An investigation of pre-service EFL teachers' attitudes towards speakers from three circles of English

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Abstract

This study investigated World Englishes from the perspectives of non-native pre-service teachers in Turkey. More specifically, the study explored how EFL pre-service teachers evaluated speakers from different countries of origin, representing the different circle in Kachru's (1985) model, either positively or negatively. To elicit their perceptions of the speakers' English accents, we asked them to listen to audio-recordings of six different speakers representing Kachru's Three Circles of English, reading the same passage, and then to discuss which variety they were familiar with and which one they would prefer. Pre-service teachers' orientations towards speakers from different varieties emerged under the following themes: (i) native speakerism, (ii) intelligibility, (iii) reference to own experience, (iv) potential ownership and (v) potential professional awareness. The findings suggest that, although they were starting to develop professional awareness regarding different varieties of English, to broaden their experience of varieties, and even to develop a potential ownership, they still revealed a tendency to conform to the native-speaker norms and to rate speaker intelligibility according to these norms. We argue that revisiting language teacher education programmes to address the current sociolinguistic reality of English is a must.

Keywords: World Englishes; teacher education; pre-service teacher attitudes; language attitudes

1. Introduction

With the worldwide growth, spread and dominance of English (Young & Walsh, 2010), it can be safely assumed that "English is not used excessively among native English speakers or between native and non-native English speakers anymore, but also for the communication among so-called non-native speakers of English" (Matsuda, 2003a, p. 483). The wide variety of English users and cultures belonging to the language has inevitably resulted in the shift of power and ownership of the language. Contrary to the long-established, monolithic view of English, characterized by the belief that correct English is spoken only by traditional native speakers from countries such as the UK, USA and Canada, and therefore other users are expected to conform to native-speaker norms, there is growing recognition of

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a new manifestation of English as a pluralistic language belonging to the people of diverse nations who use different varieties of English for an array of different purposes in a broad range of different domains.

1.1. Literature review

Leading scholars have attempted to illustrate how English has spread, the changes taking place in its use and status worldwide from a range of perspectives. Kachru's *Three Circles of English* (1985) has been one of the most influential models portraying the various roles that English language performs in several countries and regions of the world. Kachru generated the idea of three concentric circles of countries, namely Inner Circle countries where English is used as the native language (e.g. the UK, the USA and Canada); Outer Circle countries where English is used as a second language (e.g. Nigeria, India and the Philippines); and Expanding Circle countries where English is used as a foreign language (e.g. Turkey, Azerbaijan and Korea).

There is no doubt that teachers are key players in promoting awareness of the World Englishes (WE) perspective as "teachers themselves – in that they each speak particular forms of English – are an embodiment of the diversity of the language, and their own linguistic background and profile thus act as a variable in the educational process" (Seargeant, 2012, p. 69). Thus it is essential to capture the existing perspectives of in-service teachers related to WE. Young &Walsh (2010) investigated 26 non-native English-speaking teachers' beliefs about the usefulness and appropriacy of varieties of English, such as English as an International language (EIL) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Teacher participants from countries in Europe, Africa and West, South-East and East Asia were all studying at the same university in the UK for post-graduate degrees in fields such as Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, Education and Applied Linguistics. Results indicated that teacher participants were not aware of the English variety that they had learnt in their own country. All of the teacher participants expressed an overwhelming need for a standard when asked to indicate which English they would like to teach. Results also revealed that some participants, including Turkish academics, attributed high prestige and status to British English in specific domains. Young & Walsh concluded that teachers adopted a pragmatic perspective on varieties of English, with a perceived need to rely on a standard form of the language.

Ahn (2014) investigated the attitudes of both Korean and non-Korean English teachers towards Korean English. Although teacher participants expressed positive attitudes towards the use of Korean English in general and expressed their beliefs about its potential to become a legitimate variety of English, they displayed rather negative attitudes towards their own and students' use of Korean English. In lieu of Korean English, they reported their preferences for teaching American English. Ahn argued that intelligibility occupied a key role in shaping teacher participants' attitudes towards Korean English, as teachers reported that Korean English lacked intelligibility in a wide context and thus teaching it would minimize the intelligibility of their students by the native speakers. In a similar study, Ahn (2015) explored Korean and non-Korean English-language teachers' attitudes towards four Asian Englishes used in Singapore, India, China and Japan. Both qualitative and quantitative analysis of data collected via questionnaires and semi-structured interviews indicated that participants showed strong rejection and ignorance of the selected Asian Englishes. Ahn claimed that a lack of awareness of and exposure to Asian Englishes might have contributed to the development of prejudice and negative attitudes.

Matsuda (2008) has drawn attention to the fact that there is a need to establish teacher education programmes which incorporate WE perspectives and produce teachers who are cognizant of the variegated nature of English in today's world. In the long run, teacher education may facilitate or hinder WE-speaking pre-service teachers in entering the profession (Singh & Han, 2010). Acknowledging the fact that it is also essential for pre-service teachers to be familiar with the WE paradigm so that they can

better understand and be prepared to meet the needs of English-language learners in their future classrooms, Ates et al. (2015) presented a framework for incorporating WE perspectives into undergraduate ESL education courses in a teacher education programme in the USA. They included four in-class and two online sessions consisting of WE-related activities in the syllabi of five ESL methodology courses. Analysis of data elicited through pre- and post- questionnaires indicated that the activities were effective in improving pre-service teachers' perceptions. Notably, there was a shift in pre-service teachers' perceptions relating to the ownership of English. Ates et al. argued that the change in the pre-service teachers' perception was an indication of a greater acceptance of WE.

Matsuda (2009) surveyed teacher education programmes in Japan to explore how WE and EIL are incorporated into teacher preparation. Results of the study indicated that American and British Englishes were preferred as instructional varieties in the majority of language courses. The majority of the teacher educators favoured exposure to different cultures as a beneficial influence on pre-service teachers. However, even though many teacher educators regarded raising awareness of English varieties as important, the coverage of topics such as the spread of English and WE was found to be limited to one or two class hours at the most. Matsuda concluded that, although WE/EIL-related topics were being incorporated into teacher education programmes in Japan, they were still considered as supplementary.

Cognizant of challenges to the monolithic perception of the native speaker's language and culture, the mono-centred view on Standard English, norm-biased approaches to foreign language teaching (Alptekin, 2002; Sifakis & Sougari, 2003), Öztürk et al., (2009) explored the knowledge, thoughts and beliefs of Turkish pre-service teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in relation to the current status and roles of the English language. Their research findings revealed that pre-service teachers viewed English as an Inner Circle phenomenon and displayed norm-bound attitudes with idealized American or British culture. The pre-service teachers, in fact, declared intelligibility as a significant factor in EFL discourses in which the speakers are mostly from Outer or Expanding Circle countries. In the light of their findings, the researchers favoured the incorporation of recent pedagogical paradigms that cater for the development of awareness-raising and critical thinking regarding ELT in teacher education programmes.

WE is also explored from the perspective of EFL learners. Matsuura (2007) examined the intelligibility, word/utterance recognition of American English and Hong Kong-accented English to Japanese EFL learners. The findings indicated that perceived competence was the best predictor of intelligibility and that a significant negative correlation between intelligibility and language anxiety existed. One striking aspect of the results was that the extent of familiarity with varieties of English had a significant correlation with Hong Kong-accented English, but not with American English. Matsuura called for the provision of opportunities to expose learners to a wide variety of English as "the more varieties students are exposed to, the better their understanding of a nonstandard variety would be" (Matsuura, 2007, p. 301).

Kawanami and Kawanami (2009), for instance, were interested in how young Japanese learners of English perceived different varieties of the phonological features of English. In their study, they focused on the participants' responses to recorded passages read by six speakers representing the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles. The analysis of data elicited from dyadic conversations among participants showed that they evaluated Outer and Expanding Circle English negatively and Inner English positively. The researchers argued that, although native speakerism was embedded deeply in the Japanese EFL context, they saw a glimpse of potential ownership of English by young Japanese learners.

1.2. Research questions

Our study extended Kawanami and Kawanami's study to pre-service teachers from an Expanding Circle country: Turkey. Inspired by Matsuda's (2009) focus on the need to investigate "how pre-service teachers understand, interpret, and negotiate the meaning of such new concepts as WE and EIL while in the teacher preparation program" (p. 186), we aimed to further our understanding of WE from the perspectives of pre-service teachers through an exploration of how they perceived and evaluated WE in the Turkish context. To achieve this aim, we investigated two specific research questions:

1. How do Turkish pre-service teachers express their attitudes towards speakers representing varieties of English from Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle contexts?

2. What are the reasons they stated when they evaluated certain speakers positively or negatively?

2. Method

Using qualitative research design and data collection methodologies (Yin, 2013), we attempted to further our understanding of how pre-service teachers perceive and evaluate WE in the Turkish context. To achieve this aim, we used dyadic conversations between Turkish pre-service teachers to shed light on their mental mapping of varieties of English from Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle countries.

2.1. Context

We conducted this qualitative study in a four-year Bachelor of Arts (BA) programme in the English-language teacher education offered by the Department of Social Sciences and Humanities at an English-medium private university in Istanbul, Turkey. English has no official status in Turkey making it part of the Expanding Circle in Kachru's concentric model. However, although it has never been colonized (Selvi, 2011) Turkey shares some common characteristics of former colonies, especially in domains "such as higher education, business, and science and technology, where the range and depth of English parallels those in Outer Circle countries" (Doğançay-Aktuna & Kızıltepe, 2005, p. 263). Available research indicates that "the demand for teaching and learning English is skyrocketing in every strata of the Turkish educational context" (Selvi, 2011, p. 186) due to its immense prestige that is mainly a result of its instrumental value. Kırkgöz (2009) notes that "Turkey's national policy at the macro level has been constructed to serve the political and socioeconomic ends, and the role of English as the most prominent foreign language in the school curriculum has been to function as a mediating tool for Turkey to achieve its globalization goal" (p. 681). Thus, as would be expected in an increasingly global world, English has become a significant part of the education policy in Turkey.

The teacher-education programme that pre-service teachers were enrolled in requires coursework and fieldwork aimed at helping the pre-service teachers to understand English-language learning and teaching issues by incorporating theory and practice. The primary goal of first-year courses such as English for Academic Purposes, Advanced Communicative Competence and Critical Thinking is to improve pre-service teachers' own language skills. The required studies in the second year involve subject-specific courses such as Foreign Language Teaching Methods, Introduction to Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition. In the third year, pre-service teachers take core courses such as Listening and Speaking in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), Reading and Writing in TEFL, Grammar in TEFL and Young Learners in TEFL, and choose elective courses such as New Trends in ELT, Teaching Experience and Use of Literary Texts in TEFL. These interrelated courses involve microteaching simulations in which observation and microteaching occur. There is a focus on academic studies generally in conjunction with portfolio or research projects that are designed to connect theory

and practice. Pre-service teachers are placed *in practicum* within a school setting (either elementary or senior) in their last year so that what they learn in the courses is applied in real teaching contexts. This provides opportunities to gain experience through observing co-teachers, developing lesson plans and teaching lessons. There is no core or elective course in the curriculum that explicitly addresses WE. Yet, when we examined the syllabi of the courses, it became evident that issues within the WE paradigm are covered in some courses such as Second Language Acquisition and New Trends in ELT through assigned readings and classroom discussions.

2.2. Participants

The participants of the study involved a convenient sample of 12 Turkish pre-service English-language teachers (seven female and five male) from Istanbul, Turkey. The ages of these pre-service teachers ranged from 18 to 33. Half of the pre-service teachers were sophomores and half of them were juniors. The pre-service teachers' length of learning English ranged from 10 years to 28 years. Out of the 12, eight had no prior overseas experience. Following Kawanami & Kawanami (2009), we put the pre-service teachers into six dyads of friends, supposing that they would be more articulate if they were expressing their opinions to someone they already knew. In Table 1, we provide the biographical details about the pre-service teachers, whose names are all pseudonyms.

Table 1. Biographical information about participants

Dyad	Participants	Year	Age	Length of learning English	Overseas experience
1	1 (Nesli)	2	20	14 years	3 months (The UK)
	2 (Can)	2	24	14 years	None
2	3 (Ege)	2	20	11 years	None
	4 (Bora)	2	20	11 years	None
3	5 (Melis)	2	18	10 years	None
	6 (Lale)	2	20	17 years	None
4	7 (Belma)	3	21	12 years	1 month (The US)
	8 (Bartu)	3	33	28 years	7 years (Saudi Arabia)
5	9 (Kamil)	3	29	10 years	4 months (The US)
	10 (Gizem)	3	24	17 years	None
6	11 (Aylin)	3	20	14 years	None
	12 (Nuray)	3	20	11 years	None

2.3. Data collection

2.3.1. Task

We asked six pre-service teacher dyads to listen to audio-recordings of six different speakers representing Kachru's Three Circles of English, reading the same passage. Without informing them about the nationalities of the speakers, we asked the pre-service teacher dyads to discuss which English variety they were familiar with and which one they would prefer. On the premise that our presence

would affect the conversations of the pre-service teacher dyads, we waited in another room and audio-recorded their conversations.

2.3.2. Listening stimuli

To elicit the pre-service teachers' perception of the speakers' English accents, we recorded six male speakers from six different countries reading a passage about useful insects adapted from Scales et al. (2006). Following Kawanami &Kawanami (2009), we used that particular passage because it was considered to be easy but equally obscure to all pre-service teachers. In order to minimize the variance of the listening stimuli, we recorded only male speakers who were fluent English-language speakers with different nationalities representing Kachru's Three Circles of English: the USA, the UK (Inner Circle countries), Nigeria and Pakistan (Outer Circle countries) and Turkey and Azerbaijan (Expanding Circle countries). In Table 2, we provide biographical information on the speakers. The listening stimuli lasted for 4 minutes 16 seconds in total. The order of the audio-recordings was: (a) Azerbaijan, (b) Nigeria, (c) the USA, (d) Turkey, (e) Pakistan and (f) Canada.

Table 2. Biographical information about the speakers

Speakers	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 4	Speaker 5	Speaker 6
Circles	Expanding	Outer	Inner	Expanding	Outer	Inner
Country	Azerbaijan	Nigeria	The US	Turkey	Pakistan	Canada
City	Baku	Yobe	Cleveland	İstanbul	Karachi	Toronto
L1	Azerbaijani	Kanuri	English	Turkish	Pashto	English
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Education	BA	BA	MA	BA	BA	MA

2.4. Data analysis

We used thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which enabled us to code and fracture data through identification of the patterns that emerged within the pre-service teacher dyads' conversational interactions. First, we familiarized ourselves with the data through verbatim transcription and systematic reading. Later, we developed a general understanding of the data and developed initial codes. Then, we refined these codes to themes via which we interpreted the data.

2.5. Trustworthiness of the study

We adopted the following measures to ensure the trustworthiness of the study. Before the study, we obtained informed consent forms from both pre-service teachers and speakers, and promised that we would protect their anonymity and confidentiality. We asked some of the pre-service teachers to read the transcriptions of conversations and presented them with the main findings of the study for the purpose of employing member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To achieve external validity, we provided detailed descriptions of the setting and participants as well as the procedures that we went through in collecting and analyzing data. Furthermore, we included direct quotations from the data to support our interpretations and also to better portray pre-service teachers' attitudes towards the speakers from different origins of varieties. During data analysis, as two researchers, we worked independently of each other to ensure internal reliability. Inter-reliability, which was assessed by dividing the total

number of agreements by the total number of agreements plus disagreements (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986), was found to be .92. Additionally, an independent rater, who was an expert in the field of WE with a Ph.D., coded 10% of the data individually. By using the same calculation, the inter-rater reliability was found to be .89. It should also be noted that this study was presented at an international conference and received positive criticism from experts in the field of WE. In this respect, the study was subjected to peer scrutiny, which is a contributing factor in enhancing credibility in research.

3. Results

We first present how each dyad expressed their perception of each speaker of the different varieties of English in terms of a general evaluation of their competence, perceived familiarity with the language and ease of expression. Table 3, which was compiled after reviewing the data for pre-service teachers' overtly positive or negative evaluations, presents a general overview of each dyad's expressed perceptions. A quick look at Table 3 reveals that pre-service teachers gave positive evaluations of speakers from Inner Circle countries, whereas they gave negative evaluation of the speakers from Outer and Expanding Circle countries.

Table 3. Perceived overall evaluation of competence, familiarity with the language and ease of expression of speakers of different varieties of English

Dyads	Criteria	Expanding Turkey		Expanding Azerbaijan		Outer Pakistan		Outer Nigeria		Inner Canada		Inner US	
A	Evaluation	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
	Familiarity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Ease	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
B	Evaluation	+	+	±	+	−	−	±	±	+	+	+	+
	Familiarity	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Ease	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
C	Evaluation	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
	Familiarity	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
	Ease	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
D	Evaluation	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
	Familiarity	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Ease	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
E	Evaluation	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
	Familiarity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Ease	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
F	Evaluation	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
	Familiarity	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
	Ease	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

Note: + indicates positive evaluation, − indicates negative evaluation, ± indicates uncertainty.

Aside from their positive and negative orientations towards different speakers from different varieties, all pre-service teachers made a guess regarding the countries of origin of the speakers from a list that we provided. A quick glance at Table 4 shows that half of the dyads managed to identify all the speakers accurately. When we take a closer look at Table 4, it shows us that all pre-service teachers, without exception, identified the speakers from the Inner Circle countries. Moreover, apart from one dyad, pre-service teachers were able to identify the speaker from their own variety. The dyads which

failed to identify the speakers mainly confused the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle countries with each other.

Table 4. Identification of the countries of origin of the speakers by the dyads

Speaker	Dyad 1	Dyad 2	Dyad 3	Dyad 4	Dyad 5	Dyad 6
Azerbaijan	Turkey	+	Pakistan	+	+	+
Nigeria	+	+	Azerbaijan	+	Pakistan	+
USA	+	+	+	+	+	+
Turkey	Azerbaijan	+	+	+	+	+
Pakistan	+	+	Nigeria	+	Nigeria	+
Canada	+	+	+	+	+	+

Note: + indicates accurate identification of the origin of the speaker, countries indicate mistaken by the participants.

We now turn to a detailed discussion of each theme that emerged in the data. Below, we present the findings about pre-service teachers' orientations towards speakers from different varieties under the following five themes: (i) native speakerism, (ii) intelligibility, (iii) reference to own experience, (iv) potential ownership and (v) potential professional awareness. The themes, together with excerpts from the dyads, are presented below.

3.1. Native speakerism

The concept of native speakerism came up repeatedly in this study. We encountered in the data that native speakerism (Holliday, 2006) was strongly represented in pre-service teachers' evaluations. They had a tendency to compare the speaker they heard with the native speaker; in other words, they tended to view the native speaker as the yardstick against which to evaluate the pronunciation of the recorded speakers. The following dyad captures this presence of the native speaker:

Excerpt 1: Speaker from Canada – Dyad: Lale and Melis

Melis:　　I would love to talk like that.

Lale:　　Me too. Among the ones we listened to he was the most impressive =

Melis:　　= very impressive.

Lale:　　He talked as if English is his native language and most probably it is. I would love to sound like him.

Significantly, this dyad made explicit reference to the native speaker. After expressing their strong desire to sound like the speaker, pre-service teachers gave a highly positive evaluation of the speaker's pronunciation, using a complimentary adjective. As a final example of the dyad's appreciation of the recorded speaker, Lale concluded that he must be the native speaker of English.

Another typical example of native speakerism was affiliating higher status with the speakers from Inner Circle countries and lower status with the speakers from Outer Circle countries. They perceived the speakers from the Outer Circle as deficient users of English, especially the speaker from Pakistan. The following dyad is an example in which Bartu expressed his tremendous admiration for the speaker from the USA:

Excerpt 2: Speaker from the USA – Dyad: Belma and Bartu

Belma:　　I liked the third one.

Bartu:　　That was the American. He was a legend!

Can not only voiced his admiration for the recorded speaker by making a strong noun choice, but he also attributed certain professional capabilities and a higher status to the speaker, which Nesli aligned with:

Excerpt 3: Speaker from Canada – Dyad: Nesli and Can

Can: He sounds just like an anchorman or a doctor. He may even be our Rector!

Nesli: It is as if we are listening to the news in English.

As mentioned above, pre-service teachers also evaluated speakers from other varieties by assigning lower status, particularly to the speaker from Pakistan. The following dyads are examples of this interaction accompanied by scornful laughter and expressions of negative feelings

Excerpt 4: Speaker from Pakistan – Dyad: Gizem and Kamil

Gizem: I am shocked! My feelings were confused while I was listening to him. ((Laughing.)) If I were in a listening exam and they made me listen to this guy first, I would leave the exam room and fail the exam most probably.

Kamil: ((Laughing.)) My impression let me say immediately. He is not like somebody who likes talking. He does not know how to talk in public.

Gizem: He sounds as if he is forced to talk.

Excerpt 5: Speaker from Pakistan – Dyad: Bora and Ege

Bora: His native language is very influential.

Ege: I don't know. I would be irritated. I don't know maybe not his accent but his way of talk =

Bora: = It is tiring to listen to him.

Ege: Yes it is tiring. As I said he is talking like an old grandpa whose teeth have fallen.

These dyads affiliated the pronunciation of this speaker from Pakistan with someone who has limited speaking abilities, either because he cannot follow the social norms or because he is old. The pre-service teachers evaluated not only the speaker's accent by his ability to speak properly.

3.2. Intelligibility

We noticed in the data that the pre-service teachers tended to evaluate speakers from different varieties of English in terms of the degree of intelligibility (Levis, 2005). In fact, intelligibility has emerged as the most frequently recurring criteria for evaluating speakers from any country of all circles. The teachers gave positive evaluations to the speakers whom they found to be intelligible and negative evaluations to those who were unintelligible. As exemplified in the following dyad, the pre-service teachers highlighted whether the talk was intelligible or not, and judged it to be 'nice' when it fulfilled the criterion of being intelligible:

Excerpt 6: Speaker from Turkey – Dyad: Melis and Lale

Lale: His talk was intelligible.

Melis: Yes, it was intelligible and nice. It sounded nicer as I understood it.

Pre-service teachers highlighted that the more familiarity they had with the speaker from a certain variety, the better they could understand his or her speech. The following dyad is an example in which Nuray gave their familiarity with the speaker as a reason for the intelligibility:

Excerpt 7: Speaker from Turkey – Dyad: Aylin and Nuray

Aylin: I did not have difficulty to understand him. Compared to the other =

Nuray:	= Because he sounds familiar.

Aylin:	Yes, it did not sound like a foreign accent. Maybe such a talk is the one we are exposed to most in our daily life or at school.

3.3. Reference to own experience

We identified that the pre-service teachers made reference to their own experience while evaluating the speakers' English. They referred to either in-class or outside-class contexts. With respect to in-class contexts, they referred to their language teachers, materials they come across or exams they take. Regarding outside-class contexts, they made reference to the Internet, movies, TV series, exchange programmes and conferences. Excerpt 8 and Excerpt 9 are the subsequent examples of both references made by the pre-service teachers:

Excerpt 8: Speaker from Azerbaijan – Dyad: Can and Nesli

Nesli:	For example, remember Liz from last year. She had sort of clipped speech but she was intelligible.

Excerpt 9: Speaker from Nigeria – Dyad: Bora and Ege

Ege:	I heard this English a lot. Isn't he Indian?

Bora:	Yes, we heard this English a lot in TV series.

Whereas Nesli referred to their previous teacher while making evaluative comments about the speaker from Azerbaijan, Bora referred to TV series as a source outside the classroom context in his comment.

3.4. Potential ownership

We found that a few pre-service teachers made positive comments about the Turkish speaker of English whom they believed had demonstrated a certain degree of proficiency in his own right. They perceived the speaker they suspected to be Turkish as a legitimate speaker of English, thus revealing a sense of potential ownership. In the next dyad, Ege expressed a positive comment regarding the language competency of the Turkish speaker in English:

Excerpt 10: Speaker from Turkey – Dyad: Ege and Bora

Ege:	Bro, it is obvious that he is Turkish!

Bora:	But there are various accents among Turks.

Ege:	No no no he is not a Turk who speaks bad English. It sounds like a Turk with very good English.

Although very rare in the data, in the next excerpt, pre-service teachers mistook the speaker from the USA for a Turkish speaker. However, it is worth noting that he was evaluated not as an ordinary Turkish speaker, but as someone who had received education abroad, most probably in one of the Inner Circle countries:

Excerpt 11: Speaker from the USA – Dyad: Bartu and Belma

Bartu:	I think he is definitely a Turk!!

Belma:	I am not sure.

Bartu:	He might have received education abroad but he sounds like a Turk to me.

3.5. Potential professional awareness

Although rare, we identified in the data some instances of participants demonstrating their awareness of which speakers were a realistic model to attain to, mentioning factors such as maturational constraints, linguistic background, and ultimate attainment of the speakers. The following dyads capture this potential professional awareness evoked in the understanding of pre-service teachers:

Excerpt 12: Speaker from Canada – Dyad: Kamil and Gizem

Kamil: I would like to sound like him but I know I cannot become like him because he is a native speaker. So I would continue my own accent.

Gizem: I also would like to have an accent like him but I do not think that I can attain that.

Although this first dyad captures the presence of the native speaker as the pre-service teachers expressed their desire to sound like him, it is still apparent that they started to have a professional awareness as they appreciated the fact that being able to sound like the native speaker was not attainable for them:

Excerpt 13: Commenting on speakers in general – Dyad: Melis and Lale

Melis: First you acquire your first language when you are born, we also learn Turkish first and learn English subsequently. That's why our first language affects our English pronunciation heavily.

Similarly to the pre-service teachers in Excerpt 12, Melis voiced her professional awareness in the next excerpt. She highlighted the inevitable effect of the language background of the speakers while she was guessing the countries of origin of the speakers:

Excerpt 14: Commenting on speakers in general – Dyad: Nuray and Aylin

Nuray: I think it is very normal to have varieties in English. In the end it is the Lingua Franca now. It has spread over such a vast area that there are a lot of people using it. They all have different glottis.

Aylin: That's why we cannot expect them to talk like a native speaker. Even if they would like to do so, that is something constrained to the childhood years.

In this last dyad, Nuray made a comment on the Lingua Franca status of English and the biological constraints of the speakers and, similarly, Aylin added maturational constraints as another factor to criticize the presence of the native speaker.

4. Discussion

We investigated how Turkish pre-service teachers perceive and evaluate speakers from different origins of varieties of the English language, representing different circles of Kachru's model. In terms of their attitudes, the findings from the current study suggested that there was a noticeably positive attitude among pre-service teachers towards speakers from the Inner Circle countries, whereas an overwhelmingly negative attitude existed towards speakers from the other countries. In addition to the fact that they demonstrated a clear preference in terms of their attitude being either positive or negative, it is important to acknowledge that the majority were able to detect the speakers' country of origin accurately.

What is also worth noting is the extent to which native speakerism (Holliday, 2006) is deeply rooted in the attitudes of the pre-service teachers. The present findings demonstrated that the monolithic view of English prevails, in lieu of a pluralistic view of English. Moreover, the teachers often also evaluated speakers of other varieties of English by assigning lower status, particularly for the speaker from

Pakistan. Seargeant (2012) argues that "The languages people speak – or aspire to speak – relate to who they are, and thus prejudices towards the language become prejudices towards people themselves" (p. 5). He makes an entirely valid point here and we argue that, in the data, pre-service teachers reveal a reflection of the prejudices that they hold towards speakers from Outer Circle countries which is not only limited to the use of the English language, but extends to their social roles as well.

The issue of native speakerism deserves careful consideration principally in contexts such as Turkey, where English is used mainly for international communication. As suggested by Matsuda (2003a), it is required to help students to develop awareness of and familiarity with different varieties of English to be able to accomplish international communication especially in Expanding Circle countries. Similarly, Holliday (2006) asserts that "The undoing of native speakerism requires a type of thinking that promotes new relationships", which needs to be addressed through familiarization with different varieties of English. Inevitably, it is also essential to enhance this understanding for pre-service teachers who will educate these language students in the future.

In line with this argument of familiarity, the present findings suggested that the pre-service teachers who expressed their familiarity with the speaker from a certain variety tended to evaluate that speaker to be more intelligible and had a more positive attitude towards them. They had a tendency to find familiar varieties easier to understand. This finding is in line with studies which reported a close relation between the speakers' familiarity with varieties of English and their positive attitudes towards them (Ahn, 2015; Dooly, 2005; Gass & Varonis, 1984; Matsuda, 2003a, 2003b) and does not corroborate studies that demonstrated that negative attitudes might emerge instead of familiarity (Kawanami & Kawanami, 2009; Matsuura et al., 1995). As suggested by Matsuda (2003b), it is highly probable that English-language learners will use the language with speakers of an English variety other than American and British English (p. 721). It follows that, pedagogically speaking, increasing the familiarity of the pre-service teachers with these other varieties should be an essential feature of a teacher-education programme, thereby ensuring in turn, the exposure of their future English-language learners to varieties of English.

It is evident that fostering this familiarity with different varieties of English with the help of various sources in and outside the school context should attract attention in the field of ELT. The findings regarding pre-service teachers making reference to their own experience in school indicated that exposure to different varieties plays a significant role in fostering familiarity and determining their attitudes. With regard to the English-language classroom context, it is important to note that increased exposure to different varieties of English is of high importance in cultivating better attitudes towards these varieties and legitimizing them (Chiba et al., 1995). Similarly, Matsuda (2003a) argues that "In expanding countries such as Japan, the English classroom plays an especially important role in educating students about EIL and world Englishes because English classes often constitute the most significant contact with the language, both in terms of the intensity and level of personal investment" (p. 494). That contact should pave the way to gaining experience in different varieties by means of instructional models, curriculums, textbooks and material incorporating those varieties of English. However, Matsuda (2002) points to the hegemony of Inner Circle English as particularly influencing textbooks and reinforcing the American/British-centric view. However, we believe that teachers who supplement these books implement their own class discussions and augment or extend available topics can and do make a difference in English-language classrooms where pluralism can be cultivated. In this vein, as Seargeant (2012) puts it, "teachers and teaching institutions are *key mediators* in the way in which English is introduced to people worldwide" (p. 65, emphasis ours). As such, it is important to train language practitioners in that respect to be aware of these issues (Seargeant, 2012, p. 5).

In addition to the contribution and significance of the in-class context, the rapid spread and globalization of English offer tremendous opportunities to those pre-service teachers outside the school

context. The findings revealed that pre-service teachers reported encountering certain varieties through the Internet, movies, TV series, exchange programmes and conferences. Beyond these channels, there may be other options, as suggested by Matsuda (2003a). She proposes increasing the contact of students with people from different cultures by arranging school trips, exchanging emails, interacting with immigrants and collaborating with international schools (p. 494), all of which are also valid for language teacher-training programmes.

The present findings also suggest that, albeit scant in the data, there is an emerging sense of ownership developing among Turkish pre-service teachers of English, which is in line with Bokhorst-Heng et al. (2007) and Kawanami & Kawanami (2009). Considering the professional role of the participants, it is very encouraging to witness this ownership, as it is corroborates the recent arguments in the world of academia suggesting that, demographically speaking, communication among so-called non-native speakers of English is now more common than among native speakers or between native and non-native English speakers (Graddol, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). As such, Graddol (1997) argues that "native speakers may feel the language 'belongs' to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future" (p. 5). Therefore, language teachers who endorse this view may appreciate that the bond between the English language and the locus of its origin matters little in this globalized world (Seargeant, 2012, p. 119). We believe that understanding the sociolinguistic complexity of the English language is particularly beneficial for the professional development of a pre-service teacher enabling them to create in the future the kind of classroom atmosphere for language students that will allow them to fully take advantage of the opportunities created by the use of EIL.

One final finding of the study is that, albeit limited in the data, the pre-service teachers started to build professional awareness by questioning the feasibility of the native speaker as the norm. Considering the fact that the ultimate attainment of native-like phonology is largely unachievable for L2 users because of neurophysiological maturation constraints (Scovel 2000), it is time to realize that giving pre-service teachers an understanding of the holistic view of bilingualism (Grosjean, 1992) instead of a native model is essential for both language learners and for the teacher education programmes which train teachers for these learners. Baumgardner (2009) also asserts that it is time to "question the time-honored concept of the 'native speaker' in linguistics and SLA theory" (p. 670), since "the goal of English teaching is for students to become bilingual, then it follows that the English teacher in Outer- and Expanding Circle classrooms *must* have a knowledge of both source and target languages" (p. 670, emphasis in original). Similarly, one of the issues that Saraceni (2010) touches upon while underlying the necessity for a paradigm shift in the conceptualization of English is the shift from the native speaker as the best teacher to bilingual teachers as a better alternative. Therefore, it is important to train teachers who embrace beliefs and attitudes in favour of appreciating the recent discussions and who are consequently able to provide an attainable model for their students (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

5. Conclusions

Incorporating WE into teacher education programmes is a major issue, particularly considering the fact that programmes for pre-service EFL teachers tend to focus on the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1997). The present study showed that Turkish pre-service teachers gave speakers from Inner Circle countries positive evaluations, whereas they gave the speakers from Outer and Expanding Circle countries negative evaluations. In general, the findings suggest that, even if Turkish pre-service teachers have started to develop professional awareness in relation to different varieties of English, to broaden their experience of those varieties and even to develop a potential sense of ownership, nevertheless they still

display a strong tendency to conform to the native-speaker norms and assess intelligibility with reference to these norms in ways that, it can be argued, are visible signs of native speakerism.

Limitations of the current study as well as suggestions are worth mentioning. There might be some variations in terms of the speakers' countries of origin. An important limitation of the study is the relatively small cohort ($N = 12$) that may not be representative of any larger population of pre-service language teachers. To address this limitation, future research adopting similar methodological approaches may be conducted in other teacher education programmes in other countries.

We acknowledge that our study has some limitations, however, it still has value because the findings of the present study have direct implications for language-teacher education programmes. Firstly, language teacher education programmes need to be revised and updated concerning issues in the WE/EIL paradigm. In language-teacher education programmes, there needs to be more emphasis on a more pluralistic view of bilingualism, which should become the backbone of curriculum reform. Moreover, it would be fruitful to incorporate courses enriched by materials enhancing pre-service teachers' familiarity with varieties of English into language teacher education. We argue that, this would facilitate tolerance towards speakers of different varieties of English and enable the questioning of native speakerism as the "persuasive ideology" in ELT (Holliday, 2006). Along with the curriculum reform, in-service teacher development opportunities such as conferences, workshops and intensive training on WE/EIL should be welcomed. It is promising to see that this suggestion is already being adopted by pioneering academics and has brought results at international conferences held in Istanbul, Turkey, such as The Fifth International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF5) and the 21st Conference of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE 2015).

All in all, the findings of the present study suggest that revisiting language teacher education programmes to address the current sociolinguistic reality of English is a must. "In a sense," as voiced by Matsuda (2003b), "incorporating World Englishes is like putting on a new pair of glasses-the detail and complexity of the world we suddenly see may initially be overwhelming, but in the long run, we would have a better view and understanding of EIL" (p. 727).

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İngilizce öğretmen adaylarının İngilizcenin üç farklı grubuna dair tutumları

Öz

Bu çalışma Dünya İngilizcelerini Türkiye'deki İngilizce öğretmen adaylarının bakış açısından araştırmıştır. Çalışmada, Kachru'nun (1985) modelinde farklı grupları temsil eden farklı ülke orijininden gelen konuşmacıların öğretmen adayları tarafından olumlu ya da olumsuz olarak nasıl değerlendirildiği incelenmiştir. Öğretmen adaylarının konuşmacıların İngilizce aksanlarına dair algılarını ortaya çıkartmak adına, kendilerinden Kachru'nun modelinde üç grup İngilizceyi temsil eden altı farklı konuşmacının bir metni okurken kaydedilmiş ses

dosyalarını dinlemeleri ve İngilizcenin hangi çeşitliliğine daha aşina olduklarını, hangisini tercih ettiklerini tartışmaları istenmiştir. Öğretmen adaylarının farklı çeşitlilikten gelen konuşmacılara dair yönelimleri şu temalarda ortaya çıkmıştır: (i) anadili konuşurluğu (ii) anlaşılırlık (iii) kendi deneyimine gönderme (iv) olası aidiyet (v) olası mesleki farkındalık. Çalışma sonuçları gösteriyor ki öğretmen adayları farklı İngilizce çeşitliliklerine dair bir farkındalık geliştirmeye, çeşitliliklere dair deneyimlerini arttırmaya, hatta olası bir aidiyet geliştirmeye başlamış olmalarına rağmen hala anadili konuşuru normlarına intibak etme eğilimi göstermekte ve konuşmacı anlaşılırlığını da bu normlara göre değerlendirmekteler. İngilizcenin güncel sosyodilbilimsel gerçekliğinin yabancı dil öğretmen eğitimi programlarında yeniden değerlendirilmesinin kaçınılmaz olduğunu düşünmekteyiz.

Anahtar sözcükler: Dünya İngilizceleri; öğretmen eğitimi; öğretmen adayı tutumları; dil tutumları

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