(CO)CONSTRUCTING USE, BELONGING AND LEGITIMACY
A study of English language ownership in Italy

JACQUELINE AIELLO
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI "L'ORIENTALE"

Abstract – The conviction that the ownership of English is shared among its users worldwide has long been held by linguists whose work has ushered in new paradigms in the ways of conceptualizing and researching language. Yet, research that explores how English users understand and construct ownership is lacking in many contexts. The present article aims to fill this gap by investigating the nature of language ownership among English learners in Naples, Italy. Drawing on the framework for language ownership delineated in Seilhamer (2015), questionnaire data and interview moments with four case study participants are analyzed to explore how high school students construct relationships with English and understandings of ownership in terms of prevalent usage, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge. The findings unveil the dynamic ways in which understandings of language ownership, which is agentively (co)constructed and negotiated, are capable of continuously shifting in different settings and with different interlocutors.

Keywords: language ownership; language and identity; English as a lingua franca (ELF); language expertise; English as a foreign language (EFL).

> *Users make innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules*
> (de Certeau "The practice of everyday life", 1984, pp. xiii-xiv).

1. Introduction

Some scholars who have studied the rapid spread of English throughout the globe have stipulated that powerful, English-speaking nations have made vigorous efforts to instate English as a dominant and dominating language to advance their agendas. This view was expounded most famously by Phillipson (1992) and his concept of linguistic imperialism, or "the dominance of English […] asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (p. 47). The conscious legitimization and institutionalization of languages have driven language shift and spread on national, supranational and global levels. In Italy, for instance, the flood of American culture into post-war Italy in the form of American entertainment and consumer products, which filled the void left by the Fascist machine and secured Italy's placement in the sphere of influence of the United States, also increased exposure to English across the Peninsula. The commanding role of English-speaking countries in the post-war world order positioned English high in the linguistic hierarchy, which resulted in policy changes that favored the language, including its replacement of French as the most commonly taught foreign language in Italy.

And yet, while these geopolitical factors have powered the rise of English, does this globally ubiquitous language depend solely on English-speaking countries? Three decades before Henry Widdowson's seminal paper *The Ownership of English*, Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964) declared that "English is no longer the possession of the British, or even of the British and the Americans, but an international language which increasingly large numbers of people adopt for at least some of their purposes" (p. 293). Roughly a decade later Smith (1976) proclaimed that English was an international language that "belongs to all of us" and added: "it is yours (no matter who you are) as much as it is mine (no matter who I am)" (p. 39). These and other linguists have convincingly argued that the ownership of English is shared among its users. In so doing, they have ushered in new paradigms in the ways of conceptualizing and researching language that challenges the bounds of languages and gives prominence to agency.

Research in English as a lingua franca (ELF), recently reconceived as English as a multilingua franca (Jenkins 2015b; see also Jenkins 2018), has done exemplary work in this regard. Grounded in the widespread and expanding use of English as a contact language, researchers have described ELF as a "fluid, flexible, contingent, hybrid and deeply intercultural" mode of communication that transcends geographical boundaries (Jenkins *et al.* 2011, p. 284; see also Baker 2015; Jenkins 2015b). Challenging the traditional "folk linguistic concepts" that designate neat bounds and partitions to languages, cultures, and identities, Seidlhofer (2018) compellingly asks: "what if people from other primary cultures and communities appropriate a language not originally their own and make it their own?" (p. 86). As Jenkins (2018) holds, the repertoires of ELF users "are constantly in flux as they negotiate their diversity and adjust (or accommodate) their language […] in order to communicate successfully with each other" (p. 601). Indeed, at the heart of ELF lies the idea that users make active changes to English and to other available linguistic resources to suit their communicative needs (Widdowson 2018).

Norton (1997) makes a strong claim for the connection among language, identity, and ownership, and asserts that "if learners of English cannot claim ownership of a language, they might not consider themselves legitimate speakers […] of that language" (p. 422). A focus on language ownership fosters the understanding that English speakers are not passive consumers of language but empowered, active, and agentive users. It contests the hierarchy of English varieties and assigns more equitable norms to the linguistic market. By analyzing how ownership is claimed, we can develop and inform policies and practices that facilitate this process for English language learners. Motivated by the benefits of the pursuit of research in this vein, the present article investigates the nature of language ownership among English language learners in Naples, Italy. Drawing on Seilhamer (2015), and particularly the framework for language ownership delineated therein, this article explores how research participants in their last year of secondary school constructed their relationships with English and understandings of ownership in terms of prevalent usage, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge.

2. The 'native speaker' and language ownership

The ownership of English has been conceptualized in different ways in the literature (Yang 2017). These conceptualizations include ownership by birth (Parmegiani 2010); ownership as indigenization (Widdowson 1994); ownership as expertise and loyalty (Parmegiani 2010, 2014, 2017; Rampton 1990); ownership as legitimacy (Higgins 2003; Norton 1997); and ownership derived from prevalent use, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge (Park 2011; Seilhamer 2015).

Much of the discourse surrounding English ownership has lent itself to the critique of what has often been termed the native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) dichotomy. For language learning, this dichotomy has resulted in the collocation of NS speech with 'ideal' and 'target' language. However, following NS norms or sounding like NSs may be neither an attainable goal nor a desired outcome for language learners. Research into EFL has valuably acknowledged that the participants of ELF interactions shape conventionalized language forms and functions to meet situated communicative needs so that, as specified by Leung and Lewkowicz (2018), for these speakers NS norms are "not necessarily the only, or the most important, reference point" (p. 67). Studies that have analyzed degrees of ownership of English have displayed that the stronghold of Inner Circle varieties of English, or those from traditionally English as a native language (ENL) contexts such as Australia, Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, is being challenged by non-Inner Circle speakers, and particularly by younger English users (Bokhorst-Heng *et al.* 2007; Higgins 2003; Rubdy *et al.* 2008). The issue is even more equivocal on account of the global spread and uses of English which raise a host of questions, including: what constitutes 'nativeness' (or lack thereof) for this international lingua franca?

The explanatory power of divisions of English speakers into 'native' and 'non-native' categories fall short in our increasingly globalized, interconnected world in which multiple Englishes are used by innumerable people in countless domains. Beginning in the 1980s, various models that served as pictorial representations of the spread and multiplicity of English language varieties were developed, such as Strevens's (1980, 1992) world map of English, McArthur's (1998) circle of World English and, most influentially, Kachru's (1992) three-circle model of World Englishes. More recent work has built on these models to problematize the linguistic hierarchy of Englishes and the power of NS English(es) in particular. For example, Graddol (2006) reformulated Inner Circle English from its designation in Kachru (1992) as the English spoken in 'norm-providing' NS countries to English spoken with high proficiency, or expertise (Rampton 1990), regardless of geographic location, how the language is learned, and the variety in question (for a full discussion, see Jenkins 2015a). The concept of NS (and its juxtaposition with NNS) has also been problematized for being unable to capture and represent the fluidity and complexity of linguistic identities (Faez 2011a, 2011b).

Rampton (1990) identified a set of assumptions that being a NS of a language tends to imply, including: languages are inherited; if you inherit a language, you speak it well; people are either NSs or they are not; NSs have a "comprehensive grasp" of a language; and people are NS of a single mother tongue (p. 97). These assumptions, strongly contested and easily debunked, are grounded in a monolingual bias and reflective of a sterile, oversimplified view of language users. Rampton (1990) therefore recast 'nativeness' using the metaphor of the 'expert speaker'. That is, successful speakers should be described according to their *expertise*, or command of a language. Rampton (1990) specified that expertise is learned, relative, partial and often assessed or challenged. It is a fairer aim for language learners that "shifts the emphasis from 'who you are' to 'what you know'" (p. 99). Frequently used terms and concepts, such as first, second, home or native language, define languages only in connection to when, where and how much they are learned and fail to capture the negotiation and unfixedness of language categories and group belonging. Alongside expertise Rampton (1990) added *language loyalty* – and its constituting components *inheritance* and *affiliation* – to describe the extent to which a speaker identifies with a language and to take the symbolic value of language for social group identification into account. While inheritance refers to whether a speaker is born into the group traditionally associated with a language, affiliation concerns a speaker's agentive desire to be associated with it. Rampton (1990) usefully reminds us that "it is perfectly possible for someone to regard a language learned at age 35 in

college as a part of his or her group inheritance" (p. 100). Thinking about language loyalty in terms of both inheritance and affiliation is advantageous because it more accurately captures the wide gamut of speakers' relationships with languages.

Rampton's (1990) framework has been usefully applied for the study of language ownership in different contexts. A noteworthy example of its application is the investigations into language ownership among South African students reported in Parmegiani (2008, 2010, 2014, 2017). In Parmegiani (2014), for example, the analysis of interview data with students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal revealed that, for some participants, language ownership was not restricted to a single language, and both isiZulu and English contributed to identity construction. These participants claimed ownership of English based on their language expertise, language practices, and/or affiliation with the language. Others instead adhered to the birthright paradigm, or "the notion that human beings can legitimately own only one language, and that language can only be inherited from birth" (Parmegiani 2010, p. 360), and did not claim ownership of English because doing so would threaten their relationship with their inherited language, or mother tongue, and result in identity loss.

In his talk entitled *Ownership of English: Implications for heritage, identity, and our future*, Park (2011, in Seilhamer 2015) framed the ownership of English in Singapore in terms of three dimensions: prevalent usage, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge. Seilhamer (2015), which slightly reconceived Park's (2011) societal-level concepts to suit a micro-level investigation of language ownership in Taiwan, detailed what each of these dimensions means. Regular language use can contribute to a sense of ownership so, according to Seilhamer (2015), *prevalent usage* is a dimension of ownership that refers to "the extent to which language use is regarded as substantial in terms of quantity" (p. 373). Language use can encompass a wide array of modes of communication (e.g., face-to-face interactions, communication via telephone, and computer-mediated interactions), though some modes may be privileged over others. The second dimension, *affective belonging*, is "emotional attachment" to a language (Seilhamer 2015, p. 373), and corresponds closely to Rampton's (1990) concept of language loyalty. Like language loyalty, *affective belonging* may rest on inheritance or affiliation: in the former sense, this aspect of ownership might arise from associations of the language with one's social group or the fact that a language is learned from infancy and, in the latter sense, it might be agentive and/or stem from relationships with the language established well after infancy. The third dimension, *legitimate knowledge,* relates to Rampton's (1990) language expertise with an increased emphasis on legitimacy (Higgins 2003; Norton 1997).[1] Seilhamer (2015) maintains that "individual criteria for what counts as 'proficient' can be expected to vary, often according to contexts of use" (p. 374). An English speaker with full mastery of the language may not feel and/or may not be regarded by others as legitimate in a given context based on a variety of factors, among which the speaker's origins and/or the prevailing language ideologies.

Seilhamer (2015) displayed how the prevalent usage, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge framework can be applied in language ownership studies with a study of six of the researcher's former students in Taiwan. Multiple in-depth interviews and participant observation informed the development of stories detailing each participant's language ownership dimensions and her relationships with English. A cross-sectional view of these six stories revealed that most participants had "highly prevalent English usage […], strong affective belonging with English, a high degree of expertise in the language, and

---

[1] Seilhamer (2015) argues that legitimate knowledge is more appropriate than Rampton's (1990) language expertise because the latter fails to account for legitimacy. I disagree that expertise omitted legitimacy and I would argue that Rampton's (1990) points related to the relativity and assessment of expertise can be strongly linked to legitimacy (p. 99). Consequently, I use the terms (language) expertise and legitimate knowledge interchangeably in this paper.

English teaching experiences that positioned them as legitimate experts" (Seilhamer 2015, p. 384). Participants who did not claim full ownership of English had limited domains of expertise, a lack of inheritance relationship with the language, and few opportunities to use English outside of the classroom.

Seilhamer (2015) concludes his paper with the prediction that as the number of people who speak English routinely, feel attachment to English, and come to view themselves as legitimate speakers of the language increases worldwide, so will the research that documents these developments. This research will require a coherent framework with which to view language ownership. According to Seilhamer (2015, p. 386):

> While it is inevitable that certain dimensions of linguistic ownership will be privileged by some researchers, just as they are with individual speakers, a commonly accepted framework that includes the various dimensions would at least force those focusing on only one dimension to acknowledge the partialness of their accounts.

The framework described in Seilhamer (2015), which draws heavily on Park's (2011) and Rampton's (1990) work, takes into account the multi-dimensionality of ownership and, as demonstrated in Seilhamer's (2015) study, it can be usefully applied in language ownership studies. This paper follows in this vein and applies the prevalent usage, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge framework with a different population to test its applicability to explore the relationships that individuals have with English and how understandings of ownership are constructed in Italy.

3. The study

The data discussed in the present paper were part of a larger study, described in Aiello (2018), aimed at investigating language attitudes, motivation and self-perceived proficiency among Italian learners of English through the use of a questionnaire, field observations, and interviews. This article hones in on the data collected in Naples that explores the ownership of English. Data were collected from students enrolled in their last, or fifth, year in two high schools in the city of Naples. One high school was a science-oriented lyceum and the other was an economics-oriented technical school.[2] The study followed a sequential explanatory mixed-methods design consisting of a quantitative phase followed by a qualitative phase. Data for the first phase were collected by means of closed-ended questionnaire items, in Italian, on language ownership. I visited English classes, introduced myself, and invited students to volunteer as participants in my study, which I grounded in my interest in learning about English language learning and use in Italian secondary schools. Subsequently, questionnaire data were collected in December 2012 from 116 participants (57.8% females, 18.7 years old on average). The analysis of these data informed the selection of four focal students, two per school, who became the participants of the second phase of the study. These participants expressed willingness to participate in the qualitative phase of the study (by means of a positive response to a questionnaire item inviting them to participate) and they represented different motivational profiles, in line with the aims of the larger study.

---

[2] Upper secondary education in Italy consists of five years of instruction and is typically organized into three curriculum tracks: lyceums ('*licei*'), technical schools ('*istituti tecnici*') and vocational schools ('*istituti professionali*'). Of the ten different types of general and technical schools, the science-oriented lyceum and the economics-oriented technical school were chosen as sites for this study because they were the most commonly selected schools among Italian students of both genders (Barbieri, Fidora 2011).

In this qualitative phase, from January to June 2013, I observed the English classes attended by the four case study participants for one to two hours each week to build rapport with the students and learn about the educational context in which English learning occurred, and I conducted three in-depth, semi-structured interviews with each participant. Guided by an interview protocol, the three interviews sought information on participants' general and language backgrounds, English use and competence, attitudes towards English, English and their identities, and their future aspirations. During interviews, I also asked interview-specific probing and clarifying questions as well as participant-specific questions regarding their questionnaire responses that were not included in the interview protocol. The participants were given the option of speaking in either Italian or English during the interviews, and all participants chose to speak primarily in English.

Descriptive statistics (frequencies and measures of central tendency) of the questionnaire data pertinent to language ownership were performed using SPSS version 23 and are reported in the first part of the section that follows. The second part focuses in on interview data to discuss the discourses that student participants deployed to construct understandings of the ownership of English, and the relationships that participants have with English in terms of prevalent usage, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge (Park 2011; Seilhamer 2015). Different approaches are employed for the analysis of interview data with the purpose of achieving "different levels of analysis" (Liebscher, Dailey-O'Cain 2009, p. 197). That is, a content-based approach is used to explore the natures and the determiners of language ownership, while participants' negotiations are explored through discourse-based, interactional approaches.

4. Language ownership in Italy

4.1. Language ownership through questionnaire data

The questionnaire included an item that asked participants to indicate the extent to which they had ownership of English. In response, as shown in the bar chart in Figure 1, the greatest proportion of participants indicated that they had ownership of English to some extent (56%), whereas no participants said that they had no ownership of the language at all.
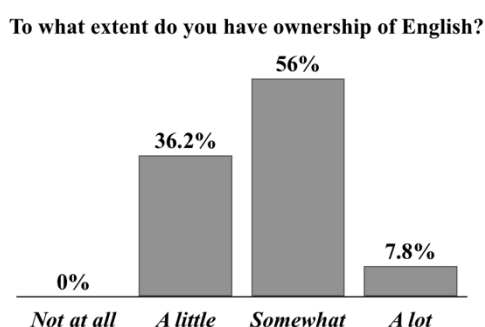
Figure 1
Response frequency for Questionnaire Item: "To what extent do you have ownership of English?".

Although this questionnaire item honed in on ownership in particular, the responses to this item alone provide at best a partial view of language ownership among this population. First, can one closed-ended question administered in a single moment unpack and capture the language ownership construct? As stated earlier, the concept of ownership is complex and

multi-dimensional in nature. Secondly, subsequent to an extensive questionnaire piloting process,[3] ownership was translated into Italian as *padronanza,* which, according to the Italian Encyclopaedia of Science, Letters and Arts Treccani, has the literal meaning of "authority and right of an owner: to have, to lose, to exercise *padronanza* of the house, of goods" and can be used figuratively to refer to "perfect knowledge: to have *padronanza* of a language." Thus, the former connotation is aligned with possession and the latter with proficiency or mastery, thereby conflating these two notions within the single term.

As a result of this, it is unsurprising that a comparison of the aforementioned ownership item responses to those of questions concerning self-perceived competences in speaking, writing, reading and listening skills in English revealed significant commonalities, particularly with ratings of speaking in English.[4] On average, participants indicated that their speaking (M=2.71, SD=0.598), writing (M=2.87, SD=0.579) and listening (M=2.88, SD=0.573) skills were slightly below good, and they rated their reading skills most favorably, slightly above good (M=3.18, SD=0.475), as displayed in Figure 2. These self-ratings suggest that, by and large, participants perceived that they had a fairly good – but not excellent – command of English.
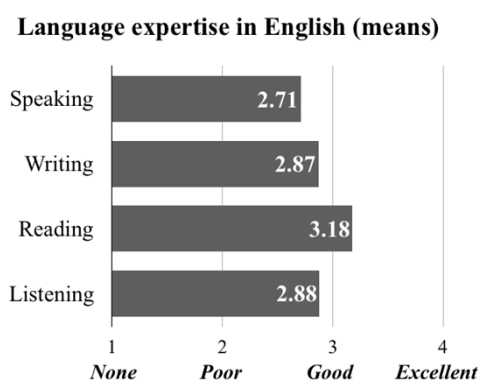

Figure 2
Average Questionnaire Responses: Participant self-ratings in the four skills in English.

Figure 3 displays participant responses to an item related to the affective belonging dimension of language ownership that prompted students to indicate the extent to which they felt that English was part of their identities. In response, the majority selected 'a little' (34.5%) and 'somewhat' (45.7%). A small percentage of students believed that English was not at all part of their identities but roughly 17% selected 'a lot,' or they believed that English was a part of their identities to a great extent.

---

[3] The first two phases of the questionnaire piloting process consisted of: 1) the careful review by two fluent bilingual English-Italian speakers, who verified the naturalness of the translation, assessed the equivalence of the original and the translated questionnaires, and gave suggestions that resulted in revisions to the questionnaire; 2) consultation with an initial pilot group of five people familiar with the target population yet with varying degrees of expertise in survey research who informed the revision of ambiguous items and provided feedback on the length, format and clarity of instructions. On a related note, the larger study focused on self-perceived proficiency and considered language ownership as component of this construct.

[4] With respect to measures of central tendency, the mean and standard deviations the prompt 'To what extent do you have ownership of English?' were M=2.72, SD=0.607 and for their rating of their speaking skill in English they were M=2.71, SD=0.598. The relationship between the ownership and speaking items was investigated using a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, and a strong correlation between the two variables emerged: r=0.567, N=109, p<0.01.

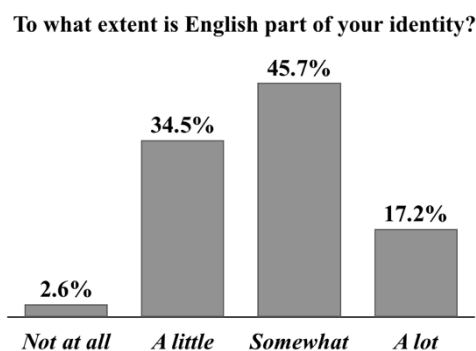**To what extent is English part of your identity?**

Figure 3
Response frequency for Questionnaire Item: "To what extent is English part of your identity?".

The responses to these questionnaire items related to the legitimate knowledge (or language expertise) and affective belonging dimensions of language ownership provide some insight into the sense of ownership of English among these Neapolitan youth. Nonetheless, the nature of the questions as well as the fact that the questionnaire was administered in a single moment render the data partial and lacking of depth and scope. To address this issue, the questionnaire items described above were often the subject of follow up questions during interviews. In line with other studies that have delved into the nature of language ownership of different populations (e.g., Parmegiani 2014; Seilhamer 2015), the notion of ownership was also explored via interviews with case study participants described below.

4.2. Language ownership through interview moments

4.2.1. Participants and interview moments

The four Neapolitan participants were Giovanni, Chiara, Sergio, and Alberto.[5] Descriptions of these participants, which were developed by drawing from interview and observation data, follow:

Giovanni was an 18-year-old student in his last year of a science-oriented lyceum in Naples. He reported that he had been studying English for 13 years and he felt that, albeit guaranteeing success in the language, this lengthy exposure was also tiresome and repetitive. Although he was largely dismissive of the widespread use of English, he actively participated in his English classes that I observed. Giovanni affirmed that his greatest passion was Latin, which is a compulsory subject in science-oriented lyceums. He participated and won prizes in nation-wide Latin competitions, and he considered pursuing the study of Classics at university.

Chiara, also 18 and enrolled in the science-oriented lyceum, was simultaneously soft-spoken and determined in her demeanor during interviews and in her English classes. Her English could be described as strongly British-like. Chiara stated that her English development at school began when she was about eight years old thanks to her favorite primary school English teacher who suggested that she communicate with 'mother tongue' speakers of English. Her family often traveled and her mother, who was an English teacher, encouraged her to interact in English while abroad. Chiara was fascinated by scientific research, which she wanted to pursue in her future studies and career.

---

[5] All names are pseudonyms.

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

Sergio was a 19-year-old student at an economics-oriented technical high school in which he studied both French and English. He claimed that his past English learning experience was "not so exciting" and, though he thought highly of his current English teacher, I often observed that he was disengaged and left his classroom for lengthy periods of time. Outside of the classroom, Sergio's independent pursuit of English supported his language studies: he listened to English music, spent his free time analyzing English lyrics, and even traveled abroad to attend concerts of his favorite English-speaking bands. On a school-sponsored trip to Nice, he used English as the primary means for communication while working at a hotel.

Alberto was an 18-year-old student enrolled in an economics-oriented technical high school in Naples. He actively participated in his English classes and spoke quickly and enthusiastically during English interviews. His interest in theater compelled him to select his high school, which boasted theater productions in multiple languages including the foreign languages (L2s) he had studied in middle school: French and English. Alberto's scholastic experiences with English were largely negative, mainly attributable to teachers who, in his words, did not "explain the grammar." Instead, he was deeply impacted by his positive experiences interning in England and France as a waiter and a hotel receptionist, at which time he exercised his L2s.

In the next section, I draw on the data collected during interviews[6] with the above-described participants to delve into the ways in which they constructed understandings of ownership through the interpretive lenses of prevalent usage, affective belonging and legitimate knowledge. Of note, the analytical narrative moves from one participant to the next and, unlike Seilhamer (2015), this movement does not aim to provide a language ownership profile for each participant. Rather, the focus is on interview moments, which were prompted by a vast array of questions and transpired at different stages across the three interviews, to accentuate the continual shifts and negotiations inherent in participants' identities, definitions of language, and sense of ownership of language(s).

4.2.2. Constructing understandings of language ownership

In 2013, the year in which the interviews were administered, the conspicuousness of English in the Italian linguistic landscape was undeniable. Advertising, journalism and the online realm presented heaps of evidence of the pervasiveness of English. English was a required subject for all Italian students, and all of the Neapolitan interview participants had experienced thirteen years of scholastic English instruction.

For Giovanni, this omnipresence of English was a nuisance if not an outright threat. When, during an interview, I asked Giovanni why he had stated in his questionnaire that he was not motivated to learn English, he responded: "I'm not against English but there are so many languages I prefer, for example, French, German, Greek." He continued by bemoaning the widespread use of English borrowings in Italian, explaining that English is "so inva[sive] here," adding: "we say 'mouse.' […] In Spain, they say *ratón*, which means 'rat, mouse' in Spanish. […] We [have] start[ed] to say 'link' instead of *collegamento*. So, too much English everywhere!" Giovanni held that the extensive use of and "love for" English in Italy was rooted in his compatriots' "idealization of America," their fascination with England, and their belief that English was better than Italian. Giovanni pointedly rejected this view and declared:

---

[6] Interviews were conducted primarily in English, so the interview excerpts reproduced in this paper are not translations but transcriptions of the actual exchanges. When an Italian word is used, it appears in italics. Interview excerpts also include bracketed words or phrases that represent insertions or slight adjustments aimed at clarifying meaning, and bracketed ellipses symbolize omissions.

"I love Italian, it's a rich language. We could express those concepts in Italian." By rejecting English, Giovanni aimed to safeguard the vitality of features of the Italian language, intrinsically linked to its Latinate roots, as well as Italian culture and creativity.

Given this stance, it is perhaps unsurprising that Giovanni did not claim ownership of English on the grounds of a lack of affective belonging, or emotional attachment, with the language. When I asked Giovanni whether English was part of this identity, he said:

> I'm not English so I speak your language but it's not part of my identity, no […] I think that when one studies a language, [one] studies also the culture, and I'm not against English culture, but it's not […] my culture.

In short, for Giovanni, language is inherited. He was not 'English' and 'English culture' was not his culture, so English was not part of his identity. This space was already occupied by other languages, not least Italian, his first and inheritance language, which suggests that he ascribed to the birthright paradigm, or the belief that a person can only legitimately own the language inherited from birth (Parmegiani 2010).

Giovanni's sense of affective belonging to Italian (and not English) was displayed at other times during interviews. Another such moment began when I asked Giovanni whether he was satisfied with his level of English. He responded that he was satisfied, and he spoke English "more or less" well. Because he used this hedge, I replied by asking him if there was anything that he would like to improve in his English, and the following exchange ensued:

```
1   JA:        Is there anything that you'd like to improve?
2   Giovanni:  I'd say my accent, but it's not that I can't pronounce English with an English accent,
3              but when I do I feel stupid ((laughs)) not because of English people, but it's weird to
4              hear my voice with an English accent […]
5   JA:        You [don't want] to use the British accent, can you tell me why-
6   Giovanni:  It's not that I don't like [it]. [The] British accent is funny. When I say something in
7              British accent [and] I hear my voice, I say 'oh my God!' I feel like a- it's so weird
8              because it's not my accent, of course, and when I use British accent, I feel like I'm
9              playing something, so it's strange
```

Although Giovanni identified accent in English as something that he could improve, he also situated himself as a competent user of a British English accent ("it's not that I can't pronounce English with an English accent," line 2). He further specified that he did not dislike the British English accent ("It's not that I don't like [it]," line 6). The issue at hand was the feeling that the use of 'an English accent' evoked: using a non-Italian accent when speaking English caused him to "feel stupid" (line 3); and hearing his voice with an English accent was "weird" (line 3) and it prompted him to exclaim "Oh my God!" (line 7). By describing it as "funny" (line 6), Giovanni indexes British English as a more marked mode of discourse than Italian-accented English.[7] He asserted that "it's not my accent" (line 8), and, even more poignantly, he explained that the use of a British accent when he spoke English gave rise to the "weird" (line 7) and "strange" feeling that he was "playing" a part (line 9), and therefore he was not himself. In so doing, Giovanni serves as an example of a phenomenon described in Seilhamer (2015): for some speakers, affiliating with a language other than their inheritance language threatens their relationship with their inheritance language and can result in ridicule or feelings of guilt. Much like the ELF users who retain their first language (L1) accents to

---

[7] Of note, Giovanni first associated a British accent with an aspect that he would like to 'improve', which is undoubtedly a positively connoted term, and then he described it as "funny" thereby positioning it as a marked accent. This stance can be seen as in support of the ELF research finding that English users globally associate ENL Englishes with accuracy and non-ENL Englishes with intelligibility and interpersonal alignment (see, for instance, Fang 2016; Karakaş 2015).

express their lingua-cultural identity (e.g., Sung 2016), by choosing to use his L1 accent, Giovanni averted the feeling that he was a subject of ridicule or that he was not himself when speaking English.

Whereas Giovanni's emotional attachment to Italian made him unwilling to claim to English as his language, Chiara was unable to claim ownership based on a lack of legitimate knowledge of English and on characteristics that she did not, as yet, possess. Chiara displayed impressive command of English, her proficiency by far exceeded that of her classmates, and she boasted numerous English certifications earned over the years. These impressive achievements notwithstanding, for Chiara, owning a language meant "thinking in that language," "having a great vocabulary" and "being able to imitate accents," and, when I asked her whether she felt ownership of English, she laughed and replied: "I wish I would feel the ownership of English but […] actually I feel as um, I don't own it um very well. I don't know." With her response, characterized by hesitation and doubt captured in the use of false starts and the phrase "I don't know," she positioned herself as someone without full ownership of English. The owners of English, according to Chiara, were:

> English people and [it] is very banal but I think also those people who have a parent that is from an English[-speaking] country and those people who go and live in English[-speaking] country. I think that just these people can own a language.

In accordance with her designation of the 'owners' of the language, when I asked her what she had to do in order to own English completely, Chiara replied: "move to England, [the] USA or countries in which English is [the] first language."

Impeccable mastery of English was not recognized as language ownership by Chiara, since ownership was based on extra-linguistic characteristics, or her origins and residence. Chiara ascribed ownership of English to 'English people' and their descendants (who, quite literally, inherit the language), and only those who reside in an English-speaking country can claim it. Chiara's definition of ownership of English was linked to inheritance and connected strictly to English-speaking communities. She acknowledged that owners of the language have very specialized, in-depth knowledge of English that can arguably be learned in English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts, but she could only claim ownership of English if she resided in an English-speaking country. Parmegiani (2017) specifies that "unlike inheritance, which is a structural factor imposed by society, affiliation is agentive, or the result of a speaker's choice" (pp. 47-48). Regardless, Chiara's agency with respect to affiliation was inhibited because it was linked, if not to birthright alone, to actual participation in the target language community – understood as an ENL community. Thus, the context in which English was learned and used was critical. In Chiara's view, to stake a claim to English it was necessary to use the right kind of English, in the right modes, or face-to-face interactions, and in the right context, or Inner Circle countries.

Unlike Giovanni and Chiara, Sergio claimed ownership of English and agreed, as expressed in his questionnaire and interview responses, that the language was part of his identity. He perceived the need for English as he engaged in English-language songs and media, and he envisioned his future abroad. However, his relationship with English was mediated by other factors. For one, he rated his English language abilities very highly in the questionnaire but, during his third interview he moderated his stance based on his experiences in a First Certificate in English (FCE) preparatory course, which was taught by a British English instructor and attended by select students who excelled in English. When I asked him whether he was satisfied with his level of English, he replied: "No, no because attending the new class, for example, I understand that I know basic English […] I don't know English [as] well as I thought. I hope that I get better." Much like Chiara, to improve, according to Sergio, he would have to live "in a country where English is the first language" and he added that

doing so "would be great" and would allow him to "practic[e] it every day." To this, he added: "I must speak English, so I need to think in English and that's important."

While moving to a country in which English is spoken as a first language was critical for language development, not all ENL countries were viewed in the same light. Indeed, I was interested in delving into Sergio's attitudes towards accents, and I therefore asked him what he thought of accented speech in English. To this, Sergio replied that "maybe it's not a bad thing" to speak English with an accent "because you can imagine where he comes from, with his accent." To explore this issue further, after I asked whether Sergio had an accent and he responded that he spoke English with an Italian accent, I asked him for his opinions on his accent. This resulted in the following interaction:

1	JA:	Do you think [the fact that you have an Italian accent is] a good or a bad thing?
2	Sergio:	It depends. Maybe in the US it wouldn't be a problem while in England it could
3		be.
4	JA:	Why do you say that?
5	Sergio:	Because friends of mine went to England two weeks ago and, when they spoke
6		English, [the British] used to be like 'What? What are you saying?' because they
7		weren't that good at it. When you speak with your Italian accent they don't see
8		you so, I don't know, they are diffident.

In this discussion about accent(s) and his friends' recollections of their unsuccessful attempts at communication with British English speakers, Sergio presented a context-dependent view of L1-accented L2 speech. L1 accents were not always "a problem" (line 2): being perceived as a legitimate speaker of English pivoted on context and interlocutor. Even though his friends "weren't that good at" English (line 7), according to Sergio, the onus of comprehensibility fell not on the Italian speakers but on their British interlocutors, who were distrustful ("diffident," line 8)[8] of his friends' "Italian accent" (line 7) and were unwilling to comprehend their Italian-accented English speech. Sergio conflated the notions of communicative competence and accent, and Italian accent became the most salient – if not the only – marker of English competence. In so doing Sergio's stance echoed Moyer's (2013) compelling question: "what is really in question when an accented speaker is deemed 'hard to understand'?" (p. 5) and put forth the answer that what is in question extends beyond language mastery to include legitimacy. According to Sergio, "when you speak with your Italian accent they don't see you" (lines 7-8), so to be 'seen' by British speakers as a legitimate English speaker you must speak English in a certain way, or without marked evidence of your Italian accent.

While Sergio connected his understandings of English to geographical area and speaker origin, for Alberto, English was a decontextualized tool. He stated that, in Italy, English "is something that can help you evacuate from here to try to enter in a community with different people." Consequently, when asked who owned English, Alberto responded: "people who use it to escape or people who use it to complete themselves are people who own English." Because of its function as a lingua franca, Alberto defined English as an innate need comparable to food, as he explained: "when a [child] want[s] to eat and he cr[ies] to communicate with his mother because he is hungry, English is the same." Setting language expertise apart from ownership, Alberto explained that his mastery of English was "not in the perfection," though, he said: "I own English because English is like something- [it] is a way to communicate."

When pressed during our third interview to respond to the ideology, pervasive among his peers, that only native English speakers own English, Alberto presented dichotomous views of English:

---

[8] In Italian, "*diffidente*" means distrustful and suspicious. It is much stronger than the English cognate.

1	JA:	I want to talk about ownership […] because many people say that only native speakers,
2		*madrelingua*, own English.
3	Alberto:	Uh, um [it] depends [on] the, the- [what] you think own[ership] means. Because [if] for
4		you [it means] to understand each grammar rule, so I understand, yes, only people who
5		own English are native English. But if you understand English is something that you can
6		use with other people, or you can use to communicate, or use to work, or can use to
7		increase job opportunities, you own English. Because if you get this position, or you get
8		your aim, you [own] English because thanks to English you can get your aims. Or
9		instead, if you think that owning is only grammar, yes, you cannot do it.

According to Alberto, on the one hand ownership was synonymous with in-depth prescriptive grammatical knowledge (lines 4, 9) and limited "only" to "native English" speakers (lines 4, 5), and, on the other, ownership consisted of cognizance of the communicative and functional uses of English, so it was granted to all those who utilized English in global domains. In identifying this binary view, Alberto oriented to the subjectivity of ownership: it can be self- or other-ascribed, and it is tied to how "you understand English" (line 5). In so doing, he redefined the meaning of English (i.e.: from a 'native' variety to a vehicular language for communication, or a lingua franca), and negotiated his position (and that of others who viewed English in the same way) as legitimate and suitable for English ownership. Irrespective of the speaker's origins or prevailing language ideologies that dictate legitimacy, for Alberto, successful interactions in English for communication resulted in ownership.

4.2.3. The dynamicity of understandings of language ownership

In the interview moment with Sergio that I described above, perceptions of language mastery – or the extent to which an individual is recognized as a legitimate speaker of English – pivoted on the context and interlocutor. Moreover, during our above-cited interview, I urged Alberto to respond to the idea that only native speakers own English, an idea contrary to the one he held, and he constructed his response built on my supposition and his disparate vision of ownership. In a similar manner, during the third and final interview with Chiara, I asked her to expand on some of her questionnaire responses. Given the link that emerged between ownership and identity and the fact that Chiara did not claim ownership of English, I was surprised that Chiara's questionnaire response to the item 'to what extent is English part of your identity?' was 'a lot.' Therefore, I reminded Chiara of her questionnaire response and asked her about it and her reply, and the subsequent interaction, are reproduced in the following interview excerpt:

1	Chiara:	I don't remember what I was thinking about when I answered.
2	JA:	Tell me your opinion now-
3	Chiara:	Okay ((laughs))
4	JA:	((laughs)) It doesn't have to be the same as the questionnaire.
5	Chiara:	Okay well, maybe I feel [that I am] a European citizen. So, and I think that the language
6		in Europe is English so in a sense it is a second language to me because it makes me talk
7		[…] with people […] from other countries and so it is important to me. And even when
8		I, when I see people, uh tourists in the street that uh are looking [for] help because
9		nobody speaks English, I'm very grateful to speak in English, because of speaking
10		English because I can help them. I like it and so-
11	JA:	But you said, so you think that English is the language of the European Union?
12	Chiara:	Yes, I think so because it is the most spread, spread and so why not? It is the language of
13		the world, why shouldn't it be the language of Europe?

Despite a timid, hesitant start, Chiara articulated a response to justify that English is part of her identity to a great extent based on her use of English to communicate with tourists (in a context in which "nobody speaks English," line 9) and her European citizenship. By

positioning herself as a European citizen and by positioning English as the language of Europe, Chiara circumvented – if only temporarily – the limitations to ownership that she had ascribed for herself and others. Thus, while in the second interview Chiara was precluded from ownership of English because she did not possess all of the requisites and abilities (i.e., having a large vocabulary, the ability to think in English, and the ability to imitate accents) that she associated with ownership, in the third interview she adjusted her stance as she co-constructed a new understanding of English and ownership with me during the interview. When urged to (co)construct an understanding of ownership in which she qualified as an owner of the language, Chiara displayed the malleability and agency inherent in affiliation (Parmegiani 2017). According to Rampton (1990), "feelings of group-belonging change, and so do the definitions of groups themselves" (p. 99). Chiara's claim to English hinged on her positioning herself as a European citizen, and on her definition of English as the lingua franca of the European Union. As a citizen of Europe, a tangible community of which English is "the language" (line 5), she could claim English as her language by inheritance and birthright.

5. Discussion

This article has delved into the understandings and constructions of the ownership of English among youth in Naples, Italy. An initial summary of the analysis of ownership-related questionnaire data provided some insight into the sense of ownership of English among participants but also raised methodological and terminological questions. That is, the multidimensionality and complexity of the ownership construct cast doubt on the extent to which closed-ended items in a questionnaire could capture the sense of English language ownership among participants, particularly given that the likelihood that the translation of this term into Italian influenced its understanding. Guided by these issues, this paper focused primarily on interviews that delved more deeply and more dynamically into the ownership construct. A broad-strokes overview of interview moments with four case study participants who described the ways they identified with and affiliated to English reveals that two participants claimed ownership of English while two were reluctant to do so, and a more in-depth view, summarized below, displays the intricate ways in which these understandings were constructed during interviews.

Giovanni constructed his understanding of language ownership in terms of affective belonging, especially inheritance. Indeed, notwithstanding his general satisfaction with his knowledge of English, he was uninclined to claim ownership of English because of his emotional attachment to Italian, his inheritance language. Not only did Giovanni perceive the widespread use of English a threat to Italian but he also positioned English (and the adoption of the British English accent in particular) and its 'culture' as incompatible with or even a threat to his identity. This discord resonates with research that has found that ELF users aim to retain their L1-influenced accent to preserve and/or express their identities (e.g., Jenkins 2007; Sung 2013). Giovanni indeed felt more authentic (and less 'weird,' 'funny' and 'strange') when he retained his Italian accent while using English. This on the one hand suggests that Giovanni could simultaneously view himself as a proficient English speaker and retain his national identity (and accent) and, on the other, it displays that for Giovanni language loyalty trumped language expertise. As Seilhamer (2015) claims: "while ability certainly can impact loyalty, and vice versa, the two concepts are by no means one and the same" (p. 372).

Chiara described emblems required for ownership of English – a masterful user of English should have the language interiorized, access to expansive lexicon, and command of the phonology of 'native' speaker varieties of the language – and she attributed the ownership

of English principally to those who inherited the language from their parents or from their immediate surroundings. Although Chiara ascribed to the birthright paradigm and was precluded from staking a claim to English, she could claim ownership of the language when she moved to a country "in which English is [the] first language." Chiara's understandings of ownership illustrate how, in prevalent usage, face-to-face interactions with 'native' English speakers present more privileged access to the language. When pressed to reconsider her understandings of ownership, she designated English as "the language of Europe" (and "of the world") and built a case for her ownership on the basis of this constructed birthright. In so doing, she provided further evidence that, for her, ownership was tied principally to affective belonging, of which mostly inheritance, which arises from membership in the social group (defined by Chiara first as ENL speakers then as Europeans or even global citizens) traditionally associated with a language (Rampton 1990; Seilhamer 2015).

The last two participants that were discussed, Sergio and Alberto, both claimed ownership of English. However, Sergio understood ownership predominantly in terms of legitimate knowledge, which changed across time and settings. His self-perceived English proficiency shifted during the duration of the study: he began by judging his English abilities favorably then, after beginning a specialized language course for select students, he declared: "I don't know English [as] well as I thought." This finding is in line with Seilhamer's (2015) assertion that "individual criteria for what counts as 'proficient' can be expected to vary, often according to contexts of use" (p. 374). Like Chiara, Sergio believed that moving to an English-speaking country would improve his English but, drawing on his friends' experiences in England, he also suggested that, given his Italian accent, his knowledge of English might not be viewed as legitimate across all ENL contexts. Sergio foregrounds the situated nature of laying a claim to ownership of English – and having ownership recognized as legitimate – with context-bound shifts in his self-perceived English proficiency and designations of some ENL communities as more tolerant than others.

Alberto built his understandings of ownership based on the uses and functions of English. Being an international language, the need for the acquisition of English is visceral. In talk about ownership, occasioned by my precursory comment that "many people say that only native speakers […] own English," Alberto presented a twofold vision of what ownership of a language entails, again displaying the fluidity and co-construction of understandings of ownership. In one of his visions, anyone who used English or understood its potential in international communication could claim ownership of the language, on the grounds of both the prevalent usage that global communication entails as well as feelings of affective belonging for English. Affective belonging rested not on inheritance alone but involved agentive acts of affiliation to the language: English is the global lingua franca so anyone in the world can position themselves as owners of English, as long as they use and understand the communicative potential of the language.

The four participants expressed markedly dissimilar understandings of ownership and drew on notions of prevalent usage, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge in varied ways and to different extents in their construction of ownership. Even so, the interactional trajectories expressed during interview moments suggest important commonalities across participants and support the stance, put forth by Saraceni (2010) that "the feeling of 'ownership' of English can be complex and multifaceted" (p. 12). The meaning of ownership is fluid, subjective and context-dependent. For instance, as exhibited by interviews with both Chiara and Alberto, differing definitions of English resulted in novel expressions of identification with the language. Moreover, in contrast to Alberto, although Giovanni agentively averted ridicule by choosing to use the accent of his inheritance language when speaking English, there is no evidence that using this appropriated form affected his ownership of English. Guido (2018), citing Jenkins (2007) and Seidlhofer (2011), states that

"in 'normal' circumstances of intercultural interactions ELF-users from the expanding circle aim at cooperative communication by drawing on the resources of their respective native languages without claiming any ownership of the English language" (pp. 544-545), which is a description that typifies Giovanni's use of L1-accented English and his disinclination to claim ownership of the language. Instead, for Alberto, successful intercultural communication in ELF itself resulted in English ownership.

Based on his study of desired identities and accent preferences in ELF communication among university students in Hong Kong, Sung (2013) concludes that "a deterministic relationship between accent and identity among users of ELF is not tenable" (p. 11). The same could be said to describe the relationships that have transpired in the present study among English language ownership, conceptions of and attitudes towards English(es), and identities. Just as languages are unbounded and ceaselessly evolving, and identities are sociocultural phenomena that emerge and shift in interaction, so are understandings of language ownership agentively negotiated and capable of continuously shifting in different settings and with different interlocutors.

Furthermore, the analysis of interview moments unveiled the dynamic ways in which ownership is not only constructed but also co-constructed. My line of questioning undoubtedly contributed to the way in which Chiara (co)constructed and negotiated her sense of ownership of English, and it can be convincingly argued this occurred in all of the interviews presented in this paper. Participant utterances, situated in the context of interview interactions, were mediated not only by questions, which in many cases guided the course of the conversation, but also by my identity as an American researcher speaking in English. The effects that the researcher herself can have on participant responses bring important methodological implications to the fore, among which the need for researchers to exercise reflexivity and increased transparency concerning the impact of their language(s) and identity on their research (see Aiello, Nero forthcoming). These effects also accentuate the distinct advantage of casting light on the fluidity of views on language ownership and yield compelling future directions for research on the negotiation and collaborative construction of meaning of language, identity, and ownership.

6. Conclusions

While the widespread use of English has resulted in an intensification of ownership among youth, claiming ownership of English is problematic on both societal and individual levels. The emergence and use of English as a lingua franca and NNS varieties of English worldwide have been well documented, though, in Italy, NS varieties of English, including American and British English, remain the norm in educational settings and language certification courses that unlock access to professional domains. These language policies reinforce deeply-entrenched latent attitudes about English and who 'owns' it (Jenkins 2007). Since dominant language ideologies and policies mediate ownership (Seilhamer 2015), these practices – albeit at times inadvertently – challenge NNSs' claims for ownership.

Taking on a micro-level perspective, as Saraceni (2010) maintains, the international spread of the language does not determine the ownership of English for all speakers because "it is up to the individual speaker to feel, or not, a sense of ownership towards it" (p. 12). Yet, even this agency is at times constrained (e.g., by limited resources, lack of access to L2 input), and claiming legitimacy and asserting ownership over the language is not effortless. Bakhtin (1992) posited that the word "becomes one's 'own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intentions, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention" (p. 294). As also exhibited by the participants in this

study, the process of appropriation is inevitably context-dependent and sometimes accompanied by tension and struggle.

And yet, if claiming ownership, linked to language and identity, allows learners of English to consider themselves legitimate speakers of that language (Norton 1997), then instilling a sense of ownership among English language learners is an aim to which we should all aspire. In addition to challenging extant language policies and espousing ELF as a variety that all English users can own, in light of the dynamic co-constructions and positionings enacted by the participants of this study, it is due time to view language learners not as submissive and acquiescent but as creative and agentive 'users' who, influenced by their setting, interlocutor and aims "make innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules" (de Certeau 1984, p. xiii-xiv). To do so as language educators and researchers, we strive for greater parity and empowerment for English language users worldwide. The study of language ownership in different contexts can help make progress in this vein and, as exhibited in this paper, the prevalent usage, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge framework (Seilhamer 2015), sensitive to both the multifaceted nature of the construct and individual agency, can serve as a useful tool for investigations into language ownership.

Bionote: Jacqueline Aiello earned her doctorate in Multilingual and Multicultural Studies (Teaching English to speakers of other languages) from New York University in 2015, and she is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Naples "L'Orientale." She has authored *Negotiating Englishes and English-speaking Identities,* a book that is part of the Routledge Studies in World Englishes series (2018, Routledge), and has written articles that appear in the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, the *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, among other journals. Her research interests include language and identity, language ownership and attitudes, and research methods.

Author's address: jaiello@unior.it

References

Aiello J. 2018, *Negotiating Englishes and English-speaking Identities*, Routledge, New York/London.

Aiello J. and Nero S. forthcoming, *Discursive Dances: Narratives of Insider/Outsider Researcher Tensions*, in "Journal of Language, Identity & Education".

Baker W. 2015, *Culture and identity through English as a lingua franca: Rethinking concepts and goals in intercultural communication*, De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin.

Bakhtin M.M. 1992, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, University of Texas Press, Austin.

Barbieri G. and Fidora E. (eds.) 2011, *La Scuola in Cifre 2009-2010*, Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca, Rome.

Bokhorst-Heng W.D., Alsagoff L., McKay S. and Rubdy R. 2007, *English language ownership among Singaporean Malays: Going beyond the NS/NNS dichotomy*, in "World Englishes" 26 [4], pp. 424-445.

de Certeau M. 1984, *The practice of everyday life*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Faez F. 2011a, *Reconceptualizing the native/non-native speaker dichotomy*, in "Journal of Language, Identity and Education" 10 [4], pp. 231-249.

Faez F. 2011b, *Are you a native speaker of English? Moving beyond a simplistic dichotomy*, in "Critical Inquiry in Language Studies" 8 [4], pp. 378-399.

Fang F. 2016, *'Mind your local accent' Does accent training resonate to college students' English use?,* in "Englishes in Practice" 3 [1], pp. 1-28.

Graddol D. 2006, *English Next: Why Global English May Mean the End of 'English as a Foreign Language'*, British Council, London.

Guido M.G. 2018, *ELF in migration,* in Jenkins J., Baker W. and Dewey M. (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, Routledge, London/New York, pp. 544-555.

Halliday M.A.K., McIntosh A. and Strevens P.D. 1964, *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*, Longman, London.

Higgins C. 2003, *Ownership of English in the outer circle: An alternative to the NS-NNS dichotomy*, in "TESOL Quarterly" 37 [4], pp. 615-645.

Jenkins J. 2007, *English as a lingua franca: Attitude and identity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Jenkins J. 2015a, *Global Englishes: A resource book for students*, Routledge, London.

Jenkins J. 2015b, *Repositioning English and multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca,* in "Englishes in Practice" 2 [3], pp. 49-85.

Jenkins J. 2018, *The future of English as a lingua franca?,* in Jenkins J., Baker W. and Dewey M. (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, Routledge, London/New York, pp. 594-605.

Jenkins J., Cogo A. and Dewey M. 2011, *Review of developments in research into English as a lingua franca*, in "Language Teaching" 44 [3], pp. 281-315.

Kachru B.B. (ed.) 1992, *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana (IL).

Karakaş A. 2015, *Orientations towards English among English-medium instruction students*, in "Englishes in Practice" 2 [1], pp. 1-38.

Leung C. and Lewkowicz J. 2018, *English language teaching: pedagogic reconnection with the social dimension*, in Jenkins J., Baker W. and Dewey M. (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, Routledge, London/New York, pp. 61-73.

Liebscher G. and Dailey-O'Cain J. 2009, *Language attitudes in interaction*, in "Journal of Sociolinguistics" 13 [2], pp. 195-222.

McArthur A. 1998, *The English Languages,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Moyer A. 2013, *Foreign accents: The phenomenon of Non-native speech,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Norton B. 1997, *Language, identity and ownership of English*, in "TESOL Quarterly" 31 [3], pp. 409-428.

Park J.S-Y. 2011, *Ownership of English: Implications for heritage, identity, and our future*, Talk presented March 31 at Singapore National Library.

Parmegiani A. 2008, *Language Ownership in Multilingual Settings: Exploring Attitudes at the University of KwaZulu-Natal,* in "Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics" 38, pp. 107-124.

Parmegiani A. 2010, *Reconceputalizing language ownership: A case study of language practices and attitudes at the University of KwaZulu-Natal*, in "Language Learning Journal" 38 [3], pp. 359-378.

Parmegiani A. 2014, *The (dis)ownership of English: language and identity construction among Zulu students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal*, in "International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism" 17 [6], pp. 683-694.

Parmegiani A. 2017, *Gender and the ownership of English in South Africa,* in "World Englishes" 36 [1], pp. 42-59.

Phillipson R. 1992, *Linguistic Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Rampton B. 1990, *Displacing the native speaker: Expertise, mediation and inheritance*, in "ELT Journal" 44 [2], pp. 97-101.

Rubdy R., McKay S.L., Alsagoff L. and Bokhorst-Heng W.D. 2008, *Enacting English language ownership in the outer circle: A study of Singaporean Indians' orientations to English norms*, in "World Englishes" 27 [1], pp. 40-67.

Saraceni M. 2010, *The Relocation of English: Shifting Paradigms in a Global Era,* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Seidlhofer B. 2011, *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Seidlhofer B. 2018, *Standard English and the dynamics of ELF variation,* in Jenkins J., Baker W. and Dewey M. (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, Routledge, London/New York, pp. 85-100.

Seilhamer M.F. 2015, *The ownership of English in Taiwan*, in "World Englishes" 34 [3], pp. 370-388.

Smith L.E. 1976, *English as an international auxiliary language*, in "RELC Journal" 7 [2], pp. 38-42.

Strevens P. 1980, *Teaching English as an International Language*, Pergamon, Oxford.

Strevens P. 1992, *English as an international language: directions in the 1990s*, in Kachru B.B. (ed.), *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, (IL), pp. 27-47.

Sung C.C.M. 2013, *Accent and identity: exploring the perceptions among bilingual speakers of English as a lingua franca in Hong Kong*, in "International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism" 17 [5], pp. 544-557.

Sung C.C.M. 2016, *Does accent matter? Investigating the relationship between accent and identity in English as a lingua franca communication*, in "System" 60, pp. 55-65.

Widdowson H. 1994, *The ownership of English*, in "TESOL Quarterly" 28 [2], pp. 377-389.

Widdowson H. 2018, *Historical perspectives on ELF*, in Jenkins J., Baker W. and Dewey M. (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, Routledge, London/New York, pp. 101-112.

Yang C. 2017, *Advancing the Yoo (2014) and Ren (2014) Debate on Ownership of English: It's Time for a Shift of Conceptualizations and Focus*, in "Applied Linguistics" 38 [3], pp. 424-429.