April 2013 (In person)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

C – Caroline Ulvsand (interviewee)

(for other guidelines see appendix 3)

1	V	Now we are going to do an interview with Caroline
2	C	So, who more do you interview?
3	V	There is you, there is another friend who works with, she worked with Malmö Opera for a short while, and I have two friends in Austria who work with different theatre companies, and I've been writing to various people, for example there are two, there's a network and another organisation in France that I, I wrote to them and said I'm interested in your organisation, it's useful for my study and can I interview someone, and I also wrote to a couple of places in the UU as well. And at first I didn't get any replies and I thought I thought oh no what am I going to do, but then they all replied on the same day, so, it was great, and yeah they all said yes, so I'm going to speak to them on Skype.
4	C	Ah-ha, I was just going to ask, so there would be some travelling, but no.
5	V	No, no it's just Skype. But, yeah, so this is slightly different because you and I already know each other, so it's good if you, even if you want to say something that you know that I already know, it's good if you say it anyway because I have to try and keep my own knowledge out of the research as much as I can, so that it's objective, because if I was like "oh yeah she said this, but I know that she meant this really because I know this" it's, it's a bit like how far is it my interpretation and how far is it your words=
6	C	=Yeah I understand, but maybe you can anyway, if you need to lead me in the right direction if I, if I'm wrong in some way,
7	V	(<i>smiling</i>) yeah, no that's not what I wanted you to say, yeah absolutely. Yeah, so, to start, how would you describe the organisation where you work?
8	C	Well, that's a big question. Drömmarnas Hus is a culture centre for children and youth, and we have been existing for, yesterday it was twenty-three years, actually. Yeah, first of April 1990 was the starting date. And we are situated in Malmö, in a part called Rosengård, and we have a house, a very beautiful house, an old mansion, and we work together with schools as well, so part of the things we do take place in our house, but most of the activities we do in schools, so we go to schools and meet teachers and their classes. And we also have a place up outside Höör, called Fulltofta, where we have a lot of activities. Now in April we have The Adventure. Premiere of The Adventure is 19 th of April. So we work with culture. Culture as a tool for change. That's some kind of headline for, for the work. So we try to discuss important questions together with young people, and we, sometimes we talk about ourselves as, how do you say, assistance for the you people, for them to be able to express themselves in different ways. And it's not that important if it's drama or singing or film or whatever, it's like, to be able to talk about your thoughts and important issues in your life. So we work with film, music, writing, drama, art, yeah many different kind of expressions. And right now I think we are about thirty people working here.
9	V	Do you use English a lot as part of your work?
10	C	Yeah we do, for some years, three or four years, we have been working in different international projects, and then there is always English in these projects. So yes, part of us, not everybody but some of us, have to speak English. And sometimes we have visits coming from, yeah, it could be people speaking English, or maybe not even

		speaking but, yeah. There is always English when you have to use another language.
11	V	You would say that any other language that you use, it's most likely to be English?
12	C	It's only English, I should say.
13	V	And would you say that you personally are one of the people who needs to speak English for your job?
14	C	Yes, I do. As I work as project manager in these international projects I have to speak English yes. I should say some, there are staff that have a background from Arabic countries, so sometimes, as Jafer, who is an artist, he speaks, how do you say, Arabic?
15	V	Arabic.
16	C	Arabic, ok, so sometimes there are other languages, but not that often.
17	V	Can you describe the international projects that you work with? ... So, yeah could you give examples of how you use English in your international projects.
18	C	Yes, I have been working with, it started three years ago, with a project together with three other countries. A lot of artists from these countries, and we were working together with describing the ways we work together with young people, when culture could be a good way in learning, and to strengthen the learning process. And we were some twenty-five people. No, more. Thirty people in the project. So we were five artists from Drömmarnas Hus and me as a project manager. So all of the activities, meetings, workshops and email and telephone calls were in English. That was our common language so to speak. And there were one organisation coming from England, CCE Culture Creativity and Education, so they spoke their native language, but all of us, the rest of us, were speaking English as our second language. So sometime I could feel there is, we have very different conditions, I mean it's easier if it's your native language of course. So, but I think from these three years I've been more, I feel more comfortable with speaking English. Because in the beginning of the project I felt like this is not gonna work, this is, I'm gonna be so nervous and I'm, I don't have the words and I'm don't know how to speak and so on. But for me, one result of this work have been that, yeah I feel quite comfortable. I know I'm not speaking it perfect, not even near, but it's ok for me to speak English.
19	V	To come back to this thing with CCE, you said that because they were using their native language it was perhaps a bit easier. Do you think that that influenced the dynamics of the group in some way?
20	C	Yeah, I think so. First of all they were the leading partner in the project so they already had more responsibility and more tasks to work with in the project, so they were already in a different position if you compare it to the rest of us. So, but there was also this language thing making it even more as they had a more, bigger role in the project. But I think they were very good in, I could hear that when, the people working at CCE, when they speak to each other it felt more different than when they spoke to us, so they, in some way they, I mean they speak more clearly and maybe not the same words and so on, so it worked very well I should say.
21	V	Yeah. So to follow that line of thinking, do you think that there's a difference between speaking English with a native speaker and speaking with someone else who is a non-native?
22	C	Yeah I think sometime it's easier speaking with someone having English as the native
23	V	Okay?
24	C	Yeah, because then there is one speaking their own language and, yeah I think with Di in this project, maybe it's because of her, I can't say but, I think, I feel very comfortable speaking with her. Even if she's from Newcastle and have a Newcastle dialect (<i>laughs</i>). It was a bit difficult in the beginning to understand the dialect=
25	V	=You can hear her dialect?= =
26	C	=Yeah, you can hear, yeah very well, but no I think sometimes it's easier. It's so, I mean it's different who you are speaking to, but I never felt that it was more

		complicated speaking with her or other people from England. Of course sometimes they speak a bit fast or using words that I don't know, but I mean that can happen with a person from Amsterdam or whatever, so.
27	V	And yeah to continue again, in your work within this environment where you were using English, did you find that there were any words or catch-phrases that happened to be used a lot and kind of came to belong to the project, or that was kind of appropriated and maybe used in a different way?
28	C	Yeah, I think that was, the starting, how do you say, I think it took me like half, six month to get into these specific words in this environment. I mean you always have some, I think in every context you work with you have words coming more often, that you don't use in, like when you travel in England or so. So it took some time to learn this specific words, and I made a list, you know of these words coming more often and there are phrases that I'm not sure that we have translated in the right way, because there is so specific words in this field. We use a word: Creative Education, and it's, you can translate it in many ways in Swedish because it's like every language has, there are completely different ways of understanding a special expression. So I mean, Creative Education you can translate skapande skola, or you can translate estetiska läroprocess, I mean there are many different ways of translating this, these words, so, but I think that's the way it is when you work in a narrow field.
29	V	Do you have any other examples of these special expressions or words?= =Expressions? I can look up, but right now I don't remember.
30	C	
31	V	It doesn't matter. So to go back to the very beginning, how did you come to learn English?
32	C	I learned English in school. I don't know really how old, like ten, eleven or something. And then we had, all the way through school years we had English. And I mean in Sweden there are so many things in English, many films and so on, so you hear English all the time. And I also went to, like a course in folkuniversitetet to be able to talk more easily and so on.
33	V	Did you learn other languages as well?
34	C	I tried to (<i>laughs</i>). Yeah I had, in school I had French, but I don't know how to speak French at all. And after school I studied Spanish and then I went to Latin America for six months, so then , not now but then, I spoke Spanish quite fluently.
35	V	In your time in Latin America did you ever use English there as well?
36	C	Yes, of course, yes I did. When you travel like that you meet a lot of young people from many parts of the world, so together with them there was English, but people living in Latin America it was Spanish.
37	V	So how did your experience of learning English, how does it compare with learning the other languages that you learned?
38	C	I think English is, it's so, there are many words in Swedish coming from the English language and also that you hear English all the time, so I think for me it was easier learning English. Spanish a totally different language so I think yeah for me it was more difficult to learn Spanish than English. And also of course that I were younger when I started learning English.
39	V	Yeah, and how did you find things like the grammar and syntax and things in English?= =English? Yeah for me the grammar was never really the problem, for me it was more to have, to feel comfortable to speak.
40	C	
41	V	Ok, so if you could describe your opinion of English how would you describe it?
42	C	Hmm, do I have any opinion? (<i>laughs</i>) Opinion of English. Well I think it's, it's very important that there is a language that's so big so that many people know how to speak it, so we can, I mean we can talk to each other, and it's ok for me that this language is English. And I think English is a very beautiful language as well, and for me coming from Sweden it's easy to learn. Of course it's more difficult if you come from China or whatever. So, I mean there is so much of history also because of I mean all the, how

		the, how do you say it, colonial time?
43	V	Yeah.
44	C	Yeah so I can understand that this is very different from where you come from. For me from Sweden it's not, erm I don't find the words for this, det är inte färgat, alltså det finns ingen undertext. Jag menar om du kommer ifrån ett kolonialt land,
45	V	Ah ok yeah,
46	C	Do you understand? There is no, like we don't have any hard feelings,
47	V	Yeah like there's no political motivation in your impressions towards English.
48	C	Yeah. So for us it's like it's a language, we can learn it easily, and yeah.
49	V	What makes you say it's beautiful?
50	C	It sounds beautiful I think.
51	V	Yeah? Ok. So in the times when you've been using English a lot and speaking it every day and stuff, have you ever found it hard to remember a word for things in Swedish?
52	C	You mean that I lose the Swedish words?
53	V	Yeah like have you ever, you've been using English a lot and then you go to speak Swedish with someone, and you try to think of a word but you can only think of the English word. Has that ever happened?
54	C	Wow I wish that would happen! But it has never happened for me actually. But of course it's like right now for some time I haven't been speaking English, so I think to switch, if you don't switch, I mean talking a language is, you have to be, in Swedish you say färskvara, it's like you have to be updated or, if you switch a lot it's more easy, but if it takes a long time it's like, ohhhhh I have to come into this kind of world speaking English
55	V	Yeah, it takes a while to warm up.
56	C	Yeah, so when we worked together and talked on the telephone or, you know, meetings and so on, it was more easy than right now, because right now I haven't been speaking English for some months I think, maybe since you left us.
57	V	I've come back to give you more practice
58	C	(laughs) Thank you.
59	V	Is there a big difference between talking about your work to someone in Swedish and talking about it in English? Aside from the obvious, I mean it's obviously harder to talk about it in English, but do you find that you express things differently?
60	C	Yeah, I think I do because as we spoke before in, what, you have these specific words within my work and some of them I have been learning how to translate into English, but not all of them, so I think quite often you express, you find new ways of express the same things. And there is a very central word in Swedish: Verksamhet, that we've talked about, and we use it all the time, and there is not any really direct translation in English for this so you have to find ways to go around this and express it in different ways.
61	V	Yeah, so taking into account how much English kind of dominates the international scene; do you think that it ever could become a threat to Swedish?
62	C	Well no not really, I think, of course I think Swedish is more influenced by English words all the time, and I think it's, this influence is rising or whatever word you can use. But still, I don't think it's a threat. It's more like, I mean the Swedish language is developing. You have to develop a language, a language must be the language for our time, so, but of course you can, you have to be observant about, when you can use a Swedish word it's a good thing to use a Swedish word, if there is a good word for it. But I mean we have new words all the time that reflect, I mean in Swedish we talk about to Google something, and it's also a way of developing a language because everybody's using Google. We didn't know about Google some twenty years ago, or you are Spotifying music or, so language, I think they have to develop and you have to follow and learn how to speak the words in the, in our year .
63	V	So the influence from English on Swedish, do you see it as positive or negative or just somewhere in between.

64	C	I think it's just something happening. Because it's the same, even if you look in Swedish, not only what we can be influenced by from English, I mean even the Swedish language changes, and I think it's a good thing, I'm not afraid of it.
65	V	How would you, how would Drömmarnas Hus look if nobody in it used English, would the organisation be very different do you think?
67	C	It is complicated and maybe not even possible to work internationally if you don't speak English, so that will be different. I mean it's hard to think about, it's difficult to visualise that nobody would speak English because everybody does, more or less of course. Yeah it would have been different. I think we have learned a lot from the work we have done the last three years or so, we, and also in this project: Artists in Creative Education, I think we learned a lot about ourselves because it was a very reflecting project, and describing our methods and so-on. And of course we could have done this in a Swedish project as well, but this particular project was an international, so, one of the results was that we learned about ourselves.
68	V	Yeah, I think that's everything. Thank you very much, it was really useful. Is it ok with you if I use everything we said here in my research?
69	C	Of course, yes.
70	V	And do you have any problem with me using your name?
71	C	No, no you can use my name as you wish.
72	V	Thank you.
End of Transcript		

Appendix 5 – Interview with Lisa Klien, Austria

Transcript: Lisa Klien. 2nd April 2013 (Skype)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

LK – Lisa Klien (interviewee)

(for other guidelines see appendix 3)

1	V	Ok so this is going to be an interview with Lisa, and just say something so I can check that it works to record your voice.
2	LK	I'm doing an interview replying to Victoria.
3	V	... Ok, so I told you I'm basing my topic around the concept of English as a kind of communication tool in Europe and I sort of took the cultural sector as a case study because otherwise it would be way too wide, and because I'm interested in culture and because I know people who work in culture so that's kind of convenient for me. And yeah I'm interested in what people think about English, what their opinion is, like do they really like it as a language or do they hate it and do they wish that their own native language was the, like the common language that's being used. Yeah and that kind of thing. So, to start off can you, oh yeah one final thing as well. Obviously it's a little bit different between you and I because we know each other very well and I already know a lot about your working life, but in your answers, even if you know that I know something please say it anyway cause I have to try and keep my own knowledge out of it as much as I can cause it's research so I have to try and be objective, kind of thing. So yeah, all details please. So to start, how would you describe the organization where you work? Or worked.
4	LK	How would I describe it. So first of all it's a theatre, and it is a, well, it's not a tiny company, so it's not like a little theatre company but it's one of the bigger public companies in Austria. And as you know it's in the second largest city of Austria so it's a relatively important theatre in Austria. However because it's not in the capital it's not considered as important as one of the Viennese theatres. But it has become a very internationally recognized theatre due to the director who lays great importance on international co-operations, which is often quite uncommon because theatre in general is assumed to be something that is restricted to language, which would make international cooperation, apart from German-speaking countries, impossible. But this theatre in particular, along with others, internationally speaking obviously, kind of try to overcome the language barrier and introduce international projects, and try to find ways as to how you could work internationally as a theatre with others. Is that responding to your question?
5	V	Yeah, yeah that's great. To follow up on the ways that you can work internationally; can you give me some examples of that?
6	LK	Yes of course. I mean this theatre in particular they do different things like, on the one hand they sometimes have guest performances, so right now for instance I think this week or next week or something there's a guest performance I think from a theatre in London. Or for instance the other day there was a guest performance from a theatre in Zagreb, which implies that, then they have to make subtitles for the production so as to, for the Austrian audience to understand the production. So that is a way that international cooperation can be encouraged. Then there's inviting international directors, so one of the biggest stars at this company is a guest director who's Hungarian. And he brings his company along which are Hungarian actors, and then he brings an interpreter because he only speaks Hungarian, and, but he doesn't, he's just a very great artist, which is why this theatre here in Graz enjoys working with him

		together and has been doing this for several seasons. So this is a way that you know they blend in the two different companies, with the director and the actors, and they combine it with the Austrian actors, and make it work. And then there is, for instance, that project that I worked in, which was like one of the biggest international corporations that they did. Because it involved six different theatres, five European and an Israeli company. And they worked on a project that lasted for more than a year, which is very uncommon for a theatre project really, like that it lasts for such a long period of time. Especially if it involves that many people, and so they, basically that worked in a way that each theatre company that was involved created projects on a common theme in their various countries, then got together in other countries. And then, finally got together in Graz, all of us, all the companies, and presented it to the audience here in a theatre festival. And that was quite a big undertaking as it takes a lot of organisation; it's not usually done on such a large scale here in Graz. But the theatre is part of the European Union of Theatres, and, so that already implies that in Europe there is something going on that kind of wants to encourage the cultural exchange between different theatres in Europe.
7	V	And regarding that international project, how did it work with languages? Like, how did everyone understand each other?
8	LK	So, the common language was English. Even though, with the exception for Prague and Sicily, because in Sicily I had a German person as my co-worker, and in Prague that person knew German better than English, which sometimes happens in Eastern European countries. Otherwise it was, with everyone it was English, and that, yeah it can be very tricky, because the thing is, English I think generally works extremely well as a common language, but the problem – that would apply for any other language as well – is that the command of the language is not the same for everyone. And that can be extremely difficult when it comes to exchanging important information, especially such as financial information, but also information with regards to organisational matters of exchanging the productions and blah blah blah. It's very difficult when you're aware of the fact that the person you're talking to thinks they understand you but you know they don't. And so, that happens so often, and it is quite difficult to find a good way I think because, on the one hand you don't want to offend anybody by making them, like by implying that you know they didn't really understand you, and on the other hand they sometimes are entirely convinced that they know what you're saying and then it doesn't work out anyways. Or you find out later that they didn't understand, or they send you information and it's expressed in such a complicated wrong way that there is no way of knowing what they mean, and so you have to go back and forth and back and forth, which otherwise if you have a common language wouldn't happen.
9	V	Can you give any examples of misunderstandings, like were there any particular words or phrases that were difficult to come to an understanding on?
10	LK	That's a very good question. I mean what was really really difficult were specific words like economic, or not economic, what's the word, accounting words you know, so like words that I for instance in my mother tongue don't really understand because I would have to have the education in that background to understand it. So what happens is I have to learn it, in either English or German, because, I always have to learn it twice because we're communicating in German at the theatre, and someone is explaining to me in German. And then I have to find the exact translation for that word. And that's a very very specific thing, so I'll have general command=
11	V	=Yeah, and sometimes it's a phrase
12	LK	Exactly, which is very difficult because having a general command of the language doesn't mean that you know like specific terms of something, and then even if you do, communicating with a non-native-speaker means that they usually don't know what the word means, which makes it even more important to have the right translation because they will look it up and will try to find their explanation of what that word means, so, and those were specific financial terms, I don't even remember exactly

		frankly speaking, but like I would, I could look that up for you.
13	V	Yeah yeah, oh well I mean it's fine.
14	LK	Ok
15	V	Do you use English in other parts of your work as well, not related to the international project?
16	LK	Well I used it when I was, I mean for translations, but that is usually always connected to international co-operations, but not that specific project yes, but other projects,=
17	V	=Yeah that's what I meant, not related to that project but other projects as well.
18	LK	Ok, so yes I used it for either translating or interpreting, so when they asked me that someone was coming in and they needed someone to interpret a meeting, and so I did that, or I did translations of different texts that were needed with respect to other projects, you know like writing like texts about the play or email exchanges for instance or contracts, which is also a very tricky thing, or,
19	V	Yeah I remember you asking me for words=
20	LK	=And especially because of the lack of money in the cultural sector they always, they don't, they sometimes can't and sometimes don't want to afford a professional translator, and that can be very tricky with respect to contracts for instance because it's obviously a very sensitive field. And then we used it for, of course, to write subtitles for the plays, so to translate from English to German or the other way around and, you know. Or translate the play, or things like that.
21	V	Yeah. So in your international co-operations, is, do you have any contact with English organisations too or is it mainly other non-native English-speakers?
22	LK	I personally didn't. I know that the theatre does, especially because now there is for instance I guess a performance from the London company, but I personally haven't and so I've only ever communicated with people who don't have it as a first language. And of course it varies extremely depending on where they come from. The command of the language.
23	V	So often English ends up being the common language, and you translate stuff into English so that they will understand, but their native language is actually something else, usually. Ok
24	LK	Yes, absolutely yeah.
25	V	So when you use English with people in this way, are there any particular words or phrases that come to have a special meaning, like catch-phrases that you might use a lot or words that you kinda, maybe you make them up or something,
26	LK	Yeah, in fact, yeah as a matter of fact that happens. Because, well what happens is that depending on the people you talk to, it's the same with a native speaker, you kind of adapt your language. So in the beginning you kind of speak normally, like, and then you notice that people don't understand you and so you kind of, make like sentences easier, don't use very sophisticated vocabulary when you speak to them and try to make it as, well not in a negative way but like as simplistic as possible so that there's fewer misunderstandings. And then what happens as well is that of course in like, within the context of your project and working in the same field, people kind of develop their own like lingo in a way. And I remember one word specifically, that was invented in the context of our production, or of our project, because they had, they, it doesn't really exist in German either I think but they kind of invented it in German, and then translated it into English, which was Suitcase Production. And that implies, like they always like directly translated it and I was like I don't think this is a word. But they invented it because what it meant was that the production needs to be so simplistic in, on an organisational level, with respect to set and costumes, that everything has to fit into suitcases so that it can be transported on a plane, so with no extra costs of transporting sets from A to B. That's what this word meant and they invented it for instance. And then everybody knows what it means so within the circle of people that were involved they understand what that means. So yeah.
27	V	That's really interesting. And when it comes to speaking English, I know you said that

		often you have to kind of make your speech more simple when you're speaking to non-natives. So would you say that there's a big difference between speaking to native-speakers and speaking to non-native speakers?
28	LK	Yes absolutely. I mean, sometimes not at all, because it of course depends, if you have someone that speaks very good English then no, there's no big difference, but the people that I worked with spoke bad to mediocre English and so that made, kind of made it important that it would like stay on a level that everybody would understand. On like speaking to people, and as well like with respect to emails, kind of structuring them in a way that it's not too complex and that it doesn't contain too many confusing things. Of course with respect to texts that were being published that's entirely different.
29	V	Yeah, of course.
30	LK	But in the communication with your co-workers it's, it like relies on it being understandable for everyone.
31	V	So would you say that using English was critical to your job?
32	LK	Oh yeah absolutely, yeah. Because there are people who participated in it who don't speak any other common language. And so it would have been impossible. It couldn't have been done if you don't speak English. Or then it's, there is no way to communicate with the people beyond the border, apart from of course like the Czech Republic if you happen to have somebody that speaks German better, but that might as well not be the case, so,
33	V	Ok, so you would say that English is the main language that you use in international endeavours, but maybe German too sometimes as well.
34	LK	Yeah, depending on which country it can sometimes be German, but I would think, I mean even apart from my project that I worked in I would think that the majority of project that go outside of the German-speaking world are communicated in English instead of German. Sometimes French, because of the theatre union, it kind of works like the EU, yeah.
35	V	... So to go back to the very beginning, how did you come to learn English originally?
36	LK	Oh, I learned English in school, so basics like crocodile and stuff like that I learned in primary school,=
37	V	=(laughs) These very useful words.
38	LK	Yeah, so the first time I had an English class was at the age of eight or nine I think. And then I had it all the way for eight years between ten and eighteen and then I started to study English and American studies and, because, I don't know I always loved it. I think I was a little like influenced by my mom who studied the same thing, and so she kind of like conveyed this interest with language and I don't know I've always like felt drawn to it.
39	V	So was it obligatory when you first started learning it?
40	LK	Yes, yes it is.
41	V	Yes. But I assume that there was some point when you had to choose to pursue it further and I mean can you remember that that time?
42	LK	So the thing is in primary school we could choose between English and French it was like a majority decision and then the majority chose that we should learn English. And then in high school so from ten to eighteen you can never choose, it's obligatory all the years to learn English, and then at the age of eighteen, yes that was my choice to continue down that road although I started studying, I didn't think that I would be studying the language so much as like literature and linguistics and all of that so that kind of because, we did have language classes a couple of times but it didn't become like the major field of study for us, even though people usually think that that's what you do if you study English they think you do grammar.
43	V	(laughs) Yeah, for some reason like there's so much grammar it takes three years. So I know that you've learned other languages too, and how would you compare learning

		English to learning other languages?
44	LK	Well as a German speaker English is pretty easy. If I were Spanish I probably would disagree a little more on that. But English is very easy in the beginning and then gets all the more difficult the better you want to speak it. Especially punctuation. <i>(laughs)</i> It's insanely difficult and does not seem to have a logic system for me. But in comparison to French or Spanish I would say that it's easier in almost every way, like to speak it because, especially as a German speaker, because it doesn't feel odd in your mouth, like it doesn't feel like you have to change something in your jaw, and grammar is very easy to pick up like the basics and then and you can very quickly say basic things and I think that's what makes it so convenient to have it as a universal language because like you don't need to invest a lot of time in order to communicate the basics, whereas you need more time with any other language almost to do that.
45	V	Do you think that the amount of exposure that you get to English makes a difference to how easy it is to learn?
46	LK	I do think that makes a very big difference because it is the easiest to have access to English films and everything, English films books and anything like that in comparison to any other language. Like even Spanish which is like such a popular language but it's much more difficult to get access to that. I think it's like it's a bit of a question of which was first, like whether English came first as a universal language or it became because the access is easier. I mean, I think that US culture had a lot to do with that because it spreads everywhere and then you're kind of exposed to it. So I do know that that makes a very big difference to me because I do want to have English in my life but it's very easy for me to do that as well. I do know plenty of people though who are, who like evade having English in their day-to-day life, but you can, you're still exposed by listening to the radio for instance.
47	V	Yeah. So if you had to describe your opinion of English, like what's your impression of English, what kind of things would you come up with?
48	LK	I personally really love the language and what I do like about it is that, especially British English because I think it kind of comes with the culture, is very to-the-point in comparison to German for instance sometimes. I can't think of a specific example right now but there's like, it happens, I notice that the more people who speak English now, and are surrounded by English now, that when they speak German they use lots of English formulations that they usually pick up in series or something like that, that somehow come to their mind because it's sometimes like very convenient to say it like that and not having to think of like how you would say that in German, so that is definitely happening, and, I don't know I think it's just a very, I think it's what's in a way to me personally I think, what's kind of becoming established with English is that maybe there is no like such specific association with the language. Like in the sense of that, I don't know French is considered sexy, or you know, difficult, and I don't know, Spanish fast and like harsher than Italian and Italian just like funny, and super movement and you know like, I think English doesn't have like such a like specific connotation, that it remains a little more neutral and it's easy on the ears. And I don't know, I think that works quite well and I don't know. I think also with globalisation people are getting more and more used to hearing English with accents, and that it's ok to have an accent as well.
49	V	So when you talk about your work and when you're doing your work, do you find that there's a difference between speaking about it in English and speaking about it in German, like do you ever find that you express yourself differently if you use a different language?
50	LK	Well, the thing with that project was that because I used English so much in reference to the project because I had to use it in day-to-day work, like communicating with my co-workers in the other countries in English, and there were so many formulations that I kind of worked in that way, so my boss and I, because she was also so involved in this, we would often use English words, like we would not translate them, you know,

		because we were involved in the same thing, so that was, usually we communicated in German but like specific words and formulations that were just, you know that came quicker in English would just be used in English. Whereas you talk to people who were in the same company, theatre company, but not directly involved in the project, you try to translate it all the time, and that made it a little tricky sometimes because I think, yeah I don't know, with respect to that specific project maybe it was a little easier to do it in English because of the whole process being done in English for most of the time. But in general I think I don't care a lot, it doesn't make a specific difference to me whether or not I, I think it would just in an informal context maybe make a difference that you could use a specific (<i>unintelligible</i>)
51	V	Do you ever find that you can't remember the word for something in German, I mean do you ever feel frustrated of that you can only remember the English word for something?
52	LK	Yes, that happens all the time. But it does happen the other way around as well. I don't know, it's very inexplicable that phenomenon, like I, it's quite embarrassing that I, especially in a work context that I, because if you talk with friend, depending on who those friends are, but some friends don't mind, and then that you just like interpret everything in English. Others find it a little, in a way like a little arrogant to do that, because they think you try to show off or something. If they don't use English all the time, then they are, but people who use English all the time have the same, like experience so they don't mind. But at work it is extremely frustrating because it's not considered to be like, it's considered to be a little odd unless it's like a word that has been established in German, like statement or something like that, that's quite often used, then it's not weird to do it, but otherwise it's considered to be a little odd to do it and then it's very frustrating because you're in a meeting and you can only think of that word in English and you're trying to find it in German and you just can't and you're stuck and you sound like an idiot, like you don't know how to express yourself. So that's very frustrating.
53	V	So continuing, like extrapolating that thought, can you ever see English being a threat to German?
54	LK	Yes and no. I think on the one hand it already has become a little bit of a threat because there are a lot of language, a lot of words introduced in the German language, and I do think that the German-speaking world is quite receptive to English. I mean I can't speak for Germany or Switzerland in that, so much, but I feel like especially here we are very like, we are welcoming that change in a way because, I don't know I feel like sometimes we are so like impressed by, just as we are impressed by Germany in a way, we are impressed by the US and the language comes and it sounds like of cool and you know as the Sie and the du thing we are also kind of, with the influence of English has changed as well that use of Sie and du has become much much more, like relaxed and that's due to English as well I believe, and lots of words, and so I think in like, you notice that especially in newspapers and journalism in general that has happened, but on the other hand I think with respect to literature or something I think it will take a while for that to completely go away because there are, I think there is always like a counter development that happens when on the one hand people are like keen on like that taking up on those things and on the other hand like they find, they develop this kind of admiration for their own like specific dialect and like to maintain their, what's kind of unique about their language in a way. And I notice that especially like when you, with humour and comedy and things like that it just, it's very very dependent on language and on that cultural part about language, and so in that sense I don't think it will go with=
55	V	=Yeah, so you think that in that sense language is quite strongly linked to identity?
56	LK	Yes, I do believe that. And I think you know in a way if, if English was a threat to Germany then, oh, to Germany – to German , then it would not happen from one day to the next, it's not like you know with Catalan where from one day to the next you just prohibit it being spoken, but it would just like be a gradual development. And I

		think if that were to happen you know like nobody like grieves over Latin not being spoken anymore, so I think then it would just be a development that happens and then it's ok to people, unless like it's forced onto them.
57	V	So do you think that a development of that kind could be a positive thing in the sense of a language developing?=-
58	LK	= of course I do. Yeah I do, you know on the one hand I always think it's kind of sad if a language disappears and like dialects that disappear and all that because it has a lot to do with identity. But on the other hand I sometimes wonder if it's so important to maintain a specific identity without excluding others
59	V	Yeah
60	LK	If you were more open to your language being more flexible, because if English were to become a more like commonly spoken language in exchange for using your own language then it would mean that you understand more people. And with understanding more people in the language it means that you culturally understand them better as well maybe. And if it's a gradual development then it's not really offensive to your culture and identity but it's something that becomes your identity in a way. Because I'm sure that if you ask anybody here now they don't feel like, especially young people in the city wouldn't feel like threatened by the word statement being used in German you know, so,
61	V	Yeah, cool. Well I think that's everything, and thank you so much it was really interesting yeah lots of good stuff there. Yeah cause I'm basing my, well I did a lot of background reading and I'm kind of basing it on certain ideas and this thing about identity is one of them also the thing about, that you kind of change the way you talk if you're speaking to different people in English. Yeah and especially this thing about a Suitcase Production as well, because the other thing is that everyone who speaks English, not just native-speakers, everyone has a stake in the language and they are able to develop it and create their own words and add to the language themselves, so it's really interesting to hear about things like that.
62	LK	=you're welcome. Although you know with respect to identity I think it would be very like, that the answer to that question I think depends very very much on where people come from that, who you ask. Like if you ask that, like someone in Sicily or Cataluña then people would have a very different opinion on that I'm sure, so
63	V	Yeah yeah I mean I realise I have a kind of biased sample here because I'm speaking only to cultural workers, and only cultural workers who can speak English well enough to do an interview with me, so I'm kind of, it's a very, like these people are going to be very open-minded to this kind of thing, but still.
64	LK	Well, you know I mean it's always like that, I mean you always, you're never able to have a neutral view on whatever study you're doing because you're always by choosing one you're excluding others, and it always works with the way, like if you're defending this choice then you make a certain statement and not a general one, so I think=-
65	V	=Yeah absolutely I think, but yeah I think that I have, because I have quite a closed sample group then hopefully I can sort of make
67	LK	Deductions?
68		Yeah, generalisation about people who work in this kind of environment. Hopefully. But yeah that's really great, thank you so much. And it's ok this, everything like this in my research, I hope? And do you mind if I use your name?
69		=of course! No not at all.
70		No? good. Well. I have to ask everyone...
End of Transcript		

Appendix 6 – Interview with Ariane Bieou, France

Transcript: Ariane Bieou. 3rd April 2013 (Skype)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

AB – Ariane Bieou (interviewee)

(for other guidelines, see appendix 3)

1	V	So this is an interview with Ariane. Do I say your name correctly?
2	AB	Not so well
3	V	Ok, please say your name and the name of your organisation.
4	AB	No it's just that I didn't hear you very well
5	V	Ah ok. Ariane, is that
6	AB	Please again. Yes I am Ariane, Ariane Bieou and I am the coordinator of the In-Situ network.
7	V	Yeah, so to begin, how would you describe the organisation where you work?
8	AB	Do you need all the informations about us before that? Or is it,
9	V	No I would just like your impression, to hear your words of how you would, how you would describe what you do.
10	AB	Is it the interview to In-Situ network or to Lieux Publics? Because there is two different things here, that's why=
11	V	=yeah, it's mainly with you yourself. I'm interested in you as a cultural worker. As I said in my email I'm interested in how English is used as a tool for communication and I'm trying to get views from people who work in the cultural sector so I'm taking that as a kind of case study. So I'm mainly interested in you and how you use English. So I imagine that the In-Situ network would probably be where you use it most.
12	AB	Yes, because it's different from the Lieux Publics part.
13	V	Ok, so yeah let's take the network.
14	AB	So start again.
15	V	Yes, how would you describe the network?
16	AB	So my job is to be the coordinator, that means I am to coordinate seventeen partners all around Europe. They are coming from twelve different countries. So the language that we are using within the network is of course French and English. From now it's more English than French, even if when we started with the European project it was more French in the beginning than english.
17	V	Which countries do you use French with?
18	AB	I'm sorry?
19	V	Which countries do the organisations that you use French with come from?
20	AB	The one that are using French? Ok, sorry it was starting to, I don't hear you very well. Of course with the French partner, Spanish, sometimes with the Danish partner, and the Belgian one. With the other partners we always use English.
21	V	Ok, so would you say that using English is a very important part of your job?
22	AB	Yes, of course. Even if I am working here in France, we are based here in Marseille.
23	V	So I notice that, on the website, that In-Situ has co-edited books as well. What language were they printed in?
24	AB	The first one was French, English, Spanish and German.
25	V	Ok so quite a mix.
26	AB	But it was a long time ago so I don't remember very well. And from two years ago we started with a special issue, edited with Mouvement, and it's in French and English this time. That's, the reason why we wanted to do it was that it's the special issue that is of course touring with the partners that, also that, it's also a tool for them to spread

		what In-Situ is doing.
27	V	Ok so kind of publicity=
28	AB	=so they really need it in French and English version. We first thought, because this is the publication of the network, we first wanted to have added languages, other language maybe Czech or Slovak or Hungarian to be on the website or a digital version, but at the end we realised that the partners didn't need it.
29	V	Oh
30	AB	Yes, that was their answer. Because in central Europe countries, most of the time, also politicians and authors they call those (unintelligible) are able to read very well English when it was necessary
31	V	Yeah, I guess it was simpler that way. Do you have any contact with native speakers of English during your work in the network?
32	AB	Yes, because we have two partners in UK. One in Glasgow and one in Norwich. So that's my direct person contact in UK, but also as my job is coordinating it's also, I am the one that is representing the network and Lieux Public abroad, so of course I'm taking part of many meetings mostly Europeans or international meetings, so that means that I always meet not-English speakers, but also English-speakers.
33	V	So you're kind of the centre of the circle in that way.
34	AB	Yes. That also means that my impression is that we never speak the same, really the same language and really the same English.
35	V	Ok, yes that's very interesting. Can you tell me more about that?
36	AB	Yes, that's maybe something that can be interesting for you, it's something strange because when we are meeting with the first cycle of partners we only use English. It's more fluent for the discussion so we let down with interpreters. And what is strange is that it's quite more difficult to understand the partners from, the Scottish partner
37	V	<i>(laughs)</i> Yeah I can understand that.
38	AB	It's a question of vocabulary I mean, but also because what is important is to have a common language so coming so from many parts of Europe we also have many meanings of the same word. So when we are meeting the first thing we have to do is agree on the meaning of a word that we are using.
39	V	Can you give me any examples of words like that?
40	AB	It's really technical because it's related to our job, to what we are doing, that means that they are all artistic director, so the first step was to agree on what is production, for example. Artistic Production. Because there is different meaning but also different way of interpreting it and sometimes you can be borderline.
41	V	So would you say that there is a big difference between speaking to native speakers of English and speaking to other non-native speakers?
42	AB	I guess it's the range of the vocabulary first of all, or some expression. Of course it's more basic because we have to be sure that everybody is following the discussion.
43	V	Have there ever been any particular words that have come to be used a lot in your network and have even taken on a new meaning because of the way that you use them in your work?
44	AB	It sometimes happen, with the, because of the European commission. In our case the network has been financed through many projects, Europeans project by the European commission, for ten years now. So during all this time we also took the vocabulary of the European commission that is sometime different from our own words that we are using.
45	V	Yeah I understand. Do you use any=
46	AB	=it's, I noticed it during some European meeting that it's another kind of English. It's a European English, you know,
47	V	Yes, Eurospeak. Do you use other language apart from English and France, er French sorry.
48	AB	I also speak Italian and a little bit of German, so with people who is using these language I also like to speak with them in their own language. It would be interesting

		to have more.
49	V	Yes absolutely. So to go back to the very beginning, how did you come to learn English?
50	AB	How I did?
51	V	Yeah, how did you learn English originally
52	AB	Ahh, Here in France and at school. And then I went travelling abroad of course.
53	V	So when you learned English in school, were you forced to learn it, did you have to?
54	AB	No no no, it was a choice, I first learned German and then English and then Italian. No that was my choice, so that's, but English is always so useful .
55	V	Yeah, I was going to ask, can you think of what the main reasons were behind that choice?
56	AB	When I was very young I was interested in English because as I was listening to mainly English singers I remember once I was curious to understand their words. So at that time that was my motivations.
57	V	How did learning English compare to learning the other languages?
58	AB	How I? Sorry.
59	V	Was it easier to learn English or did you find it easier to learn the other languages?
60	AB	English was easier. Easier than German for sure, but my feeling is that the more language you learn, the easier is it.
61	V	Yes of course. Do you think that the availability of English had something to do with how easy it was to learn?
62	AB	No I don't think so.
63	V	Ok, can you think of why it might have been easy for you?
64	AB	But I didn't feel it difficult to learn.
65	V	Ok, so at the times when you use English in you work a lot, do you ever have times when you can't remember the French word for something and you can only remember the word in another language?
67	AB	Yes, that happens very often. Mostly with Italian because with three languages in mind it's sometimes difficult to switch from one to another. So that's the difficulty of finding the words in this other language
68	V	Yes so I mean you use English but it sounds like you use many other languages as well. Do you think that if you had never learned English do you think that you could still have done this kind of job?
69	AB	No, it wouldn't have been possible. It was a key skill.
70	V	And when you describe your work and what you do, is there a difference between describing it in English and describing it in any other languages? Do you find that you express yourself differently?
71	AB	Yes, yes.
72	V	Can you give any examples of that?
73	AB	It's also the way you are building the sentence. For example in English the sentence has to be shorter. In French it has to be more, someone has told me Baroque?
74	V	Ah ok, so elaborate maybe?
75	AB	Yes it has to be. And as example in it has to be really expressive with many motion.
76	V	Yeah you use your hands a lot.
77	AB	(laughs) So of course speaking it's not only the language itself but also the body language. That is also changing.
78	V	Ah ok. So do you think that English could ever become a threat to other languages?
79	AB	I don't know, really. I didn't think about it. There is no, for me it's a tool. It's a tool and it's a communication tool.
80	V	Do you ever use English outside of your work?
81	AB	Yes of course. Yes to get in contact with most people, it's possible yes.
82	V	And if you had to describe your opinion of English, what kind of things would you say?

83	AB	I don't know, because it's useful but not only of course. Because I also like to read in English, and so I also like the language itself.
84	V	I realise that this is a hard question=
85	AB	=But it's not for me simply, even if it's not for many years it's not so natural as it was for many other languages
86	V	Ok, so would you say that Italian and German were more natural?
87	AB	Yes, I don't know why.
88	V	Ok, interesting.
89	AB	Maybe it's the way I'm hearing it, and I know there are some sounds that are difficult to hear and then to pronounce. Maybe it's something that, I always have the feeling I am not in the right time within speaking. Not in the right hour of the language. And how it's (?) and,
90	V	You say that you like reading in English; can you pinpoint exactly what it is that makes you like it?
91	AB	Because as much as possible I like to read in the language in which it's written. It's more pure.
92	V	Yeah I understand. So in your native language, in French, do you think that there are a lot of words that have come from English that you use on a daily basis?
93	AB	Yes, but mostly now that I'm working a lot with English.
94	V	Do you think that in your industry in France that your organisation is quite special in using English a lot, or do you think that it's quite normal to use English?
95	AB	For me it's normal. For the plan that I'm working it's normal too. But most of the time in France that's not the case.
96	V	Because when I was searching for French organisations it took me a long time to find on that had an English translation of the website and of course I don't speak French so I couldn't understand otherwise. So yeah I just wondered about your opinion about that. Yeah but I think that that is the end of my questions. And thank you so much for your contribution, it was really useful. Some of the things you said, especially about speaking different kinds of English, that's really, it fits with my theories of what I'm writing about.
97	AB	And that's also, at least in my case that's conditioning the way of acting and the way of being with people. It's really relevant for me.
98	V	You mean that the type of English that you speak relates to how you act as well?
99	AB	Yes.
100	V	Ahh ok. Interesting. Cool. Well, yeah thank you so much.
101	AB	Let me know about your work. About the results.
102	V	Yeah I, when I finish it I'm going to send it out to everybody who helped me, so you will hear some more about it later.
103	AB	But are you more a researcher or also a cultural operator?
104	V	A kind of both, I'm researching for my thesis in European studies, but I'm very very interested in culture and last semester I was working at a cultural organisation in Sweden, and that is what I hope to do when I finish, so this research is kind of based partly on my topic and partly on own personal interest.
105	AB	OK
106	V	So, yeah do you have any problems with me using your name in my research?
107	AB	No I don't have so you can do it.
108	V	Ok, that's wonderful. Great thank you very much and I hope you have a great week.
109	AB	Yes, have a good time too and let me know about the result. Because I'm curious to know.
110	V	Yes I shall. Of course
111	AB	Ok. Bye bye
End of transcript		

Appendix 7 – Interview with Alice Sobel, Sweden

Transcript: Alice Sobel. 3rd April 2013 (In person)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

AS – Alice Sobel (interviewee)

(For other guidelines, see Appendix 3)

1	V	So this is a recording with Alice at Tamam, so, and you're really welcome to take breaks if you want to eat. How would you describe the organisation where you work?
2	AS	It's a mixture between an organisation and a community I would say, so it's like, I think all the people who are involved in the organisation more see it as something they do on their spare time because they think it's fun, and because they like the other volunteers and they like the other participants. So it's, yeah like I got that feeling at the barbeque night on Wednesday when everybody were just invited for a barbeque and people, volunteers and participants they just came and had fun together and left and I think many people don't see it as a job, which also sometimes causes problems because people promise to come, and then they, half an hour before they're like oh no I'm not coming, and so, well that doesn't matter for the barbeque but it was the same thing for the, there was a Girl's Fair in Landskrona that Tamam was going to, and then some volunteers who said they were coming, and then three volunteers cancelled half an hour before on Facebook, so I think many people see it as a like community thing, so it's like they like to hang out with the kids, like to hang out with the other volunteers. And this house looks like, some people thought we were living here, but it's actually an office for Tamam and we're just two people half-time employed, so it's mainly volunteerly based.
3	V	What kind of activities do you do?
4	AS	In Lund we have different groups with different focus areas. Some groups are homework supports in different areas of the town on different schools. Some groups are like groups that are, like for example only getting together at Norra Fäladen which is a problem area, and play with children from six to ten. Another group is visiting refugee house where eight kids live, nearby Spyken in Lund and a third group is just like hang out, it's called Tamam café, so they're just playing games and things at the Fritidsgård. And also there are things happening in Uppsala and Gothenburg, Stockholm, Malmö. But it's biggest in Lund. In the other cities they only have maybe one homework support and one activity group. The activity group here in Lund tries different sports every week, and sometimes also cultural things like playing guitar or learning things and they do different things every week and that's also just to, gets a bit, both not only knowing Tamamers but also the other people, but also to see what, what is there in the city to do.
5	V	So it's kind of a nationwide organisation, but where is the main board based? Is that based in Lund?
6	AS	The main board have their meetings on Skype. So one girl is in Uppsala, one girl is in Stockholm, and then four people are based in Lund. So before it was only Lund people who were members because, but then we changed the statutes so now Skype presence counts, so you can still vote if you're on Skype. So then it's easy for the board to have meetings on Skype. Before you had to meet, and then it was only possible for Lund people because the big board meets every third week so it's a bit hectic to go to Stockholm, from Stockholm to Lund every third week. And then yeah so it's working ok and we have just started this new concept so we have our first Skype meeting two weeks ago and we're going to have our first physical meeting the whole of Saturday.

		So then we pay the tickets for the Uppsala girl and the Stockholm girl to come down. It's going to be like four times every year, so then it's reasonable for them to come.
7	V	So it sounds like most people are based in Sweden, but is everyone Swedish?
8	AS	No, there are many international volunteers and some people maybe feel more like double, like [name of co-worker] who is a football trainer, he came to Sweden five years ago and he's from Iran originally, so I don't know if he feels Swedish or if he feels Iranian or both. Like maybe some people came to Sweden when they were ten, and now they're Tamam volunteers and that's like I don't know how they identify themselves but, so it's a mixture between exchange students, second generation or first generation immigrants and like Swedish Swedish. I wouldn't say we are more Swedish, but people look upon me and see I'm Swedish so that's why I comment there "Swedish Swedish". I think so yeah.
9	V	Yeah and, yeah I've been talking to the guys out there and it's obvious that you have a lot of international people, but also some people speak Swedish as well, and, but what kind of ways do you use English in your, in the activities that you,
10	AS	In the groups where there are international leaders, the international leaders speak English and if the kids doesn't understand, there's usually some Swedish people, yeah there's Swedish people, Swedish speakers in every group, so then they can translate. Sometimes people are very good at body language, like [name of co-worker] who you met before he's very good at body language. Once he even explained a game in Albanian and they understood it. Because it was just like trying what, it was a very easy game, but still it was something throwing a ball, and when you should run or not run, and sometimes it's working with body language, for example with the young kids, six to ten, they don't speak English, but they have some English leaders in those groups, but then the main things is to have authority who can say, like even if you say "No", and the kid doesn't know English, they will understand the message.
11	V	Yeah they get it yeah, so it sounds like body language is a big part of the communication in these activities.
12	AS	Yeah, it's just hard in the homework support groups if you're not a Swedish speaker, because it's hard to explain for the kids if they're not good at English.
13	V	And how about within the organisation, how do you use English there?
14	AS	On the Monday meetings we have every week with the office, we speak English, because everybody is comfortable in English, but because we have two interns, two EVS volunteers from Albania, and they don't speak Swedish, and they have one guy from Lithuania, I think,
15	V	Lithuania.
16	AS	Lithuania yeah, and he speaks both but it's more, he's more comfortable in English. So, well and then it's [name of co-worker] and she's Swedish and [name of co-worker] is Swedish, but both me [co-worker, co-worker] are comfortable in English so it's not a problem, but sometimes, if we don't find the words, we will say maybe a sentence in Swedish. And also during the meetings usually we use, like maybe you heard now I talk English but I said Fritidsgård in Swedish because I don't know the perfect translation, we haven't found the perfect translation. So Fritidsgård, like this kind of, some of the words we use in Swedish, because they have learned it.
17	V	Yeah, and like you say there is not really an exact translation for that kind of concept.
18	AS	And if, if I say a Swedish word in the middle of a sentence and the other people don't understand they would be like, huh what's that? Because it's a very informal kind of meetings, so then you just say I didn't get that word, and then I would just explain what I mean, with many words.
19	V	Yeah, but that's really interesting this use of Swedish words in your, when you're using English. Are there any other words from other languages, like are there any Albanian words that have crept in, or have you ever made up words as a group?
20	AS	It's funny, [co-worker] and [co-worker], they call [co-worker], they have made a nickname for him that's Joosh, that means Grandfather in Albanian. Because he was

		taking care of them a lot in the beginning, and like are you hungry? We can cook for you. Do you need something? Do you want me to help you with something? He also gave them their monthly salary from the European, yeah so they called him Joosh, so yeah and now I think even co-worker] says Joosh to [co-worker]. I call him [co-worker's real name]. And then sometimes we joke with Albanian words because I was in Albania this summer so I know some Albanian words, so I could be like ulur, ulur, it means sit, or hyj, hyj, come. But it's more like ironic way of using the language. And then I think sometimes we get influenced by the kids, and we could say like Habibi, darling, and Yalla. So when the Kyrgis volunteers were in Sweden and [co-worker] asked them "oh so did you learn any Swedish yet?" they were like "yeah, I know two words. Hej, and Yalla." And I was like, ok but Yalla is not a Swedish word. "oh!". So they were just here for ten days to see Sweden. It was funny.
21	V	Yeah and following on from that topic, do you have any like catchphrases or like words that you have almost changed the meaning of within your group?
22	AS	I think we have, we use the "Friendship Without Borders" sometimes, the slogan but we use it like, ahh come-on, like if [co-worker] has, tell me like do you want some coffee and I say yes please and then he comes with and I'm like Ohhhh Friendship Without Borders thank you for getting coffee, like that. And, or like come-on, Friendship Without Borders! But also some like [same co-worker] is spreading words, like he's saying Happy Face very often, and it means like we should all be, like now you look so tired, so it's like, come on Happy Face! But I think that's both in the groups that he's in, and here at office, but he started in October, so maybe it's not like a word that has been in Tamam for long, but yeah, those phrases.
23	V	But I mean all of this stuff is really good examples. So aside from English, and obviously body language as well, and Swedish, does Tamam use other languages? For example if you work with kids from the Middle East do you have any workers who use Arabic with them?
24	AS	[co-worker] knows Arabic. He's been studying Arabic and living in Lebanon so sometimes he speak Arabic with the kids when nobody else is there, like we try to use Swedish, and I remember like when I played football with some guys that had Arabic as mother tongue they said things and I tried to tell them like Oh you have to speak Swedish otherwise I don't understand, because those guys, they know Swedish, they just they like ahh but it was nothing and I was like oh but I feel excluded, you have to speak Swedish. But they're not, and I think 2010 they were like a group of people that studied Arabic and went to Tamam because they heard about it from one volunteer who studied Arabic and he like recruited some people. But those people have left now, it's three years ago, but I think they tried a little bit but their Arabic was so limited so it was more like some words.
25	V	Does Tamam do much, do you have many co-operations with organisation outside Sweden? I mean obviously the European Voluntary Service,
26	AS	Yeah, we have cooperation with an organisation in Mexico that, before it was part of Tamam and then we restructured Tamam and so now it's called Tamam Mexico but it's a separate organisation. And then in Kyrgyzstan we have, like I may not say it right, like Kyrgyzstan. You know the one in central Asia,
27	V	Yeah, it's next to Russia.
28	AS	Yeah. There we have a group that was also called Tamam Kyrgyzstan before, but they are actually a part of another organisation that's called Youth in Osh, Osh is the city where they are. So that's also like a cooperation. They call their group for the Tamam group because they work in the Tamam way and they have young leaders and regular activities, not just something once, but they have every week they go to orphanage houses. And then we have cooperation with Albania that was also before Tamam, part of Tamam, but now it's their own organisation, it's called Tamam Albania, still. And we go there every summer to do a big summer camp for the kids in the village that we work with. Otherwise it's Albanian volunteers that has the regular activities with the

		kids, like they do something every Saturday.
29	V	And what is your main working language in communicating with these other organisations?
30	AS	To work, when we cooperate with Mexico, it's mainly Spanish. Like when we send volunteers to Mexico we prefer that they know Spanish. It's possible if they don't but it's up to, Tamam executors say like who can come and who can not come. Because they're not a part of Tamam anymore. But yeah sometimes we have connections. ... And then we have, when I was in Kyrgyzstan in October we talked English, but there were only seven volunteers out of thirty from Kyrgyzstan who knew English. The rest spoke Russian, Kyrgyz, Uzbek. So then all the trainers spoke English because they were Swedish. Well one guy is Turkish, but anyway. Yeah, one Turkish guy and two Swedish people. They were trainers, so they spoke English. And then it was one girl who knew very well English, who spoke Russian. Because everybody in Kyrgyzstan knows Russian, but maybe some Kyrgyz people don't understand Uzbek etc, but everybody knows Russian, and so,
31	V	Yeah, so English ended up being kind of a relay language between Swedish and Russian or Uzbek,
32	AS	Yeah, because the girl who knew both Russian and English doesn't know Swedish. And in Albania, I talked a little bit Albanian to the kids. Like as I said, ulur, hyj, but then in every group we divided in the camp, so it was minimum one Albanian volunteer in every camp who knew English, so we could, I could explain a game, slowly, because they're not so good at English they're still like, those volunteers they are also grown up in this village but they know some English, and because they are around sixteen, seventeen, so they have learned some English in school, and then they explain it in Albanian for the kids
33	V	Ok, cool. So when you're working a lot in English do you ever find that you lose words in Swedish, like you can't remember the word in Swedish you can only remember the English word?
34	AS	Yeah, that happens sometimes. It's funny when it happens. Like sometime even easy words I can lose them because I talk a lot of English. And now the book I'm reading, just like for fun, it's also in English, so sometimes I lose the word. I think I said something, I had a meeting with the intern [co-worker] this morning, we have meetings ever week, and then we speak Swedish because we're both Swedish, and I said one word in English, I don't remember what word it was, but it was a word that just after I said it, I knew the Swedish word. So we were speaking Swedish and then I said the English word in the middle. She understood it, I mean, but it just felt a bit like ahh.
35	V	Yeah it's funny that that one was the one that came first. And to go back to the beginning, how did you come to learn English?
36	AS	I learned it a little bit in school when I was, first to third grade, but then we just had like Hickory Dickory Dock you know this kind of things that doesn't really, I learned boy and girl and some songs. Good morning Sue, how are you, good morning Michelle I'm very well. But then in the fourth grade when I was ten, then I started to learn English a lot in school. And I also had, what's it called, like a relative, never-mind, like my Mom's cousin or something like that, that spoke English. Like his parents are Australian and they live in France. But anyway I know that if I, when I was eight I went there and we could speak a little bit, but I knew if I was going to get better in English that I was going to be able to communicate with him more,
37	V	Ok, so that was kind of an incentive to do that.
38	AS	Yeah, he taught me the word, because sometimes they came and visited us at our summer place and I remember that he taught me the word for slug. We were playing with the slugs and we kept them in a like farm, a slug farm.
39	V	(laughs) Yeah I remember doing that as a kid.
40	AS	And we learned come and we thought that it was really funny that it was the same

		word for comb, so we were like, me and my brother we were like (sings) “come [name], come my lady come”, and his name is [childhood friend], and come, comb yourself with the comb, something like, me and brother we thought it was really funny. So I really wanted to learn English, but I was really bad at English when I was ten, because the other schools had more English, and when I started fourth grade I started music, I had music and choir every day, so then we came from different schools, so some people had been playing a lot of computer games or had watched a lot of TV. We didn’t have TV when I was small and I didn’t like computer games, so I started slowly to read like really simple books and learn slowly, and then I went to India when I was sixteen, but then my English was, like I was comfortable talking in English. Then I was living there for a year with the Indian family and then I had to speak English every day, even my Mom told me when I talk on the phone, I had a little bit of Indian tonality when I was talking, that was funny.
41	V	In Swedish?
42	AS	In Swedish, yes, I had something. And some words like festival it’s not the same thing as festival in Swedish but I used it wrong. But I think I was comfortable talking English maybe when I was fourteen, fifteen. I remember we had exchange students from Switzerland two weeks when I was fifteen, and then I could talk to her without thinking.
43	V	Nice, it’s nice when you get to that stage. So I assume it was obligatory when you first started learning English at school, but can you remember the stage where you kind of made the choice to pursue it more? Like really devote yourself to learning it.
44	AS	I remember that everybody was complaining about grammar and I really liked grammar in English because I thought it made sense, it made a structure. And I think it was also because some people just had it, because they had listened to so many series and all these things, and I didn’t, so I couldn’t hear, so I should say it this way, because I didn’t hear the grammar I had to learn the grammar and the structure, like when should I have said, like why do you say “I didn’t go”, why don’t you say “I didn’t went” for example, this kind of thing, so I think that was, I think that was when I got a good English teacher, that must have been when I was fourteen or something like that, because before that it was from fourth to sixth grade ten to twelve, then I had more like, the teacher was teacher for all the subjects, but then when we started at Högstadiet we started to have more proper English classes. And then I had also come to the stage where I could read Harry Potter for example, so I could use my English more than just talk to [childhood friend], and anyone else. Oh and I went to England when I was just finishing ninth grade, so when I was fifteen. I went to England and stayed there for two weeks and I learned a lot. I just babysitted two kids and hang out with that family. It was family friends so it was not very organised, but I remember I learned some words that I didn’t know before. And yeah then I could also read like a thick book that I thought was kind of complicated. It was Sophie’s World, it’s like philosophy.
45	V	Oh yeah, nice. So I know, I assume that you learned other languages in school as well, and I know that you know Albanian, but did you find there was a big difference between learning other languages and learning English? Was one easier or I don’t know,
46	AS	I remember I was much better in French, if I compare it to my friends. Because we started when we were twelve and I, for me it’s really easy to learn languages, it’s just that I started later with English than my friends did so I felt I was always like a little bit after. But in French I was kind of best in the class all the time, because, but otherwise I think I learned it in the same way, like I learned the grammar. Also my parents have always been very precise about how to pronounce the words. So it was the same when I had English glossary or vocabulary to learn and when it was French, like they sat with me and like ok, no, say it again.
47	V	It was nice of them to take the time.

48	AS	Yeah and, but in English we discussed more about different dialects. We didn't do that so much in French. Like we had to choose if we wanted to say can't (British) or can't (American), we couldn't mix, like we should choose English or American English or something else. I remember when I was fifteen sixteen we started learning Australian English, like we had to read aloud in the Australian way, but then it, yeah we should understand all types of English. In French we, I still have difficulty to understand people from the West coast of Northern Africa. They speak, French is their mother tongue but they speak in a very different way so I think it's hard to understand them.
49	V	Do you ever find that there's difference between speaking to a native speaker of English and speaking to another non-native speaker?
50	AS	Yeah, it depends on their dialect. If they have a strong dialect in something, or if they speak really fast it could be hard, so it depends on the dialect of the person I think. But I think=
51	V	=For a native speaker you mean?
52	AS	Yeah, if it's a native speaker. If it's a Swedish speaker I understand. Well if they have a really strong Swedish accent it could be a little bit irritating, but it's not a problem. Or you could feel a bit like, even maybe they are fluent in English I feel that maybe they don't understand what I'm saying because their accent is so strong so maybe they have a difficulty with words and maybe I should think more. When I speak with a native speaker I don't have to think about which words I'm using. It's the same when I speak to like [co-workers]. Yeah they are not as good at English as I am, and so then I have to think, like maybe I speak more clearly I think, which means, usually I'm copying a bit the dialect so I speak with an Albanian accent, you know, but no I'm not as much myself when I speak because I speak more slowly, more clearly and sometimes it feels like I'm making them to feel like an idiot. I hope I don't, but I felt that when I was in India it was so much easier when I spoke with an Indian accent and slowly and clearly so people understood. So I think maybe I talk a little bit with an Indian accent when I talk to people.
53	V	I've never noticed.
54	AS	Not to people with, who speak with a Swedish accent, but with all the other accents it's like ok someone is not understanding English and
55	V	Yeah. Ok, so when you're talking about your work at Tamam, for example explaining it to someone like me, I assume that you would have times when you explain about it in Swedish and in English, and do you think that there is a difference in the way that you express yourself in different languages? Like do you come up with different meanings because you're using, you have to use different words?
56	AS	I think it's more, when it comes to Tamam work I think it's more about what is that person interested in. So if I talk to someone at my last work for example, that didn't know about Tamam, I would just explain very briefly. When I talk to someone who I want to recruit as a volunteer I would maybe explain more about the specific things that's happening in the group and maybe not so much about the whole organisation.
57	V	Yeah so you kind of would speak about different things because they would have different relevance for the people you speak to?
58	AS	Yeah I think I don't change the meaning so much if I speak Swedish or English. I think it more comes to, like I have some close friends that are English speakers, like when I was living in France I had an American friend that's really close and so I felt like sometimes when I want to talk about really tough things, then it could be hard, because maybe it was even hard to find the words in Swedish and then it would be even more hard to find it in English. Especially when I talk French sometime and English sometimes. But that hasn't been happening so much in Tamam I think. Maybe once I have switched to Swedish when we talked about, yeah it was during the annual meeting, we decided in beforehand that we'll explain the budget in Swedish. But all the other things we had in two languages. So either the person who spoke could speak both in Swedish and English, or we had asked people to translate. Mainly it was [co-

		worker] who was speaking, and like the annual report and what has the board done, and so he took it in both languages. But both me and him didn't feel comfortable enough to explain the budget in English and then we also felt that the people who are interested in it they can read more about it in the report, it's written in English. And we also told people if they were English speakers and wanted to know more about the budget they could come to, it was open space for two hours in the middle of the meeting, where economy was one part and we had different tables and you could walk around and ask questions and if you really were into the budget and wanted to know more you could go to that economy table and someone would explain briefly in English. But I think the result was that there were not so many English speakers who were so interested in the budget so they had to hear it again.
59	V	So it was mainly to do with the technical terms and stuff that you have to use when speaking about a budget.
60	AS	Yeah and also, both the technical terms and also, I think economy can sometimes be hard to explain in Swedish. Like what is a budget, what is money that we know that we're going to get in, what is money that we're guessing that we're going to get in, what is money that we know, like costs. Yeah so it was, just because it's kind of hard to explain in Swedish it makes it even more hard to explain in English. Not only because of technical terms but also because of all the other words, like how do I formulate myself to make this understandable.
61	V	Yeah cause like normally sometimes to explain just one thing it takes many sentences, or paragraphs. Yeah so if you had to describe your opinion of English, like what do you associate with the language, what sort of feelings do you have, what kind fo things would you come up with?
62	AS	I feel like, like Babel language kind of, like it's connecting people from all over the world. And then I feel, sometimes I get irritated when people mix English too much into the Swedish language, like kids who want to be cool. And they say, they make verbs out of English words instead of, like, I don't, well like adda – add. Well that word I can accept because it's kind of computer language, but sometimes when they put an "a" after an English word I feel kind of, but we have a word for that, an exact word for that in Swedish. So then I can get irritated, but otherwise, I don't know because there's so many cultures that speaks English as their mother tongue so I don't associate it with like England or America or Australia or India or whatever country. It's more like, I don't know.
63	V	It's a hard question. But to come back to this, you being annoyed about people mixing English in, do you feel that English could have a negative influence on Swedish?
64	AS	I don't know if it's going to, like a negative influence on, I don't feel scared that Swedish is going to disappear because of English, because I think there's so many people who likes to speak it and speaks it regularly. But I think that, maybe some, now it's a word I can't find in English, like nyans in Swedish, like nuance, like some,
65	V	Yeah, nuance.
67	AS	Yeah in the language disappears, because people use the English word instead and I think there are many Swedish words that people don't really use, because they don't know them. So I think those, for me, very valuable words disappears. I can't come up with an example now. But yeah I remember when I was dancing Bolivian dance when I was fourteen and those people I danced with were mostly Bolivians but they have grown up in Sweden, and I said some word and they were like "what's that". Yeah and some words that people don't dare to use because it sounds so academic and posh, so they use other words. It's kind of draining the language of rich words, but I don't know if it's the fault of English or if it's like, it could be other reasons, like you don't want to sound posh and then you don't use these kind of complicated words
68	V	Yeah I understand. Interesting. So do you think it would be possible to do the kind of work that Tamam does if you didn't use English at all?
69	AS	I think then we couldn't take EVS's like we do, and that would be a third of the office.

		Well and we could talk with the kids, because normally the kids don't know English. So if we don't know the same language there's usually a cousin or a friend who's translating for us. But then we wouldn't be able to say yes to exchange students either, so they couldn't be volunteers. It would be possible, but it would just be like a lack of people and some people are really like good for Tamam like [co-worker] and now [mutual friend] is also engaged in Tamam and we would miss a lot of really great people if we did that but it would still like run. For example all people in the Lund board are Swedish speakers and people in the, almost, well we could talk Swedish in the big board. Usually we don't because [co-worker] says sometimes she doesn't understand it, but she knows Swedish. So it would work, it would just like exclude some really good people.
70	V	Yeah, cool. Well that's the end of my questions and thank you so much. Do you have any question or have anything you want to add to what's been said?
71	AS	No I think it's just this with, I think the hardest thing with using English at work is when you switch, and we do that all the time in Tamam. So I think if I would be working to a big company with like, that has English as a speaking language it would be easier than, as I told you before for example writing the agenda, like writing the notes in Swedish at the same time as discussing in English, it's a bit confusing. It's not the same thing when you're very into English and you speak English, for example especially if I would live abroad and work there only in English, because then I would start dreaming in English, thinking in English. Now I don't think it English. Well maybe a little bit when I speak with you, but otherwise it takes some days to get into the language, so I think if I wanted to learn English better I wouldn't join an organisation like this. I would learn a little bit better but I think to really learn a language one has to speak it all the time and not be confused by switching.
72	V	Yeah you have to be immersed fully.
73	AS	That's all I want to add.
74	V	Yeah thank you so much. I assume it's fine with you if I use what we said here in my research, and is it ok, do you have any problems if I use your name?
75	AS	No you can use my name. It's just if you want to use other people's names you should ask me first.
76	V	You mean these other people?
77	AS	Yeah so it doesn't sound like I've said bad things about them
78	V	Yeah if I use any quotations where you've mentioned someone else's name I can just write in brackets "name of participant". Cool.
End of Transcript		

Appendix 8 – Interview with Michael Walling, UK

Transcript: Michael Walling. 4th April 2013 (Skype)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

MW – Michael Walling (interviewee)

(For other guidelines, see Appendix 3)

1	V	So this will be an interview with Michael from Border Crossing.
2	MW	... Ok off you go.
3	V	So as you may have read in the email, my thesis project is based around the concept of English as a common language. I'm mainly focusing on Europe and the ways in which English is used as a tool for communication in the cultural sector. I mean I'm interested in English in general, but it's such a wide topic I had to narrow it down somewhere. And so I'm sort of taking the cultural sector as a case study, and I'm particularly interested in opinions and attitudes and perceptions, so like a hermeneutics kind of perspective. So I'm talking to a number of people who work in the cultural sector to get their ideas and yeah I'm really interested in getting the native speaker perspective. Yeah so to start off, how would you describe the organisation where you work?
4	MW	Right, ok that's not to do with English. Well it's an intercultural theatre company, so we make new theatre pieces which involve people from widely different cultural backgrounds, they're usually international collaborations and sometimes that work is scripted, sometimes it isn't. Sometimes it's devised. And we also run a festival of work from indigenous peoples from around the world. And yes, we make a lot of use of English, because of course we are English. But that's us, where we start from.
5	V	Can you tell me more about your international collaborations, perhaps some examples of the recent ones?
6	MW	Yep, well we've just finished this production <i>Consumed</i> , which was a co-production with Shanghai Dramatic Arts Centre which is the, that's the second piece of work we've done with them. And of course language is a huge issue there because there aren't that many people in China who speak English and there aren't that many people in England who speak Chinese, and <i>Consumed</i> , a lot of it was actually about language and the complexity of language, the problems of people working across languages, and the way in which language shapes thought and can be, you know so it's more even than culture, it's a way of thinking, but I'm sure I don't have to explain to you. So we've done quite a lot of work in association with China. We've also worked extensively in Africa, we did a co-production with the National Theatre in Ghana in 2007. We have worked in India, all over the place really. And we've toured in Sweden, indeed, with the first of our pieces with the Shanghai Dramatic Arts Centre which was quite a wide co-production, including with a company from Gothenburg, and that was EU funded.
7	V	Interesting. So with the <i>Consumed</i> production how did it work with the language? Did all the Chinese actors, did they speak English or were there interpreters?
8	MW	A bit of all sorts of things. We had, the whole idea of it came from an actress who was in the earlier production <i>Re-Orientations</i> and she wanted to work with us again. She doesn't speak English. She has a few words now after you know four of five long periods of working with us, but I mean I speak the same amount of Chinese if not less, and we thought it would be interesting to make a piece which was like a triangular relationship where there was an actor who spoke only English, and actor who spoke

		Chinese and one who spoke both. And it was actually quite hard to find that person because she's from an older generation. She's about fifty. We wanted it to be about people from that generation. The younger Chinese, there's lots of them who speak very good English, but not people who are a bit more, anno domini on their side. So we searched and searched and eventually found this guy Ning Lee who had left China briefly, well for quite a long time, in the eighties, had married an American and lived in America and now had come back and was living in Beijing, and so he's bilingual and so he became the lynch-pin, the joining point between the other two performers. ... But in terms of rehearsals and the like, he actually said he wouldn't translate and it was right that he shouldn't. At the early stages in workshop, it was sort of alright because we were playing around and so he could translate and we also had a video artist who was also a bilingual person, and between them we all sort of got by. But when it came to rehearsal, we all felt that we needed translators in the room and there were translators in the room, but there were several of them, and it was actually quite difficult because you're not, translation is such a complicated business, you don't just translate what's being said, you translate an understanding of it, and this is one of the reasons why he really couldn't do it because he would just put his own opinion onto something. And he knew he was doing that. And with a translator who was very fresh to the project, there was so much that they just didn't understand, aside from the literal meaning of the language, you know it was just what was actually going on in the room was very difficult for them to ascertain just coming in cold, and so it was the ones we saw more of that were more use to us. So it was very very challenging, but we were, that was the point.
9	V	Yeah, and probably more rewarding as a result of that. Can you tell me more about the <i>Re-Orientations</i> project? Was that the one that was with Gothenburg?
10	MW	That's right, yes. That was a piece which we made through devising again in 2009 and then performed in 2010 in England and in Shanghai and on tour in Sweden. It was, well it was funded by the EU under the Culture Programme when they did something called actions in third countries and we already knew we wanted to make a piece with Chinese artists and with Indian actors actually, and then we wanted, we needed for the funding purposes to bring in European partners. And it was actually very interesting to bring in the Swedes, and we had French choreographers, it was crazy. But what was interesting about the Swedish element was that, well of course the Swedish people spoke extremely good English but also had their own language, and so a lot of it became about globalisation really, and the use of English as an international language, and as a business language I think was very central to what we were exploring in that one.
11	V	How did it work with the French artists, did they speak English too?
12	MW	Well actually, I say French, one of them was German and one of them was Brazilian and they just happened to be a company based in France. And yes they did speak English, although the Brazilian less well than the German. And so from time to time I would slip into French for her benefit and all the Chinese would stare at me like I was a lunatic. And you know that was just the way it was, and it was actually very interesting because it meant there were various common ground places which we could find between different people in the room.
13	V	That's interesting, so English is not your only working language, so you could use French as well?
14	MW	Well yes but I'm not perfectly fluent and to be, to work artistically in a language, well it's interesting, it depends what you're doing. I mean as a director you have to be absolutely fluent because you have to be very clear about what you're doing, and then someone else can translate that if necessary. As an actor it can be extremely interesting to be working in a language in which you are far from proficient. Because you know sometimes the struggle is the point. I certainly found that with both of those projects. But I'm actually not very good at languages, I'm not one of those people that has a gift for it and I suppose that's one of the reasons why the complexity of

		communication fascinates me.
15	V	So during these projects when you're working with international organisations, obviously if you're using English you kind of have a different status as a native speaker. Do you ever find that you change your way of speaking at all when you're speaking to non-natives, do you speak very differently?
16	MW	Yeah, well inevitably you try and simplify and be as clear and direct as you can. Because you know there's always an awareness that people aren't quite so fluent as you, even if they seem to be very fluent. I was on a workshop in Berlin last summer which was around inter-culturalism and I actually, English was the language of the workshop but I was the only native speaker there and the organisers, who had the most perfect English you've ever heard, said that actually a lot of people found it very daunting because if they're all speaking English but nobody's native then they're not scared of getting it wrong, whereas if someone is native they know that you know. And so actually some people can be quite put off by that presence and so I think it's something we have to be very aware of now that we've become such an international language.
17	V	Yeah. Have you ever experienced that feeling of people being a bit scared about you being a native speaker in productions and stuff as well?
18	MW	No. No is the short answer. It's not, you know it's too, it would make things too difficult and you know everyone knows they have to be brave.
19	V	Yeah I guess so. Have you ever had big problems being understood as a native speaker?
20	MW	Do you mean by people who would be proficient in Global English?
21	V	Yeah for example they don't understand because you're using vocabulary that they haven't heard or perhaps you're speaking a bit too fast or something.
22	MW	Yes absolutely. And also I'm an English person and Global English is not English, it's American and it's very very different. So yes I think that can be a problem. Specific English usages tend not to fit very easily into the Global English vocabulary.
23	V	Have there ever been practical problems that arose because of using English instead of another language?
24	MW	Well no, I mean why should there be? I don't really understand the question actually.
25	V	I mean for example, say if you really wanted to work with a certain organisation but for some reason they didn't speak very good English, they only spoke German or something like that. Have you ever had that kind of problem?
26	MW	Not really, I mean I think, you know we have a huge advantage in being native speakers of English in that most of the world does speak our language and most of Europe speaks our language and the EU has now made it the language of choice. And I feel very ambivalent about it actually. I would like there to be more problems. Because one the one hand it's hugely advantageous and of course of the massive plus points is that it means people, who didn't used to be able to talk to each other, can talk to each other. For example there's an Indian playwright who I know called Gerush Khanad, and who thinks in his first language which is Kannada, and so he writes his plays in Kannada, but then he translates then into English with the express purpose that they can then be translated into other Indian languages. You see what I mean?
27	V	Ahh ok, so using English as a relay language?
28	MW	Yes exactly. And you know English is becoming a means for people from very vey disparate backgrounds to be able to talk to each other and that's the advantage. The disadvantage is that the language is becoming over-simplified, Americanised, commodified and you know we're not dealing anymore with the same language which was spoken by Shakespeare and Milton. We're dealing with something which has lost its poetry. And it's becoming very very easy to name things and to quantify things in English as a business language. It's becoming much less easy to find the poetry, and I think that's one of the reasons that I'm interested in working with lots of different

		languages, it's listening to the music of them and perhaps trying to find our way back to some of the things that we've lost in the globalisation of English.
29	V	So do you see the spread of English in a global sense as a positive thing or negative or sort of a bit of both or neither?
30	MW	Well as I said I feel very ambivalent about it. It has its advantages, it also has its disadvantages. And the truth is that also it's the result of an Imperial period which is not something we should be desperately proud of.
31	V	Do you think that English is or could become a threat to other languages?
32	MW	Well clearly it is. It already has been. I mean Australia is a former English colony and is dominated by spoken English and it is losing languages more rapidly than any other country in the world. The Aboriginal languages, of which there were hundreds and hundreds before colonisation are now down to five or six speakers. It's the equivalent of a genocide. So yes absolutely, you know it's like the grey squirrel.
33	V	Yes. How about the influence that English has on well-established languages? For example a lot of modern languages have loan-words from English. What do you think about that?
34	MW	Well that doesn't bother me. I mean language has always been a rather fluid, open thing, I mean, if you, well English itself is a hybrid isn't it. A lot of it's French, a lot of it's German. A lot of modern English is Hindi or goes back to African languages by complex routes. And, no I think that, you know language has always been a dynamic thing and you would expect it to have the interchange. It's when the process works the opposite way and language becomes impoverished rather than enriched that I feel there are difficulties.
35	V	Do you think that there's any base for the idea that English deserves to be the international language?
36	MW	No there's no basis for it whatsoever. It's purely a political accident.
37	V	So how do you feel about being a native speaker, I mean you said before that it gives you a big advantage. Do you feel, I don't know, proud in any way or ashamed in any way or any other feelings?
38	MW	Well I think that we have to do is realise that it is a political accident. And certainly the thought of it being in some way deserved in the language being superior is something that we need to be very very wary of. I think we, and if we are aware that it's an accident then we can have a bit of humility about it and accept that there needs to be a space for other languages as well, because otherwise if we dominate completely then our thought patterns will dominate completely, and because we're simplifying language to make it globally acceptable it'll mean there's a more simplified thought pattern that dominates completely. So the answer to your question is that my feeling is one of caution, and of making sure that we allow space for everybody else in a world that we've come to dominate without really having any moral right to do that.
39	V	How would you compare your feelings towards English as opposed to towards another language such as French?
40	MW	Well you know of course that's like saying how do you feel about your mother compared with everybody else's, I mean she's your mother. So of course I feel very attached to the language and it's the language in which I think and speak and live. But I need also to acknowledge that other people feel like that about their mothers. That's all.
41	V	So through the course of productions, obviously English is the main working language that you work in, but have there been any foreign words that have crept in and come to be used in the,
42	MW	There are huge huge great sections of the plays which are in other languages and are not necessarily translated either. Great chunks of <i>Consumed</i> are in Chinese, and it's only at the end of the play that we get any subtitles or anything. There's a play we did called double tongue which was in English, Hungarian and Serbo-Croat, again

		without any sub-titles. I'm interested in allowing a space creatively where you can hear those different sets of music, and yeah very often an audience doesn't need literally to understand the sense of everything that's happening onstage, because they can get a feeling of what's going on and they can hear the music of what's going on. And sometimes that's actually more exciting and more stimulating than just knowing word-for-word exactly what somebody's think at any particular time.
43	V	I guess if it's a foreign language you stop listening to the meaning of the words and start listening to the music, as you said earlier.
44	MW	Precisely.
45	V	But yeah, what I really meant was are there any foreign words that have crept in and become a part of your vocabulary in a working sense? Sort of when you're going about your business directing.
46	MW	Oh I see. Fika. The Swedes always insisted on it.
47	V	(laughs) Yeah that comes in everywhere.
48	MW	I mean there probably are. Pausa is the Italian equivalent. That crept in a lot when doing opera. There must be more. I'm sure you know the equivalent of "good morning" in whatever language you happen to be in. Those kind of things: "yes", "thank you", you know it's just being polite, you know it's saying what you can to people in their own language when you're in their space. What I don't think has happened very much, except that with fika, is absorbing a concept for which there isn't an English equivalent. I would like to happen but I haven't found it yet. Well actually no, that's not strictly true. Just thinking about it, when I worked in India I became very interested in some of the ideas they have around their performances and the creation of art, and the idea of Rasa, which means taste, literally. That's something that they use in the making of performances, I suppose it's closer to tone than anything else, but it really is something very specific, and I suppose those kind of ideas do become part of your vocabulary because there isn't an English equivalent, and so if you're using the idea you have to use the word.
49	V	Yeah cause I'm really interested in this, it's a kind of development of English as a result of foreign language, as opposed to the other way around which seems to be happening much more. Has it ever happened that there have been, kind of made-up words that come to be part of your vocabulary?
50	MW	Yeah yeah, all the time, I just can't think of any off the top of my head. But yes it does happen, absolutely. Yeah you know you find a way of referring to a thing in the room or an idea or a character. Yes absolutely. I don't think that would necessarily be any different if you were only working in one language.
51	V	Yeah so these made-up words, have you ever found yourself explaining what they mean to someone outside the organisation and kind of passing them on in that way?
52	MW	Probably, but I can't think of any examples. There's nothing that springs to mind I'm afraid Victoria.
53	V	Ok, well I think that's the end of my questions. Do you have any questions or anything to add?=-
54	MW	=Ok, well I hope it's been of some use. It's an unusual subject.
55	V	Mm yeah absolutely, yeah you said some really interesting things. Particularly this thing about, when I asked you if you think that English deserves to be the international language. Because when I've been speaking to people from other countries, a lot of them were saying "oh yes, yes of course, it's a really beautiful language". It's very interesting to have an opposite perspective because I myself I mean I agree with you and I think it's quite a, kind of, being native speakers we have a much more humble opinion of our language, whereas a lot of foreigners thin "oh yeah well I mean it's," they sort of associate it with power and influence and it becomes superior in their eyes.
56	MW	Have you spoken to any Americans?
57	V	No I haven't, not yet.

58	MW	I think that might be quite an interesting contrast. I would give that a go. And what, are the foreign people you're talking to mainly European?
59	V	Yeah they are. And my course is European studies so I have to kind of base it around Europe. I mean if I happen to come along any Americans working in Europe
60	MW	I think it could be very instructive. Cause of course they are native speakers, but in a whole different way. Or even Irish actually, that might be interesting.
61	V	Yeah I had thought of getting in touch with someone.
62	MW	Because of course the Irish were colonised and so they speak English because they were dominated by the English and their own language was banned. They might have a very different take on it.
63	V	Yeah, or perhaps Welsh people. So, yeah, thank you so much, it was really useful for me, and is it ok for me to use your name in my research?
64	MW	=no problem at all, it was a pleasure. Yes absolutely.
65	V	Ok, that's wonderful. And would you be interested in reading the finished thing when I've finished writing it?
67	MW	I would. Yeah.
68	V	I'll probably send it out to everybody so I'll include you.
69	MW	Yeah yeah yeah, email me. Yeah it'd be lovely to see it.
70	V	Ok, well that's great, thank you so much.
71	MW	Not at all. Thank you, good luck.
End of Transcript		

Appendix 9 – Interview with Margot Michaud, Franca

Transcript: Margot Michaud. 5th April 2013 (Skype)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

MM – Margot Michaud (interviewee)

(For other guidelines, see Appendix 3)

1	V	So yeah, this will be an interview with Margot. So yeah, I think you spoke to Charlotte a bit and she told you some things that she wanted to say.
2	MM	Yes.
3	V	But, yeah that's really great but I'm also interested in what you have to say too. Yeah so to start off with, what kind of, how would you describe the organisation where you work?
4	MM	It is an European cultural network and our aim is to gather professionals all around Europe who work in the cultural field, but also social actors, artists, researchers, so a mix of all who are linked with issues such as segregated areas and disadvantaged neighbourhoods and our aim is to show that cultural projects really need the strength of the inhabitants of such locations in Europe. And we organise seminars, we organise meetings once a year and these actors from all Europe come, they gather together. They present artistic projects, they exchange on their practices on the issues that they meet every day on the field. We also have activities in León with local actors and we try to invite researchers or cultural actors from all Europe. They come and we talk about a special topic, like in two weeks it's going to be the economic crisis and its effect and its impact on the cultural field.
5	V	Ok, interesting.
6	MM	Yeah interesting. We also have other activities such as, we had a research project very recently called Accept Pluralism. It was funded by the European Commission and we worked with researchers for this project. So that would be,
7	V	Yeah, again research! So you're doing an internship there?
8	MM	Yes
9	V	How long is that for?
10	MM	It's going to be a six month internship and I've been here for three months already.
11	V	Ok. Is it part of a course or is it just a,
12	MM	Yeah I had to do one for my (?) we've got three months of lessons and then we had to go on the field to see what,
13	V	Oh cool. It sounds quite similar to what I did because I had an internship for my course last semester as well. Interesting. Yeah so these meetings that you were telling me about that you as an organisation organise, I assume it's with organisations from many countries, and how does it work with languages for those meetings?
14	MM	It is yeah. We always use English because it's more convenient. ... Ok, so at this kind of meeting we stick in English because it's really more convenient because it's the only way that everyone understands and (?), but the thing is we know that all the participants won't be able to understand research projects or people speaking English, so we offer that for people to translate what is being said, but this is the funny thing about it. We need to speak English for everyone to understand, but at the same time we are aware that everyone is not going to understand what we say.
15	V	Ok, so how many languages do you translate into?
16	MM	It actually depends on the country where the meeting takes place. ...

		Last year the annual meeting took place in Italy, so we had to translate everything in Italian. For the documents we have to translate it into the (?) languages. Last year it was in Italian, in French and in English, so imagine the cost (?).
17	V	So you're based in France, but do you use French a lot as well as a working language?
18	MM	Yes we do because the staff is French, so when we are here in León we always speak French. But in our everyday work we have to speak English because all our partners are from European countries so when we have phone calls or meetings or when we have to send emails well of course it's always going to be English. And we have this newsletter that we send about twice a month and of course we've got to translate it in English. We are actually signing in something papers and of course for these papers we've got to write that down in English, even you know with the European commission we know it's going to be both in French and in English.
19	V	Ok, interesting. So when you're working in the office in French, because you said that's the main language that you use within the staff, do you ever find that there are any English words that creep into your French, that you use,
20	MM	Yeah definitely, in fact it happens that sometimes we are talking together and there is the English word that comes. It might be a very easy word, like yesterday I was looking for a French adjective, what was it, I wanted to say "judgemental", and we do not have a good adjective in French for "judgemental", you need to use a noun, and I didn't want to use a noun and so I was saying like "ahh we're going to say judgemental, judgemental, judgemental". So sometimes yeah it's funny. It's not complicated words but since we use a lot of vocabulary in English sometimes it helps to go back to the other language.
21	V	So sometimes maybe you find yourself forgetting what the French word is?
22	MM	<i>(laughs)</i> yeah! Definitely, not very often but it does happen. Not very often.
23	V	Yeah. Do you use English a lot outside the work?
24	MM	Outside the work? Yes, when I'm with foreigners, which does not happen very often outside the working life. But in France we don't really need to use English outside the place where we work, because we don't have much opportunity it depends on the people that you meet.
25	V	Yeah, I guess so. So to go back to the very beginning, how did you come to learn English?
26	MM	In France we are very active to be learning English very soon because we are encouraged to, because we know that it's the most, the language that you are going to use for your work, when you travel or for papers or whatever, so it's almost natural for us to start learning English when you are ten or eleven at school.
27	V	So is it obligatory in schools that you have to learn English?
28	MM	It's not obligatory and it is in fact. You can choose, you've got, you can learn German as a first language, you can take Spanish lessons as well, but the second language it's always English, because you know you need it so much, and even if you decide to learn, I don't know, like Portuguese and German, we won't find schools that, when we get older, like if I want to go to college or university, I know that I'm not going to find a school where Japanese lessons are compulsory, so that you are eliminated in a way. So you are supposed to be able not to learn a language, but in reality you know you have to.
29	V	Ok, and when you were learning English were you keen to learn it because you thought it would be useful?
30	MM	I think that everyone knows that English is very useful, but, well this is my personal experience. My personal experience is I thought English lessons were quite boring, but I loved watching the movies in English, so you know cause just your personal life that makes you do things. And in France we are, well we're bad, we are very bad at learning English and we're neutral to a French person you can see that he's got a French accent and that he doesn't know a lot of vocabulary and even people who are twenty-four, twenty-five who have been learning English for more than ten years, they

		really, they just don't get it. And French people, I don't know.
31	V	But do you think that English was hard to learn compared to the other languages that you might have learned?
32	MM	No I think English is quite an easy language and I use that with the foreign people that I meet. Most of the time they know some English vocabulary and they can speak English at least a little bit. They all find that learning French is really complicated because, the verb it's quite easy to understand and what you do in the past and in the future, but Spanish, Italian, French, it's really complicated to conjugate the verbs correctly. No I think English is one of the easiest languages, of course no language is easy, but you can learn it quite quickly if you really work hard I think.
33	V	Do you think that the availability of English has an effect on how easy it is to learn?
34	MM	What do you mean?
35	V	I mean how many films and TV programmes and books and, there's a lot of materials available in English. Do you think that makes it easier to learn?
36	MM	Yes I think so. And I think that English is not your first language, right? You learned it.
37	V	Me?
38	MM	Yes
39	V	Oh no, it's my first language yes. I'm from England.
40	MM	Oh ok, so of course your English is perfect. But I know that there are also countries where English is not their first language, but when you speak to people, I was concluded to that with a Russian researcher, not very far ago, and when you hear him, it was just perfect, and it was fine but he watched a lot of movies and their TV was all in English and that's why he spoke so well. In France we are not used to watching movies in English, we are not used to looking at series in English. So yes there are many tools available but we do not make the most of them I think.
41	V	So I imagine that in the work you speak to, sometimes maybe you speak to people from the UK or maybe America, so they would be native speakers of English. Is it different speaking to those people than speaking to other non-natives?
42	MM	Yes it is always different. You know the accent that we have; sometimes it makes it quite difficult to understand what the other one is trying to say. Because they've got this French accent, and although they've got this Italian very strong accent and we just don't understand the words. But I think it's quite difficult to if you, with someone from the UK or from the United States because you've got another strong accent. I remember once I talked to an Australian guy, and he just couldn't understand what I was saying because he had a different accent. And I don't like speaking to people who come from the UK, and I'm more comfortable with people who come from the United States. But it depends on people, I mean my boss Charlotte, I don't think she's in trouble when she speaks with an Italian so much as with someone from the UK. It depends on the people's capacity for hearing correctly or not.
43	V	Do you think that English could ever threaten French in any way?
44	MM	I think that threaten is too big a word. It's too strong a word. But you know I'm in charge of English for the documents, and I always say is it the correct words in English, can I really use that word. And I think that English has become a lot of French expressions, and it's the same when I translate things from English to French. So I don't know if it's a threat, but clearly we are mingling between the two languages, and I know that there are words that, when I use them with my English teachers. He said no you do not use that word, it sounds weird, you can't use it in that way. It's like reflection, to say that you are thinking, and he, and I use the word reflection to say that I am thinking about something quite a lot, and he was like "no, you can't use that word". But in the dictionary or in websites from the European Union, you know, I find this word. But there are links, and I'm not sure if they would destroy a language, I wouldn't say that, but clearly there are things that start to be mixed up a bit.

45	V	Ok, yeah I understand. So the organisation where you work, do you think that it would be impossible to do the kind of things that you do if you didn't use English?
46	MM	Yeah definitely. I mean this is a European Cultural Network, if you are not able to speak to other people I mean you're not a network. You're just a French organisation and that definitely not the end. I mean just for the work papers, we just have been applying. If you want to find money we've got to speak English, we've got to write things down in English. And if we were not able to do it at least a bit on our own, if we need to costs to pay someone to translate everything we have to write,
47	V	So you use English a lot as part of your work, so obviously there it has a very useful, you maybe consider it to be very useful in that sense, but apart from that what is your opinion of English, like how do you consider it and what associations do you have with it?
48	MM	I think it is a language that goes quite to the point, which sometimes is quite good. When I translate things from English to French or French to English, I can see that, I mean if I've got a French document that is ten pages it's going to be eight pages in English, so I think that the language=
49	V	=Oh really?
50	MM	Yeah really. It goes straight to the point, and when you use a word you really understand what it means. Like it's a very concrete language, you know, you see things. But I think that there's an evolution of the language. I used to study literature and I love the English from the nineteenth century. But nowadays the type of English I use, I think it's too much straight to the point. I don't know if you see what I mean, but I think it has lost a bit of its poetry if I may say. I don't know if you see what I mean.
51	V	Yeah, I've read a lot of books from that time and I know what you mean. They used to use a lot more words didn't they.
52	MM	Yeah and I don't know, the syntax is different, but I think it's because I use English a lot for work, and for work it's like a different world, it's not like literature, so that may be the reason why. But yeah I would say that English is a very concrete and straight to the point language.
53	V	Do you ever find that you express yourself differently when you use English, compared to when you use French?
54	MM	Yes, you know it's a bit linked to the other thing that you asked do you have trouble finding the French words, you know, when you are most used to speaking English. Yes sometimes because, I mean language is the way our, it cuts different reality from the world when you use a language and you think that things are quite different, slightly different and you can't translate them. So definitely, it's a different way of telling the world, of telling reality.
55	V	Interesting, yeah. Well that is the end of my questions. Do you have any questions or anything to add?
56	MM	Well, no I'm good if you're good.
57	V	Ok, yeah well that's brilliant, thank you so much for your contribution and that was really interesting some of the things you said were really interesting, particularly that thing at the end about seeing reality in a different way, because that's one of the ideas that I'm actually working with in my thesis in the literary review. So that's brilliant thank you so much, and is it ok if I use your name in the research.
58	MM	Yes of course.
59	V	That's ok with you, brilliant, so that's finished
End of Transcript		

Appendix 10 – Interview with Andrea Klien, Austria

Transcript: Andrea Klien. 6th April 2013 (Skype)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

AK – Andrea Klien (interviewee)

(For other guidelines, see Appendix 3.)

1	V	Yeah well my project is based around how English is used as a common language in Europe, yeah and I'm really interested in the whole topic, but cause it's such a huge subject I had to kind of narrow it down, and so I'm taking the cultural sector as a case study. I'm interested in attitudes and opinion and perspectives. It's a like a humanistic point of view. So yeah I'm talking to a lot of people in various countries about how they use English and what they think about it and yeah you were a very convenient person to talk to. Yeah so I mean, what is the name of the organisation that you work for? Is it like freelance work?
2	AK	It is, for me it's freelance. They're a company that, it's a Viennese very smallish company that are called Musikkontakt, and they are basically a project of two people, a cine-director and a musical director and the musical director has two orchestras, one in Vienna and one in Los Angeles. So it's basically them finding projects to do. They have two projects which we tour with, that are already done. It's like two shows and we're touring around the world.
3	V	Oh cool.
4	AK	There's two different projects as well but I don't think it's good to know all of them.
5	V	Yeah. So what kind of things do you do?
6	AK	Well last year I did tour management and stage management, but I started with tour management and I kind of took over stage management as well whenever my colleague couldn't be there. So I did both at the same time, and for this year I told them I'm not going to do that, because it's just impossible like you can't just split up and be at two places at the same time. So I told them I would only do one thing, so now I'm only doing stage management you know whenever it fits in the schedule.
7	V	So you said that you travel all around the world, have you done that recently, like this year?
8	AK	This year not yet. They have been to Chicago already, but it was my colleague who went, and so I'm going to Israel at the end of the month, which I'm very much looking forward to really,
9	V	Exciting yes!
10	AK	And I should be going to South America, to Brazil, but I have to cancel that because of some other stuff that came up, and then we will be doing, one of the projects is going to be made into a movie so we might be doing that in August in Portugal, and I think some recordings are going to be done in Vienna but maybe with the orchestra, and maybe with some singers in Vienna, but then the actual filming will be done in Portugal.
11	V	=What kind of audience is the movie aimed at?
12	AK	Pardon?
13	V	Like which country is the movie aimed at? What kind of audience?
14	AK	Oh, do you mean the audience for Portugal? Or what do you mean?
15	V	No I mean ... I was wondering when you make the movie, like who is it aimed at?
16	AK	Who is it aimed at? Pretty much everyone really, there's going to be, like as our main actor is John Malkovich, we will have him in the movie as well. So he is of course playing the lead role in the movie as well. And then around him there are a lot of other actors and singers who, you know, I don't really know whether all of them have already agreed to do it, so we don't have a fixed cast yet. But yeah, so that's pretty

		much it, I think it's going to be financed by some French production company and Portugal. It's a mixture between, and we have a Viennese as well I think. But I'm not involved in the pre-production yet so I don't, I can't tell you about that yet.
17	V	So it's pretty international though.
18	AK	Yes, actually they're from all over places. Our singers as well actually. So we have, for the one show we have, for the one I'm going to Israel with, we have a singer from Tel Aviv, so she's gonna sing in her home country which I think, well it's gonna be wonderful for her. And then you know we have German singers, Austrian ones, someone from England. It's very, it's a lot of fun, the US, it's a lot of fun.
19	V	So how does it work with languages in how you work? Like when you're at home do you use German mainly and then English abroad?
20	AK	Well the thing is our CEO, well it's kind of a CEO, I think that would be the equivalent, he's Canadian. So he know, he can speak German, but mainly about contracts and stuff like that he prefers to speak English. So sometimes we speak English, our tour manager as well, she grew up bilingual as well so there's a lot of English going on as well in the company, like in the office. But otherwise we're speaking German. Of course with John in English, so every time we're on tour we speak basically in English when he's around, and yeah depending on the singers, where they come from really. But the crew is Austrian, so basically all technicians and the lighting guy and everyone, and the scenic director and costume designers and all assistants, they're all from Austria.
21	V	But do they speak and understand English as well?
22	AK	Pardon?
23	V	Do they speak and understand English, like could they use it if they needed to?
24	AK	Yes they can. Like our people they, like everyone speaks English perfectly fine. So they can, they know, that's necessary as well because like we come to places they don't have any, they say they will have translators, we only require translators who can translate into English, so our staff they know, everyone knows English perfectly well so they can communicate everything they want to have, they need to have in English.
25	V	So was it kind of a necessary skill in order to be hired?
26	AK	No, because it was not planned as a project to go on tour. It was actually the idea was to have it here in Vienna, and then it would have been over with. But there were so many people who wanted it, you know, the show, that they just decided to go on tour, and luckily enough people could speak English at a level that was, you know, useable.
27	V	That was a good coincidence. So aside from English, and obviously German as well, do you guys use other languages as well?
28	AK	Yes. You mean inside the team or what do you mean?
29	V	Both. At all, everything.
30	AK	It depends on what kind of constellation our crew travels to the different places. So you know every language you speak you can use, so for example when I was, it was a different project but I was in Russia with the same cine-director we had the situation that many Russians did not speak English, but some of them could speak German and some of them could speak French. So I understand French, but my French is not that good in an active-wise, but our director he speaks French, so we has this, you know, he would speak in French, I would understand it and I would speak in English and they would understand me but answer in French, so you always find a solution. We had a translator there as well but you know, directors always easier to speak a language they can both agree on so it's direct information that comes from him. And then we have Spanish of course, which actually I think only I speak, but that was ok because I was the tour manager so I was the one that needed to speak it. That was very helpful last year in South America actually. Because it's just quicker. You know if you're organising the things and you have to have a translator there it's just, it takes so much more time.
31	V	And when you do have translators do they normally translate to English?

32	AK	They do yes.
33	V	So you mentioned working with John Malkovich, and he's a native speaker of English, am I right?
34	AK	Yes.
35	V	So in your contact between native speakers and non-native speakers of English, is there any difference in communication and being understood between those two types of people?
36	AK	You mean as for a third party? Or do you mean between us, like me as a non-native speaking to John, is there a difference
37	V	Yes you personally, when you're speaking to natives and non-natives is there ever any difference in understanding each other?
38	AK	Oh that's a good question. Well maybe. I think it really depends where the native is from actually because as a non-native you have kind of a concept of what the language should be like or what is easiest for you to understand. So but then again I think so yes, it also depends on where the non-native you speak to comes from. So for example if it's a language, if his background is a language I don't know anything about it might be more difficult for me to understand because I don't know you know where all the sounds come. But then basically it's just the same. It so much depends on the level of how they speak. You get used to how they speak and normally when you come, you know for us it's very easy because they want to have us so people are always very considerate and very you know eager to communicate. So that's an easy situation I think, to start with.
39	V	So obviously you use English a lot, and are there any English words that have come to be used when you speak German?
40	AK	English words? Oh very often actually. Yeah very often it's easier for me to say something in English than in German, but that might be phrases as well. I can't really think of any right now, but if I can you know during the next few days I can send them to you.
41	V	Yeah that would be great. Examples like that
42	AK	Because right now it doesn't occur to me, but very often you know, very often I would, even you know if you're thinking to yourself it would come out in English.
43	V	But also I mean are there any kind of words that have, I mean like you as a group have either made up or taken from English and used to mean something else.
44	AK	As a group for us? I don't think so. We as a crew always speak German with each other. I don't think so.
45	V	Ok, so yeah I mean like the opposite of that as well. Do you ever find that you're speaking German and you can't remember the German word but you remember the English word a lot easier?
46	AK	Yeah, very often.
47	V	Does it ever happen with the other languages that you speak as well?
48	AK	Yeah, Spanish. Yeah very often I can think of a word only in Spanish and I'm like "come-on!" and the other person doesn't speak Spanish, because it's so easy like if I talk to my sister it doesn't matter, you know it comes out whatever way and she's gonna understand it. But if you speak to a person that doesn't have the same language background as you do and it just, you know, it's kind of ridiculous to say the word and you feel kind of ashamed you know, I can't remember the word in my mother tongue.
49	V	Yeah cause I guess you and Lisa share three languages.
50	AK	Yeah, so that's very easy actually.
51	V	So to go back to the very beginning, how did you come to learn English?
52	AK	I learned it in, we start very early in, how do you say that? It's kind of before you go to high school.
53	V	Primary school?
54	AK	Primary school yeah. Well the last year in primary school you kind of do "sit" and

		“house” and “cat” kind of stuff, and that’s what we do, that’s how we get to know the language. I think now they might start even earlier. We started in fourth grade I think which is kind of an age between nine and ten years old. And then you start, I went to a school where we had English as a main foreign language so we started when we were, when we started, like with, at eleven.
55	V	Was there any point where you yourself realised that you really wanted to pursue English?
56	AK	Yes but that only came after the A-levels actually because I was always a French person. I loved French because I had a very good teacher. In English I always had very bad teachers actually you know the kind of (something in German) kind of teacher, and I was like “what? I didn’t understand the phrase!” So terrible you know, people who just don’t inspire you at all. And so I tried to just like ignore it and do whatever I had to do and then kind of leave it at that. And then I did my A-levels in French. The oral A-level thingy, and then after that I did my first internship in Canada, so yeah. So I went there, and it was wonderful. And then I did two more in England and I just loved. That’s where I learned English actually. To speak, to not be afraid to use it and to make mistakes and stuff like that, you know I was always very scared about that.
57	V	So when you were in Canada were you using French as well?
58	AK	.. Just English, I was in the English part.
59	V	So in terms of learning English, I know you said that you had a bad teacher, but in general, how do you think that it compared to learning the other languages that you speak?
60	AK	Do you mean as a personal experience, or do you mean as in the way of how they taught English as a language?
61	V	I mean as a personal experience, how did you find learning it?
62	AK	Very easy because I kind of grew up with it you know? I started it so early that I don’t even remember how, I remember sitting in this classroom saying cat, and kind of Simon Says kind of games you know. That was fun actually. It was fun and it was never any pressure on you, you know. It was, you were not supposed to know anything, it was fine if you did and it was fine if you didn’t, and that was very cool. So I don’t know, I found it very easy at the beginning of course, it’s just you know, it’s difficult because it’s a first language everywhere you have to actually get an idea of how grammar works and German as well you know but German as it’s your language is different. I think, I guess that was difficult, but I don’t remember that part at all. The only thing I remember was like being, first difficult because I was afraid to use it and then so much fun because you had this base, you could build everything you hear on and just you know add little bits and pieces and that was fun. Yeah and French was more a conscious thing you know because it was the only language I could decide to choose. So I took French because I didn’t want to have Latin actually because it was dead and it wasn’t, I didn’t know what to do with it. So I chose French and then, and French was consciously like I remember, of course in English as well, you know learning vocabulary and stuff like that, you never want to do. But French it’s more, I remember that more actively being something you choose and you choose to do and you have to study and you know. And Spanish even more so because I learned only when I was sixteen I started learning Spanish, and I had it as a kind of a, how do you say, a complementary? Extra class?
63	V	Yeah.
64	AK	And I had that for two years only once a week for two hours, which is nothing actually. But it was fun, it was a very strange situation because it was in a Catholic school and there were very strange people there. But it was fun and I liked it from the start you know, just the sound of it. That was good and then I went to Mexico to learn it there and that was fun too because we had classes with two people, like a grammar class for an hour, sometimes I was even alone, so it was perfect. So that was fun, but I like learning languages and so I usually have fun.

65	V	So it sounds like English was kind of obligatory right from the start, but if it had not been obligatory do you think that you would have chosen it?
67	AK	The thing is it was so early. That was like when I was ten, so it was, I remember it being, choosing French was a difficult decision because I was like, what was it, twelve when I had to choose it for the age of thirteen, and I was like oh my god, am I making the right decision, which is ridiculous because you know you're twelve. So I don't know. I think this would have been a decision my parents would have taken for me, as it was you know choosing the school where English was the main foreign language. There are schools in Graz, like private schools, they have English as an actual teaching language for all the subjects. So I think that that is in such an early age that it's actually the choice of the parents, and they would have chosen English for me, yes. And if it's, and at a later point in my life, I would have chosen English because it's so necessary to speak for my job and everything. It really, I find that the more languages you speak the more useful you are to everyone.
68	V	Yeah. So you say that your parents chose a school where English was the main foreign language. Do you think that your experience of learning English was typical for Austria, or was it, or do you, do you think that you know more English than most Austrians?
69	AK	I think if you take me being eighteen and leaving school. That level of my English I think would be a usual experience of Austrian English. I think so. But I was not confident in English at all, which is what I think it usual. But people you know, they use it so often that everyone has that point in their English, you know, life, kind of experience, where they get used to using it. I don't know anyone you could, here you couldn't speak English to and they would be perfectly capable to understand what you're saying and answer the question in an understandable way.
70	V	So do you think that this, the amount that English is widespread across the globe, do you think that that was a factor in making it easy to learn?... the fact that English is so prolific everywhere, do you think that makes it easy to learn?
71	AK	I think that makes it easy to learn because it's so available at all times. Every, like most movies you watch are from Hollywood or from you know, they ever have European movies if you like them better, but it's so easy to see, to hear English everywhere we even use it you know in our own commercials, so I think it's so present everywhere that it makes it a lot easier than to learn, I don't know, French for example.
72	V	Is there any difference, do you ever find that you express yourself differently in English compared to other language?
73	AK	Do I express myself differently? Well yes I do and I even feel different speaking different languages I think. And I think speaking German I feel I'm kind of naked. No seriously, I think, especially talking about emotions and stuff like that, German is so direct because it's kind of mine you know, it's so inside of me that it's very difficult to find the words sometimes because, of the need to find the adequate word, when I speak in English is ok not to have the right word for it, it's ok to not being able to express yourself adequately, although of course sometimes it's, it doesn't create easy situations when you pick the wrong word. But it's always, people always understand because you're not a native. So I think that's a big difference actually because you can hide behind that.
74	V	I know what you mean there yeah. So would you say that your distance from English perhaps makes it easier to use in emotional situations?
75	AK	It might be distance and it's the, I think it's the, how do you say that, the input that you get from English, so every time I watch a movie, I like to watch movies in original languages, so maybe they're in English, so of course a lot of situations, whatever that they might be, you hear in English everywhere, so I think that's a big issue I think, talking about emotions because you know especially Hollywood as they're so, we all know. So I think all those situations are kind of in our minds, are kind of created in

		English right?
76	V	That's a really interesting thought, yeah. So would you go so far as to say that some of your emotional development is experienced through English because of this input from films and books?
77	AK	I would say it's Spanish actually.
78	V	Oh cool.
79	AK	Because that was a different phase in my life when I learned Spanish. So interesting, yeah very interesting that certain things I'm very used to say in Spanish and it's very strange for me to talk about stuff in German. Even English, but it's easier in English though. Still,
80	V	What makes it easier?
81	AK	That's a, I don't know, what makes it easier? I don't know, I think it's the nakedness in German. It's really it is, but it's sort of right. That's all I know.
82	V	So yeah, my final question. Do you think that it would be possible for your organisation to do the type of work that you do if you didn't use English?
83	AK	If we didn't use English. I think it is, but it's much more complicated and much more expensive, because you would, you know every email you write you would, basically our whole conversation from the start in the office to until we get there, if it's not a German-speaking country of course, is in English so that everyone can follow. Even when we go to Spain you know we have the conversations the emails in English so everyone can always cross-link people and stuff like that. So I think it would be possible of course, but you would have to have someone who translates that every time and I don't think they would bother you know. I don't think they would be able to afford even for the project, because yeah, it's so many hours.
84	V	Ok well that's wonderful and that's the end of my questions, and do you have any questions or anything to add?
85	AK	Anything to add? I don't know. I don't think so, let me think.
86	V	Ooh, I left out one of my questions, sorry. I skipped over it. What is your opinion of English, what kind of associations do you have towards it?
87	AK	Towards the language? I would say usefulness, very useful. I feel very comfortable with it, I have no idea why, but it's, I don't know it's just a wonderful way to express, it's a smooth language you know there's just, I don't know maybe that's true, because I remember when we learned French it was very difficult to adapt the mouth to making the, with the sounds you know, and I remember my teacher saying "it's a muscle, it's like a muscle, you have to train it". So as we start English so early that maybe you know, maybe it kind of develops with you, so that's maybe why it feels more natural than speaking French. And because of you use it and so on. SO that it kind of you know gets into your system. But yeah I like it because I really use it very often and it's very helpful, especially as you know I have Spanish friends coming over for example, and you know we are with German people and they all speak English. That's our common language so you can always go back to that so it's really a link from everyone to everything, which is wonderful I think.
88	V	Yeah so that really is the end of my questions, and do you have any questions or anything to add?
89	AK	I think it's a very interesting topic you've chosen here.
90	V	Yeah me too. I like it too. Of course. Are you ok with me using your name in my research?
91	AK	Um- hm.
92	V	Yeah, and finally, how do you spell the name of your organisation? Could you possible type it in the message box? Ok oh brilliant ok.
End of transcript		

Appendix 11 – Interview with Claudia Eipeldauer, Austria

Transcript: Claudia Eipeldauer. 8th April 2013 (Skype)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

CE – Claudia Eipeldauer (interviewee)

(For other guidelines, see Appendix 3)

1	V	So yeah, I'm talking to Claudia. .. Oh I'm only recording the sound, so don't worry. So yeah, I mean to start off I've read a bit about your organisation already on the website but could you tell me more about it?
2	CE	Yeah, so WochenKlausur is a Vienna-based artist group. Artist collective actually. The group started to work back in 1993. Since then we've been doing so-called social political interventions on an international level. We are always working on imitation of art or cultural institutions and we are trying to directly intervene into society. So this means that our artwork is actually the change we leave behind, the change within society. So instead of creating objects which are referring to social circumstances, we kind of do not go towards this street towards creating objects but we are really directly want to create something different, so we are proposing agreed projects and besides doing this concept work we are also doing everything that is necessary to turn our concepts into life. And we have a very specific working method which is always over a certain amount of time. Usually between three weeks, which have been our really shortest projects, up to twelve weeks interventions. And within this very concrete timespan we are focusing on a local very specific problem if you like and trying to implement a solution for that. So we're working site specific, we are proposing a concept and we do everything what is possible to do within this timespan to really realise what we proposed. The first project for example was to invent this medical care for homeless people. So back in the days it was clear for the group, it was eight artists in the time who built up an office in the exhibition space and started with the research, as we do with every project, so an intense research while now of course more internet but also newspaper reading, reading books, getting in touch with organisation which are dealing with this specific issue on site, working and talking to concerned people and back in that day it was homeless people and we knew that it was not possible within eleven weeks to solve the problem of homelessness, but we knew that we could do some modest contribution to their situation. And so once the group has learned back in that days what it was, that it was still a big problem for them to get this medical, and so this idea was to kind of find a way how people living on the street can meet a doctor without paying money for it, and the idea was to get via sponsoring this bus, turn it into a mobile clinic and get the city of Vienna to pay for the artists, oh for the artists! For the doctors . And since then, this bus is going around in Vienna. They just a few weeks ago they just kind of officially, how do you say, not opened but presented the third bus now, and yeah it's still on the way. And so we always work on different issues, so we work with young people, with the problems of elderly people, with migrants, unemployed, people with disabilities. So yeah, every time there's a new concept and a new project.
3	V	Yeah, it must be amazing to see your work still driving around in Vienna like that. It must be really great to see. So how do you find the problems that you set out to solve? Because I mean there must be so many project opportunities. How do you choose and how do you find them?
4	CE	So very important for us is the research. So usually, if we are invited for an exhibition for example, then I mean not all the time but sometimes this exhibition has a specific topic. So for example in February we've been doing a project for the economy

		<p>exhibition which was held at the Centre for Contemporary Arts in Glasgow and it still is in a gallery in Edinburgh, and we knew like the first topic economy where we started our research. And in the end we proposed to help a group of currently unemployed women, which started their own small cooperative to create their own job positions. So there is this case it was kind of you know the frame came from the exhibition, which happens from time to time. And sometimes you know we just get in touch with the curators, or with people living on site, and ask them what is currently being discussed in the media. We sometimes just go out on the streets and talk to people, you know. If there is no kind of other frame we just go out on the streets and talk to people. And then we kind of narrow down, based on our research, and of course you know also the time-frame we have is like another frame, so we can only do something what we think is possible to realise within the time-frame we have. So yeah, so I would say it comes from one to the other, and at the end we usually come up with one, two or three proposals. And then it's of course also in negotiation with the people who invited us to finally yeah focus on one specific concept. And then we also you know sometimes we also continue with two projects, and after time we maybe see that one of them doesn't make so much sense because we discover that there is already an existing structure which tackle this issue already and we keep on going with the other concept that we had in mind. And sometimes it's also that the inviting institutions come with a specific request. This has also happened, that they ask us to do something for drug-addicted people for example.</p>
5	V	<p>So I saw from your website that, well you mentioned that you did a project in Glasgow, and I've seen that you have many many different countries that you've worked in, so what part does language play in all this? How do you manage with language issues?</p>
6	CE	<p>I mean usually English is the speaking language which we use if we are not in a German-speaking country for example. We usually always work with artist from the site. This is very important, we sometimes call them even local-speakers, because you know one of our strategic approaches is to come from outside and then it sometimes help you know not to be a native speaker in English or in the language which people sometimes find a bit interesting and nice and more open you know, they like that people from outside come, even artists you know and try to speak whatever language you know. English of course most of the time and they like this, but sometimes with other groups it's very important to have someone from the site because they don't necessarily trust someone from outside you know. And so we usually like to collaborate with artists from the site, our local speakers, who then you know can go to specific groups and talk in their language, which can be very important for the goal we set ourselves. And so usually we speak in English, but sometimes, yeah I mean for example in Portugal we realised that not a lot of people are already confident to speak in English, so we had of course one local artist who collaborated with us, though we discovered that it might have been better to have even two artists because he always had to kind of translate for other members who did not speak Portuguese. Yeah and so it's different, but I think more and more people in all the countries start to speak English. It was difficult in Portugal where we realised that still not a lot of people, also we had the feeling they understand, they didn't feel confident to speak. The same was in Japan but there we had more local artists who could translate for the other members. But we also have a core team of artists which are currently eight members. These are the artists who are deciding on the invitations that come in, who are doing all or dealing with all the work that comes in-between the projects. And we also have members from Israel for example. We met them when we did our intervention in Holon in Israel, and they were quite keen to see us, and again it's always the people, the artists who have been participating in more than one project and who really had an interest in continuing with the work. And besides the support team there's also like a wide network of artists who we know and who we share an understanding of art. And these are people we can contact for example and ask them do you want to participate</p>

		in this specific project, and so until now I think not one project have been developed by the exact same group of people, so it's always an alternating team. And if we speak with for example with our members from Tel Aviv we speak in English with them. So I'd say if we work abroad English becomes our working language, but we always like to collaborate with artists from the site who have like these local speakers. Because as I mentioned before it can be helpful that people actually speak the language that is spoken in this specific country.
7	V	So when you use, like when you collaborate with an artist from the site, is it always English that is the common language with that person and they kind of translate for the other people?
8	CE	Yeah, or German if we work in Germany for example.
9	V	Yeah of course, yeah.
10	CE	They use German. I mean some members of the group speak Spanish as well and some speak French. We had also members who spoke Italian which are not members of the group anymore, so yeah. But English you know, it's so the language that most of the people speak. So it becomes English and not for example French. So we all speak English because usually that's the language that most of the people speak.
11	V	So you mentioned that you did some work in the UK as well as other languages, other countries rather, is there a difference in speaking English with a native speaker and speaking with other non-natives?
12	CE	Yeah I mean, hah, good question. I don't yeah I don't know. Maybe not really. I think for me what is nice to speaking English is that I sometimes have the feeling that you have to reduce your idea to sometimes to very basic words, and this sometimes helps to re-think my old thoughts. Because if you talk in your mother, I mean your native language then you can use those kind of abstract sentences to explain something. And sometimes if I'm not having the words in my mind in English then I'm having to reconsider what I want to say, and then sometimes have to come to the really the most basic thought behind my words, which sometimes is really helpful you know. Because in the end you know everyone really knows what you're speaking about even though it's not your native language yeah, but it's kind of basic, you know you have to agree on like basic words and in the end it works. I don't know if it's, I mean sometimes yeah of course we all have our accent, yeah me too and sometimes maybe people who are native speakers don't understand the word because I just pronounce it wrong you know, and then sometimes maybe it's easier if the other one is also not a native speaker because he or she can somehow understand what I'm saying, I mean it might be easier. But I think there's not really a difference you know. Not for me because I, I don't know. I'm not a native speaker.
13	V	But this idea that when you speak English you have to condense your ideas down, that's really interesting. So would you say that you express yourself differently in different languages?
14	CE	Yeah I think so. For me, I mean I'm speaking now for me personally, but yes I think because you also, I mean still there are somehow things how you explain using a different language you know, and this is still different in every language and I don't know, yeah sometimes it's, I mean yeah sometimes it's also about you know, talking so long about one specific thing, if you can really explain it, then it's yeah it's also you know creating a lot of thoughts about one thing and maybe it's shifting the initial idea after you try to, you know, bring across your real thoughts. I think that is interesting. But you know it's also very funny that I'm using you know expressions that we use in German and then translate them, and this was always very funny you know because somehow it's an idea of the other language, you know like certain sayings which we have in Austria for example, and then I'm, or in German language, and then I'm translating them word-by-word to English, and this is really funny. And also the other way around you know, if you explain me you know sayings in English then I sometimes find it's really nice to understand also how language is kind of creating

		also, yeah reality and so on.
15	V	Yeah absolutely. Can you give me any examples of these expressions that you translated?
16	CE	(<i>laughs</i>) yeah there was a very funny one when I was in the US and we had to renovate a room for kids and one hurt himself in the finger, in his finger, and I said something, in Austria we say, which is a really stupid kind of saying, you know, Indians don't know pain, and he was saying why do Austrians have saying about Indians, and I mean native Americans of course,
17	V	Yeah of course,
18	CE	And I was thinking yeah it's so stupid, I mean it's because of one writer who was quite popular and I think he was even, yeah well maybe a bit of a racist who wrote it, but still you know it remains in the common language, so you know children sometimes say yeah, if a child hurts you say like "you know, Indian, it doesn't know pain".
19	V	Yeah. I guess it was very appropriate in America then.
20	CE	I don't know. But it's really Austrian, it's not really existing in German. Or we're saying Nägeln mit Köpfen machen, which means something: we produce nails with heads, and this means to now start to really get to the idea you know, because if you have a nail without the head it's more difficult to meet it with the hammer and if you have a nail with the head it's like easier to (<i>makes hammering motion</i>), go now and do whatever you want to do. And the other thing was, ah to tie, that we learned in Glasgow, to tie up, how do you say? To tie up strings? Do you say this?
21	V	Tie up loose ends maybe?
22	CE	Tie up loose ends, exactly! And this is kind of the same as making nails with heads, to tie up loose ends, yeah.
23	V	Yeah, so it sounds like you translate expressions. Do you ever find that there are some English words that creep into your vocabulary when you're using German?
24	CE	... I mean usually when we've been to an English speaking country or if we did just a project where we all spoke in English for like a month or two months, then I have difficulties to switch back to German again, and I really feel like you know the German words don't come into my mind anymore, or any longer. So I'm you know trying to think of you know exactly as I did like the past four or eight weeks the other way around, and then when I send a letter to try to speak German again I feel like oh, but I need to use now this English word because it's much better to use in this situation and I can't even think of the German word any longer you know. So it changes of course I think it's really you get, yeah it's just a matter of habit. Yeah, or it's also difficult sometimes when I speak with, if there are people from, which I speak English with, and at the same time someone speaking German in the same group, then I sometimes you know don't start to speak German with the German-speaking guy again and then after, or girl again, and then after a while I feel like, oh but you're speaking German again, but then it feels more difficult because you know I somehow start to think also in English.
25	V	Yeah so does it happen that you're in a group and you're speaking English with everybody, does it ever happen that foreign words, either from German or from any other language from, of the people that you're working with, does it ever happen that words from those languages come into the English vocabulary and become used as a?
26	CE	Yeah definitely, because sometime if the word in English is just not entering my mind and I say it in German and sometimes people understand you know. And then sometimes even after a while if we use one particular word very often then we all say it in German or in French or in Spanish you know, because you just feel this one word is so important and so good and then you use it in this particular language and introduce it, or use it in an English sentence for example, yeah that happens.
27	V	Can you think of any examples of those words?
28	CE	In Israel for example because our Israeli member, he has German relatives, and so he also likes to speak in German and I think some German words even entered the

		Hebrew language, and his, yeah of course we sometimes spoke in German and we always said for example schmusen, that we want to schmuse with someone which means to you know start to have now a conversation with someone in a very kind way, in a very nice way you know we want to have, we want to bring someone into a specific direction and so we go there and be very nice and pleasant to this person, and so we always said we go now to schmuse with this person, and schmusen is a very German expression you know. And so it was a used word somehow yeah.
29	V	Great, so to go back to the very beginning of your experience, how did you come to learn English?
30	CE	I learned at school, yeah I already, I think also in primary school we already started with very basic English. So I'm now thirty-five years old and I think when I started to go to primary school it really started to be a big topic in Austria, also to start with foreign language education at a very young age. And so we had English at school, at primary school, and then I learned until I made my A-level exam, so for, actually for April, thirteen years I learned it. We also had to do our A-level exam in English.
31	V	So was it obligatory when you started to learn English?
32	CE	Yes it was obligatory, and we also, later we have to decide for a second language, and usually for this second language we could choose, so we could choose between Spain and French and Russian. And so I took French and I had for, I think another six or seven years I had French classes at school.
33	V	How did learning English compare to learning French?
34	CE	Of course it's easier because I started at a younger age. It's more related to the German language than the French language, so it's easier yeah, and it's easier to pronounce the words, so yeah. It's easier. For me it's easier. But it's always you know, it's, I mean you learn also like only a language if you use it. No matter how many mistakes you do. And I think going to a foreign language and being forced to use the language, no matter what you have, this helps. Of course I'm using more English than French, and so I still feel it's easier for me to speak. But yeah, only because I'm using it more maybe, yeah. ... and as someone mentioned I always feel like English you can, it's a, of course it's a very elaborate language and so you can always get better and better. But you can start also with the minimum of words, you can start to communicate. Whereas for example in French I have the feeling the grammar is a bit more complicated to learn, so you need more pre-study before you can really start a decent conversation. Whereas in English you can also with only few words you can already start a basic conversation. And then of course with English of course I have the feeling you never stop learning because there are so many words existing and it's getting, you know these words are really very focused. Whereas in French for example you know, after a while you feel ok now I'm communicating on a good level and that's kind of is it you know. Whereas English I have the feeling, you can start very early to communicate but you can become better and better all the time, whereas in French I think you need to pre-study more before you really can start with conversation, but maybe that's only my conception. I don't know
35	V	No, I've heard that before from other people actually.
36	CE	Really? Ahh that's interesting.
37	V	So do you think that the fact that it's quite easy to communicate if you only know a small amount of English, do you think that it motivates you to learn more?
38	CE	Yeah maybe. Yeah and still it's also of course a lot of people are still speaking it. And I don't know why it is, but yeah I mean also of course with this film industry etc. I mean although in German the movies are dubbed, you know, so we all, in every cinema in all the television we see it in the German language, which I feel is a pity somehow because it's easy to learn if you watch movies you know, and you can learn so much from looking at it, you know and you are forced to understand the English words with it. And I still feel, yeah I don't know, newspapers, media, film, you want to see them in English and there is much more variety for example than maybe French.

		And so I think it's also like you have more, you feel like if you speak English you can really communicate with a lot of people, and this is maybe not, I think this is a strong motivation as well.
39	V	So if you had to tell someone your opinion of English, so kind of what associations you have with it, what feelings you have towards the language, what kind of things would you say?
40	CE	That's a good question. I really like to speak English. Why that is I don't know. I think maybe it's just because it's a different language and it forces you to kind of, as I explained before, it forces you to re-think everything you say just simply because it is a second language for me, you know it's not like a second native language which I learned by my mother for example, because it would be different again. And I like them but maybe it would be the same with French I guess, I don't know if I would use French as much as I'm using English, it would maybe be the same. I kind of always like to learn other languages, it's really nice, I mean it's always I think the best way to learn if you go to another country and speak with the other people. And that's maybe, I don't know. Yeah I like it it's nice to use another language. And it's nice also to read in English for example because it's giving you yeah, somehow a little bit of a different picture of the world, but this does not only fit to English, I think it fits to every language of course. And the more you learn, the wider your perspective gets. And it's so interesting you know how people percept the world through language because it's a massive tool you know and it's for communication, it's for referring to things, and that's very interesting and another language changes the pattern of thoughts, I think, in your mind. But it's not only in English I think. It comes with every language. Maybe the more it's away from your own language moods, the more interesting it is. Also of course the more hard it gets to learn.
41	V	Absolutely yeah. So I notice from looking at the website that there's a really amazingly well-written English version of the website, and I wondered, first of all, who wrote it? Was it someone within the organisation?
42	CE	.. I don't know who did in the beginning but it was always one of our members, so not necessarily a native speaker. And we always feel pity because, especially the last texts on the home page have never been proof-read by a native speaker, and I always feel sometimes you realise that it's you know like, German English, but somehow I also feel like it's not such a bad thing in the end, because people also you know like read it and maybe a German speaking person wrote it and, yeah. But we feel like a native speaker should go over it at a certain time because it's usually one of us who writes the text and it's not a native. I mean sometimes you know when we are working in Glasgow for example then we ask someone can you proof-read it, but not all of the time, so usually it's us who are, who is writing it. But it's, as it is about our project and as we usually discuss it a lot in English, if it was implemented in a different country than a German-spoken country, then they kind of learn expressions because we usually explain the project we're doing so often that it's getting kind of better, or at least understandable. Let's say it's like this, it's at least understandable. But also in German you know it's always like, if you yourself writing a text and then reading it again after a month you feel like oh my god I made such a stupid mistake there, and so I've you know read it like a hundred times before, it feels like you are already automatically reading you know what's the next word and you just make it up in your mind even if it's not standing there, and also with a bit of a distance you realise oh my god what mistake did I make you know. But I think the first texts have been somehow proof-read by someone from, by a native speaker, but not the latest texts, not all of them. A lot of them.
43	V	Well as I say, I was really impressed with the website, I thought it was great. And to come back to this, what you were saying about when you were speaking a lot about the current project in English it sometimes makes it easier to write. Do you ever find that it's easier to talk about that project in English than it is in German?
44	CE	No I don't think so, because also in German you speak a lot, I mean describing your

		idea for a minimum of a hundred times when doing a project is actually, it's what we always do you know, and you say it so often that after a while it gets so automatic, that you sometimes have to keep paying attention that you still you know repeat it enthusiastically. But it's, I always try, and I think some other members also do it, to always use different words to describe it again, because then it's getting not like, how to you say, repeating in like you know duh-duh-duh, duh-duh-duh
45	V	Yeah, like a recording.
46	CE	So I'm trying to use always different words and trying to explain it from a different angle and so I think it's, somehow it's getting better and better, the way how you describe it. And I think always if you have an idea and you can't describe it in three sentence, or you can describe it in three sentences, then it's a good project. If you need always more than that then it's getting complicated and you might should reconsider the basic idea.
47	V	Do you think that it makes a big difference to your, to the projects that you get offered, the fact that you have a website in English?
48	CE	I mean of course, having it translated in different languages it gives a wider audience the possibility to read about the projects, and we realise because we had the English translation from the very beginning. And so I think we also get a lot of interest from English-speaking countries, from the US and the UK. And for example we had the French translation for quite some time. We had it in the beginning on our former website. And then we stopped and then we lost the translated text and now we had to re-translate it again. And also with Spanish and Portuguese for example. And because we feel like you know with having this translation it still gives a wider audience an idea about what we do. So although we have the feeling a lot of people are speaking English and that's maybe the first step to try to communicate with someone who is not speaking German, there are still as I mentioned before, in Portugal people are still, that's how we felt, that a lot of people are still not so confident with English, and for them, and yeah all the Portuguese-speaking countries in the world it's maybe a difference if you read something in Portuguese, because it's less effort you know. And the same with French and the same with Spanish. So I think the more translations we have, the easier it is to also you know be read in a different country and this produces a wider audience.
49	V	So do you think that English could ever become a threat to other languages.
50	CE	To be honest I don't think so. No I don't think so. I mean no way yeah. I think first of all it's not spread. I think times are changing anyway. And of course it might be convenient to have one language everyone communicate with yeah. For me I don't feel threatened. I don't feel that people will stop now to speak German because English is so used, I don't feel threatened. I feel it's always good to have like some possibilities to communicate with someone, and then if you're really a sensible user of the language you might feel very quickly that just you know the language is not enough to understand someone who is using different words to describe the world, and this I think is a benefit. And I feel it's important that people in different cultures also use their language. I don't want you know other languages to be distinct because of someone forcing them to learn another language. That's of course not a good thing and it should not happen, nowhere. But on the other hand I'm also not someone who says now stop learning other languages. I mean that's good and I don't feel threatened by it I feel it's like a good working tool. And that's it and I think I mean I don't have the feeling that now you know one country after the other is starting to change their own language, I think that will never happen. Most of the countries have like boards of members who are trying to keep the original language alive, but I mean we are all you know, history is alive and we are changing every breath we take. And I'm not conservative against every change you know, I just don't want someone to be forced to leave his or her own language you know, that's important to keep things going and if you identify strongly with your language of course this should be kept alive but not, but on the other hand you know I still feel it's good to learn other languages and yeah

		every language is a living part and will change over time, and you know also not, even with German we are not speaking as my great-grandfathers did, so. And in the end people are not speaking as Shakespeare did anymore and that's fine I mean yeah why not. I'm also not dressing anymore as my grandmother did which is ok, it's just a matter of how you introduce change and how giving everyone an opportunity about deciding what change is good and what not. So I'm not feeling threatened, no.
51	V	Good. Great, well that's the end of my questions and thank you so much. Do you have any questions or anything that you would like to add?
52	CE	No, not now. Maybe something comes in my mind and I can write you an email.
53	V	Yeah of course, feel free to email me.
54	CE	But it was a very nice conversation.
55	V	Yeah it was really great to speak to you, and some of the things you said were really interesting. Especially this thing about how you said that when you speak English you have to kind of condense your ideas down and it acts as a sort of filter in that way, that kind of relates to some of the ideas that I've been working on, so yeah.
56	CE	Yeah definitely and that also you know, I think that's the very nice part of getting in touch with people who speak another language because it's making you aware of other ways of thinking.
57	V	Absolutely yeah.
58	CE	And that's so nice about it you know, other people have other seeings of youth of development, that's always something rich and important.
59	V	Yeah like I love doing this project because speaking to people like you I hear your thoughts, and sometimes they're very different to what I thought and that's really interesting, it's really great.
60	CE	It would be really nice if you, whenever you are finished with your work to, maybe you can send a link or whatever so that we can have a look at it.
61	V	Yeah absolutely I was thinking of, when I finish I'm going to email everyone who took part with a link. Is it ok for me to use your name in the research? Do you have any problems with that?
62	CE	Yes, yes.
63	V	What is your last name?
64	CE	I can write it.
65	V	Great, thank you very much.
End of Transcription		

Appendix 12 – Interview with Clymene Christoforou, UK

Transcript: Clymene Christoforou. 9th April 2013 (Skype)

Key to abbreviations and symbols:

V – Victoria Payne (interviewer)

CC – Clymene Christoforou (interviewee)

(For more guidelines, see Appendix 3)

1	V	An interview with Clymene at Isis Arts. I'm everso sorry, I don't know how to pronounce your name.
2	CC	Clemene... So Victoria, how did you get us? How did you find us? Through Culture Action Europe did you say?
3	V	Yes I think that was it. Yeah I was looking at various cultural networks to try and find, I'm trying to find organisations that have a lot of international collaborations because my topic is English, and it means that they're more likely to use English in that way. Yeah but I'm fairly sure it was Culture Action Europe, I was looking through a list of the members.
4	CC	Ok, so I have a meeting I'm afraid at half-past, so actually it's only ten-past, so that's ok. Cool.
5	V	Yeah, no problem. Just let me know when you need to go. So yeah, as I explained in the email to you, my project, it's based around how English is used as a common language in Europe to, like as a communication tool. And I'm approaching it from a hermeneutic perspective, so I'm interested in ideas and opinions and perceptions, and I had to narrow it down, so I'm looking at the cultural sector as a case study, and I've been speaking to people from a lot of other European countries and I'm also very interested in getting the native speaker perspective on this as well. So to start off, could you give me a very brief description of the organisation where you work?
6	CC	Ok, Isis is a visual media and art organisation and we primarily run residencies for visual and media artists. We have two studio spaces. The residencies are either research residencies or production-based residencies. Now the production-based residencies come on the whole as a result of the research residencies, so we'll find an artist's idea that we like and we'll develop it in some way. It's not necessarily a straight developing a project, it might mean that it leads to a big European project with European collaborators. So a good percentage of our artists come from outside the UK, and good percentage of our collaborators are European. Having said that, in the past five years we've also worked very closely with India; we're developing a project with Bangladesh at the moment.
7	V	Yeah I saw on your biography that you'd been on a placement in India. Yeah so does Culture Action Europe have a lot to do with the activities that you do?
8	CC	Culture Action Europe, I'm an executive committee member of Culture Action Europe. As an organisation we're very engaged in that works. We are an independent organisation and those platforms are very useful for us to have a voice within the cultural sector, either regionally, nationally or internationally, so we sit on a number of platforms. Culture Action Europe is a very useful and necessary platform within Brussels specifically to be able to put forward the cause of culture. Not just the bigger institutions but also the more independent like ourselves.
9	V	So you said that you work a lot with international collaborations; how do those start? How do you get in touch with the organisations and people that you work with?
10	CC	Ok so sometimes, we're in the process for example at the moment of applying for a European Third Country Grant, I don't know whether you have, how familiar you are with European funding systems?

11	V	Yeah.
12	CC	Yeah? So they have in May once a year they have a cultural programme, transnational culture programme, and half-way through the year again they have an invitation for third-country co-operations, so that means countries outside of the EU. So this year it's Canada and Australia, so we are working on a project with our, with colleagues from Canada, a project that might happen to come about. We often meet our collaborators in, either through the artists that we work with, who perhaps come on a residence to us and then they have some sort of association that they're connected to internationally themselves, that's quite a frequent way of doing it. We meet at festivals internationally where we find we have some synergy or interest in each other's work and then a project idea comes up from an artist and we can take it through. So the current programme that we're working on, it came about in two ways. We were contacted by one of our colleagues in Winnipeg, who we knew from Macedonia, we'd worked on a joint project together previously. He was developing a project around toxicity and the notion of man's impact on our world. It so happened that we were doing a research residency with an artist currently on this theme, and that we have a film programme that we've been developing, also environmentally around this theme, so things kind of came together, then through each other's contacts you have other people in contact, in common and projects develop.
13	V	I see. And how does it work with languages in the international projects that you do? I assume that, although the current project it's with Canadians and Australians I assume not all of it is with native speakers.
14	CC	No, not at all. English is the language that's spoken on the whole. In terms of applying for the grants at the European level you have to have them in English or French. So if you're part of that process then those are the two languages that you can choose to have your written information in. In terms of communication, I think possible because many of our collaborators have been from central Europe or from the Balkans the chances are that English is the preferred spoken language rather than French, so we tend to gravitate towards English more easily. I speak Greek as well, so on this particular project I am able to communicate with my Macedonian colleague who speaks Greek and my Greek colleagues. It's the first time I've ever been able to do that frankly; it's not one of the most useful languages, and my French is very work-a-day, it's not hugely fantastic but I can kind of follow if I have to. So your question was how do we communicate. We tend to communicate in English, I have no other response than that.
15	V	So you say that you have recently had the opportunity to use Greek, and are there other people in your organisation that use other languages?
16	CC	Yes currently at the moment we have someone working with us, with our international business development coordinators who is a Swedish and Danish speaker, so yes.
17	V	And do the foreign organisations, do they always speak English or do they often use interpreters as well?
18	CC	No I have to say in our experience they always speak English. We will use interpretation if an event is taking place it's open to the general public in one of those countries, then they will use interpretation. If we have an artist here who needs it we will bring it in. We deal with that in this country most frequently by working closely with the university and working with their foreign students who are in residence here. So it gives us really quite a good access to, depending what you need it, Czech-Slovak was quite a recent one we had to find. Yeah Bengali was another one we had to find. So we have got that resource of a very big university here who can support us.
19	V	So you bring a student in who can speak both English and the language that you need
20	CC	Yeah. So we work closely with the university to develop student placements anyway, but we will look very specifically for someone with language skills if that's what we need.
21	V	So it sounds like you do a lot of work with people who are non-native speakers of

		English, do you ever find that your, that you speak in a different way when you're speaking to non-natives?
22	CC	Yeah absolutely. We have particular idioms and ways of speaking in English that's very different from say a German-speaker or a Macedonian speaker. So yes you have to be a little bit less English about the way that you communicate. There's a very lovely thing that went round on Facebook not so long ago that you might have seen, that was a translation of The English into English. "Perhaps you might consider doing this", equals "I absolutely want you to do that."
23	V	Oh yes, I have seen that yes. I know the one.
24	CC	I think that's very true is that we are, we use a lot of word when perhaps we don't need to and it's not always very clear in English to the outsider who, what you're trying to say directly. I think I'm familiar with that because I speak another language quite comfortably so I understand that it doesn't translate directly, so you have to think about it in much plainer terms.
25	V	Have you ever experienced problems with being understood or with understanding non-native speakers?
26	CC	I think no, because I think as long as you're both open about your ability to understand and speak, then actually it's not, it isn't a barrier, so you can, I'm quite comfortable saying I'm sorry I don't think I understood what you meant there and very comfortable to ask the question a second time if I've not got it, it's very important to do so, otherwise it's too easy to let it go.
27	V	Are there any foreign words that have come to be used in your everyday English vocabulary?
28	CC	I'm not sure I understand your question, surely English is entirely made up of words that aren't English.
29	V	Yeah absolutely, but for example if you had been working with a German organisation and they happened to use a certain German word a lot and it came to be even perhaps a bit easier to use this word to express something because it means exactly what you meant, whereas perhaps there isn't an English one that meant quite what you meant. Can you think of any examples where that might have happened?
30	CC	I can think of examples where I've found a French word in Greek. I struggled to find the word for exhibition opening just this week and, I was in Cypress this week, and ouvert nissage was an easier and more explicit term. Possibly, I can't think of any examples in English at the moment but perhaps there are. I just can't think of them I'm sorry.
31	V	Yeah yeah, no problem. Do you think that it gives you an advantage being a native speaker of English?
32	CC	Does it give me an advantage? I have to say of course it does in many ways. Yeah I can't really think of a disadvantage, I think the disadvantage is that you're less inclined to learn other languages, because it's quite easy to try to communicate. So spending time in Brussels for example my French didn't progress at all because English was spoken so frequently. So that is a disadvantage on the personal level for me. No I don't think so and I think sometimes we can be slightly handicapped by our, the way that we speak, and I do think that sometimes if you do have a second language you can be more forthright and slightly more abrupt, so you have to take that on board when you're dealing with people and adopt a very direct way of speaking in English that you might not be so very comfortable with, in order to have clarity. It's not a disadvantage, it's a learning how to speak it in a slightly clearer way than you would be more comfortable doing.
33	V	That's the kind of thing that it's really interesting for my topic. It seems that you have a different way of expressing yourself in that situation than if you were speaking to a, in an only-English situation.
34	CC	I think the thing that you can't do it you can't divorce the culture of the place and the language that you're speaking so, so much of it is cultural, and it's understanding the

		places that you're in and your language has to take that on board. I'm gonna think of an example. If you're speaking to people who are more used to speaking in French, there'll be a formality that you adopt in English, perhaps even using Madame or Monsieur as a way of incorporating that into your English, or Madame la Présidente if you're going to address someone directly who is in a chairwoman position, that you wouldn't do. So yes that's really just nodding to the cultural norms of the place that you're in or indeed the kind of bureaucratic situation you're part of.
35	V	Yeah. Do you think there's any substance to the idea that English deserves to be the international language?
36	CC	No. It doesn't deserve it at all. Of course not. I think it's got stronger because of the internet situation actually. I think that all went through a phase where it was a lot easier because actually the means of communicating with the world online was very English-language dominated. Think that's changing now actually now. Think that's changing quite a bit more. Certainly knowing Greek, which is one of the more minor languages, the amount of information that's available through Greek sites, translations of Wikipedias, or even something like Euro-news now is, there's a Greek version that's there, so I think, you know, maybe it's losing its central hold that it had had so strongly. maybe not. Probably not. It was a dream.
37	V	I don't know I can't say. Do you think that it's a positive thing that English is so widespread?
38	CC	Not particularly, no. No I think it's great that people can communicate, and there are so many languages that one can communicate in, and not everybody will speak every language. The fact that it's English is slightly meaningless to me. It could be French or it could be something else, in which case we'd have had to have learnt it rather than the Macedonians or Latvians. So, what was your question? Was it?
39	V	Do you think that it's positive that English has speak so far?
40	CC	Positive. Yeah I have no feelings of positivity towards it particularly.
41	V	Yeah so you'd say it was just luck really that it was your native language and not another one.
42	CC	For me? Personally?
43	V	Yes for you.
44	CC	Is it just luck. Well it's where I was born, so I can't think of it anything other than circumstantial. I could have been born somewhere else and had another language as my first language.
45	V	Do you think that English could ever be a threat to other languages?
46	CC	I think it's been a threat to French in a European context actually, since the opening up of the East and the, and central Europe. But that's in the context of vying for position of second-language. I don't think it's going to be a threat to first-language speakers. I think, like anything, because it's so widely spoken there is, perhaps it's not a danger, perhaps it's a progression, but words get adopted into languages because they're being used, from other sources, so you have a, kind of a, an English word being made to sound a little bit Greek for example. My cousin in Cypress just this last week was referring to the dishwasher and saying "efulare", which means "it got full", which was I'd never heard that before and it made me laugh. So that happens, you know. It bastardises their own languages but I think that happens anyway you know when you've worked all the time. So whether that's a threat or just a natural progression of language through time I don't know.
47	V	Can you think of any new words that either you or anyone in your organisation might have invented that came to be used a lot?
48	CC	Possibly. I can't bring them to mind at the minute, but when you've got lots of structures and ideas that are institutionalised you can often make that into a verb, because you're doing a something or you're doing something. They tend to be short-lived, along with the programs that they represent. Can't think of anything at the minute but I'm sure that does happen.

49	V	Well that's great, that's the end of my questions. Do you have any questions or anything that you would like to add?
50	CC	No, so, well a couple of things then I guess. So you're concentrating on the cultural sector. So you've spoken to, which countries have you spoken to on the whole?
51	V	So far it's been countries in Austria, France, Sweden and the UK.
52	CC	Ah lovely ok, great.
53	V	It's partly based on convenience because I have contacts in Austria and Sweden. And the UK, obviously I wanted to get the native-speaker perspective on things as well.
54	CC	And you're based where?
55	V	Well I'm from Birmingham originally, but at the moment I'm studying in Lund in Sweden.
56	CC	...Ok great, well really interesting to see it. So what will happen with your research? Will it be published? What's your aim?
57	V	Yeah well this is my master thesis so it will definitely be published on the Lund University website, but I will be sending out information to everybody who participated
58	CC	Will you send me a link? I'd be interested to see how far it goes and what your conclusions are.
59	V	Yes absolutely. Do you have any problems with me using your name?
60	CC	No, not at all. That's absolutely fine.
61	V	Ok great.
End of Transcript		

Appendix 13 – Anglo/EU Translation Guide

This image was mentioned in the interview with Clymene, and was used in the discussion as an example of perceived differences between global and native versions of English.

Anglo-EU Translation Guide

What the British say	What the British mean	What others understand
I hear what you say	I disagree and do not want to discuss it further	He accepts my point of view
With the greatest respect...	I think you are an idiot	He is listening to me
That's not bad	That's good	That's poor
That is a very brave proposal	You are insane	He thinks I have courage
Quite good	A bit disappointing	Quite good
I would suggest...	Do it or be prepared to justify yourself	Think about the idea, but do what you like
Oh, incidentally/ by the way	The primary purpose of our discussion is...	That is not very important
I was a bit disappointed that	I am annoyed that	It doesn't really matter
Very interesting	That is clearly nonsense	They are impressed
I'll bear it in mind	I've forgotten it already	They will probably do it
I'm sure it's my fault	It's your fault	Why do they think it was their fault?
You must come for dinner	It's not an invitation, I'm just being polite	I will get an invitation soon
I almost agree	I don't agree at all	He's not far from agreement
I only have a few minor comments	Please re-write completely	He has found a few typos
Could we consider some other options	I don't like your idea	They have not yet decided