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ADDRESSEES ON LANGUAGE USE**

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**TESTING EFL SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH: THE INFLUENCE OF
ADDRESSEES ON LANGUAGE USE¹**

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Abstract: *This paper is based on a pilot study that investigates whether phonetic aspects of language use may be influenced by variation among addressees in the light of Giles's Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). The study utilizes phonetic testing, surveys and semi structured interviews. The novelty lies in that the investigation is directed at the ways addressees may have a role in the language production of advanced learners of English. What is more, this role is tested in a formal setting with addressees functioning as passive listeners which should reduce the effect of accommodation. Therefore the fact that the findings clearly indicate the influence of addressees implies that further studies in this area could be fruitful.*

Key words: *communication accommodation theory; phonetics; linguistic attitudes; English as a foreign language; English as a lingua franca.*

1 Introduction

Language use is an activity which is as much about creating and re-creating social relations as about information exchange. The social aspects of language use can be traced in linguistic structure, functions of usage and also in the behavioral patterns of language users. In terms of the first category, linguistic structure, functional linguistics identifies parts of the grammar that are dedicated to interaction or to the maintenance and establishment of social links, such as e.g. modal expressions or the sentence type. According to Halliday these parts of the grammar are dedicated to realizing the so called 'interpersonal metafunction' of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 106-111). As regards functions of usage, both the linguistic forms dedicated to expressing politeness and greetings could be considered as directed at maintaining social relations rather than exchanging information (cf. Brown and Levinson 1978, Firth 1972 and Goffmann 1967). As for behavior, Giles and Coupland (Giles 1973, Giles and Coupland 1991), in their model of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) argue that "when people interact they adjust their speech, their vocal patterns and their gestures, to accommodate to others" (Turner & West 2010).

¹ I would like to thank Katalin Dóró for recruiting respondents for the survey and Pekka Lintunen for his valuable comments on the manuscript.

This implies that participants at the other end of the communicative act (i.e. addressees) may influence the linguistic production of an individual as well, even at points when these addressees are not participating actively in the interaction. While accommodation generally implies that speakers adjust their linguistic production in order to make it closer to the variety of their interactants or their addressees (i.e. convergence), according to the CAT the change may occur in the opposite direction as well (i.e. divergence) (cf. Jenkins 2000: 21). The present paper is set out to investigate the phenomenon of accommodation in both directions in terms of features of pronunciation as this is perhaps one of the easiest to detect out of the types of influence addressees may have on language production in the light of Giles' CAT. The motivation for this study is also grounded by practical reasons: if such an influence of addressees on speakers can be clearly identified in terms of pronunciation patterns then selecting addressees in a way that encourages more effective language use from the part of a language learner can serve the purposes of improving the methods of pronunciation teaching. Naturally, what may count as 'effective language use' may vary according to the situation and purpose of the interaction which implies that being exposed to a certain extent of receptive and productive variation (designed keeping the learning outcomes in mind) is perhaps the most useful for the learner (cf. Mauranen 2010). Therefore in line with Jenkins (cf. Jenkins 2000: 53-54) I argue that the purpose of language teaching should not aim at eliminating intra-speaker variation or viewing it as error but rather helping learners adjust their language to the circumstances of their actual interaction. Analyzing the ways this adjustment takes place can help to design tasks for learners that serve this purpose.

2 The Present Study

It is well-known among sociolinguists and discourse analysts (e.g. Hymes 1972, Goffmann 1982, Gumperz 1959, 1967, to mention a few of the early scholars who started to incorporate the analysis of these aspects into studies on language use) that the speech situation, participants and other contextual elements (which are many times referred to as being part of the setting or the footing) influence the ways language is used. As participants in the conversation influence this setting even when they do not hold the floor (i.e. people talk differently to a judge, a shopkeeper, a friend, a child or to 'foreigners'), addressees have a certain effect on the ways language is produced by any speaker. There are numerous examples among sociolinguistic studies that demonstrate this feature in terms of lexis, syntax or pragmatics, see e.g. Wald & Shopen 1981.

Thus, rather than intending to obtain further evidence for the influence of addressees on language production in terms of the previously studied features (i.e. lexis, syntax or pragmatics), this study aims to test whether this influence

can also be detected on a phonetic level. In particular I investigate the relationship of two (a dependent linguistic and an independent social) variables, namely the standard realization of the phoneme /θ/ against its non-standard realizations and the first language (L1) of the listener (addressee) in terms of being a native speaker of English or Hungarian. The choice of the variables and the linguistic background of the informants were motivated by an intention to find out whether native speakers of Hungarian - with respect to a special phonetic feature, the usage of the phoneme /θ/ - are more attentive of phonetic features of their language usage when using English in the presence of native English speakers than in the presence of fellow Hungarian ones.

I hypothesize that informants are indeed more aware of their language use in the presence of a native English addressee. This could be indicated either by using more standard variants or by over-regulative language use (i.e. over-standardization). Thus, I expected the data collected in this study to indicate a tendency-like occurrence of one of the two features. In theory, a reverse tendency (more standard language usage in the presence of a Hungarian listener) is also possible, though it is not likely to occur in practice. Had it still appeared, its presence could have perhaps indicated the usage of the linguistic variable as an identity marker. The third possible result could be no significant differences between the usages of the dependent variables based on the effect of the independent variable. This could mean either a deficient validity for the test or an illegitimate research topic.

2.1. Data

The linguistic variable I have chosen to investigate is the phoneme /θ/ with its standard realization [θ] in English and its possible allophones used by native speakers of Hungarian: most probably [s] and [t]². The phoneme /θ/ does not exist among the set of phonemes of the Hungarian language and its production is particularly difficult for Hungarian learners of English to acquire. Another reason why this phoneme was selected is because it does not usually cause unintelligibility (cf. Jenkins 2000: 137-138 and Mauranen 2010), thus attempts to its native-like pronunciation and the characteristics attributed to its variants can rather be seen as motivated by learners' attitudes towards 'good English' than by their efforts to achieve intelligible speech. The social variable I analyzed was the mother tongue of the addressee/interviewer: English or Hungarian.

² Nemser (1971:72-73) lists possible allophones of English /θ/ by Hungarian English speakers mainly as [t] [s] [f] and in blends and sequences as [df] [tθ] [dθ] [θ] [tθ] [sθ] [t^hθ] [ts]. However, in his production tests he displays the frequency of [f] produced by Hungarian speakers of English as 0.00. Thus, for the sake of simplicity, I will characterize all blends and sequences that contain [t] or [s] as [t] or [s].

The informants of the research were four English as a foreign language (EFL) speakers with a fairly proficient knowledge of the language: university students reading English at the Faculty of Arts at Szeged University, Hungary. There were two addressees who interviewed the informants (henceforth referred to as interviewers): the author of the present paper, then a PhD student at the English Department of the University of Szeged with (L1: Hungarian) and an exchange student from the United States (L1: English). The interviews contained semi structured discussions and reading out word lists. Both interviewers were familiar to the interviewees (i.e. the social distance between them was small) and their relationship was equal in terms of relative power (i.e. neither of the interviewers were teachers or supervisors of the interviewees, etc.). The data was gathered by tape-recording interviews of circa ten minutes in length about topics determined prior to the interview.

2.2. Methods

To get accurate material for an acoustic analysis and to establish whether accommodation is taking place in formal contexts as well word lists were used for testing the informants' usage of the phoneme /θ/. Each informant was tested twice by each interviewer at two different occasions. For this we used two wordlists (list A and B in Appendix 2) in a varied order: first the group completed wordlist A with the interviewer having English as L1 and wordlist B with the interviewer having Hungarian L1 and at the next occasion the wordlists were swapped between the interviewers. Since the repetition of the test could have involved a distorting effect of learning and informants becoming more familiar with the test situation (cf. Roediger and Karpicke 2006), we had a one-week time lag between the two test sessions. So as to decrease the influence of the order effect we varied the order of testing as well (i.e. once it was the interviewer with the English L1 who tested the informants first at the next occasion it was the interviewer with the Hungarian L1 who started the testing).

The wordlists involved word-pairs, sometimes minimal-pairs (but not always, to distract the attention of the informants from the analyzed variable), were constructed on the basis of Cruttenden (Cruttenden 2008: 194-197). From these items 30 contained the phoneme /θ/: 10 in word-initial, 10 in word-medial and 10 in word-final positions. The sound environment of the phoneme was not taken into consideration because of the relatively small number of tokens analyzed. Each test session was led in by a ca. 10 minute long semi-structured interview that functioned to (re-)familiarize the informants with the pronunciation of the interviewers, reduce their stress caused by the test situation and distract their attention from the wordlists as the key element in the test. We used the same two topics for these lead-in interviews (topic 1 and 3 in Appendix 1 in varied order), so that both interviewers had the same topics with all of the informants.

After the second test session, the informants were asked to comment on the possible purposes of the test, the characteristics of ‘good English’, perceptions about their own pronunciation and stereotypes connected to speakers using different variants of /θ/. The contents of these insights were then viewed against the results of a brief survey that I conducted on sixteen students of English with similar L1 (Hungarian) at the same university in order to see whether the attitudes of the students towards speakers using standard /θ/ and some of its non-standard variants³ in order to establish whether these features may reflect more general trends among the target group (cf. the survey in Appendix 3). After the tests the interviewers listened to the recordings and graded all word-lists three times on three different occasions and only compared the results afterwards. Then they re-graded the few ambiguous cases. The interviewers’ pronunciation features were also graded regarding the standard and non-standard usage of /θ/. This was done both before and after the tests. The interviewer with native English L1 (E) used 0% and the interviewer with Hungarian as L1 (H) used 33.33% non-standard variants of the variable /θ/ as an average calculated on the basis of two similar tests to what was given to the subjects. However, in the light of the fact that the author of this paper acted as one of the interviewers and knew what the measured variable was, the results of the grading of the two interviewers may not be considered reliable. Yet, they still serve the purposes of the research, as they show that there is a remarkable difference between the two interviewers concerning the standard usage of /θ/.

3 Findings

The findings of this study are chiefly based on the pronunciation test (section 3.1), but the test results are also discussed in the light of the interviews and the survey (section 3.2).

3.1. Testing word lists

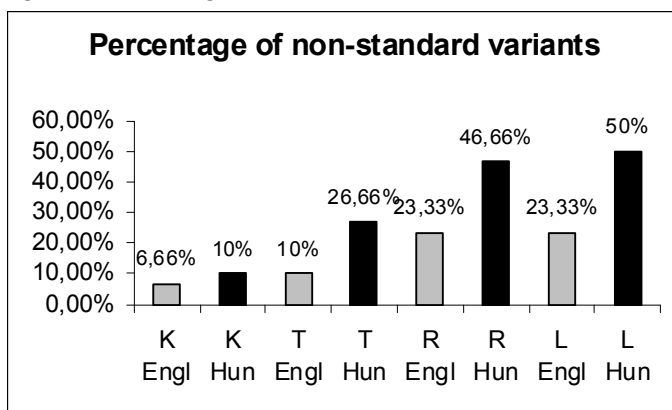
Since reading out word-lists can be considered a more formal task than a casual conversation or a semi-structured interview, it may reflect less natural patterns of language use of the informants. Furthermore this task contains one-sided communication, so the pronunciation of the addressees has less possibility to influence the informants’ language production. Hence, the risk with tests of this kind that they would not show any sign of co-variation between standard/non-standard language use and interviewer type, even if such co-variation existed under natural circumstances. Nevertheless, if co-variation occurs, then it would indicate a stronger effect of the addressees on informants’ language use than

³ /t/ and /s/ as these turned out to be the most frequently used in the test.

similar type of co-variation in more natural data and this can justify the necessity of follow-up research on this topic.

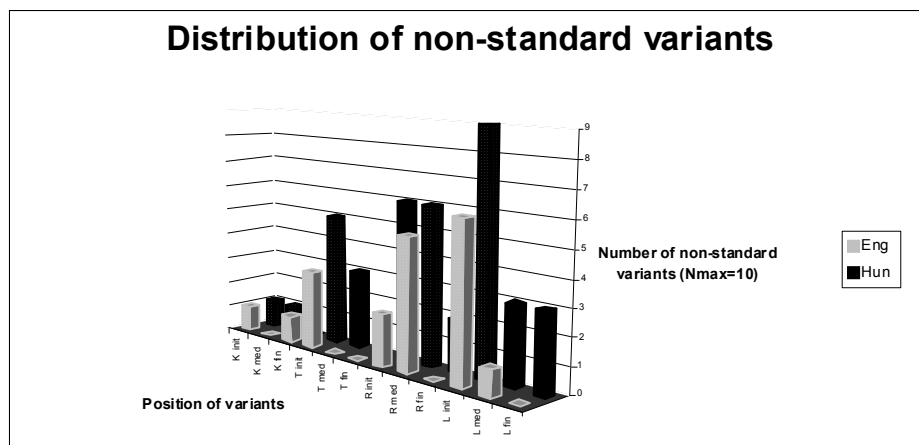
The figures which I display here summarize the findings from wordlist ‘A’ and ‘B’ (taken at two different occasions with a varied order of interviewers), so that I could exclude the effect of learning and the effect of informants becoming more familiar with the task in the outcome. Thus, these figures are all expressed in relation to the maximum number of tokens (100%) as 30. Figure 1. shows the summarized percentage of non-standard variants: [t], [s] or [d] used by each informant instead of the standard [θ]; this data is visualized by the vertical axis. I presented the informants and the language of the interviewers on the horizontal axis. The letters ‘K’, ‘T’, ‘R’, ‘L’ denote the four informants; ‘Engl’ and ‘Hun’ stand for the mother tongue of the interviewer, such as English or Hungarian.

Figure 1 Percentage of non-standard variants



One can see that the degree of non-standard (or accented) language use widely varies between the four informants; from 6.6 to 23.33 percents with the native English interviewer (E) and from 10 percent to 50 percent with the non-native interviewer (H). The figures show that in all of the cases there was a difference between the performances of the informants depending on which interviewer they talked to. Furthermore, in all of the cases they used more standard forms with E. This difference between E or H as an interviewer caused a 3.34% alteration in the performance of K, 16.66% in the case of T, 23.33% in the case of R and 26.67% in the case of L. Yet, before drawing any conclusions from this data, it is worth investigating the nature of this difference. Figure 2 shows the distribution of non-standard variants regarding their morphological positions.

Figure 2 Distribution of non-standard variants



The vertical axis in Figure 2 visualizes the number of non-standard variants out of the maximum 10 variants (thus, it can also be read as percentage value if multiplied by 10). The horizontal axis displays the morphological positions of the variants per each informant; ‘ini’ stands for word-initial, ‘med’ stands for word-medial and ‘fin’ stands for word-final positions. Grey bars on the left side indicate data from word-lists read to interviewer E and black bars on the right side indicate the same to interviewer H. I marked the positions denoting the maximum amounts of non-standard use of each informant with dotted bars. These positions reflect that informants (with K as the only possible exception) produce most of their non-standard variants in the same positions regardless of the interviewers.

L most frequently produced non-standard variants in word-initial positions; R most frequently produced non-standard variants in word-medial positions; T also most frequently produced non-standard variants in word-initial positions and K produced them in a more or less equally distributed way: in word-initial and in word-final positions when reading word-lists to E, and word-initial and word-medial positions when reading word-lists to H. However, K used the least amount of non-standard variants, thus the very little amount of data analyzed in her case could account for this result (as we can see, the proportional distribution of secondary and tertial frequent positions slightly differ for each informant as well, thus these results are not cases of comprehensive equivalence).

The distribution of the positions of non-standard variants as shown by Figure 2, indicates a more quantitative than qualitative difference between the natures of those non-standard variants with respect to the different interviewers; that is, there is a difference in the amount of non-standard variants used by the testees with regards to the interviewer they talk to, but the patterns of standard versus non-standard variants (i.e. the phonemes and their location) do not

change significantly with the change of the interviewer. This supports the preconceptions of the present study about the effect of the addressees on language use; as informants use English the same way (using their idiolectic patterns in terms of which phonemes they pronounce the standard ways and which ones in non-standard ways) in both cases, they only differ in the quantities of being more standard or less standard depending on the interviewers. A qualitative difference in contrast, had it existed, would have marked either a different kind of effect than the one presupposed or a questionable validity of the test (most probably concerning the efficiency of grading).

Besides displaying the most frequent positions for non-standard variants per each informant, Figure 2 makes it possible to rank their frequencies in different positions. If one wanted to calculate these frequencies, the result would show that word-initial positions outnumber all the other options. However, it is not accidental that I have not displayed extra bars in Figure 2, summarizing the overall frequencies of different positions. Such summaries could be misleading with so few informants, as they would chiefly reflect the idiolect of those informants that use more numerous non-standard variants. Hence, a follow-up research should analyze /θ/ in all three positions; furthermore it should incorporate different phonetic environments of the phoneme in terms of e.g. vocalic and consonantal positions as well.

In addition to the abovementioned positions one can also differentiate between the different non-standard variable types. If we did, then we could conclude that 91.52% of the non-standard tokens were [t]⁴, 5.08% were [s] and 3.38% were [d]; [s] occurred with two informants and [d], a voiced variant⁵, seemed to be a marker of the idiolectic language use of one informant. However, a summative figure of this feature could also be misleading for the same reasons as that of morphological positions, so these results should be considered only as informative ones. Moreover, as a matter of fact, this type of a data arrangement has no purpose in the present research. It would only be meaningful in a more thorough investigation, in one that well mapped the language use of more than two interviewers and which could analyze the influence of their non-standard language use of the informants.

From Figure 1 and Figure 2 it is clearly visible that informants use more standard forms regarding the usage of /θ/ when reading word-lists to E than to

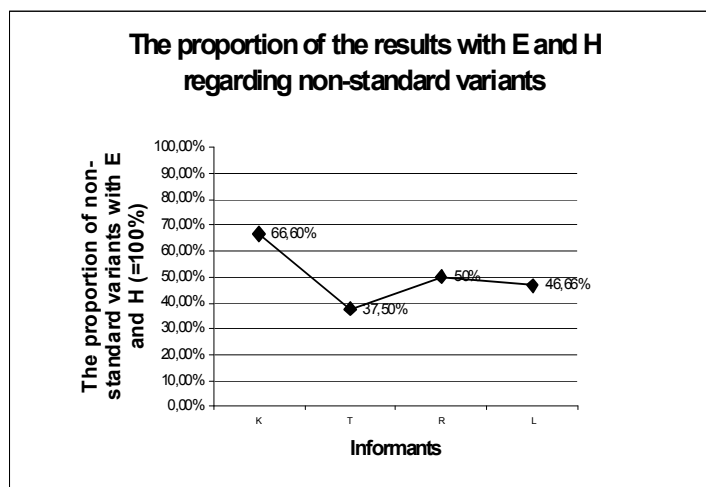
⁴ Nemser's (Nemser 1971:73) research also shows that [t] (and other blends and sequences containing [t]) is the most frequently used non-standard allophone (88%) by Hungarian speakers of English.

⁵ Nemser (1971:39) states that English interdentals are problematic for Hungarian speakers because of modal and local features just as being tense/lax. As in the case of stops (described on p. 38), the English tense/lax distinction is parallel to Hungarian voiceless/voiced for fricatives as well. Thus the occurrence of a voiced stop as an allophone of a fortis/voiceless fricative is quite an interesting feature.

H. Figure 3. shows the ratio of non-standard forms of /θ/ used in the word-lists read to E and H.

Figure 3

The proportion of the results with E and H regarding non-standard variants



The readings of the graph in Figure 3. provide information about how the results with E were in proportion to the results with H. Results with H were taken as 100% and results with E were expressed in relation to that. The graph shows that non-standard variants used with E made 66.6 % of the non-standard variants used with H. The number of non-standard variants of T used with E was 37.5 % of that of H. R used 50 % non-standard variants with E compared to his results with H. Finally, L used 46.66 % non-standard variants with E in proportion to her results with H.

The median proportion of non-standard variants testees used with interviewer E is 50.19 % of what they used with interviewer H. The alteration from this median is plus 16.6 % and minus 12.5 %. However, in the case of K, who scored the least difference (E = 66.6% of H) the average percentage of non-standard variants was quite modest: 8.3 % of all variants of the variable /θ/. The smaller percentage of non-standard variants denote a smaller number of items to calculate the percentages from, thus it may produce a more vague result. The minus 12.5 % alteration occurs at T, who has the second most standard result with 18.33 % of non-standard variants from all variants of /θ/; thus T has the second least items to calculate comparative percentages from. Because of the above-mentioned features and the few number of cases (4) analyzed it would be inaccurate to state that these results argue for a constant or static difference and not for an increasing/decreasing or random one. However, on a speculative note I suppose that this difference would be something of a

more or less constant quantity. Nevertheless, after all these investigations, it is still possible to conclude that the pronunciation of the testees in this research differed notably on the basis of which interviewer we they talked to. Moreover, this difference was that of a quantitative kind. Consequently, a follow up research on this subject could be useful since the interviewers (addressees) seemed to influence the testees pronunciation features in terms of /θ/.

3.2. Additional insights from the survey results

The survey data supports the findings of the test in terms of clearly indicating different attitudes towards speakers pronouncing /θ/ standard versus non-standard ways, which can imply that native speakers with standard pronunciation of [θ] evoke different attitudes than non-native speakers with non-standard pronunciation. This also corresponds to the attitudes expressed by the testees in the interview towards these pronunciation features. As for the survey, respondents mostly connected standard [θ] to being reliable (3 respondents out of 9 who characterized users of this variant) or friendly (3 respondents) and the same phoneme was also associated with higher class (2 respondents), intelligence, older speakers and women (1 respondent each). In contrast to this, users of non-standard variants were characterized as young (4 respondents out of 14 who characterized users of this variant), not very smart (4 respondents), unreliable and conservative (1 respondent each), but also sometimes as fast, smart, male, girls or people who ‘do not want to seem to be snobbish’ (1 respondent each). All in all, people using standard pronunciation features are seen as “learnt, someone of a higher rank, sophisticated, tea-drinking Englishman-like, someone who put effort into his/her English, so very positive and friendly”; while non-standard ones are considered either as “someone who doesn’t even try, probably dumb, studying English because it is a must” or as “not really interested in appropriate English, they need the language for their work, etc.” Thus, people with standard pronunciation of [θ] are viewed in a more positive light and non-standard speakers have somewhat mixed reception, which is biased towards being more negative than positive. This may reflect that in the minds of the students who responded to the survey, standard English pronunciation is based on native speaker norms rather than ELF English.

4 Discussion of the findings

In a test I investigated whether the language use of informants, regarding standard or accented usages of the variants of /θ/ in English, depended on whether a native English addressee or a fellow Hungarian one was present. The analysis was mostly based on data from reading word-lists and not e.g. casual conversations. This may seemed to be somewhat artificial as this task type is

more formal than a conversation task would have been and as such it must have resulted in an unnatural, more standard language use. Moreover it involved no participation from the side of the addressees/interviewers, so their possibilities to influence language use were weaker.

Yet, the results of the study showed a clear distinction between the performances of the informants based on the L1 of the addressee. This distinction supported the pre-conceptions predicting that informants would use more standard variants with a native English addressee. I hypothesize that the difference would be even greater in casual conversation tasks. However, the fact that the addressees had an effect on the informants even in a task which involved non-reciprocal communication and where they had no opportunity to use English, leads to two assumptions:

(1) As all of the word-list tasks followed a ten minute casual conversation task, the language use of the interviewers in the preceding conversation task influenced the informants.

(2) The difference was affected not by the language use of the informants, but their language group membership. To put it differently, the informants 'knew' they were talking to a native English addressee or not and this fact influenced their performance. In other words, this may be an indicator of accommodation (convergence).

This second assumption must be taken into consideration when doing a follow-up research. As the present research could not be used to make a distinction between the extent of the differences affected by the language proficiency or the language group membership of the interviewers, a bigger scale follow up research should be designed differently. I would apply graded interviewers of more various kinds: native English speakers who on purpose act on different proficiency levels or a native English interviewer and a non-native with an alike proficiency level, and two non-native interviewers of an alike proficiency level and different L1 background or with a different proficiency level and the same L1. It would be useful to map the non-standard use of /θ/ of the interviewers in respect to morphological positions, phonetic environment and variant types and then to compare it to the non-standard forms the informants use with them. Data should be gathered using more informants, recorded digitally and data processing should be done by native speakers of English not being informed about the nature of the research beforehand. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see how people from other EFL countries perform on the test; especially speakers of those languages which do not have /θ/ in their phonetic inventories e.g. some Finno-Ugrian or Slavic languages.

The script of data gathering, including the conversation topics and the word-lists untouched. They worked quite well and, as it came out at the final interviews, none of the informants realized what exactly we were researching. Only one of them suspected that we were testing pronunciation, but even she

was not able to identify the variant we were testing. All the others suggested researched features such as the communicative abilities of the interviewers/informants, topic shifts or repetitious language items, etc. Although the survey results correspond to the test in supporting the hypothesis that addressees' linguistic backgrounds can influence the linguistic production of language users, still clear patterns concerning convergence or divergence cannot be established on the basis of considering both the test and the survey results at the same time. While the test indicates that mostly convergence is taking place the survey implies possible intentions for both. Naturally, it may also be the case that both of these directions are at play in the test as well, only convergence is stronger and therefore more visible in the findings. Nevertheless, these combined findings illustrate that accommodation is a complex feature and, in fact, convergence and divergence may take place at the same time as well. Furthermore, it can also be concluded that accommodation may not be influenced by or established via features of pronunciation or accent only, yet these may still account for partial influence. This idea can further supported by what survey respondents indicated in terms of what they considered 'good English', which can be seen as the type of English desirable to them. The features mentioned here may be viewed as evoking stronger desire of convergence. The majority of respondents attributed 'good English' to the appropriate use of grammar (9 respondents out of 15), vocabulary (7 respondents out of 15) or fluency (4 respondents out of 15), while pronunciation was mentioned only after these (3 respondents out of 15). While these figures may be influenced by the specific foci of language teaching in Hungary (i.e. grammar and vocabulary emphasized at the cost of fluency or pronunciation) they still suggest that pronouncing sounds 'correctly' does not have such a key role in these language learners' minds in terms of the quality of the language produced. Nevertheless, if the differing attitudes towards language users implied by the findings of the survey are justified, this should be targeted in language teaching as it does not only result in bias but may also influence the motivation of learners and thus can make the learning process less or more effective.

However, survey results are always 'decontextualized' and considering all findings, it is clear that not only patterns of language use, but also other factors connected to the interactants and the context of the interaction must be taken into consideration when accommodation is investigated. This takes us back to Jenkins' (Jenkins 2002: 53-54) and Mauranen's (Mauranen 2010) ideas discussed in the introduction section, namely that what is effective in language use is strongly determined by the situation and the purpose of the interaction. In the light of all these I argue that the purpose of language teaching should not aim at eliminating intra-speaker variation or viewing it as error but rather helping learners adjust their language to the circumstances of their actual interaction. Therefore the goal is not to adjust the learners' language to a(n) L1

or an ILF) standard, but to make accommodation easier for them by broadening their linguistic repertoire, make them aware of the phenomenon of intra-speaker variation and also the attitudes (sometimes wrongly) attributed to it. In this sense, as Mauranen (Mauranen 2010) also notes, a variety of addressees with differing L1 background may turn out to be practically more useful than speakers of a single (any) standard.

5 Conclusion

The present pilot study was carried out to identify the effect of addressees on language use of four EFL speakers (L1: Hungarian) in terms of their pronunciation of /θ/ when reading wordlists. The findings clearly indicate that EFL speakers differed in their distribution of the use of standard and/or non-standard variants of [θ/ in a way that can be connected to the variation in their addressees. Namely, the testees tended to use more standard forms with the native interviewer while they were more relaxed in this respect when reading the lists to the non-native interviewer. A survey directed at a group of sixteen EFL speakers with similar linguistic and social backgrounds revealed that they possess different attitudes towards English speakers who pronounce /θ/ in a standard way versus those who use non-standard variants. The difference between these attitudes was viewed as further evidence for motivation for possible accommodation of the pronunciation features of EFL speakers in other contexts as well. However, as there seemed to be a discrepancy between the directions of accommodation (i.e. convergence vs. divergence) in the test and the one that was implied in the survey, further studies in this area are necessary.

A follow up more in-depth investigation would be helpful for asking and answering questions on many practical aspects of EFL usage. Just to mention a few, it would be interesting to investigate whether the performances of students on oral tests of English are influenced by the mother-tongue of the examiner and if yes, does this effect reach the extent of influencing the reliability of the given test? Another aspect could touch on how different people relate to standard and non-standard speakers of English. As we saw, the survey respondents attributed different personal characteristics, such as youth, lack of intellect, conservatism, etc. to non-standard variants and being reliable, friendly, member of higher social classes etc. to the standard variants. Actually, the author of this paper occasionally had experienced alike attitudes in multinational settings where English was used as a lingua franca and social groups formed alongside the dividing line of people being native English speakers or not (e.g. among groups of exchange students). While this corresponds to Jenkins' findings about the attitudes towards the Englishes of ELF speakers vs. native speakers (Jenkins 2009: 203) among exchange students, this may not be the situation in every ELF group (contrast with Krizsán & Erkkilä 2014). Would non-standard uses of English then, in such a multinational and mobile

community as the EU claims to be, result in different varieties of Englishes used as functional vernaculars? If yes, studies that could point out any distinction between language use influenced by proficiency or influenced by language group membership could help to understand this phenomenon.

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Appendix I: Topics for casual conversation

1. EU and Hungary – will it be good/bad? In what sense/why?
2. World situation – what is your opinion about terrorism? Do you consider Hungary a safe place?
3. A dangerous/scary situation / a situation of deep emotional imprint
4. A favorite book, film, etc. / an object or activity the person likes
5. Own personality – what kind of people do you think you are? What do you like/don't like about other people

Appendix II: Word-lists

A

lamp - lamb
thermic - there
save - saw
cloth - clock
attacked - attacks
attend - ascend
thief - thus
athlete - argue
knight - nice
large - believe
life - live
bathtub - batman
mouth - mouse
fate - face
fault - false
nothing - something
than - thanks
clicked - clicks
juice - choose
author - anything
lot - loss
bath - breathless
attendance - ascendant
truth - tooth
sing - sink
theatre - that
sad – sat

B

print - prince
juice - yellow
thin - theme
bags - houses
south - soul
theory - thicken
heal - hole
heel - hole
heal - whole
heel - whole
math - mess
method - waited
deal - drill
sing - sin
pathway - best way
books - cars
youth - young
computers - houses
think - therefore
photographs - cameras
students - televisions
they - third
moth - lot
hamburgers - sandwiches
bathroom - bedroom
wreath - wrong
wagon - waist

Appendix III: Survey

QUESTIONNAIRE: Attitudes of EFL speakers

The purpose of this form is to collect information on linguistic attitudes towards 'good' English. Summaries of the data collected will be used to validate some of the findings of a research paper titled 'Testing EFL speakers of English: The Influence of Addressees on Language Use'. I guarantee your full anonymity and appreciate your collaboration.

I BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

- 1) Mother tongue(s):
- 2) Year of birth:
- 3) Gender:

- 4) How long have you been studying English? (approx. years)

- 5) How long have you been studying at the English Department of the University of Szeged?

- 6) Have you spent a longer time (more than a month) abroad? If yes where, for how long and which language(s) did you use regularly during this stay?

II QUESTIONS ABOUT ATTITUDES

- 7) What do you think are the most important features of language use in terms of how 'good' English one speaks?

- 8) Do you think that the native-like pronunciation of /th/ (versus /t/ or /s/) in words like *think*, *third*, *theatre* make someone a noticeably better speaker of English? Why?

- 9) Which pronunciation of /th/ do you use (i.e. /th/, /t/ or /s/) in the words *think*, *third*, *theatre*?

- 10) What personal characteristics could you attribute to non-native speakers of English using /th/ and /t/ or /s/? (Think about concepts as reliability, being friendly, mental capabilities, age, gender, etc.) Assign three characteristics to each variant.