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THE NATIVE SPEAKER'S DILEMMA:
LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND
NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

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Index

Introduction	2
1. Literature review	5
1.1. Monolingualism of English speakers	5
1.2. Motivation	8
1.3. Language learning in study/work abroad contexts	10
1.4. English as a lingua franca (ELF)	12
1.5. Language choice and Communication Accommodation Theory in interactions between speakers of different languages	14
1.6. The Influence of English as a Native Language in Foreign Language Acquisition – Preliminary research	18
2. ‘Your language, my language or English? The potential language choice in communication among nationals of the European Union’ by Normand Labrie and Carsten Quell – Update and discussion	21
3. Language Choice in ELF Interactions between Native Speakers and Non Native Speakers of English – Survey	31
3.1. Research questions and expected outcome	31
3.2. Participants	33
3.3. Research tool	34
3.4. Data analysis	37
3.5. Discussion of the results	76
Conclusion	81
Bibliography	83
Appendix	87

Introduction

The role of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is currently being analysed from three main perspectives: the linguistic features of its speakers, its relevance for variety building (especially in mainland Europe), and its role in the development of ELT ideologies, methodologies, and course materials. Consequently, most studies tend to focus on the repercussions that ELF has for non-native users of English. Its possible influence on native speakers of the language is rarely taken into account, especially as far as their foreign language acquisition is concerned. Additionally, research on the advantages of study abroad experiences tend to focus on the level of proficiency before and after the period abroad, while there is a lack of data regarding the nature of interactions between learners and native speakers. (Collentine 2009) A preliminary research on the influence of English as a native language in foreign language acquisition in study/work abroad contexts confirmed the necessity of including native speakers in the debate about the use of English as a lingua franca.

The purpose of this study is therefore to outline a preliminary enquiry into the role of English native speakers in the dynamics of ELF interactions. The research aims at determining to which extent the recent spread of English in Europe has changed the dynamics of language choice in interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers of English in study/work abroad contexts, and how this change is perceived by the former.

The first part of the dissertation will outline the literature regarding mainly six subjects: monolingualism and multilingualism in Europe, foreign language motivation, language learning in study/work abroad contexts, ELF, language choice and accommodation theories in intercultural communication. The culture of monolingualism which persists in Anglophone countries, as opposed to the current trend in Europe, where monolingualism is the exception – 94.5% of European students learn English from a very young age–, fosters the ‘English is enough’ position typical of English-speaking countries, thus hindering pupils’ motivation to acquire foreign languages. The importance of instrumental and integrative motivation in language learning will then be discussed, to prove to which extent English-speaking students ought to be made aware of the professional and economic advantages of learning a foreign language and to demonstrate how mobility programmes might foster integrative, as well as instrumental, motivation. In fact, study/work abroad experiences have been proven to be an

invaluable instrument for language learning (Kinging 2011), since they allow students to immerse themselves in the foreign language and culture. However, studies show that the outcome of study abroad experiences depends a lot on the learner's motivation and on the support they receive from the host community. (Kinging 2009) The recent spread of English seems to place its native speakers in a disadvantaged position, since they can often rely on their mother tongue to overcome linguistic barriers, thus hindering integrative motivation. The use of English as a lingua franca, in particular its spread in higher education, is therefore becoming an obstacle to foreign language acquisition for English native speakers, diminishing the factors that render study abroad attractive: the possibility of engaging with the foreign language and its attendant culture and the benefits deriving from it. Native speakers of English will not feel the necessity of getting involved deeply in the host country, thus reducing intercultural awareness. (Coleman 2009) In this sense, the dynamics of language choice and accommodation strategies in interactions between speakers of different languages might vary when English native speakers are involved.

The preliminary research above mentioned will then be summarised, in an attempt to underline to which extent the recent spread of English in Europe affects native speakers' ability and motivation to acquire foreign languages in a study/work abroad context. Participants showed different behavioural patterns in the choice of language depending on the context (occasional interactions with locals, contacts with friends, fellow students or colleagues) and the country where they spent their semester abroad.

The third part will discuss the research carried out by Labrie and Quell in 'Your language, my language or English? The potential language choice in communication among nationals of the European Union' (1997). Based on 1994 *Eurobarometer* data on average foreign language competence per nation, they calculated the likelihood of any language to be used in an encounter between two people of specific nationalities. The research will be updated with the latest *Special Eurobarometer 386* data (2012) to verify to which extent the recent spread of English has affected the probabilities of English being chosen in interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers of the language. It was reasonable to expect that the probability of English being chosen as a means of communication had risen, as opposed to the chances of other languages to be considered as feasible options. Since the findings presented by Labrie and Quell are mere theoretical calculation, they advocated for their accuracy to be tested in empirical research on actual encounters; hence the choice of focusing on this particular subject for this study.

The fourth part will present the study carried out to empirically verify the validity of Labrie and Quell's method. Through a survey submitted to both native speakers and non native speakers of English, the study proves the limit of the non-empirical method, for though the choice of English as a lingua franca in interactions between native and non-native speakers is indeed widespread, it is highly influenced by the context in which speakers interact and quite little by the country of origin of the non-native speakers. The chapter will be organised as follows: in part one the research questions and the expected outcome will be presented; part two will focus on participants; part three will outline the research tool, with a particular focus on the design of the survey, composed of 131 questions organised according to the different contexts in which respondents might have been faced with a NS-NNS interaction (contacts with locals, contacts with friends, university and workplace for NSs; occasional contacts with NSs and contacts with English-speaking friends in their home country and in the country where they spent time abroad for NNSs), producing three types of data: factual, behavioural and attitudinal; in part four the analysis of the data will be presented according to the different interactional contexts listed above; findings will then be discussed in part five.

In the conclusion, the outcome of the study will be discussed in the light of the literature presented in chapter one, to highlight the importance of fostering NSs' integrative motivation and intercultural awareness through policies that ought to involve not only the governments of Anglophone countries, but also the rest of the European community, especially with regard to higher education and the use of English as a lingua franca in academia.

This dissertation hopes to raise the interest towards the repercussions on and the role played by native speakers of English in ELF interactions, and to suggest that to reach a more complete understanding of ELF development, further research in the field ought to include L1 speakers.

1. Literature Review

1.1. Monolingualism of English Speakers

According to the latest survey conducted by the European Commission on the linguistic skills of Europeans (*Special Eurobarometer 386 2012*), UK and Irish inhabitants show some of the highest rates of monolingualism of the continent (respectively 61% and 60%). English and Spanish are the only languages which have shown a notable increase since 2005 in the number of respondents who affirm that they can hold a conversation in one of the two languages, and while the European average for being able to hold a conversation in a foreign language is 54%, only 38% of English speakers believe they have this ability. The statistics drop when more languages are added – 14% of the UK population can speak at least 2 languages, down 4 percentage points since 2005, and 5% can speak at least three, down 1 percentage point since 2005, as opposed to 25% and 10% average in the rest of Europe. Strikingly enough, the country showing the greatest improvement in thinking that English is the most useful language for personal development, with +14 percentage points, is the UK (*Special Eurobarometer 386 2012*).

As Coleman affirms (2007):

‘The Government and the language professionals have long recognised the need to motivate school students to study foreign languages, and the difficulty of doing so in the face of the deceptive ‘English is enough’ message conveyed by the international status of English and by attitudes prevalent in the British media.’ (Coleman 2007: 6)

However, with the National Language Strategy (NLS) in 2004, the British Government removed Modern Foreign Languages from the core curriculum at Key Stage 4¹, thus damaging the perceived status and importance of languages and increasing the number of pupils who decided to drop the subject past the compulsory courses. (Coleman 2007: 6) The latest GCSE data seem to confirm the extent to which this choice was detrimental to language learning motivation among young students: entries for French were down 6.2%, German down 9.2% and Spanish down 2.4%. Since 2005, the first two entries have respectively dropped by 42% and 49%, while Spanish is the only foreign language which has seen a rise (+45.3%).

¹ Key stage 4: legal term for the two years of schooling normally known as Year 10 and 11 in England and Wales, Year 11 and 12 in Northern Ireland, when pupils are aged between 14 and 16.

Although the US is ethnically one of the most heterogeneous countries in the world, linguistically it is one of the most homogeneous (Citrin et al. 1990). English is considered the *de facto* language of the country, due to its widespread use. However, the language has been given official status only in 30 out of 50 states (Hawaii being the only bilingual state, for both English and Hawaiian were granted official status) and not on a national level.

The official language debate began with the founding of the nation and continues to these days; a series of language policies (the demand for bilingual government services, and the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, to grant bilingual education to children who speak a language other than English) have raised concern about the hegemony of English in the country. The issue is linked to a general nationalistic ideology embedded in US history. (Shannon 1999) English monolingualism is generally perceived in the US as a symbol of national unity and identity, while multilingualism was traditionally associated with lack of patriotism and low moral standards ascribable to immigrants, who were consequentially discouraged from maintaining their native languages and forced to focus on English only. (Kinging 2009)

In 2006, Carr and Pawuels carried out research among 200 Australian boys to understand the reasons for their loss of interest in learning foreign languages past the compulsory courses. According to their research, the role of English as the dominant world language ‘constitutes the outer frame to the boys-languages issue’: in their study, ‘the ‘English is enough’ position came strongly through the comments of many of the boys’. (Carr & Pawuels 2006: 192) Gender seems to play a role in the interest pupils show towards foreign language learning. Girls tend to be more enthusiastic towards the subject than their male companions, as research proves. The 1985 Assessment of Performance Unit (APU) report, a major survey conducted in the UK to assess national capability levels, found that 13-year-old girls studying French had a more positive attitude towards the subject than boys. It has been suggested that certain attitudes towards language learning are due to gender-stereotyping, where foreign language learning is generally associated with a feminine image (Weinreich-Haste 1981; Williams et al. 2002). On the other hand, boys seem to be keener on learning foreign languages when they are driven by instrumental motivation, with German being strikingly more popular among them than French. (Williams et al. 2002)

The nations listed above have promoted the idea that their language and culture are a measure of superiority, assigning a privileged status to the native speaker of English, due also to their colonial past and economic power. However, as Coleman (2009) points out, 75% of the world's population does not speak English and today 'monolingualism is the exception rather than the norm', placing monolingual English jobseekers at a clear disadvantage on the international market. (Coleman 2009: 10) These beliefs and policies have a predictable impact on pupils' motivation to acquire a foreign language. De Bot (2007) affirms:

'A language policy for foreign language teaching will succeed only when learners are convinced that there is a personal need for learning it. A rationale dictated by academics or policymakers is meaningless if it cannot be translated into personal motivation for language learning.' (De Bot 2007: 274)

1.2. Motivation

As stated by Dörnyei:

‘Motivation theories in general attempt to explain three interrelated aspects of human behaviour: the choice of a particular action, persistence with it, and effort expended on it. That is, motivation is responsible for why people decide to do something, how long they are willing to sustain the activity, and how hard they are going to pursue it. There is far less agreement on the actual mediating factors and processes by means of which motivation achieves its impact on human behaviour’. (Dörnyei 2000: 519-520)

According to Gardner’s definition, motivation ‘refers to the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes towards learning the language’ (Gardner 1985: 10). He affirms that the underlying goal for pursuing language learning can be instrumental, i.e. motivation driven by the need of attaining a specific goal (salary bonus, job opportunities, university language requirements, etc.) or integrative, i.e. motivation driven by the wish of knowing and understanding the culture and the speakers of the language. The following paragraph provides a few, practical examples of the benefits that learning a new language can offer to native speakers of English on the international market.

Research seems to confirm that monolingualism hinders jobseekers’ chances of succeeding in a global economy. More than a third of UK firms (36%) recruit employees specifically for their language skills. (Confederation of British Industry 2009: 9) Employers place a premium on the ability to communicate conversationally in a foreign language – this helps to break the ice with potential business partners, customers and clients, and can open access to new markets. Seventy-two percent of UK international trade is with non-English speaking countries, but it is estimated that only one in ten in the UK workforce can speak a foreign language, a figure which seems to stand in contrast with the data presented by the latest Eurobarometer, probably due to the self-assessed nature of the Eurobarometer survey. The CBI/Pertemps employment trends 2008 survey showed that 74% of employers are concerned school leavers lack modern language skills; similarly, in the 2009 CBI survey on education and skills, when questioned about their level of satisfaction with graduate applicants’ employability skills, 41% of employers reported dissatisfaction with foreign language skills, more than with any other competency. (Confederation of British Industry 2009: 48) According to the Sunday Times Rich List, the list of the 1000 wealthiest people or families in the UK, only 14% of Britain’s wealthiest under-30s are monolingual – as opposed to 58% of

British 11- to 18-year-old – while the rest speak at least two foreign languages. (Coleman 2009: 7)

Integrative motivation can be equally important in language learning. The integrative goal refers to the individual's desire and interest in having social interaction with members of the L2 group. This orientation suggests an open and positive regard for groups that speak the target language and stresses that success in a second language depends on emphasising the value of learning the language to truly become part of both cultures. In his review of the literature on the subject, hence summarising the work of several researchers (Dörnyei, Ottó, Skehan, Ushioda, Schulz, Siegel), Coleman notes that:

‘Motivation can be seen as a dynamic interaction between the learner and a complex system of social relations, cultural contexts, and learning environments. In a natural acquisition environment, the learner feels compelled to use the language for basic communicative functions, is exposed to large amounts of high-quality input, and might also experience the desire for further cultural integration.’ (Coleman 2007: 5)

While for most European and American universities a period abroad is still optional, UK universities have recognised the importance of sending their students abroad in order to gain important professional and linguistic skills by rendering the participation in international programmes, such as ERASMUS and SOCRATES, mandatory for students of modern languages, which fosters integrative motivation.

1.3. Language learning in study/work abroad contexts

Study abroad, as defined by Kinginger in ‘Language Learning in Study Abroad: Case Studies of Americans in France’ (2008), is

‘a temporary sojourn of pre-defined duration, undertaken for educational purposes. A study abroad experience may fulfil degree requirements or may provide enrichment within a home-based degree program, normally at the post-secondary level. Study abroad, according to this definition, also includes the cases of individuals who go to another country or region temporarily and for educational reasons, often involving language learning.’
(Kinging 2008: 11)

Students who go abroad are assumed to find unlimited access to language learning opportunities, thus returning home with drastically enhanced communicative abilities. Therefore, study abroad experiences have traditionally been greeted by language professionals with great enthusiasm, since they tend to be considered far superior to in-class learning. While classroom learning offers an often limited and hardly spontaneous use of language forms, students abroad might be engaged in a wide range of communicative settings, in which the interlocutors’ intent vary deeply, and students’ language use varies consequentially. (Kinging 2011: 62) Although classroom learning is useful to acquire the categorical features of a language, Regan & al (2009) point out how study abroad contexts provide learners with the ability of manipulating in a native-like manner certain variable features. They investigated the development of sociolinguistic competence of Irish advanced learners of French who had studied in France, and highlighted, for example, students’ capacity of choosing to delete the “ne” in negations or to use “on” instead of “nous” to index the first person plural after their period abroad.

On the other hand, by reviewing numerous studies on the subject, Kinginger (2011) highlights how language learning in study abroad contexts does not guarantee the enhancement of communicative abilities and that the outcome is highly variable, for a lot depends on the effort that each single learner invests on the experience and the support they receive from the host community:

‘A student who is mindful of his or her role as a peripheral participant (Lave & Wenger, 1991); who actively seeks access to learning opportunities; and who is welcomed as a person of consequence, worthy of the hosts’ time and nurture, is likely to succeed. Conversely, achievement may be more modest for a student who interprets study abroad as a parenthetical diversion from

serious study (Gore, 2005), who avoids contact with local people (Feinberg, 2002), or who is received with indifference.’ (Kinging 2011: 60)

Collentine (2009) notices that most studies rely on the common assumption that learners benefit from studying abroad, due to the wide range of opportunities of being in touch with the L2. However, most studies focus on the level of proficiency before and after the stay; he affirms that there is actually a lack of primary data that document the nature of the interaction between learners and native speakers. In the case of learners being native speakers of English, the international spread of this language is rarely taken into account. The issue is hinted at by both Schumman (1980) and Librande (1998) in the reports of their personal experiences as language learners in study/work abroad contexts. Schumman, who spent time in Iran to study Farsi, comments on the disadvantages accruing to language learners who speak English, due to the widespread use of the language, particularly in the service encounters where she might have been most likely to come in contact with expert users of Farsi.

Similarly, Librande writes:

‘All in all, my FL situation did not foster my language development as much as I had hoped it would. The time was too short. Five months was just a wisp of time and I needed more, much more. Also I had to face the fact that I was living and working in a largely English milieu where many wanted to practice their English with me.’ (Librande 1998: 183–184)

As the new *lingua franca*, English is now acting as the common language for interactions among study abroad students, especially since its global adoption in higher education as the “academic lingua franca” (Coleman 2006), a tendency which is in contrast with the European efforts to obtain multilingualism and multiculturalism.

1.4. English as a lingua franca (ELF)

Seidlhofer, who offers a definition of ELF in its purest form by citing Firth, states that ELF is ‘a contact language between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication’ (Firth 1996, cited in Seidlhofer 2005: 339). Seidlhofer specifies that ‘in most cases’ English is used as a vehicular language between speakers who do not share a native language, meaning that, since less than one fourth of English users are native speakers of the language, ELF interactions usually involve non-native speakers of English. Although Seidlhofer does not necessarily exclude native speakers of English from ELF interactions, other scholars, such as House, assume that ELF is a language of communication, rather than identification. Speakers of ELF, according to House (2003), will not develop any cultural affinity with the language or attempt to represent their identities through English. This would therefore exclude native speakers of the language from the discussion. Indeed, very few studies concerning the involvement of native speakers (NSs) of English in ELF contexts are available. Studies in the field have shifted from the study of formal features in the speech of non-native speakers (NNSs) to the more recent identification of strategies in NNS-NNS interactions. However, the issue does not seem to be irrelevant, neither to learners of English nor to English speakers who wish to learn foreign languages.

As House (2003) herself recognises, ELF raises cultural concerns among several European states. She points out that the revival of German folk music in the country could be a reaction against the rise of English pop music. Similarly, a minimum percentage of songs on French radio and television must be in French, as part of the strategies in effect since 1994, year in which the Toubon Law entered into force. With this law, the French government mandated the use of the French language in government publications, advertisements, workplaces and commercial communication contexts. In Italy, the *Internazionale* journalist Annamaria Testa launched a petition (“Dillo in Italiano” = Say it in Italian) in February 2015 to urge those who operate in politics and media to avoid the abuse of English words when an Italian equivalent is available. ‘Paradoxical as this may seem, the very spread of ELF may stimulate members of minority languages to insist on their own local language for emotional bonding to their own culture, history and tradition’. (House 2003: 561)

The global status of English as the language of science, technology and economy now impels its adoption also in higher education, which further advances its global influence. (Coleman

2006) Universities across the globe have been introducing programmes and courses taught through the medium of English for a number of reasons, which Coleman divides in seven categories: CLIL, internationalization, student exchanges, teaching and research materials, staff mobility, graduate employability and the market in international students. Among them, foreign language learning is not mentioned. The need to attract international students and to publish in English in order to acquire international prestige and ranking has led universities from non-English speaking countries to start renouncing their distinctive approaches in favour of a more Anglo-American standard. In trying to recruit English-speaking students, those universities believe they are adding to the attraction of studying abroad the desirable advantage of not having to study the language of the country. However, in the UK, recruitment to language degree programmes is already in steep decline and the number of students opting for European student exchanges is also dropping, in response to rising interest in work placement. (Coleman 2006) Therefore, by introducing English-taught courses and educational approaches of Anglophone countries, universities are actually reducing the attraction towards study abroad programmes for English speakers, since they are eliminating what renders study abroad attractive: the possibility of engaging with the foreign language and its attendant culture and the benefits deriving from it. Native speakers of English will not feel the necessity of involving deeply in the host country, thus reducing intercultural awareness. (Coleman 2006)

‘The distinctive approaches to lecturing in Italian, Spanish or German universities are currently part of the benefit of student exchanges, making young people question the narrowly ethnocentric, mono-cultural perspectives which too many of them take abroad, and a key element in developing their intercultural competence, their recognition that cultural norms are relative and not absolute, socially constructed and not given. How will they learn to look at their own culture in a new light if Anglo-American norms dominate a newly homogenized European academic discourse?’ (Coleman 2006: 10)

1.5. Language choice and Communication Accommodation Theory in interactions between speakers of different languages

As stated by Pavlenko and Blackledge, in multilingual interactions, language choice and accommodation strategies are inherently linked to ‘political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors’ views of their own and others’ identities’ (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004).

In *Acts of Identity: Creole-Based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity* (1985), Le Page and Tabouret-Keller affirm that language choice for multilingual speakers is an act of identity, and not simply a means of communication; it is a way of reconnecting with situations, history of past interactions, attitudes towards the people concerned with that particular languages and, most importantly, power configurations. Through their language choice, speakers define their “self” and “other” within a broader political economy and historical context. (Bhatia and Ritchie 2013) Consequentially, language attitudes become not only a question of linguistic interest, but involve also issues of social identity and identification.

The monolingual attitude demonstrated by Anglophone countries can therefore be ascribed to the existing link between languages and identities, and the relation of power (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004).

‘Blackledge investigates how particular symbolic links, associations and meanings are discursively created – and thus imagined – in British political discourse, which ties social cohesion to monolingualism and imagines a British self against the undesirable non-English-speaking Other. He argues that this language ideological debate is not a struggle over language alone, but over the kind of society that Britain imagines itself to be: either multilingual, pluralist, and diverse, or ultimately English-speaking, assimilationist, and homogeneous. Pavlenko explores the search for social cohesion in the early twentieth-century US, where the country fathers, dealing with the overwhelming influx of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, reimagined the country as one where the national identity was conceived in English monolingualism.’ (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 18)

These identities can be negotiated in a variety of contexts (family, peer group interactions, educational contexts, workplace and public discourse) and in the areas of ‘linguistic competence and ability to ‘claim a voice’ in a second language’. (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) Traditionally, the main linguistic means of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts are language choice, code-switching, and code-mixing.

Myers-Scotton's markedness model is one of the best-known models of negotiation of identities (Myers-Scotton 1998). According to this framework, language interactions are a negotiation of rights and obligations between the speakers, who have a common knowledge of *indexicality*, that is marked and unmarked language choices that occur during the interaction. By choosing the language of the speech, the interlocutors index the appropriate identities, which could be indexical of solidarity, thus narrowing the social distance of the speakers, or in turn, the choice could index power differential, thus increasing social distance. Similarly, Howard Giles, in developing his Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), highlights how beyond the cognitive motives for communication, lies the affective function of the behaviour. In the communication process, personal and social identities are negotiated, whereby the speakers regulate the social distance between themselves. (Galloy et al. 2006)

'Accommodation is the process through which interactants regulate their communication (adopting a particular linguistic code or accent, increasing or decreasing their speech rate, avoiding or increasing eye contact, etc.), in order to appear more like (accommodation) or distinct from each other (nonaccommodation, including counter-accommodation through divergent or hostile moves, underaccommodation through maintenance and unempathetic moves, and over-accommodation through oftentimes patronizing or ingratiating moves). These processes occur at the level of communicative behavior per se (termed "linguistic accommodation" by Thakerar et al., 1982), as well as at the psychological level (speakers' motivations and perceptios).' (Galloy et al. 2006: 26)

Speech accommodation and non-accommodation occur on a social identity level, i.e. when speakers accommodate their linguistic behaviour so as to signal their proximity or distance from a certain social group. People strive to retain a positive social identity by asserting their membership to groups they already belong to (in-groups) or by joining or distancing themselves from groups they do not belong to (out-groups). Accommodation through verbal communication is a mechanism used to become more similar to others, hence to be positively accepted by the interlocutor. Convergence is therefore a way of satisfying the need for social approval. This convergence might be viewed by the listener positively or negatively, depending on the causes they attribute to it. (Galloy et al. 2006)

When underaccommodation occurs, the speaker fulfils a need of divergence from the interlocutors, or the need to maintain a positive distinctiveness from them:

'In many interactions, however, nonaccommodation takes a less obvious but also powerful form. One way this can happen involves underaccommodation (an elaboration of the original maintenance), in which speakers simply maintain their own behavior and discourse without moving at all towards the behavior or conversational needs of interlocutors. [...] In the intercultural

context, it can involve in extreme cases the maintenance of a speaker's language even when the speaker is aware that the other person cannot speak the language and the speaker is competent in the other's language. Finally, nonaccommodation can take the form of overaccommodation (an elaboration of negatively perceived convergence). In this case, speakers accommodate to their stereotypes about interlocutors' groups. [...] Overaccommodative behavior is paradoxical, in that the speaker may have good intentions (or appear to), but behave in an inappropriate way. Similarly, the receiver may interpret the behavior interpersonally and thus evaluate it positively as accommodation.' (Galloy et al. 2006: 34)

In intercultural communication, a form of overaccommodation of native speakers to the speech of L2 interlocutors has been theorised by Ferguson in 1971 and named "foreign talk (FT)" (ungrammatical speech of NSs) or "foreign register" (grammatical speech of NSs). (Zuengler 1992) Speakers "help" foreigners to understand by using a simplified language, with strategies which include 'slower speech rate, shorter and simpler sentences, more questions and question tags, great pronunciation articulation, less use of contractions, fewer pronouns, and vocabulary that is restricted to high-frequency words.' (Zuengler 1992) However, FT is not always automatically employed by NSs in interactions with NNSs, nor does FT, when employed, feature all the strategies listed above. Coupland et al. (1988) invoke four dimensions of CAT to explain the dynamics of interactions between NSs and NNSs: (1) NS interactional goals; (2) NS perceptions of the NNS; (3) NS encoded strategies; and (4) NNS decoding of NS strategies. (Zuengler 1992)

'To understand the NS's use (or nonuse) of FT, we must first assume that the NS has a certain interactional goal or goals in communicating with and NNS. According to CAT (Coupland et al. 1988), speakers may (consciously or unconsciously) wish to communicate effectively, ensure that their message is comprehensible, gain their partner's social approval, or emphasize distinctiveness from their partner.' (Zuengler 1992: 235)

However, many researchers seem to argue against the notion of indexicality and the links it establishes between languages, identities and speech events. (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) Auer (1995) points out that speech events are not necessarily tied to a particular language, and even when certain tendencies might be observed, those are never constant enough to allow a probabilistic prediction of language choice. In turn, Heller (1982) demonstrates that 'in the place of unconscious, or semiconscious, use of the language in everyday life is an extreme awareness of language, a new way of holding conversations that involves the negotiation of language choice in every interaction' (Heller, 1982: 109).

‘Heller (1982) interpreted frequent conversation breakdowns she observed as a sign that the renegotiation of shared social knowledge and norms of language use was under way in Quebec. To challenge the dominance of English, francophones flouted the prevailing conventions, speaking French where English was expected. In turn, some Anglophones insisted on their right to maintain conversation in English, while others attempted to speak French and saw their attempts rebuffed as in the conversation above. Emerging new conventions required bilingualism from all participants and members of both anglophone and francophone elite rushed to learn the valued variety of the other language in order to gain or retain privileged access to the same kinds of education, workplace opportunities, and socioeconomic positions (Heller, 1992).’ (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 12)

1.6. The Influence of English as a Native Language in Foreign Language Acquisition – Preliminary research

This study was designed to complete a course on English Didactics at the University of Graz, during a compulsory semester abroad as part of a Joint Master's Degree in English and American Studies programme. The purpose of the study was to outline a preliminary enquiry into the influence of English as a native language in foreign language acquisition within a study/work abroad context, with a specific focus on interactions between English-speaking learners and L2 native speakers, namely, in ELF contexts.

The implications of ELF global role for its native speakers are rarely taken into account. A deeper understanding of its influence on their attempts to acquire or improve their linguistic skills in a study/work abroad context might lead to further research on integrative motivation for language learning. This could result in more conscious and effective policies on the part of governments and educational bodies to improve the interest towards language learning for native speakers of English. Moreover, this study aimed at awakening further interest towards the role played by native speakers of English in ELF interactions (language negotiation, social identity, native speaker's adaptation of the language level to the level of EFL speakers, etc.).

Thirty-four native English speakers from a variety of countries where English is spoken as a first language were surveyed in order to answer the following research question:

- Do English speakers feel that the international spread of English affects their efforts at learning foreign languages?

Subjects were asked to give their impressions about their use of English abroad in a number of contexts (contacts with locals, contacts with friends and flatmates, university and workplace) and the influence that they feel this might have had on their language acquisition. It was reasonable to expect that frequent contact with their native language would be perceived as a hindrance to foreign language learning. Also, participants who declared having spent time in countries where the level of English is generally low might have had fewer chances to rely on their native language in contact with locals and in university contexts, where courses are more likely to be delivered in the local language, and were therefore expected to perceive their experience as linguistically richer.

A generalisation of the data would not be reliable, due to a number of factors. Firstly, the limited number of participants created a significant number of single cases which could not be taken as an example for broader tendencies, especially as far as the correlation between host country and use of English is concerned. A general analysis could be attempted with certain European countries, such as Austria, Germany, Italy and France, but American and Asian countries lacked the necessary sample size. Secondly, very few participants filled the blank spaces provided to overcome the usually superficial and sometimes ambiguous answers given through multiple-choice questions. It was therefore difficult to interpret certain data, such as the participants' personal perception of the Likert scales; for example, some subjects declared that they sometimes used English with locals, but while for some this had a positive impact on their language learning, for others the influence was negative. Follow-up interviews might have been useful for further clarifications. Nevertheless, the data collected seemed to confirm researchers' preoccupation about the consequences that the spread of English might have on its native speakers' foreign language acquisition.

Although all participants but one agreed that their experience abroad had a positive impact on their linguistic skills, they admitted to having occasionally relied on their native language, taking advantage of its role as a lingua franca especially in "relaxed" environments, such as at home with their flatmates or when socialising with international students, which hindered or slowed down their linguistic improvement. This seems to be in contrast with many of the comments, in which respondents stressed their wish to avoid environments in which they were likely to speak their native language.

Their contacts with English were particularly frequent in those countries in which a high percentage of the population has the ability to hold a conversation in English, namely, Austria and Germany. All the comments provided at the end of the survey by learners of German stressed their difficulty in improving in the foreign language due to the high level of English in the host population, which caused them to feel sometimes frustrated and demotivated. While language learning in study/work abroad experiences is praised for the constant opportunities it provides of being in contact with foreign languages, this study showed that those chances are lowered for native speakers of English. In contrast, participants who spent their period abroad in Italy stressed the extent to which the generally low level of English of the population forced them to make a significant effort in learning the local language, which resulted in a linguistically positive experience. All participants appeared to be willing to learn the foreign language and none of them appeared to attribute any superiority or self-sufficiency to their native language. This might derive from the fact that, usually, those who decide to go

through the experience of living abroad are supposedly already interested to some extent in the language, the culture or the country.

Lastly, it appears necessary to draw a distinction between the university and the work context. While as far as colleagues were concerned, there was no significant difference between the two environments, the use of English in university courses was perceived by respondents as more influential than the use of English for work purposes. Arguably, for those who were enrolled in university programmes, attending courses in the local language was perceived as an opportunity for linguistic improvement, while those who used their native language for work purposes (five of which specified that they work either as translators or as English teachers) perceived work and language learning as two separate fields. Therefore, this research seems to confirm Coleman's hypothesis about the disadvantages of introducing English-taught courses at non-Anglophone universities: they would potentially reduce the factors that make study abroad experiences attractive for native English speakers. (Coleman 2006)

The widespread use of English as a lingua franca appears to have significant repercussions on native speakers of the language. Further inquiry ought to be pursued on the educational disadvantages of the use of English as an academic lingua franca: multi-cultural perspective and intercultural awareness are invaluable benefits of study abroad experiences, which need to be preserved and enhanced, rather than eliminated.

In order to have a thorough understanding of ELF development, further research in the field ought to include L1 speakers. Negotiation of languages with the English speaker trying to engage a conversation in the foreign language and failing can be face-threatening, thus hindering integrative motivation, confidence and self-esteem. This aspect might threaten modern language learning motivation in Anglophone countries not only within the population in general, but also on those who might still be interested in the subject; they are faced with an increasing number of EFL intermediate and proficient speakers who make them perceive their knowledge of the foreign language as inadequate. The number of pupils learning English from a very young age is increasing: in the vast majority of countries in Continental Europe, English is now compulsory for all students throughout their entire educational path, from elementary school to graduation. Further research in motivation and negotiation dynamics in ELF contexts when native speakers of the language are involved appeared therefore to be necessary in order to make students and teachers of modern languages aware of these potentially threatening situations. The research on which this dissertation is based originated from this awareness.

2. ‘Your language, my language or English? The potential language choice in communication among nationals of the European Union’ by Normand Labrie and Carsten Quell – Update and discussion

The research carried out by Normand Labrie and Carsten Quell in 1997 aimed at estimating the probability that a particular language would be used in the interaction between nationals of two different countries, whether one of their native languages or English, which was already on the rise in 1994. They observed that the knowledge of foreign languages among Europeans had increased considerably since the 1950s and noted that the three most learned and spoken languages, English, French and German, were all expanding. However, English was already the language which had progressed the most, causing them to pose the question about its possible future use as a European lingua franca. (Labrie and Quell 1997)

By applying their method to the latest 2012 *Special Eurobarometer* data, the rise of the chances of English being used as a lingua franca in NS-NNS interactions will be discussed.

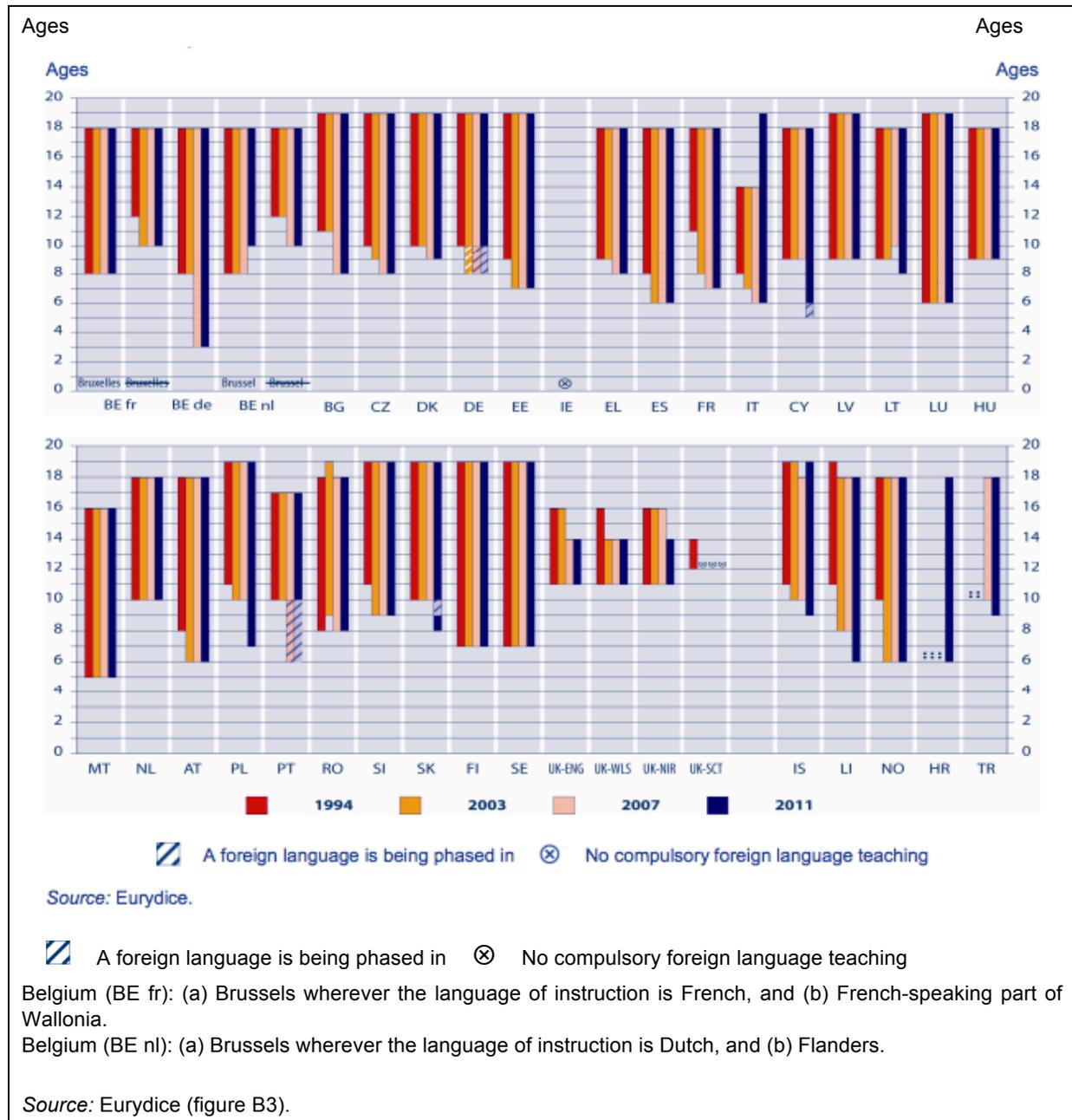
The European Union issued in 2009 the latest ‘Strategic Framework for Education and Training 2020’. As defined on the EUR-Lex website –which gives access to the laws issued by the European Union–:

“‘Education and Training 2020’ (ET 2020) is a new strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training that builds on its predecessor, the “Education and Training 2010” (ET 2010) work programme. It provides common strategic objectives for Member States, including a set of principles for achieving these objectives, as well as common working methods with priority areas for each periodic work cycle.’

Language learning has become one of the key objectives of the ET 2020, underlining the necessity of enabling citizens to communicate in two languages in addition to their mother tongue. (Eurydice network 2012) Numerous countries have thus included at least one foreign language from the first or second year of compulsory primary school. (Italy, Luxembourg, Austria, France, Norway, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Estonia, Finland and Sweden; figure 1) This increase has been achieved by exclusively lowering the age at which foreign language learning becomes compulsory, and not by increasing the number of weekly hours dedicated to its teaching. (Eurydice network 2012) The only European country in which there was no compulsory foreign language teaching before the age of 11 was the UK. However, since 2014

the subject was made compulsory in Key Stage 2² in the UK as well, despite the fact that the Government had previously increased flexibility for students between 14 and 16, who can choose freely whether or not to continue their linguistic education.

Fig. 1: Duration of compulsory first foreign language teaching in pre-primary, primary and general secondary education (1994, 2003, 2007 and 2011)



As figure 2 shows, the average number of students in Ireland and the UK learning two or three languages (7.6% and 4.4% respectively) is significantly lower than in the rest of Europe (50.6%), where the compulsory teaching of a second foreign language has been introduced in several countries (figure 3).

² Key stage 2: legal term for the four years of schooling in England and Wales normally known as Year 3, Year 4, Year 5 and Year 6 when pupils are aged between 7 and 11.

Fig. 2: Foreign languages learnt per pupil in upper secondary education, 2007 and 2012

	Upper secondary education (ISCED level 3 (GEN))						Proportion of students learning two or more languages at ISCED level 3 (GEN)	
	Pupils learning English in general programmes		Pupils learning French in general programmes		Pupils learning German in general programmes		2007	2012
	2007	2012	2007	2012	2007	2012	2007	2012
EU-28 (*)	92.5	94.5	25.3	23.6	28.5	20.9	57.2	50.6
Belgium	94.1	95.4	-	-	28.5	28.3	88.5	89.1
Bulgaria	86.2	90.0	15.0	12.9	38.5	34.1	77.0	74.3
Czech Republic	100.0	100.0	24.5	19.3	65.8	63.2	100.0	98.8
Denmark	91.8	91.1	10.7	9.0	35.6	33.5	60.8	59.2
Germany	91.0	94.7	27.4	26.3	-	-	-	-
Estonia (*)	95.0	95.8	6.7	6.5	41.6	31.8	80.9	91.1
Ireland	-	-	59.6	54.5	18.3	14.9	8.2	7.6
Greece (*)	94.0	94.1	8.6	4.4	2.9	2.1	6.9	3.5
Spain	95.3	97.7	27.7	22.3	1.1	1.2	28.3	24.6
France	99.4	99.7	-	-	21.8	22.1	90.0	94.5
Croatia (*)	98.3	99.2	3.4	3.6	65.6	62.0	89.9	87.9
Italy	95.3	95.5	20.5	18.0	7.2	8.0	24.7	24.9
Cyprus (*)	78.5	89.9	32.2	37.7	2.4	3.5	100.0	82.4
Latvia	96.0	98.6	4.1	5.8	32.2	31.2	75.6	82.9
Lithuania	85.1	93.4	4.9	3.2	25.4	11.5	56.2	45.0
Luxembourg	96.5	97.9	96.5	100.0	96.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Hungary	76.4	79.1	6.5	5.7	50.1	43.9	41.9	45.3
Malta (*)	36.2	100.0	5.0	22.7	1.1	5.2	26.6	64.7
Netherlands	100.0	100.0	70.3	32.8	86.3	42.4	100.0	69.8
Austria (*)	96.9	99.6	54.1	42.7	-	-	76.2	74.2
Poland	91.2	93.7	9.8	8.2	62.7	48.8	79.3	70.1
Portugal (*)	50.7	53.1	15.1	3.2	1.6	1.0	9.2	5.3
Romania	95.9	99.9	83.0	85.0	0.0	12.0	92.1	98.4
Slovenia	98.3	98.1	10.8	10.9	76.0	66.0	98.3	98.0
Slovakia	97.9	98.8	16.0	15.9	71.2	59.9	98.3	99.0
Finland	99.3	99.6	19.3	16.7	33.2	24.8	99.8	99.6
Sweden	99.9	100.0	21.1	18.9	29.6	21.9	91.6	80.1
United Kingdom	-	-	32.0	27.3	11.7	9.4	6.1	4.4
Iceland	73.2	72.5	15.7	12.7	27.6	24.7	63.3	61.4
Liechtenstein	-	100.0	-	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Norway (*)	100.0	43.0	9.2	10.3	15.8	20.9	100.0	-
FYR of Macedonia (*)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0	51.5
Turkey (*)	67.3	99.4	0.7	0.7	6.5	4.9	7.6	-

(*) Refer to the internet metadata file (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/EN/educ_esms.htm).

(*) Upper secondary education, English, French and German, 2007: EU-27.

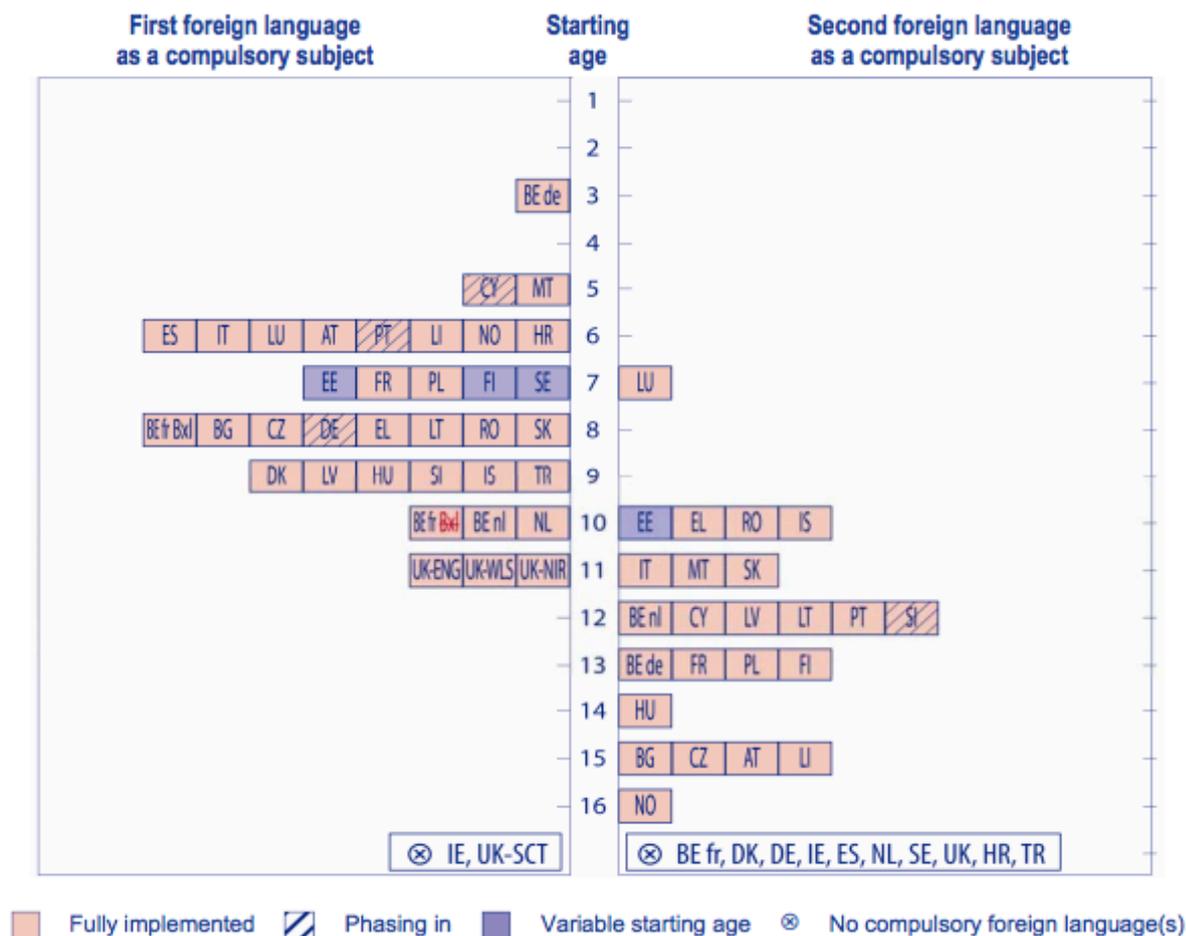
(*) Proportion of students learning two or more languages: data for 2006 instead of 2007.

(*) Data for 2006 instead of 2007.

(*) Proportion of students learning two or more languages: data for 2008 instead of 2007.

Source: Eurostat (online data codes: educ_thrfian and educ_ljang), Unesco Institute for Statistics (UIS), OECD

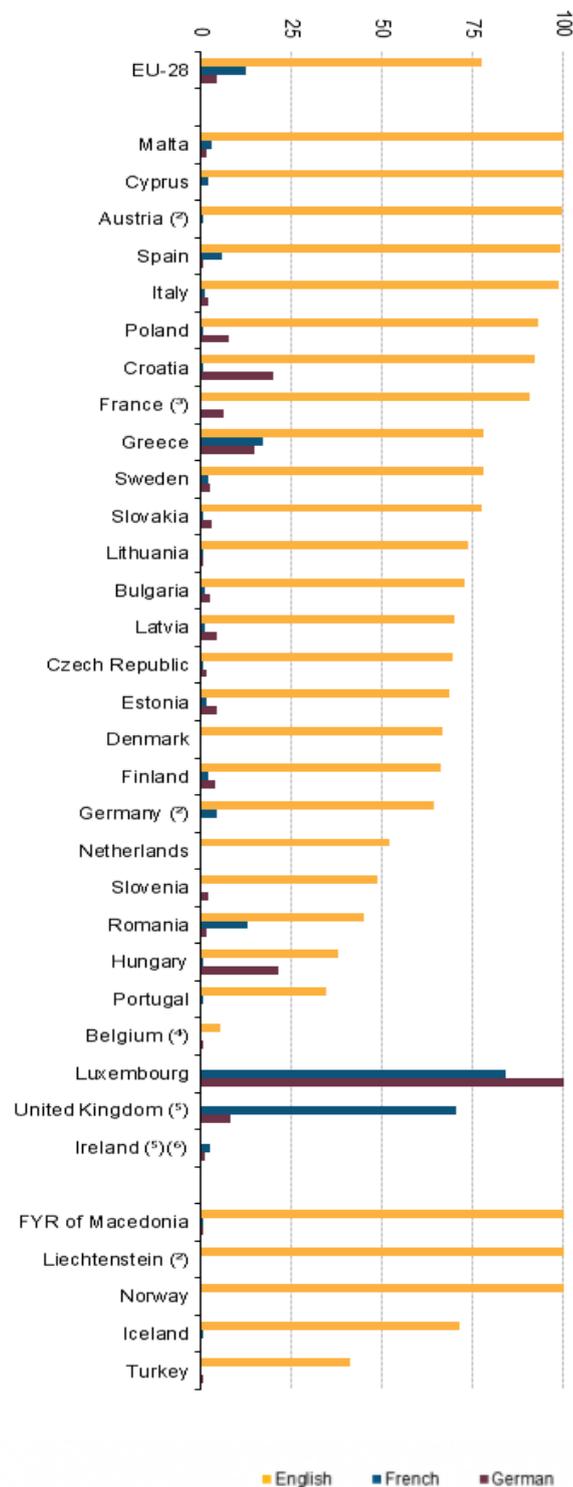
Fig. 3: Compulsory language learning at school (Eurydice network 2012)



This discrepancy in foreign language proficiency between the UK/Ireland and the rest of Europe also appears clear in the latest 2012 *Special Eurobarometer* data, where the average percentage of English speakers who think that they speak at least two languages well enough to be able to have a conversation is 14% for the UK and 18% for Ireland (the European average being 25%).

The choice of foreign languages studied by Europeans also seems to favour the use of English as a lingua franca. According to the ‘Foreign language learning statistics’ published by Eurostat, in Continental Europe 13 out of 25 countries have made English the mandatory first foreign language, a language that parents and pupils tend to favour even when an alternative is provided, thus bringing the percentage of students learning English in Europe up to 94.5% (figures 2 and 4). In turn, as mentioned in chapter 1, in the UK the only language which has seen a rise is Spanish, while other traditionally popular languages, such as German and French, have undergone a stable decline, and there is little incentive to the teaching of less popular ones, such as Italian. (Board and Tinsley 2015)

Fig. 4: Proportion of pupils in primary education learning foreign languages, by language, 2012



(*) Ranked on English. Refer to the internet metadata file (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/EN/educ_esms.htm).

(*) German: not applicable.

(*) French: not applicable.

(*) French: not available.

(*) English: not applicable.

(*) 2011.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: educ_lang), UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), OECD

Labrie and Quell noted that one of the primary determinants for language learning is rarely “proximity” (languages spoken on both sides of a national border or belonging to the same linguistic family), but rather prestige.

‘The prestige of a language could be seen as a more decisive factor than the ‘degree of foreignness’ or ‘proximity’ when attempting to explain why some languages appear to be more popular than others for foreign language learners. By prestige we refer to a conglomerate of factors which, taken together, can lead to the popular recognition of a given language as having symbolic value. These factors include, but are not limited to, the existence of an internationally recognized literature in the language, use of the language in science and politics, number of native speakers of the language, etc.’ (Labrie and Quell 1997: 4)

The Eurostat and Eurobarometer data presented above seem to confirm their prediction:

‘Multilingualism, as it is practice in Europe, appears to favour only the most prestigious languages. [...] It can therefore be concluded that some languages are in a better position to fulfil a vehicular function as a foreign language (Calvet, 1987: 124; Dabène, 1994: 55–56). In this respect, English can be considered to be a relatively powerful language (Ammon, 1994; Truchot, 1994; Domaschnew, 1994; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994) whose role as a lingua franca is being increasingly confirmed through a general process of language spread.’ (Labrie and Quell 1997: 4–5)

In order to determine whether English was always the most probable choice in interactions between speakers of different nationalities, they made use of the data published in the *Eurobarometer 41* (1994). The Eurobarometer is a series of public surveys conducted regularly by the European Commission to assess public awareness or attitude towards various aspects of the union. The data are obtained from the polling agencies of each member state and the interviews are carried out face-to-face in the homes of each respondent. For the latest *Special Eurobarometer 386* (2012), 26.751 interviews were carried out. Its database is one of the largest in the world, and it therefore provides highly reliable statistical data.

The calculation of probabilities was based on a simple procedure:

‘Take young Danes for example: 64 percent of them indicated they could speak German well enough to participate in a conversation. If they encounter young Germans (100 percent of whom have German as their mother tongue), the probability that German will be used is calculated at 0.64 (0.64 x 1). [...] What, for example, is the likelihood that English will be used between them? Of young Danes, 92 percent speak English, compared to 61 percent of young Germans. The probability that English will be used is then calculated at 0.56 (0.61 x 0.92). Thus, in spite of the fact that English is a second language for both nationals and even though the knowledge of German is very high among young Danes, English runs a very close second in terms of possible language choice.’ (Labrie and Quell 1997: 6)

Labrie and Quell were provided with the charts detailing the results for countries by age group and therefore distinguished between 15-24-year-old and 50+-year-old respondents. Those charts were not made available in the 2012 *Special Eurobarometer*, and it was therefore necessary to recalculate the 1994 probability based on the national average in order to compare it with the correspondent 2012 average. For the purpose of this dissertation, only NS-NNS of English interactions were taken into account. The choice of countries and languages was determined by the analysis which will be carried out in the third chapter, where the number of respondents to the survey made it possible to draw conclusions on English native speakers' experiences in Italy, France, Germany and Austria (the data of which were not available in the 1994 *Eurobarometer*, for it became a member state only on January 1, 1995).

Table 1: Languages spoken in each individual country (%)

	UK		Ireland		France		Germany		Austria	Italy	
	1994	2012	1994	2012	1994	2012	1994	2012	2012	1994	2012
English	100	100	100	100	30	39	35	56	73	19	34
French	21	19	14	17	100	100	9	14	11	17	16
German	8	6	4	°	7	6	100	100	100	3	°
Italian	2	°	1	°	3	°	1	°	9	100	100

° = less than 1% of the population speak the language

As the graphs show (Fig. 5-6), the probability of English being chosen as a means of communication between native and non-native speakers has risen since 1994 in all three cases, while the less popular languages have lowered their chances of being used as a means of communication. In British-French interactions in 1994, French would have been a feasible second option (0.30 for English against 0.21 for French), while the gap widened in 2012 (0.39 for English against 0.19). In British-Italian interactions, the possibility of Italian being chosen by the speakers has disappeared in the 2012 graph. The same trend can be observed in British-German interactions.

Fig. 5: Probability that English, French, German or Italian will be used in an interaction between British and European citizens in 1994.

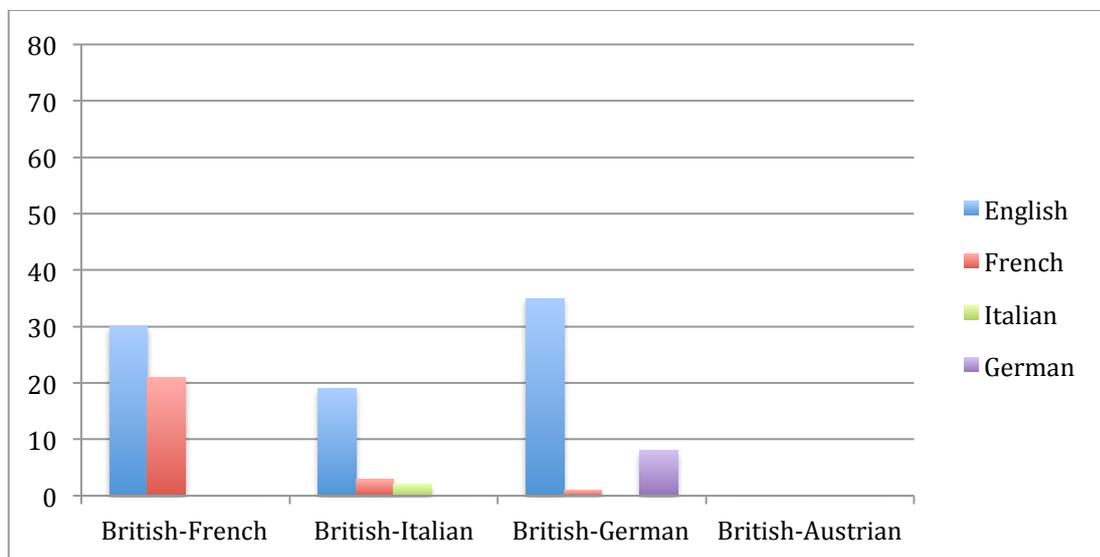
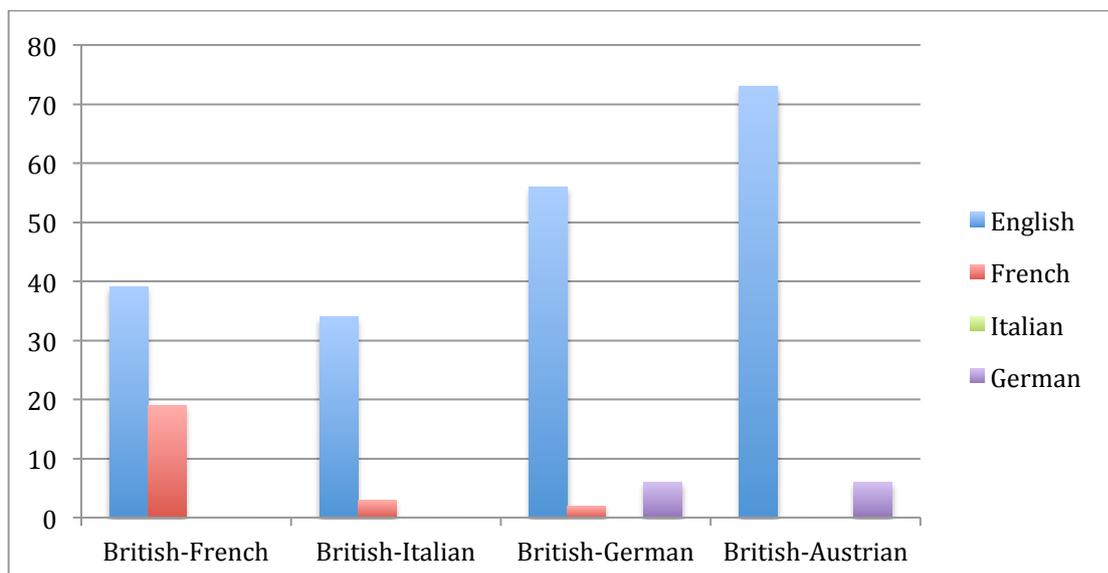


Fig. 6: Probability that English, French, German or Italian will be used in an interaction between NS and NNS of English in 2012.



The gap between the probability of English being used by the speakers as opposed to other languages is even more evident in interactions between Irish citizens and Europeans (fig. 7-8).

Fig. 7: Probability that English, French, German or Italian will be used in an interaction between Irish and European citizens in 1994.

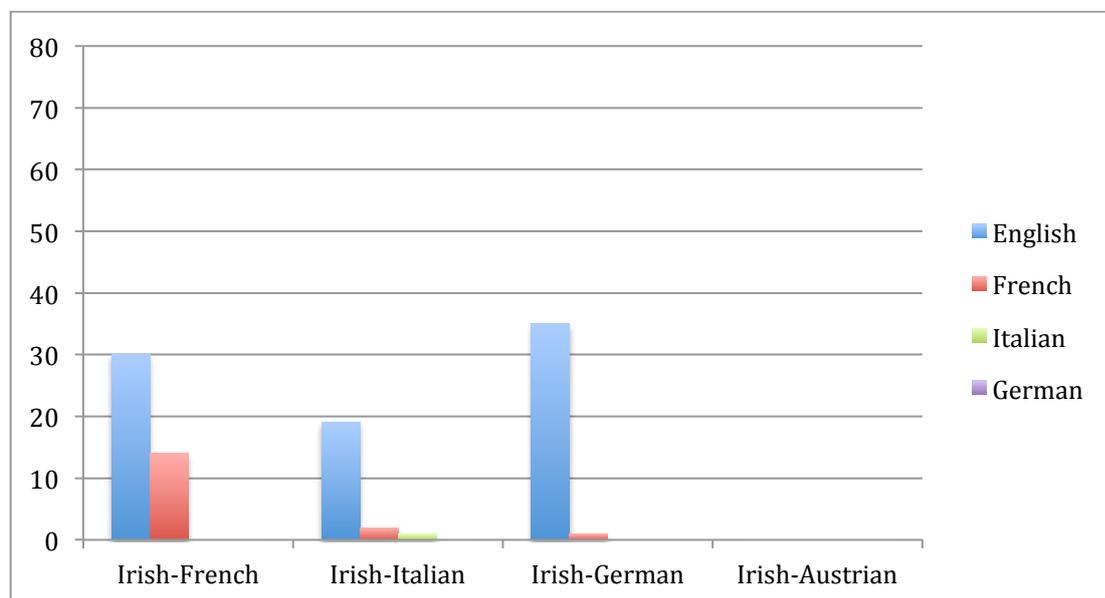
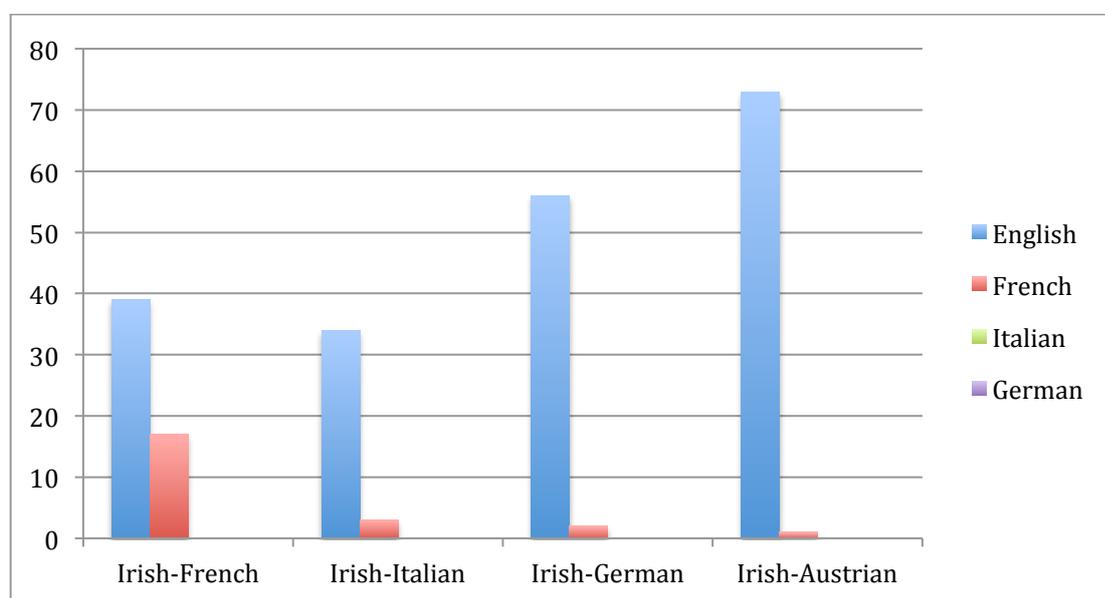


Fig. 8: Probability that English, French, German or Italian will be used in an interaction between Irish and European citizens in 2012.



In this case, the chances of German being chosen by the interlocutors were non-existent in both 1994 and 2012. French has lowered its probability of being chosen in all three encounters, and Italian, which had a 0.01 chance of being employed in 1994, has disappeared in the 2012 graph. In turn, English has increased its probability in all three cases.

Table 2 provides a summary of the calculations.

Table 2: Probability that English, French, German or Italian will be used in an interaction between NS and NNS of English

	English		French		Italian		German	
	1994	2012	1994	2012	1994	2012	1994	2012
British-French	0.30	0.39	0.21	0.19	0	0	0	0
British-Italian	0.19	0.34	0.03	0.03	0.02	0	0	0
British-German	0.35	0.56	0.01	0.02	0	0	0.08	0.06
British-Austrian		0.73		0		0		0.06
Irish-French	0.30	0.39	0.14	0.17			0	
Irish-Italian	0.19	0.34	0.02	0.03	0.01		0	
Irish-German	0.35	0.56	0.01	0.02	0		0.04	
Irish-Austrian		0.73		0.01		0		0

The comparison between the 1994 and the 2012 data on language ability shows a general increase in the knowledge of English on the part of Europeans and a notable decrease in foreign language competence on the part of English speakers. The British-French interaction exemplifies well this trend, with English being a much more probable choice than French in 2012, due to a loss of ability in French proficiency in UK citizens and a simultaneous growth in English proficiency in France. As a consequence, the probability of English being theoretically chosen as the first option in NS-NNS interactions has risen, allowing English speakers to communicate with a large number of European citizens despite their lack of foreign language knowledge.

The probabilities provided above were mere theoretical calculations based on the assumption that mother tongue and foreign language studied play a prominent role in the choice of language during an interaction. However, Labrie and Quell recognise that in real-life encounters, many factors can influence such choice and that the increasing spread of English was not enough of a reason to determine the probability of it being automatically chosen. Those data were offered as mere hypothesis and, consequentially, they advocated for their accuracy to be tested in empirical research on actual encounters. (Labrie and Quell 1997)

3. Language Choice in ELF Interactions between Native Speakers and Non Native Speakers of English – Survey

3.1. Research questions and expected outcome

The aim of this research is to study the way in which the spread of English and its use as a lingua franca in Europe might have affected language choice in interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers of English in study/work abroad contexts.

Native speakers who have spent more than 4 weeks in a European country and non-native speakers of English from Europe were surveyed in order to answer the following research questions:

- Has the spread of English in Europe affected language choices in NS-NNS interactions?
- Does the average level of English of the country where NSs spend their time abroad influence the frequency of use of their native language?

Native speakers were asked to give their impressions about their language choice abroad in a number of contexts (contacts with locals, contacts with friends, university and workplace), the influence that they feel this might have had on their language learning and their opinions about language choices and behaviours of the locals. In turn, non-native speakers were asked to give their impressions about their language choice in interactions with native speakers (occasional interactions, contacts with English speaking friends, university/work context, study/work abroad contexts) and their opinions about their interlocutor's choices and behaviours.

The relatively poor foreign language knowledge of English native speakers, the recent spread of their mother tongue and the extent to which their language is studied by Europeans would suggest an almost exclusive choice of English in the context of NS-NNS interactions. Also, participants who declared having spent time in countries where the level of English is generally low might have had fewer chances to rely on their native language in contacts with locals and in university contexts, where courses are more likely to be delivered in the local language; they are therefore expected to perceive their experience as linguistically richer. In

linguistic negotiation where English is preferred despite their initial choice of the local language, native speakers are expected to perceive code switching positively in friendly environments (contacts with friends, contacts with fellow students), and negatively in unfamiliar environments (occasional interactions with locals). On the contrary, non native speakers are expected to perceive the native speakers' choice of language as a non face-threatening act: as a need for integration and/or desire to practice the local language if they choose it, or as a lack of linguistic skills on the part of native speakers when they prefer English.

3.2. Participants

Participants were native speakers of English who had spent at least 4 weeks in a European country and non-native speakers from Europe, all aged between 15 and 39. The choice of the age interval was due to the need to interview respondents who had gone through the school system during the last twenty years, namely after English had started growing in popularity and was made the first foreign language studied in the majority of Europe. Forty-one native speakers from a variety of countries (11 British, 15 American, 6 Australian, 1 British/Australian, 1 South African, 1 Canadian) participated in the survey. However, only 35 forms were analysed for the purpose of the research, for 6 participants had not spent more than four weeks in a European country. Of those 35 respondents, 8 had spent time in France, 14 in Austria, 5 in Germany, 6 in Italy, 1 in Serbia and 1 in Denmark. As a consequence, of the 138 forms submitted by non-native speakers, only those of the 95 respondents from the first four countries were analysed to allow a comparison between the NSs and the NNSs' point of view.

The survey was made available on-line on June 19th 2015 and answers were collected until August 20th 2015.

3.3. Research tool

The research was conducted through an on-line questionnaire (Appendix). The choice of tool was mainly due to the need to collect a relevant amount of data from participants of different nationalities, who would have been hard to reach otherwise. The survey allowed statistical analysis, but would ideally be complemented by a qualitative study.

The survey was developed through Google Forms, which allows the creation of questionnaires with multiple types of responses (blank spaces, Likert scales, multiple choices with one or more possible answers, etc.) and the possibility of moving from one page to the other depending on the kind of answer the respondent gave. For example, in order to direct respondents towards the questionnaire for NS or NNS, one of the first questions asked was whether they were native speakers of English or not; their answer determined an automatic redirection towards one of the two surveys. Google Forms allows the collection of an unlimited number of surveys, as well as the automatic creation of worksheets, which can be downloaded and processed through Excel or data analysis softwares.

The survey was spread via email and social networks. The coordinators of the mobility programmes of the partner universities of the Joint Master's Degree in English and American Studies (Otto-Friedrich University Bamberg, Germany; Karl Franzens University of Graz, Austria; Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy; University of Pécs, Hungary; Paris Diderot, France; City College New York, USA) were asked to spread the questionnaire among their alumni and current students via email, which explains the high number of respondents who either spent time in France, Italy, Germany and Austria or came from those countries. The use of social networks, which attracted mainly participants from the writer's country, accounted for the high number of Italian respondents (70 out of 95).

Participation in the on-line survey was free and voluntary. In addition to the survey being anonymous, answers were submitted via Google Forms, instead of being sent per e-mail, and assigned a number, thus assuring complete anonymity.

The questionnaire is composed of 131 items: from item 4 to item 81 for the native speakers' part, from item 82 to item 131 for the non-native speakers' part and items 1, 2 and 3 in common. They were organised according to the different contexts in which speakers might have been faced with a NS-NNS interaction (contacts with locals, contacts with friends, university and workplace for NS; occasional contacts with NS and contacts with English-speaking friends in their home country and in the country where they spent time abroad for NNS). The questions produced three types of data (Dörnyei 2003: 8):

- Factual, which focused mainly on information about the participants' linguistic background: experience abroad (items 5, 6, 7, 26, 44, 62; 114, 115, 116, 117), native language (item 3; 82) and foreign language/s spoken (item 4; 83). Only very little personal information was considered relevant to interpret the findings: age (item 1) and nationality (item 2). The majority of items required respondents to make choices (mainly "yes" or "no"), while others were open-ended questions for which a blank space was provided;
- Behavioural, which aimed at analysing participants' linguistic behaviour in a number of situations they might have experienced while studying/working abroad (items 8, 9, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 32, 33, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 50, 51, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 68, 69, 75, 76, 77, 80; 85, 86, 89, 91, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 104, 106, 109, 111, 112, 118, 119, 122, 124, 127, 129, 130). Item 80 enquired about NS's accommodation to the level of English of their interlocutors. Subjects were provided with different kinds of options for the answer, depending on the kind of question: multiple choice questions where only one answer was possible, to determine which language they chose to use in different contexts (English, the local language/their mother tongue for NNS, neither English nor the local language/mother tongue); multiple choice questions where more than one answer was possible, to determine the reasons for their linguistic choice (in this case, option "other: ..." was also possible, if participants were willing to add further information); a five-point Likert scale (always, often, sometimes, rarely and never), which determined the frequency of their use of English or the local language in response to the interlocutors' behaviour.
- Attitudinal (opinion), which aimed at analysing the way they perceived the interlocutors' linguistic choice, i.e. how often the interlocutor answered in a language that was not the respondent's first choice (item 10, 17, 29, 36, 47, 54, 65, 72; 88, 90, 92, 95, 102, 105, 107, 110, 120, 123, 125, 128), speakers' belief about the influence that their use of or contact with English/the local language in a number of situations had on their language acquisition (NS survey), English speakers' accommodation to NNSs' level of English (NNS survey), and respondents' feelings towards the interlocutors linguistic choices (11, 15, 18, 19, 23, 30, 34, 37, 38, 42, 48, 52, 55, 56, 60, 66, 70, 73, 74, 78; 87, 93, 103, 108, 121, 126). NSs were provided with a three-point Likert scale which measured in which way they perceived that the use of their native language influenced their language learning: positively, negatively and neither positively nor negatively. Both surveys presented multiple choice questions where more than one answer was possible, to determine the reasons perceived by participants

for their interlocutors' linguistic choice (in this case, the option "other: ..." was also possible, if participants were willing to add further information); a five-point Likert scale (always, often, sometimes, rarely and never), which determined the frequency with which they perceived their interlocutors used English or the local language in response to the speakers' behaviour.

In order to compensate the simplicity and superficiality of answers typical of questionnaires (Dörnyei 2003) several blank spaces were also included for participants to add any additional information or thoughts to the answers provided (item 12, 16, 24, 25, 31, 35, 43, 49, 53, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 68, 69, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80; 81, 98, 113, 131).

Indications on the purpose of the study, the addressees, the time needed to complete the survey (about 5 minutes) and indications on anonymity were provided at the beginning of the questionnaire. For clarity purposes, each web page contained all the questions related to a specific interactional context.

3.4. Data analysis

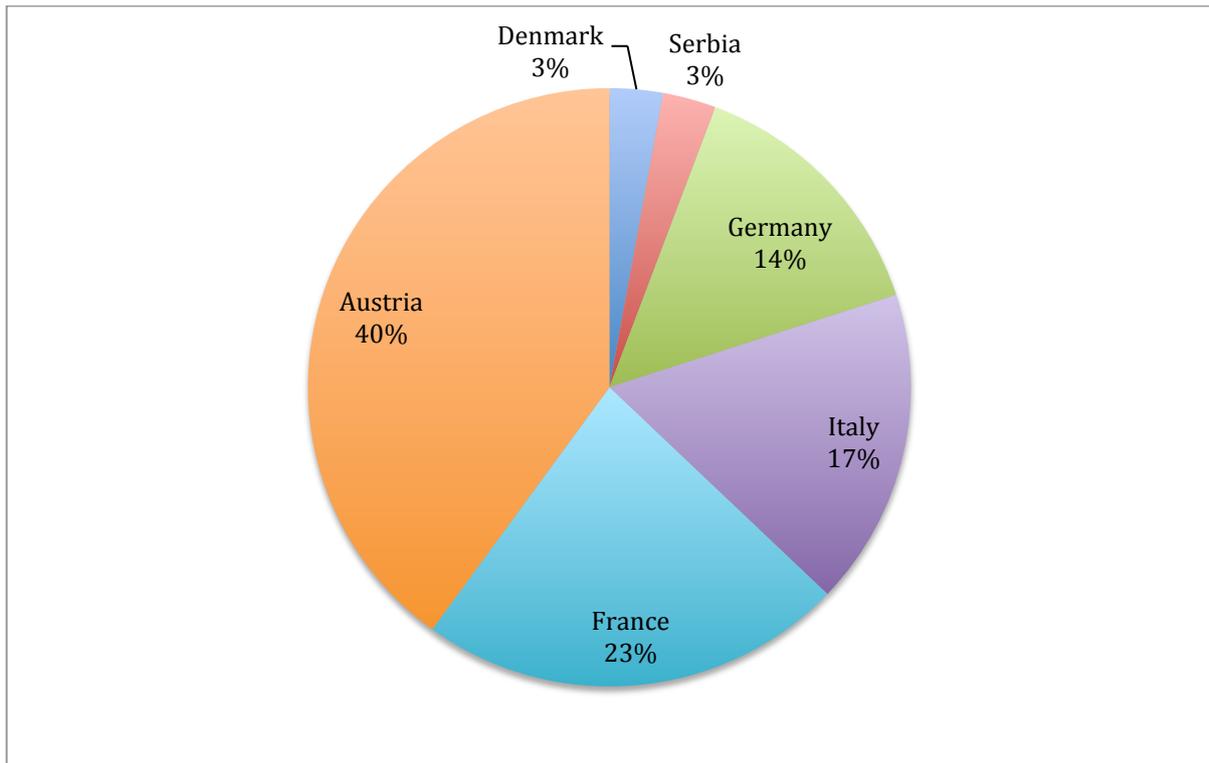
Data were automatically organised on a spreadsheet through Google Forms and analysed through the use of data analysis softwares, Wizard Pro and Excel, with which some of the following graphs were created. Data filters were inserted by hand and cross tabulations were made through pivot tables, in which fields were dragged and dropped by hand. Each context was analysed separately and then related to some factual variables in order to understand whether they might have had any influence on the participants' linguistic behaviour, namely, nationality, language studied and at what level, and host country.

Native speakers

- **Personal information and period abroad**

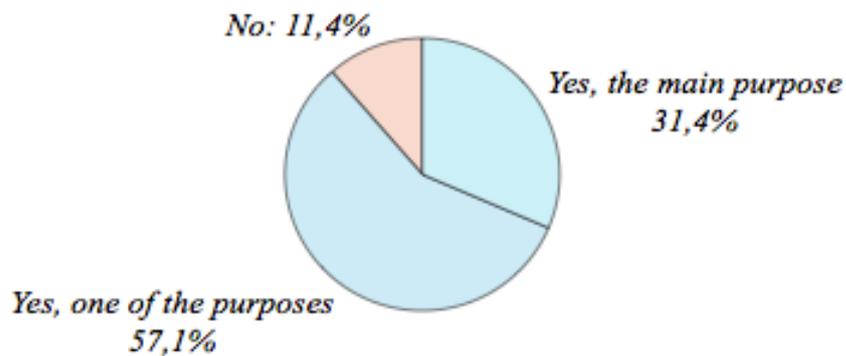
The survey was completed by 41 respondents, 35 of whom met the required features (native speakers of English aged between 15 and 39 who had spent more than four weeks in a European country). 17 respondents were aged between 15 and 24, 16 between 25 and 39. The nationalities were varied: 11 British, 15 Americans, 6 Australian, 1 British/Australian, 1 South African and 1 Canadian. Figure 9 shows the European countries in which participants spent more than 4 weeks; 14 of them went to Austria, 8 went to France, 6 to Italy, 5 to Germany, 1 to Denmark and 1 to Serbia.

Fig. 9 – EU countries in which participants spent more than 4 weeks



The majority of respondents said that improving their language skills was one of the main purposes (20) or the main purpose (11) of their stay. Four of them declared that it was not.

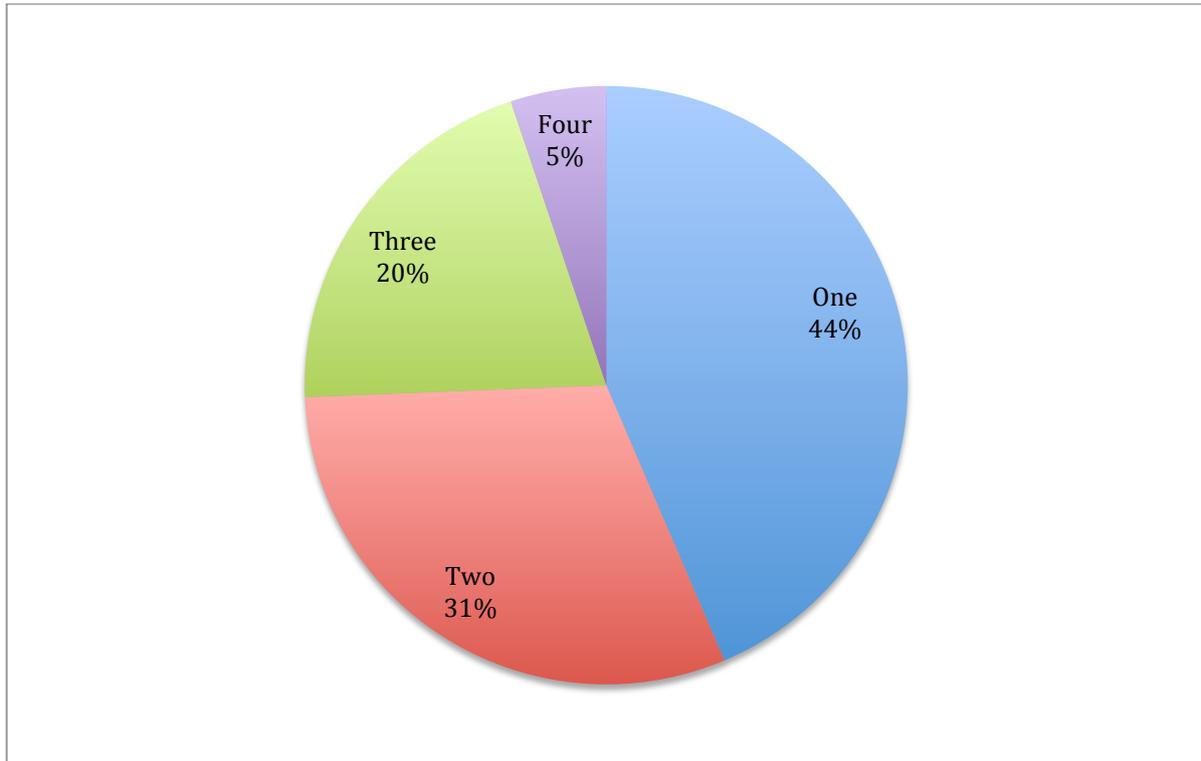
Fig. 10 – Importance of language learning in the study/work experience



- **Linguistic background**

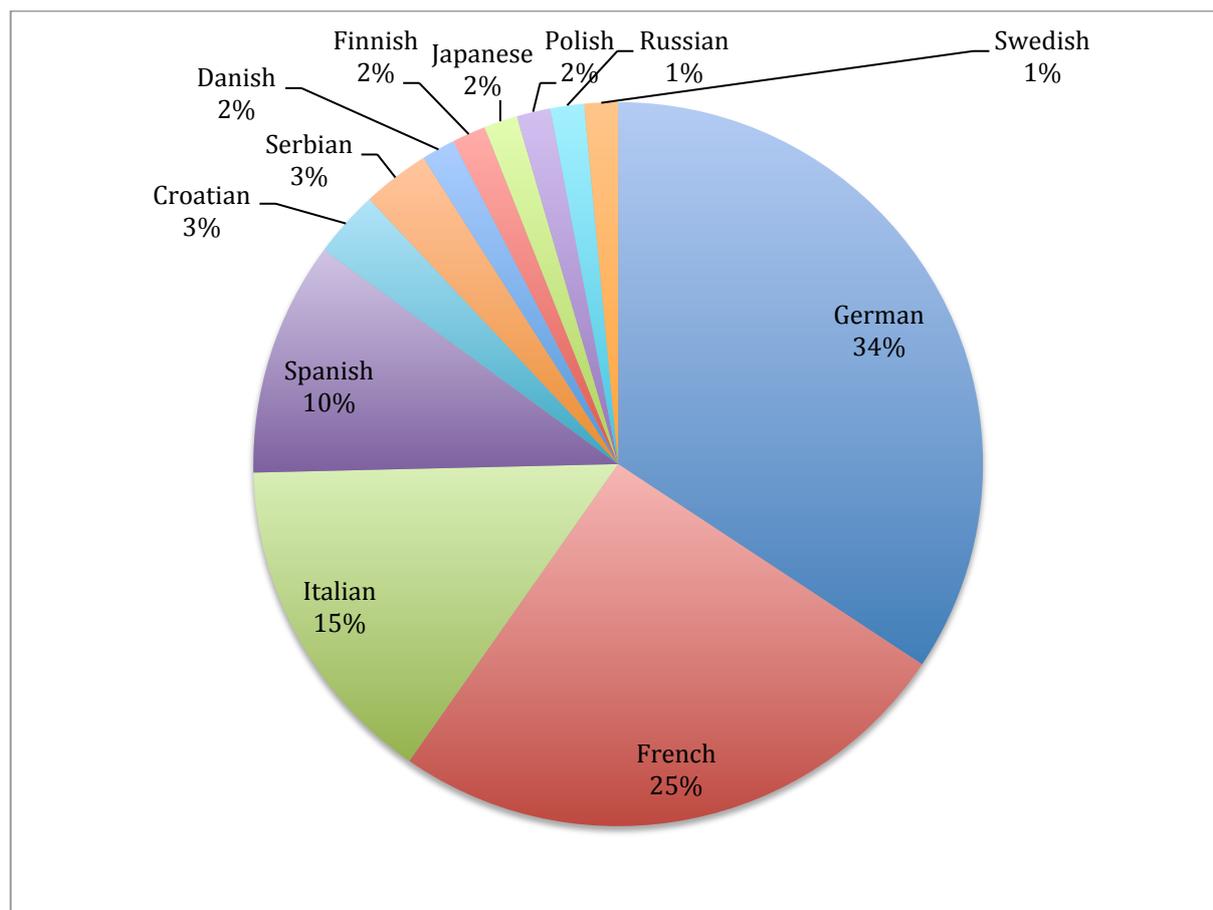
Respondents were asked to indicate what languages they speak well enough to be able to have a conversation; 16 of them indicated that they speak one foreign language, 11 speak two foreign languages, 7 speak three foreign languages and 1 speak four foreign languages. Figure 11 shows the data in percentages.

Fig. 11 – Number of languages spoken by respondents



The most popular language mentioned by participants was German, spoken by 23 respondents, due probably to the high number of respondents who spent time in Austria and Germany. The second was French (17), the third Italian (10) and the fourth Spanish (7). Other languages mentioned were Croatian (2), Serbian (2), Danish (1), Finnish (1), Japanese (1), Polish (1), Russian (1) and Swedish (1).

Fig. 12 – Languages spoken well enough to have a conversation



- **Interaction with locals**

When asked what language they usually chose for their interactions with locals (whether English, the local language, or neither English nor the local language), the great majority of participants (34 out of 35) answered that they usually used the local language.

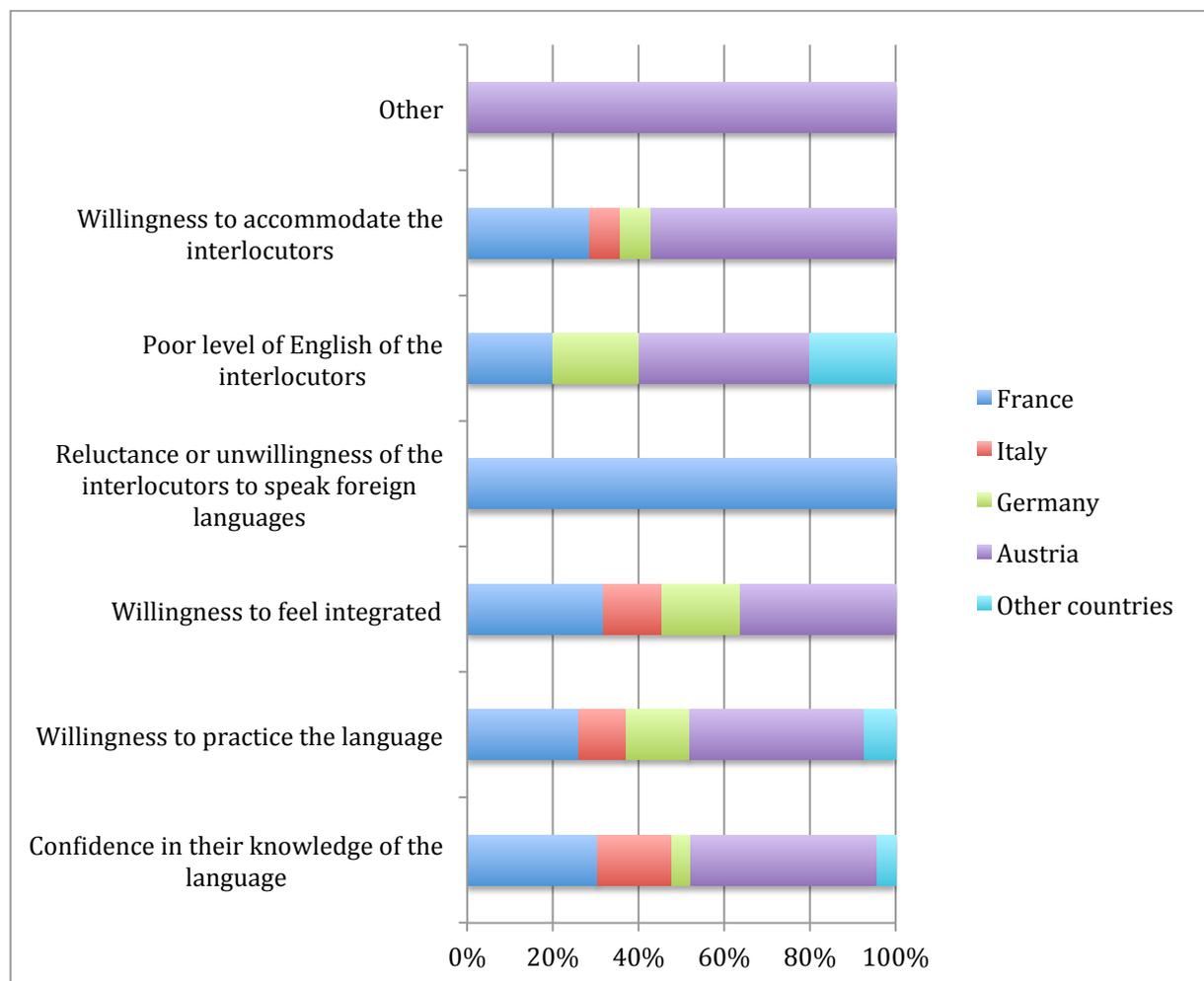
The one respondent who used English when interacting with locals justified his/her choice by saying that locals spoke good English and he/she knew they would understand him/her. The respondent was spending time in Germany and learning the language was the main purpose of their stay (they were intermediate learners of German), which is in contrast with their linguistic behaviour. The respondent also said that their interlocutors never answered in German when they were addressed in English.

The choice of interacting with locals in the local language was mainly due to personal reasons, rather than the interlocutor's behaviour. 25 participants said that they wanted to practice the foreign language, 22 wanted to feel integrated and 21 felt confident in their

knowledge of the local language. In turn, 12 said that they wished to accommodate their interlocutors, and only very few of them attributed their choice to a lack of linguistic skills on the part of NNS; 2 noted that their interlocutors were usually reluctant or unwilling to speak foreign languages and 4 answered that the locals spoke very poor English and NSs knew their interlocutors would not understand it if they spoke it.

Figure 13 shows the correlation between host country and NSs' reasons for choosing the local language in occasional interactions.

Fig. 13 – Influence of the host country on the reasons for choosing the local language in occasional interactions with locals



The results mirror the native speakers' distribution in the different countries, so the host country does not seem to play a relevant part in the reasons for choosing the local language. It is however interesting to notice that none of those who were in Italy lamented poor linguistic skills on the part of the locals, while only those who spent time in France pointed out their interlocutors' reluctance or unwillingness to speak foreign languages.

When asked how they felt their use of the local language influenced their language learning, 33 respondents answered “positively”. The one respondent who felt that their language learning was influenced neither positively nor negatively ascribed this feeling to the kind of interactions they had with locals: they praise the patience of some when they attempted to speak French, and criticise the rudeness of others or their switching to a very poor English rather than allowing the NS to speak French.

Language switch on the part of locals occurred quite often, according to NS. One respondent said that NNSs always answered them in English when addressed in the local language (German in Germany), 12 of them said that it happened sometimes and 6 often. The other respondents noted that language switched occurred rarely (11) or never (4).

When asked about the reasons that they thought had caused the language switch, the majority of respondents seemed not to perceive the event as a face-threatening act: they felt that it was either a way of helping them (17) or desire to practice their English with NSs (20). Eight participants blamed it on their lack of linguistic skills and 13 on their interlocutors wanting to show off theirs. Respondents in the comment section highlighted that the language switch occurred less often when they started losing their mother tongue accent and their interlocutors were no longer able to recognise them as native English speakers.

‘When I first visited France, I had only studied French for two years. When I spoke to locals in French, they typically answered in English. I assume they were able to identify that I was a native anglophone. After studying French for two more years, I made another trip, during which I stayed for two months. This time, French natives almost always responded to me in French, and my interactions with French friends and colleagues were almost entirely in French. I found that my level of proficiency in the language correlated with the likelihood that they would respond in French.’

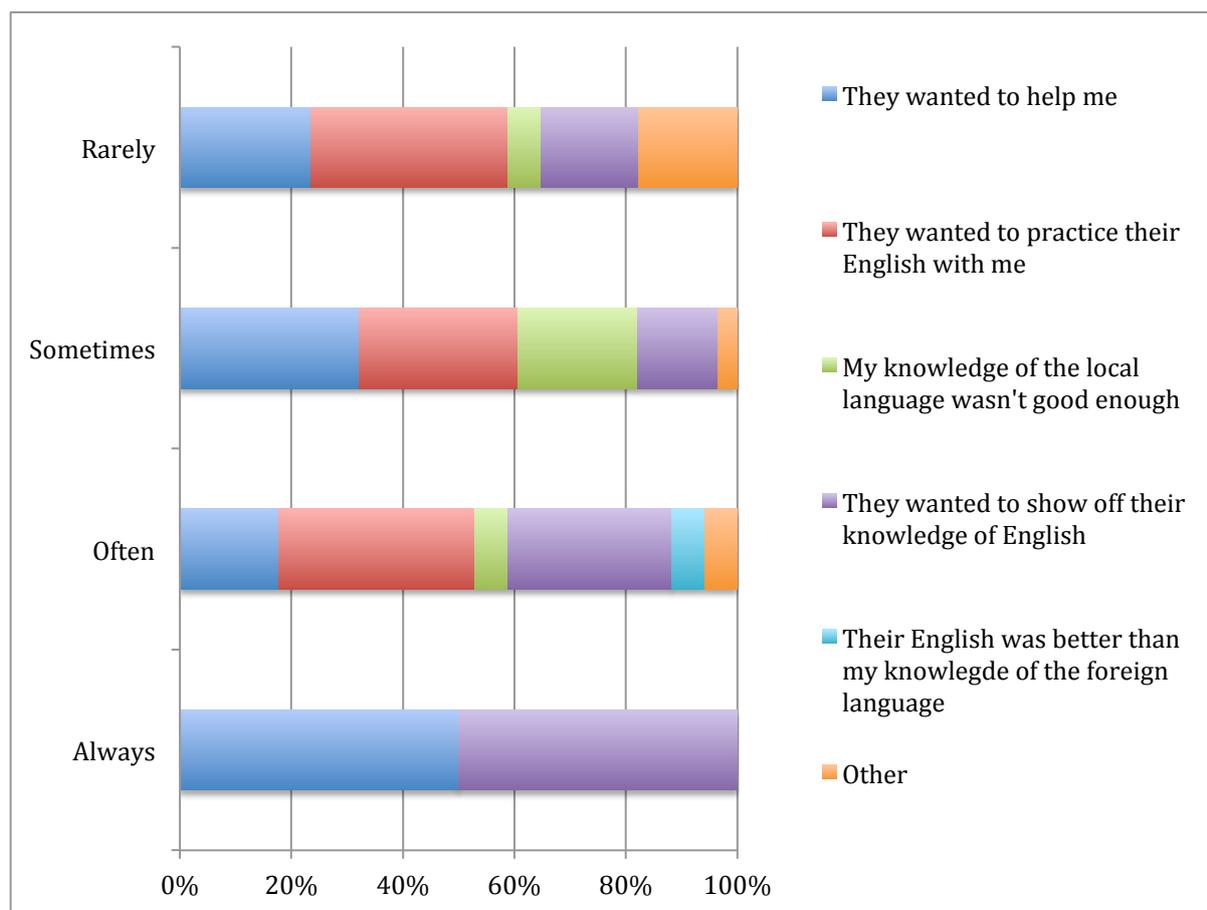
‘This [the language switch] decreased significantly once I learned the language well enough for them not to know what country I was from. Then no one tried to speak to me in English except people who knew me from the beginning and wanted to practice.’

‘I was only addressed in English after disclosing that I was a native English speaker.’

‘It only happened when I was with someone who didn't look or speak Italian’

The frequency with which language switch occurred did not seem to influence the interpretation assigned to its occurrence, as shown in figure 14.

Fig. 14 – Relationship between how often language switch occurred and the perceived reasons for it



However, when asked directly how their interlocutors' linguistic choice made them feel, the majority of respondents answered that they did perceive it negatively; 13 of them felt that their interlocutors were implying that their knowledge of the local language was not good enough, and 4 felt that locals were not helping them integrate. Those who perceived the interlocutors' behaviour positively felt that the locals were simply trying to help them (5) or practice their English (3). Comments tend to highlight the NSs frustration when their attempt to practice the foreign language was met with intolerance, which sometimes even hindered communication:

'Bad, my French was better than their English and it hindered communication at times, as well as denying me the change [sic] to practice French.'

'Annoyed, I felt they weren't listening to me even though I speak an almost perfect Italian'

'I always tried to speak German and it was disheartening if people answered me in English. I feel like it is more polite to use the local language rather than assume people will speak English and I found it a shame when people were not patient enough to let me try and practice the language.'

‘I do not look Italian so the locals usually began speaking to me in English immediately and did not expect me to speak Italian. They were often surprised when I was able to hold complex conversations but quickly switched to English if it became apparent that the conversation was challenging for me. This was irritating because it lowered my confidence, made me overly conscious of making mistakes and hindered my goal of improving my speaking skills.’

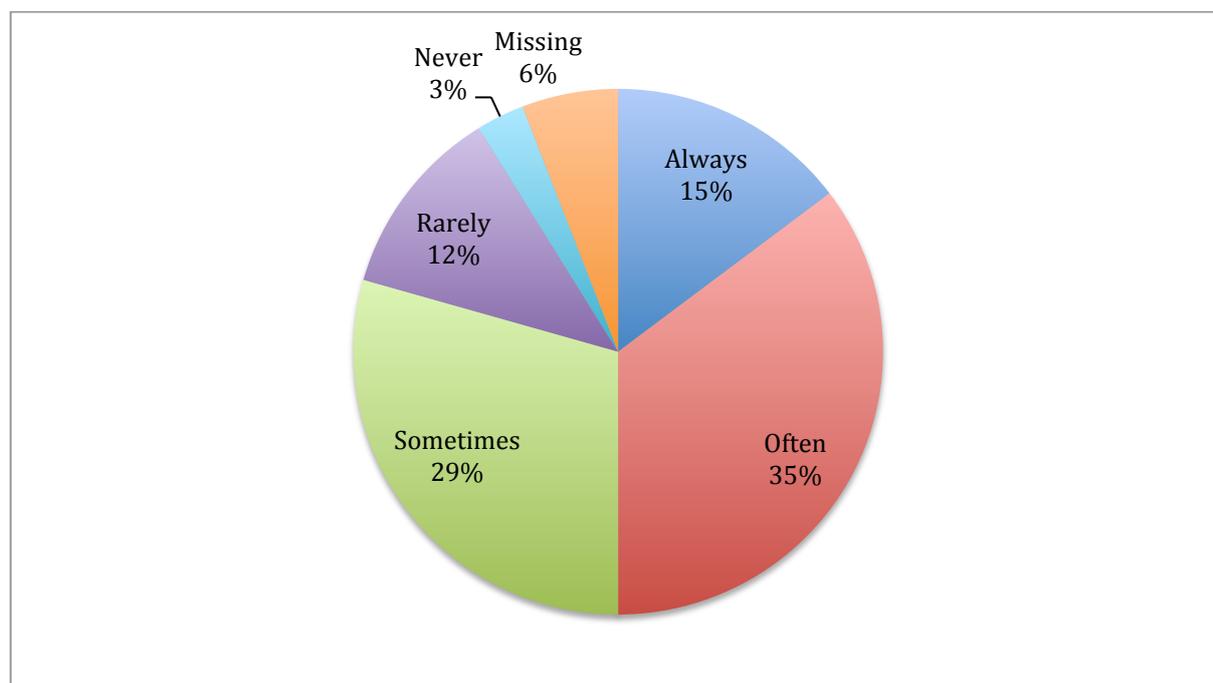
Other comments show mixed feelings:

‘I was sometimes annoyed at the beginning, and sometime happy to have them practice with me.’

‘Bad when they were condescending, yes, but many of them weren’t.’

The majority of respondents declared that they attempted to continue to use the local language when their interlocutors switched to English: some of them would always (5) or often (12) insist on speaking the local language, 10 of them would do it sometimes, and only a few of them declared that they rarely (4) or never (1) insisted.

Fig. 15 – Frequency of linguistic negotiation from the part of NSs



The host country did not seem to play any relevant part, for answers varied very little from country to country.

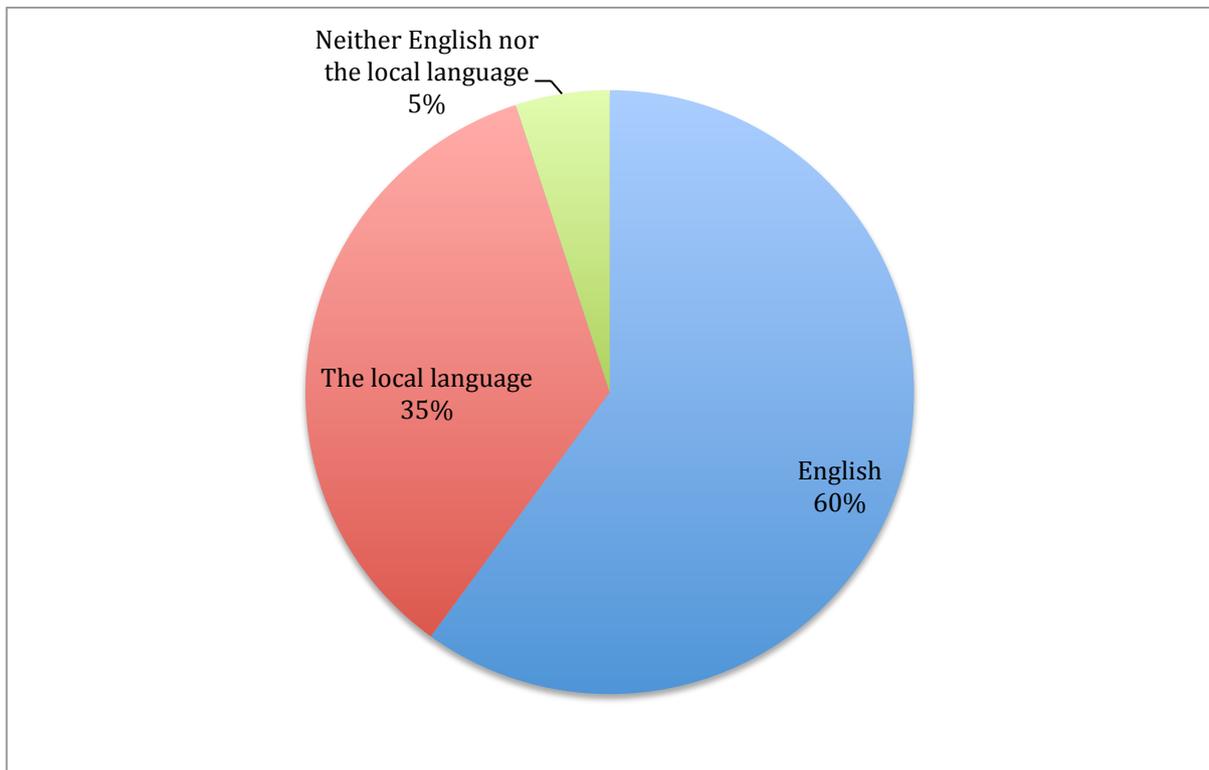
Some respondents point out the gap in linguistic skills existing between older and younger generations, affirming that speaking with interlocutors who were less proficient in English allowed them to improve their foreign language knowledge:

‘All in all, I found that I was more confident and spoke Italian much more easily when I was speaking to someone who spoke very little to no English. These people were often more patient [...]. They were more encouraging and seemed to be pleased that I was trying to communicate with them which made me want to speak more. Also, the lack of English as an option made it necessary for me to try harder and be more innovative with my vocabulary if I was not sure how to say something. For me, speaking with non-English speaking Italians was a much more valuable learning experience.’

- **University**

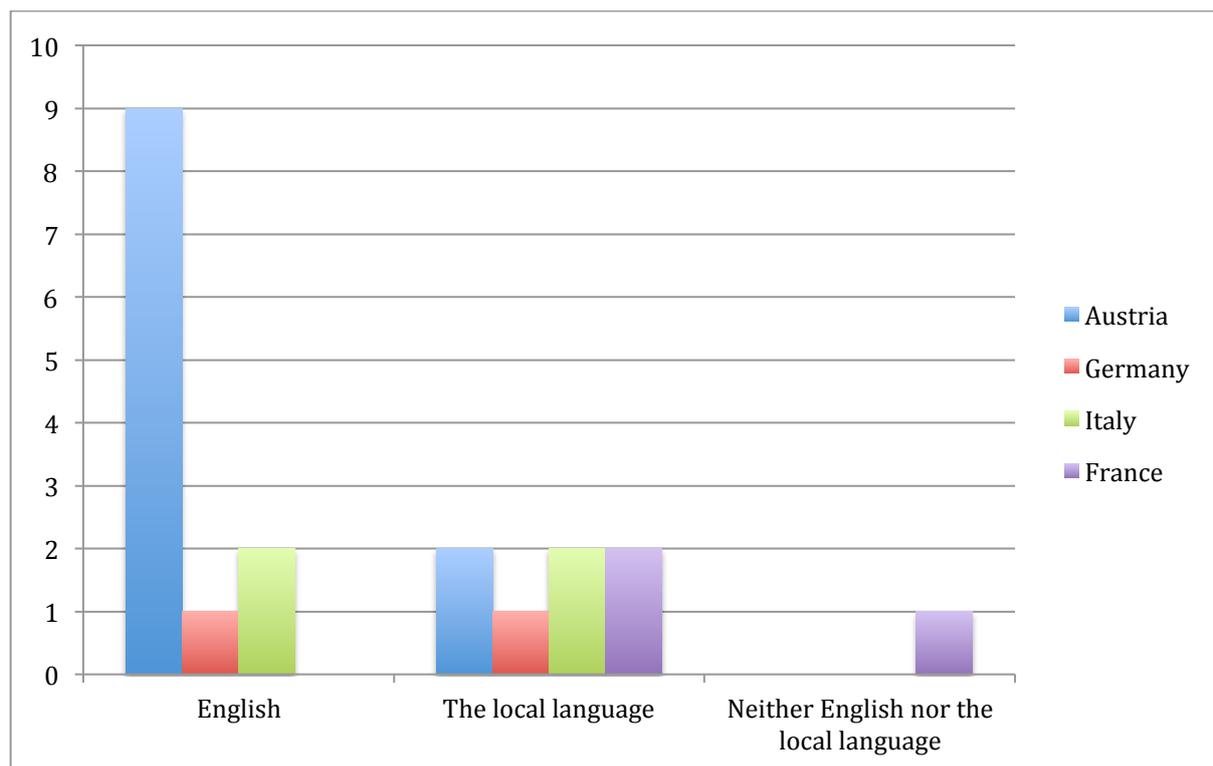
Twenty respondents attended university while living abroad and English appeared to be the preferred means of communication with fellow students.

Fig. 16 – Languages chosen in interactions with fellow students



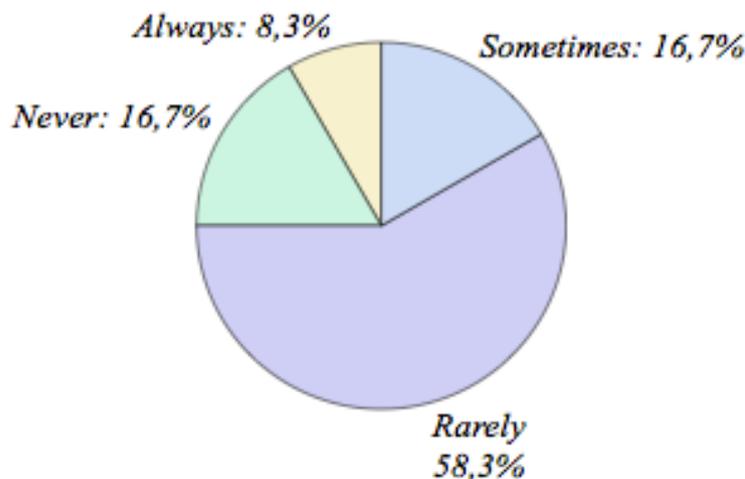
In the case of Austria, the host country seems to play a role in the choice of language, for out of 12 respondents who said that they preferred speaking English with their interlocutors 9 were spending their semester abroad in that country.

Fig. 17 – Influence of the host country on language choice in interactions with fellow students



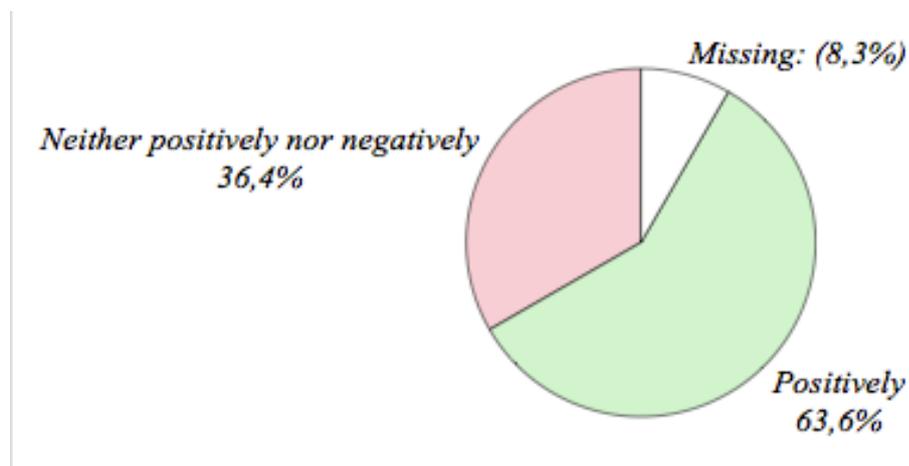
The main reason for choosing English was the need for a smooth conversation flow (8). Similarly important was the habit, for English was either the language used in their first contact (7) or the language used in class (7). Some respondents also noted that their fellow students wished to practice English with a NS (6) and that they chose it instinctively (3). Only 3 admitted that they did not feel confident enough in their knowledge of the local language, as opposed to what two of those three had stated when referring to their interactions with locals. Comments highlight the fact that English was the language used in courses and that it was consequentially automatic for NSs to use it with the other students. They also point to the fact that many classmates were not native speakers of the local language, and English was therefore the only language that could accommodate speakers of different nationalities. At university, it occurred very rarely that their interlocutors would switch to the local language when addressed in English.

Fig. 18 – Frequency of interlocutors’ language switch from English to the local language



However, when asked what kind of impact the interlocutor’s language switch had on the NS’ language learning, the majority of them answered that their use of the local language had a positive influence.

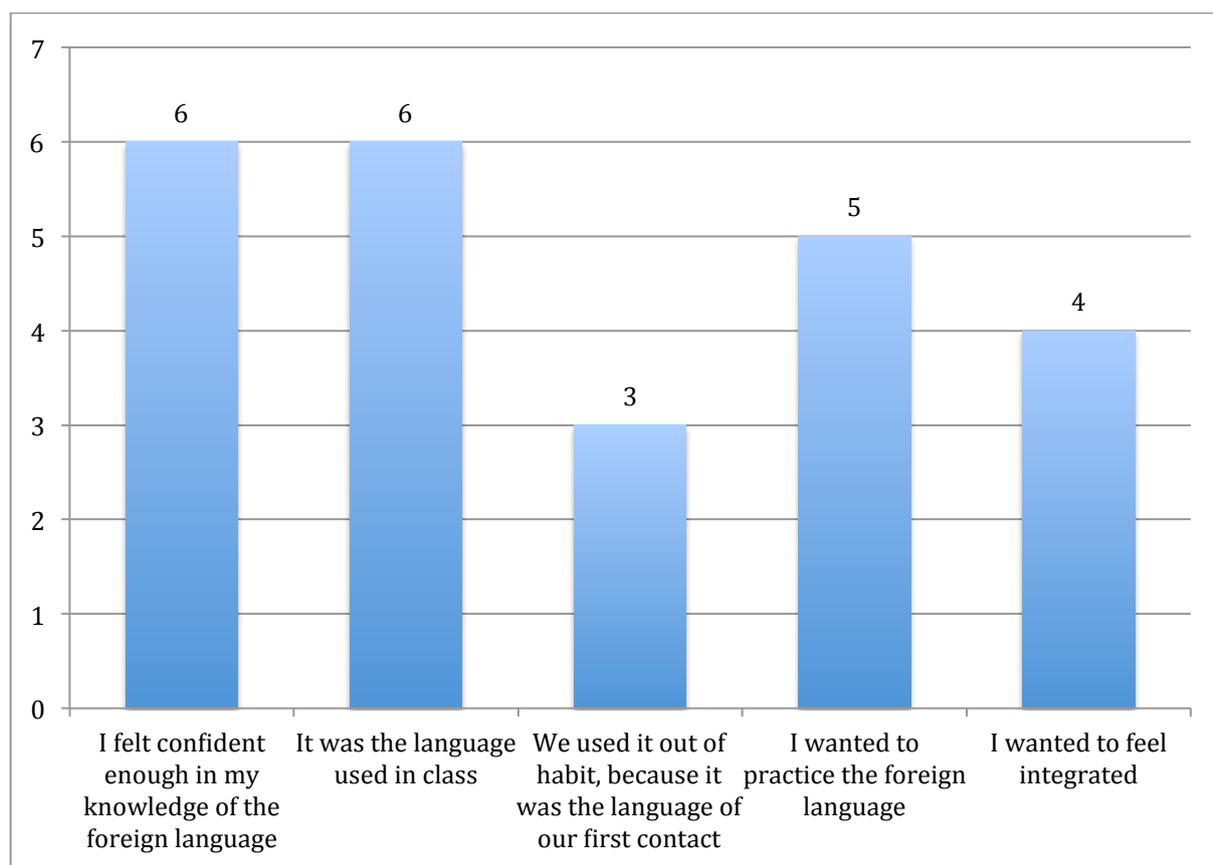
Fig. 19 – Influence of the interlocutors’ language switch on NSs’ language learning



The majority of respondents admitted they sometimes insisted on speaking English afterwards (5). The others switched back to their native language rarely (3) or never (4).

The reasons for using the local language when speaking with fellow students were mainly confidence in the knowledge of the foreign language (6) and the fact that it was the language used in class (6). The majority of participants (5 out 7) also expressed their desire to practice the language and to feel integrated (4). Three of them affirmed that the language was chosen out of habit, because it was the one used in their first contact.

Fig. 20 – Reasons for choosing the local language with fellow students



It was extremely rare for their interlocutors to answer in English when respondents addressed them in the local language. Three of them noted that the language switch never occurred, two that it happened rarely, and only one respondent said that it happened often. This last respondent acknowledged that their interlocutors were probably trying to practice their English or that they wanted to show off their knowledge of the language, but perceived negatively their language switch, for they felt that their interlocutors were implying that their knowledge of the local language (French) was not good enough. All respondents said that when the switch did occur, they often insisted in the linguistic negotiation and would go back to the local language.

Only one respondent chose a language that was neither English nor the local language when interacting with fellow students. They chose Spanish, for they had bonded with two Spanish students, which, according to the respondent, had a negative impact on their language learning, since they were spending their semester abroad in France.

In the comments section, some respondents point to the problems associated with need for European universities' to attract international students:

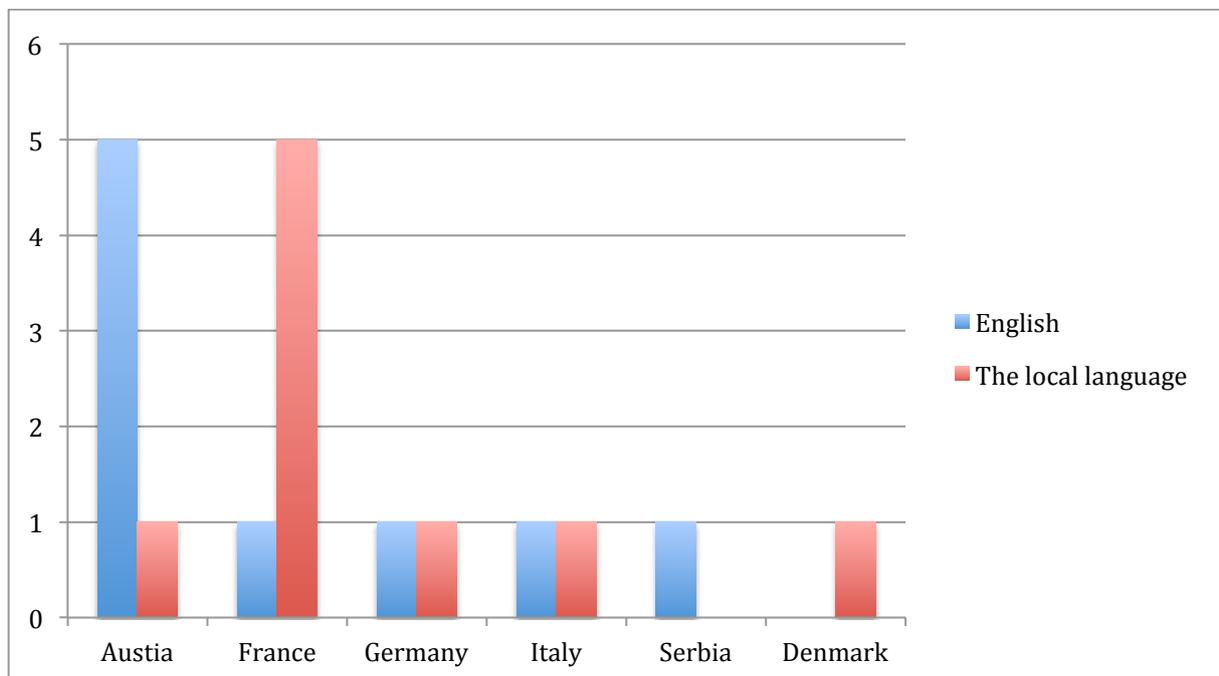
‘I’ve been living and working in East Germany for the past five years. There, many fewer people are confident about their English skills. About 15% of students at the university are international students, and most staff members’ English skills aren’t up to snuff. The university isn’t sure what steps to take next.’

‘My university in Italy was not an Italian university and there were no Italian students, which I was unaware of when I chose the program. The students were primarily American along with some students from Western Europe and South America. Other than the mandatory Italian Language class all of the classes were taught in English. Few students were taking the high level language classes and even fewer chose to speak Italian regularly with other students.’

- **Work**

In the case of respondents working during their period abroad (18), half of them declared that they spoke English with their colleagues, while the other half spoke the local language. It is interesting to notice how the host country influenced the language choice in both case, as shown in figure 21.

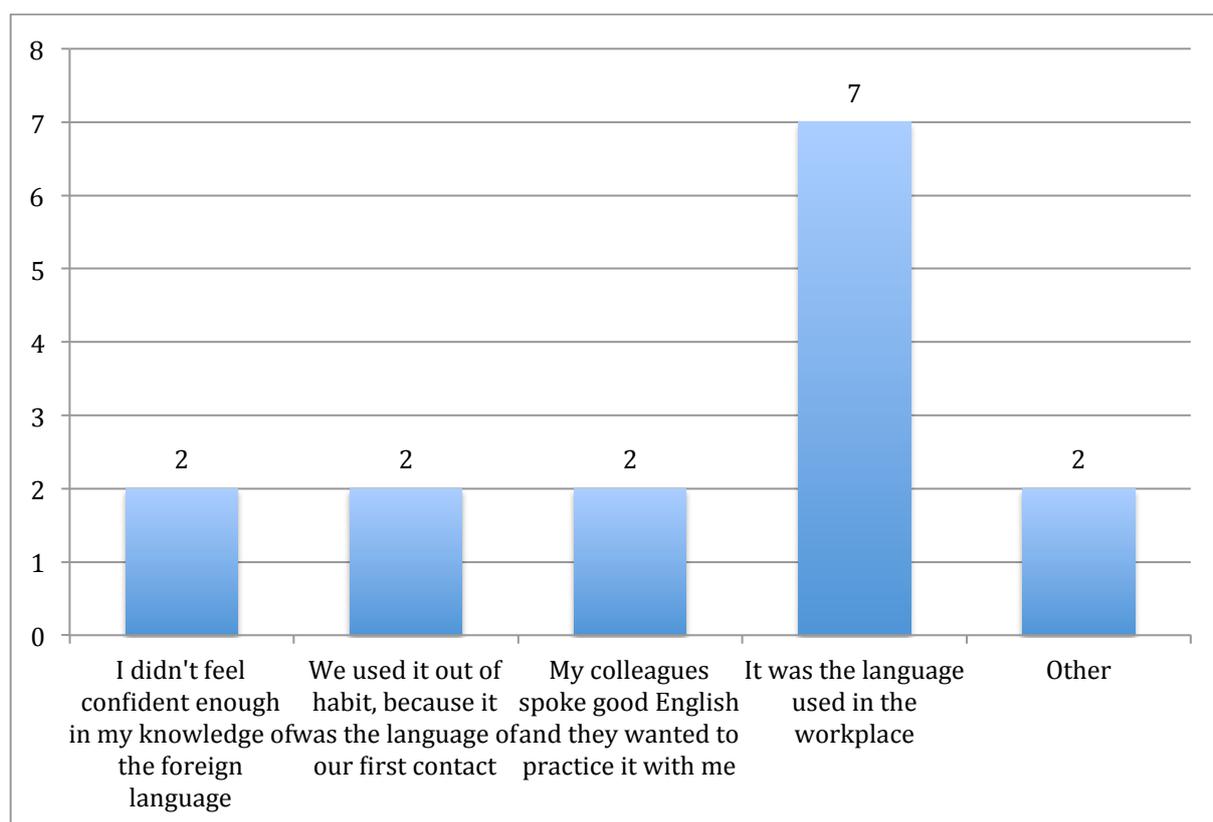
Fig. 21 – Relationship between the host country and the language used with colleagues



The majority of those who worked in Austria spoke English at work, while the exact opposite happened to those who lived in France.

The main reason for choosing English was that it was the language used in the workplace (7 respondents out of 9 chose it). The other reasons were evenly distributed, in the sense that each one was picked by two respondents. The participants who chose the “other” option wrote that they were either working as English teachers or that their co-workers were all native speakers of English.

Fig. 22 – Reasons for choosing English in interactions with colleagues

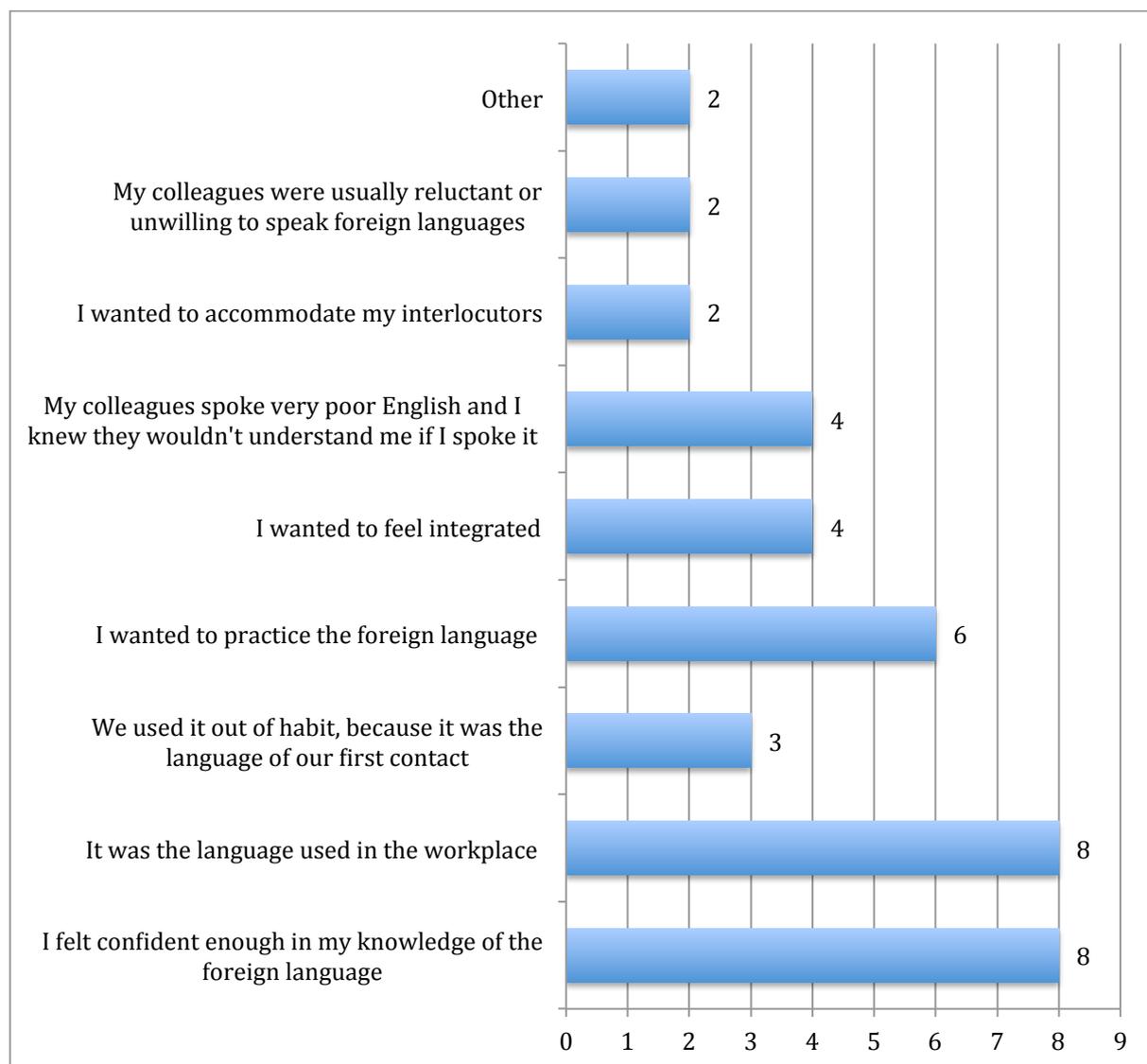


One of the respondents noted that their interlocutors would always switch to the local language when addressed in English, and another two said that negotiation occurred sometimes. The rest of the respondents answered that their colleagues would rarely (2) or never (4) respond in the local language. They generally perceived the language switch as non influential for their language learning and, nonetheless, the majority of them (7 out of 9 respondents) said that they rarely (3) or never (4) switched back to English when addressed in the local language.

The majority of respondents who used the local language in interactions with colleagues said that it was mainly due to confidence in their knowledge of the foreign language (8) and the fact that it was the language used in the workplace (8). Also the desire to practice the foreign language seems to play an important role in the choice (6). Although few respondents said

that they wanted to accommodate their interlocutors (2) and that their interlocutors were usually reluctant or unwilling to speak foreign languages (2), 4 of them declared that their colleagues spoke very poor English and that they would not understand if the NS spoke it.

Fig. 23 – Reasons for choosing the local language in interactions with colleagues

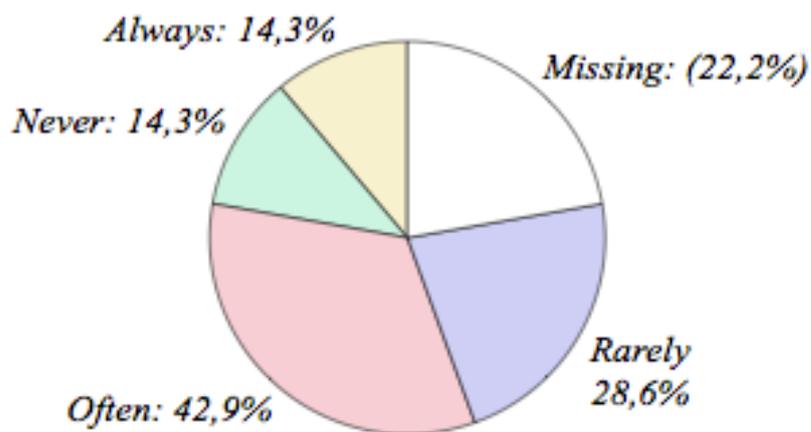


While for those who used English in the workplace, their or their colleagues' use of the local language had neither a positive nor a negative impact on their language learning, 100% of respondents who used the local language in the workplace noted that their choice influenced positively their linguistic skills.

Only one respondent affirmed that his/her interlocutors sometimes answered in English when addressed in the local language. The others answered that the language switch occurred rarely (3) or never (5). Even when it occurred, the linguistic negotiation was generally perceived positively, namely as an attempt to practice their English with a native speaker.

The language switch seems to be initiated more often by NSs, for some of them insisted on speaking the local language always (1) or often (3) when their interlocutors addressed them in English, as figure 24 shows.

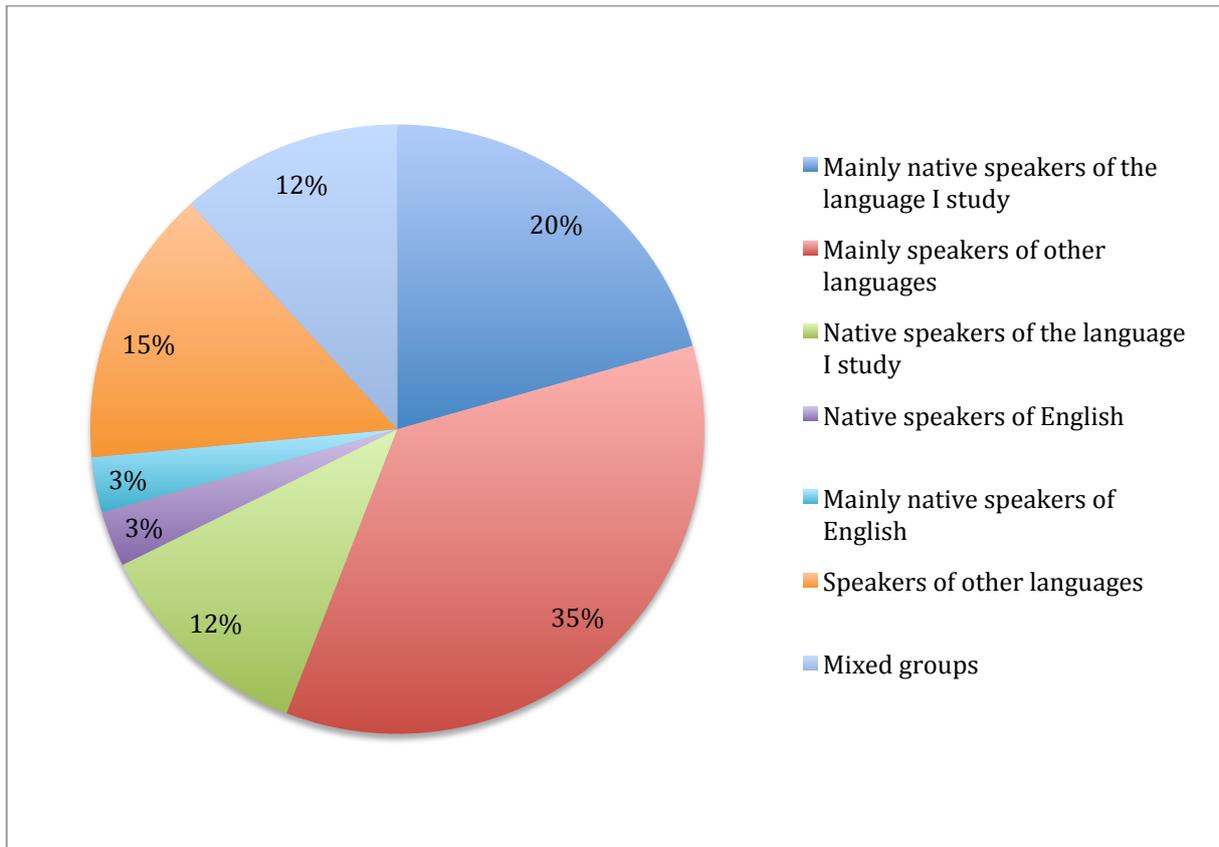
Fig. 24 – Frequency of NSs’ linguistic negotiation when addressed in English by colleagues



- **Contacts with friends**

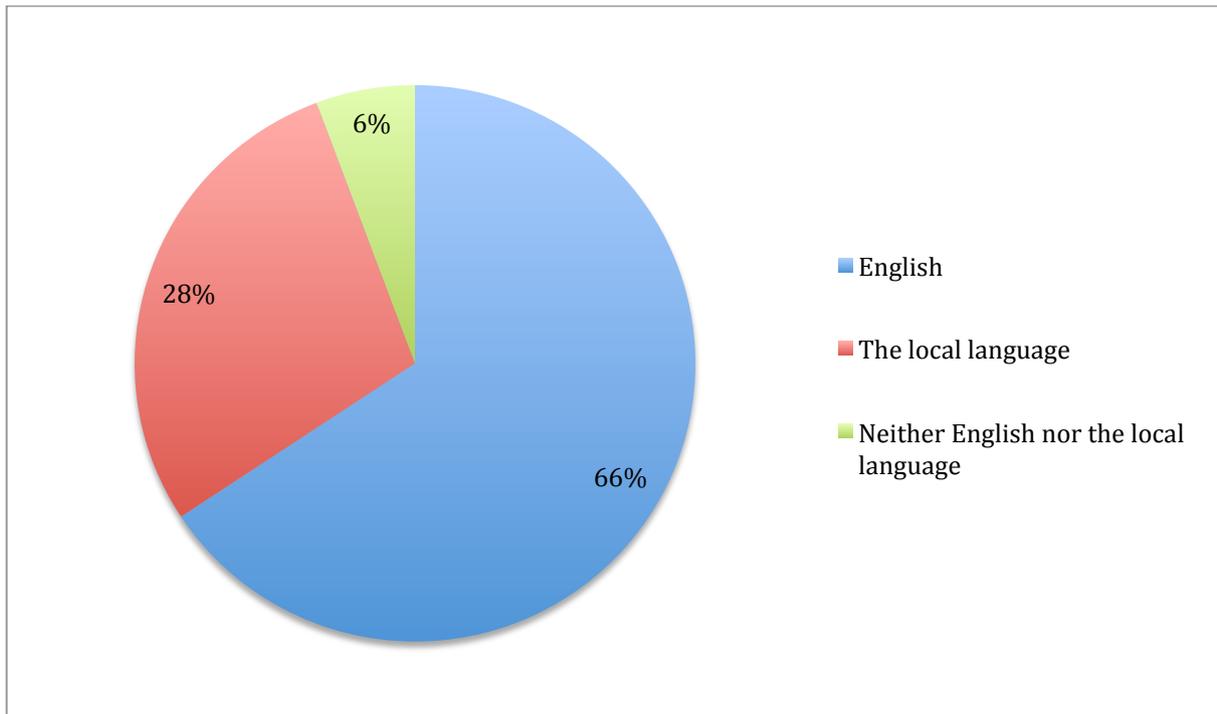
As is often the case in study abroad contexts, respondents tended to socialise mainly with speakers of different nationalities. While some of them said they socialised mainly (8) or exclusively (4) with native speakers of the language they study, others answered that among their friends there were mainly (13) or exclusively (5) speakers of other languages. Two respondents said they socialised mainly (1) or exclusively (1) with native speakers of English.

Fig. 25 – Groups with whom NSs socialised while abroad



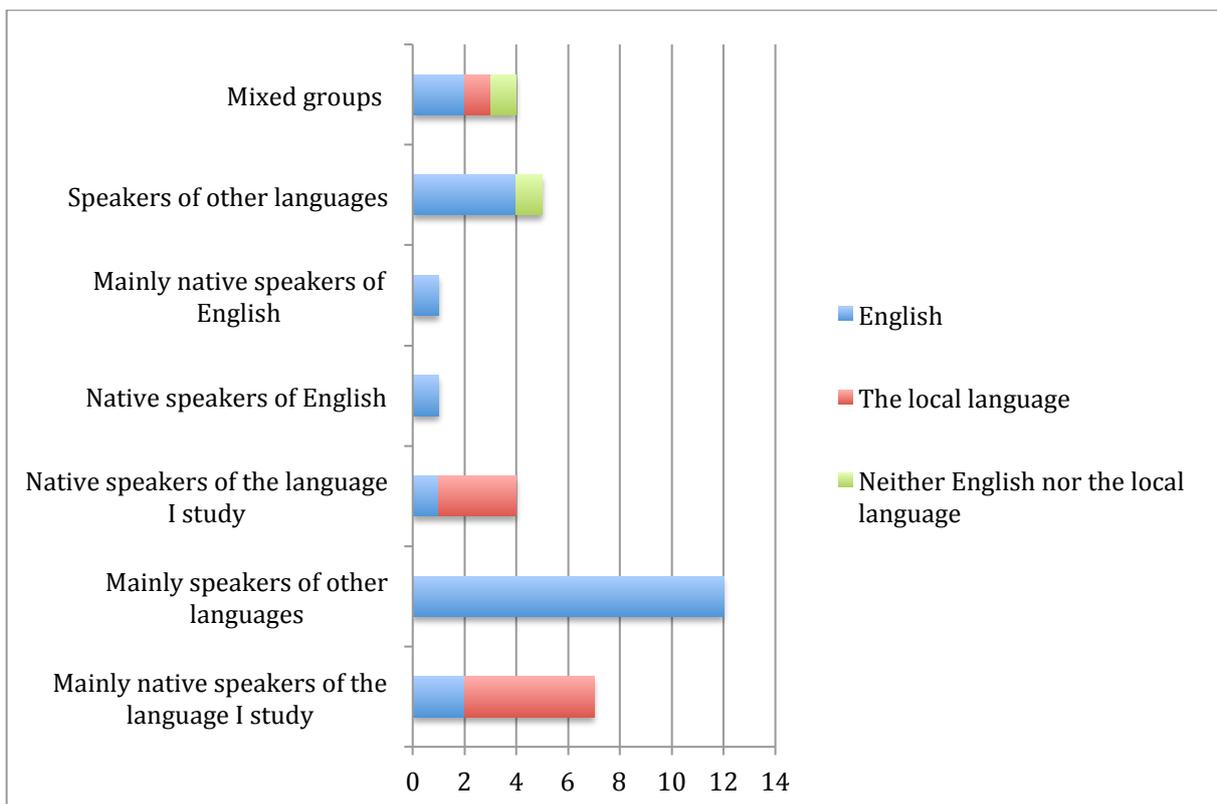
It was therefore reasonable to expect that English would be the language mostly spoken in interactions with friends while abroad, for it would easily be the only common language between speakers of different nationalities.

Fig. 26 – Languages chosen by NSs for their interactions with friends



As figure 27 shows, the use of the local language occurred exclusively when native speakers of that language were involved. English was the sole choice when speakers of other languages were involved.

Fig. 27 – Influence of the group of friends on NSs' language choice



This aspect was also hinted at several times in the comments section by those who chose English for their interactions with friends:

‘I would only respond in English if there were people in the group who didn't speak German, so that everyone could understand.’

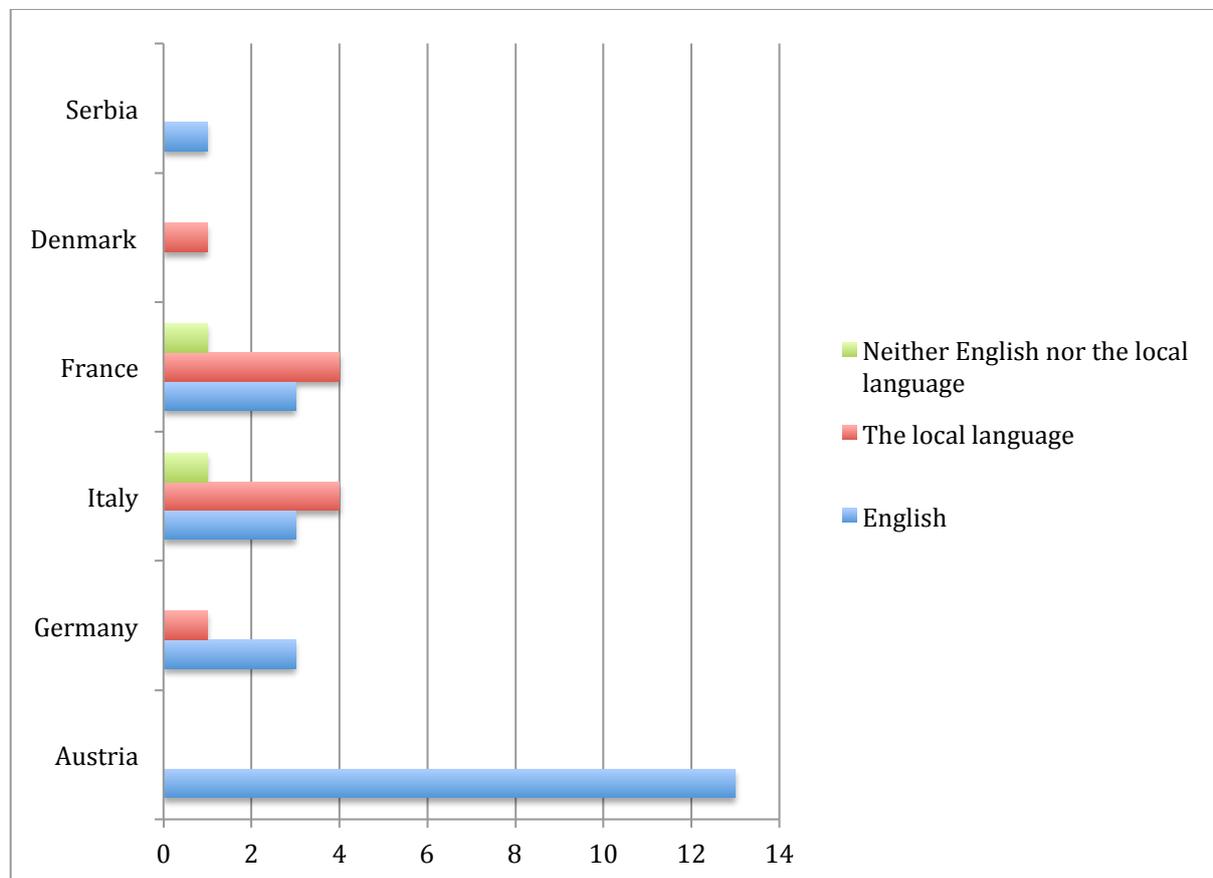
‘I insisted on speaking Italian at all times, unless [sic] someone had difficulty conversing in Italian.’

‘In friendship groups there was a much wider mix of nationalities hence english was the common language and even in a situation where i would have liked to have practiced the local language it would have excluded some group members’

‘most friends were other international students’

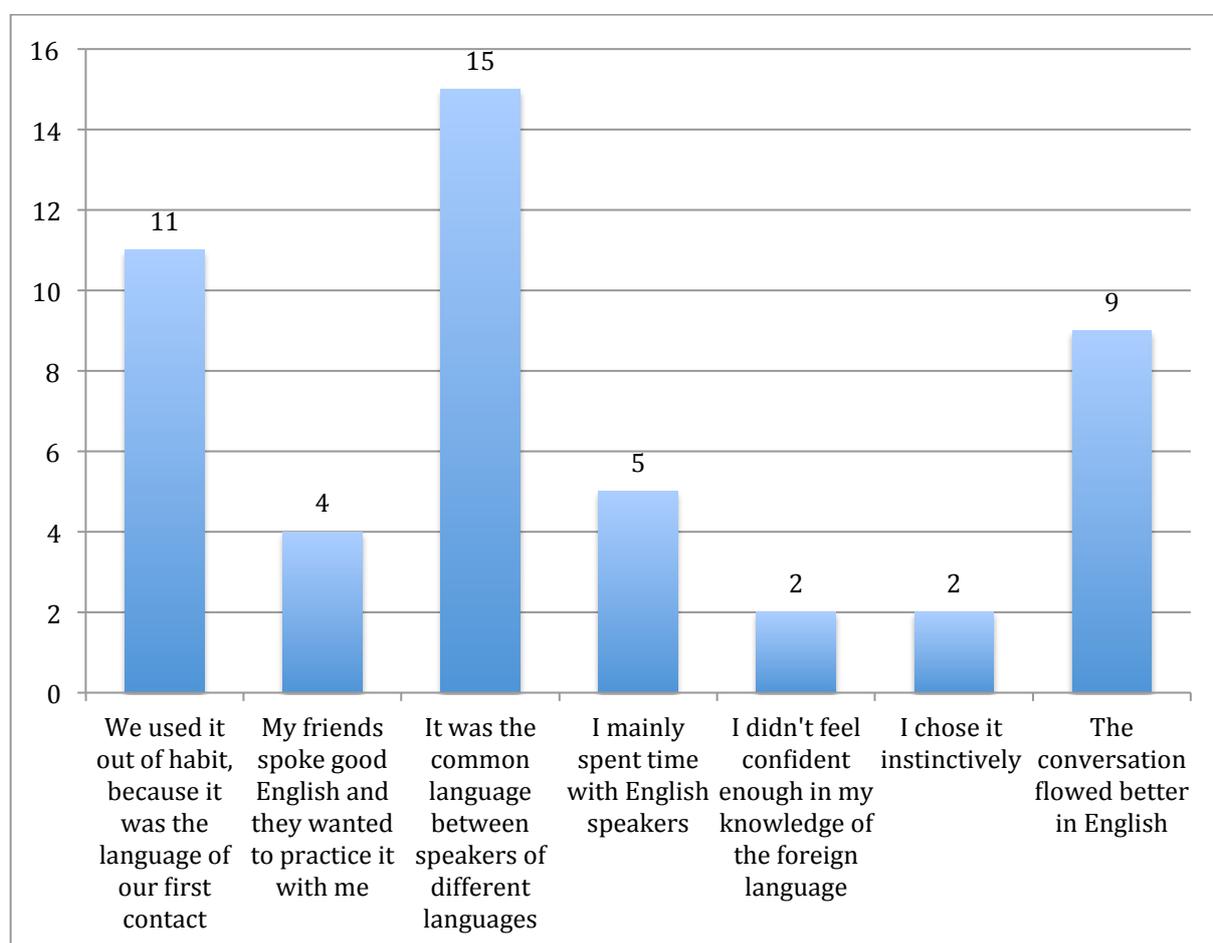
It is also interesting to notice that, while in Italy and France NSs chose the local language more frequently than English, the same is not true for Austria, where English was the only language spoken by participants when interacting with their friends.

Fig. 28 – Influence of the host country on NSs’ language choice



The main reasons for NSs to choose English when interacting with their friends was the fact that it was the common language between speakers of different nationalities (15) and habit, because it was the language of their first contact (11). Nine respondents also indicated that English allowed for a smoother conversation flow. Although only two respondents admitted that they spent time mainly or exclusively with English speakers, 5 of them indicated it as a reason for choosing English in their interactions with friends. Some respondents blamed the choice on their friends' desire to practice their English with a native speaker, and only a minority of them (2) admitted they did not feel confident enough in their knowledge of the local language.

Fig. 29 – Reasons for choosing English in interactions with friends

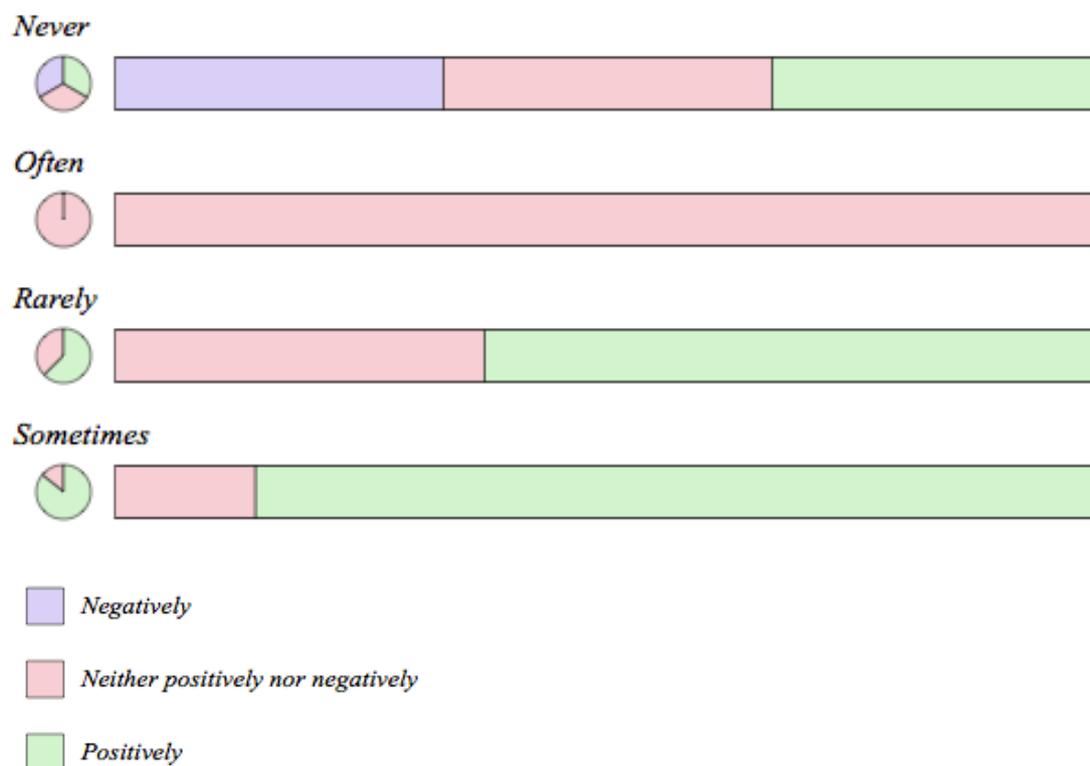


Language negotiation occurred rarely or never according to the majority of the respondents (9 and 6 respectively). Seven participants affirmed that their interlocutors would sometimes address them in the local language despite their initial choice of English. One respondent affirmed that it happened often.

However, when a language switch did occur, the majority of respondents (63%) felt that it had a positive impact on their language learning, which is more true for those who were faced

with linguistic negotiation more often (“sometimes”). Interestingly enough, the one respondent who answered “often” to the previous question perceived that their friends’ use of the local language had neither a positive nor a negative impact on his/her language learning.

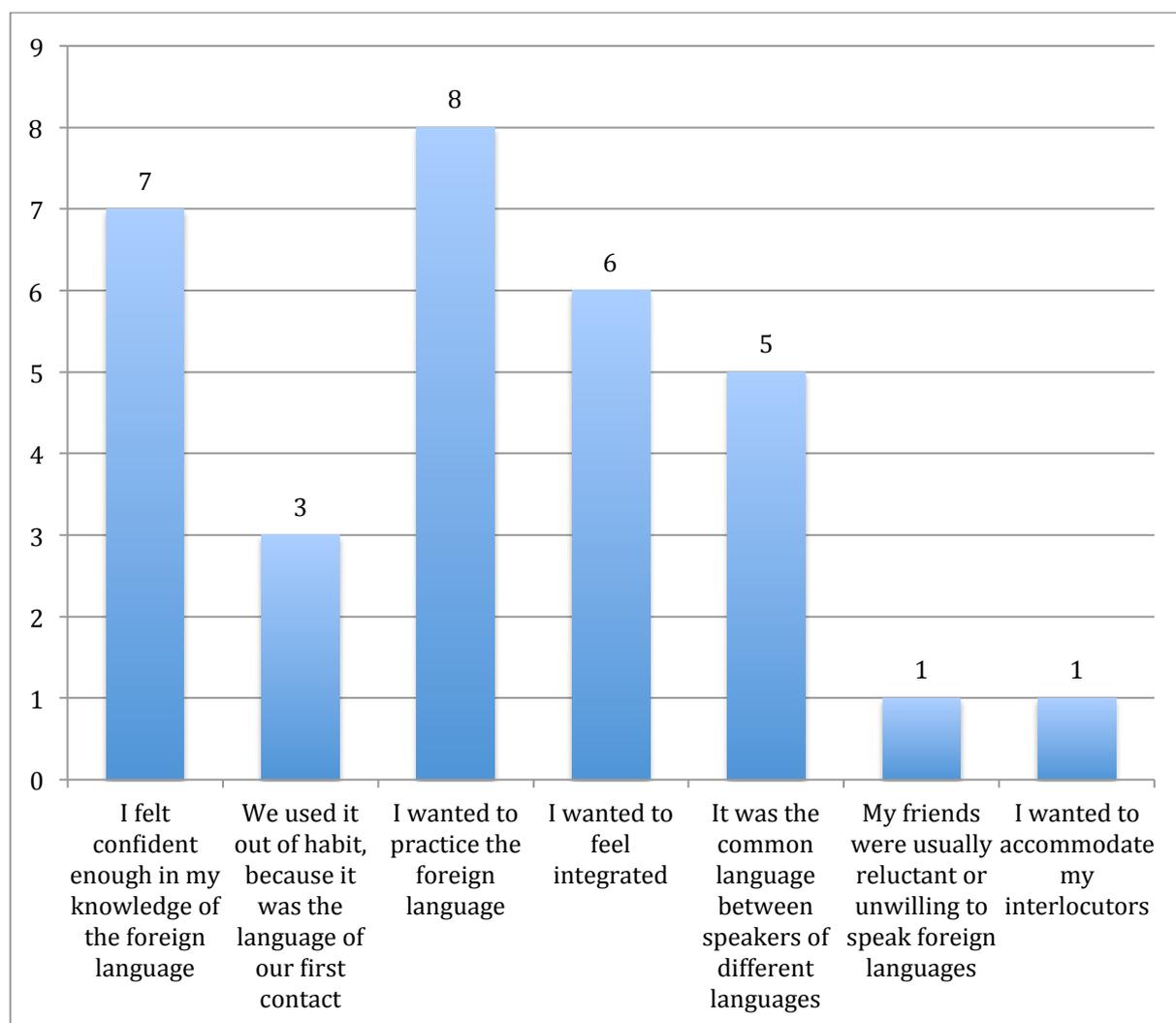
Fig. 30 – Influence of the frequency of language switch on language learning



Similarly, NSs rarely (6) or never (9) insisted on speaking English when they were addressed in the local language. Six of them admitted that they would sometimes stick to English, while only one often switched back to their native language.

The use of the local language was mainly due the NSs’ desire to practice the foreign language (8) and to their confidence in speaking it (7). Integrative motivation also played an important role in the choice (6). For 5 respondents, the local language was the common language between speakers of different nationalities, while 3 respondents said that they and their friends used it out of habit, because it was the language of their first contact. Only one participant, who was spending the semester in Germany, affirmed that their interlocutors were usually reluctant or unwilling to speak foreign languages. Similarly, only one respondent would choose the local language in order to accommodate their interlocutors.

Fig. 31 – Reasons for choosing the local language in interactions with friends



All of the respondents felt that their use of the local language had a positive influence on their language learning.

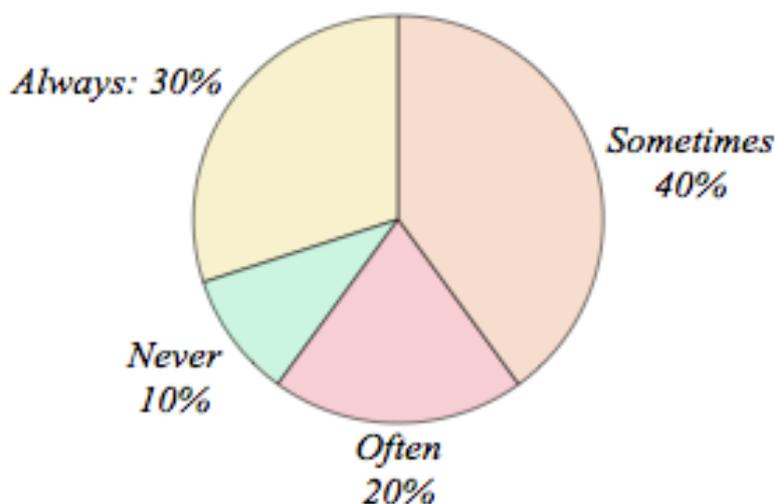
When interacting with their group of friends, half of the NSs were sometimes (5) met with language switch, while the rest of them had to face it rarely (2) or never (3).

However, this was generally perceived as a non-threatening behaviour, as all but one respondent felt that their friends were switching to English to practice the language with them (6). Other reasons (friends were trying to help the NS, their own lack of linguistic skills, their friends wanting to show off their knowledge of English) were each mentioned only by one respondent. One participant, however, negatively perceived the language switch, affirming that in so doing, his friends were not helping them integrate.

The NSs intent of learning the foreign language when they chose it for their interactions with friends is strikingly apparent. In fact, when asked whether they would insist on speaking the

local language after their friends had switched to English, 4 of them said that they would sometimes do so, 2 that they would often do so and 3 that they would always go back to speaking the local language.

Fig. 32 – Frequency with which NSs switched back to the local language after facing linguistic negotiation



This desire emerges also from the comments:

‘I insisted on speaking Italian at all times, unless [sic] someone had difficulty conversing in Italian.’

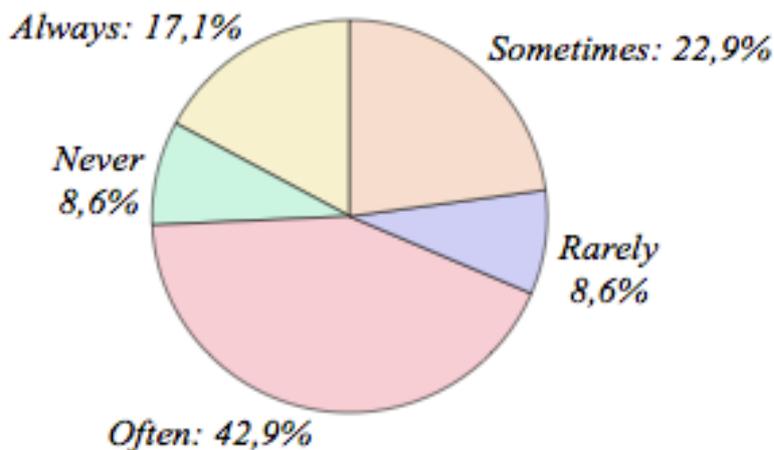
‘I tried to surround myself with people who were non native English speakers, though they all spoke very good English.’

Only two respondents chose a language that was neither English nor the local language for their interactions with friends, but only one completed the rest of the questionnaire. Similarly to the case of the student speaking Spanish at university, the respondent spoke Spanish to the Spanish friends he/she had bonded with in Austria, since it was the common language between speakers of different nationalities and it allowed the conversation to flow better.

- **Accommodation**

Most respondents said that they accommodated their level of English to that of their NNS interlocutors to some extent. The majority of them said they did it often (15), 8 participants sometimes, 6 always, and only a smaller percentage noted they did it rarely (3) or never (3).

Fig. 33 – Frequency with which native speakers adapt their level of English to their interlocutor’s



Respondents listed a number of strategies they use when interacting with non native speakers of English in order to accommodate their interlocutors: simplify the language by using simpler vocabulary, avoiding slang and idiomatic phrases, slow down the speech, and rely more on gestures and facial expressions.

‘I try to speak more clearly and with less slang when speaking to non-native English speakers.

Depending on my estimation of my interlocutors' English skills, I would try to adjust my level of English to theirs by speaking slower and more clearly, facing them when I spoke, phrasing things simply, using fewer colloquialisms, avoiding difficult vocabulary words and attempting to be more expressive with gestures and facial expressions to help make the tone of the conversation easier to interpret. You know, sarcasm doesn't always translate well...’

Participants seem to be aware of the difficulties that non-native speakers face in NS-NNS interactions and act accordingly, often adjusting their English to the interlocutor’s competence or needs.

‘I learned to do so more as the months passed. I also found out which friends/ acquaintances enjoyed the vocabulary challenges, and which

became frustrated when they didn't know a word or two, so it depended on the person.'

'I speak very quickly in English and I have an accent so I feel it would be incredibly rude if I spoke 'normally' to non-native English speakers who do not have a high level of comprehension. I always accommodate my language based on who I'm communicating with (without using 'incorrect' or 'dumbed-down' English).'

This last comment is particularly interesting, for it shows a deliberate choice of avoiding Foreign Talk on the part of the native speaker.

One respondent declared that they would not patronise their friends, all competent English speakers, by accommodating their speech:

'Most of those with whom I speak English are very competent speakers; therefore, there is no need to adapt my level.'

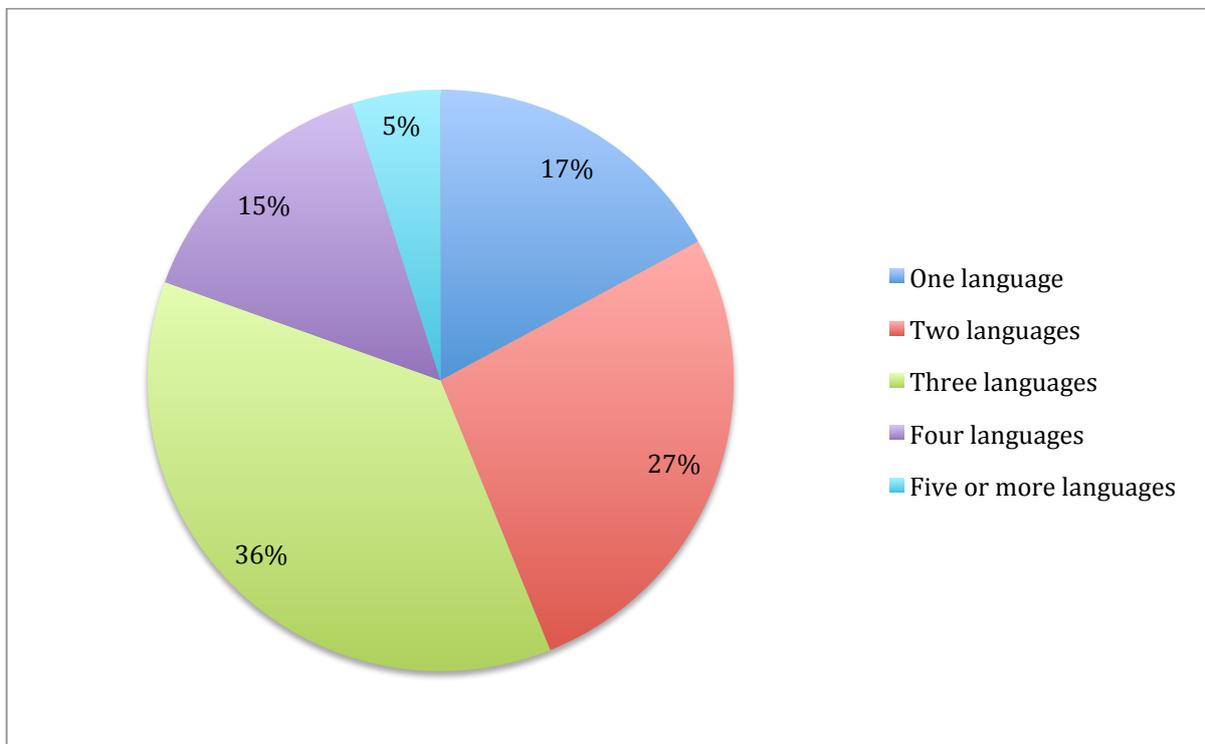
Non-native speakers

- **Personal information and linguistic background**

Participants were Europeans aged between 15 and 39 who had interactions with native speakers of English either in their home country or during their study/work abroad experience. As mentioned in section 3.2., for the purpose of this study only the 95 forms from Italian (70), French (4), Austrian (19) and German (2) respondents were analysed, in order to allow a comparison between their answers and those of the NSs who spent time in those countries.

However, it is interesting to notice that all respondents (127) mentioned English among the languages they know well enough to be able to have a conversation, and 109 of them said that they speak it at an advanced level. In addition, the majority of them can speak more than one foreign language: 33 mentioned two languages, 45 three languages, 18 four and 6 respondents five or more languages. The number of participants with only one foreign language is comparatively low (21).

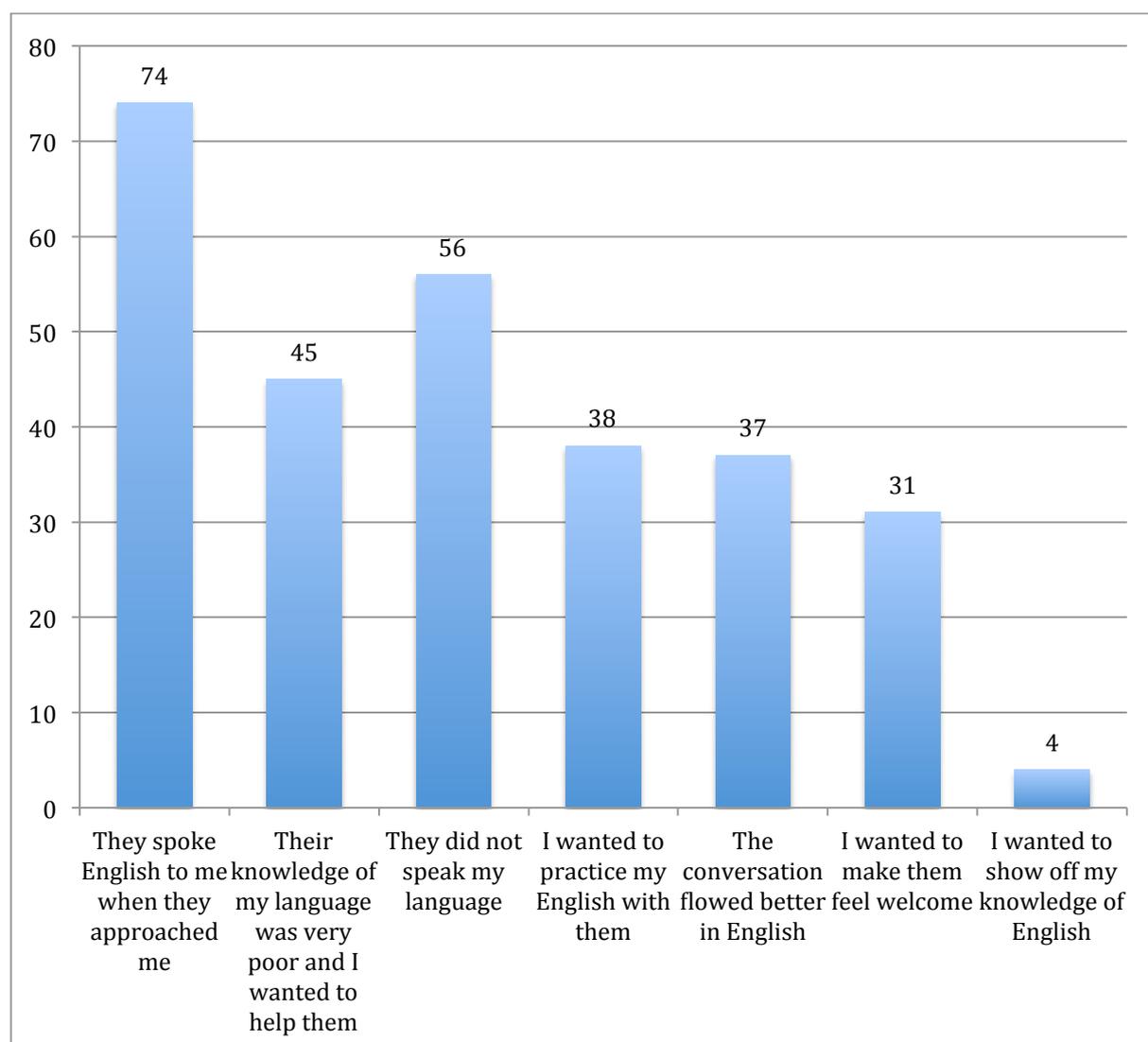
Fig. 34 – Number of languages spoken by NNS participants



- **Occasional interactions with NS in the home country**

All participants except for one said that they had occasional interactions with NSs in their home country, and 96.9% of them (92 out of 95 respondents) used English when interacting with them. Most respondents (80%) noted that their linguistic choice was influenced by the NS' approach, for it was them who started the conversation in English. Another reason for many respondents was the fact that English NSs did not speak the local language (60%), or that their knowledge of the local language was very poor and so NNSs tried to help them (48%) or to make the conversation flow better (40%) by speaking English. One third of the respondents (33%) wanted their interlocutors to feel welcome, and 41% of them took the conversation as a chance to practice their English. Only 4.4% of respondents admitted that they wanted to show off their knowledge of the language.

Fig. 35 – Reasons for choosing English in occasional interactions with NSs

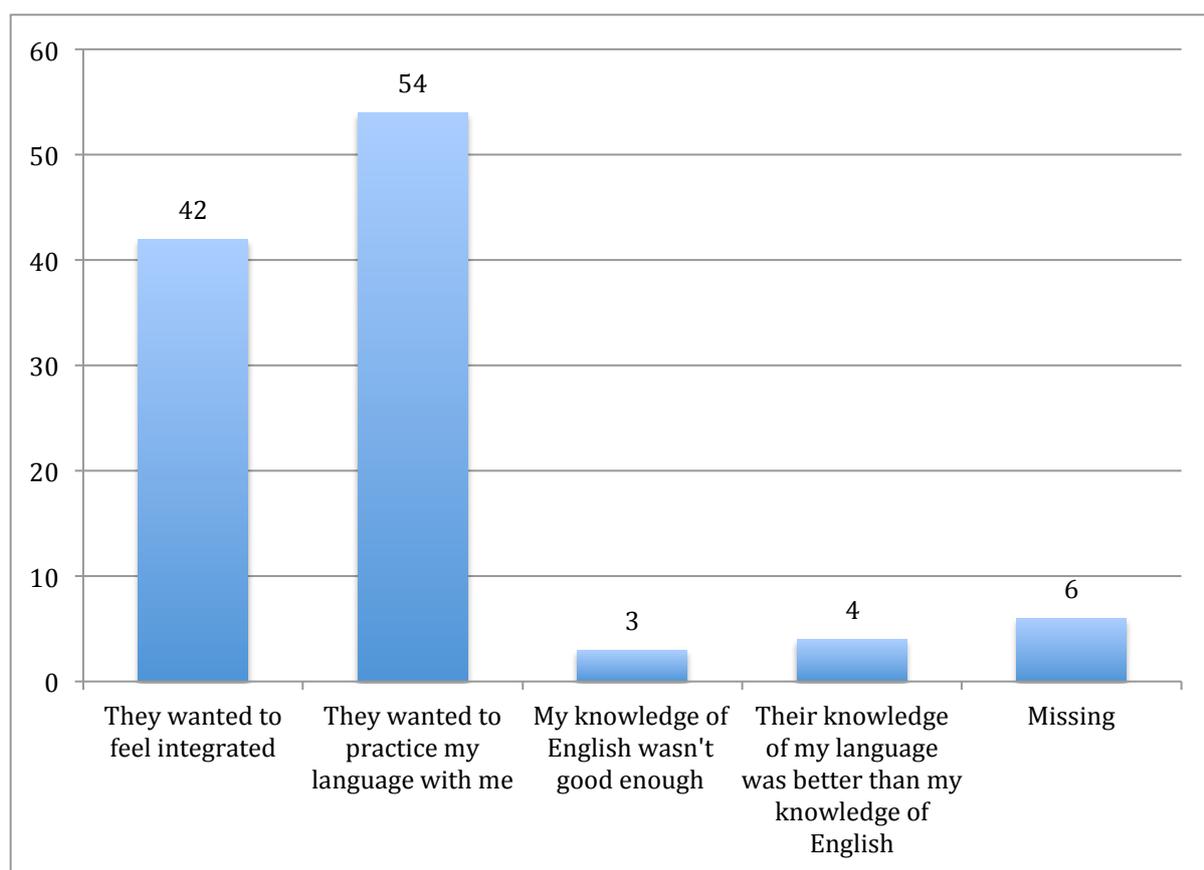


The majority of respondents (48%) noted that NSs rarely switched to the local language when they were addressed in English; 21% of participants (20) said that it never occurred and 26% that it sometimes did. Only one Italian respondent said it often happened.

Neither in the case of the reasons given for their linguistic choice, nor in the frequency with which language switch occurred did nationalities seem to play a relevant role, for answers vary very little from country to country.

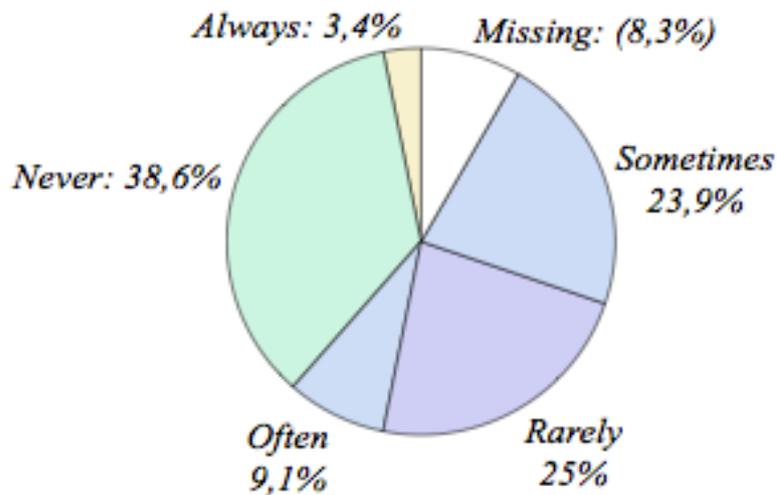
According to the majority of respondents, integrative motivation was the main reason for the NSs' language switch when it occurred. 59% of participants said that their interlocutors wanted to practice the local language with them when they chose it, 46% of them felt that they were trying to integrate. Only a minority of respondents blamed the linguistic negotiation on their lack of linguistic skills.

Fig. 36 – Perceived reasons for the NSs' language switch from English to the local language



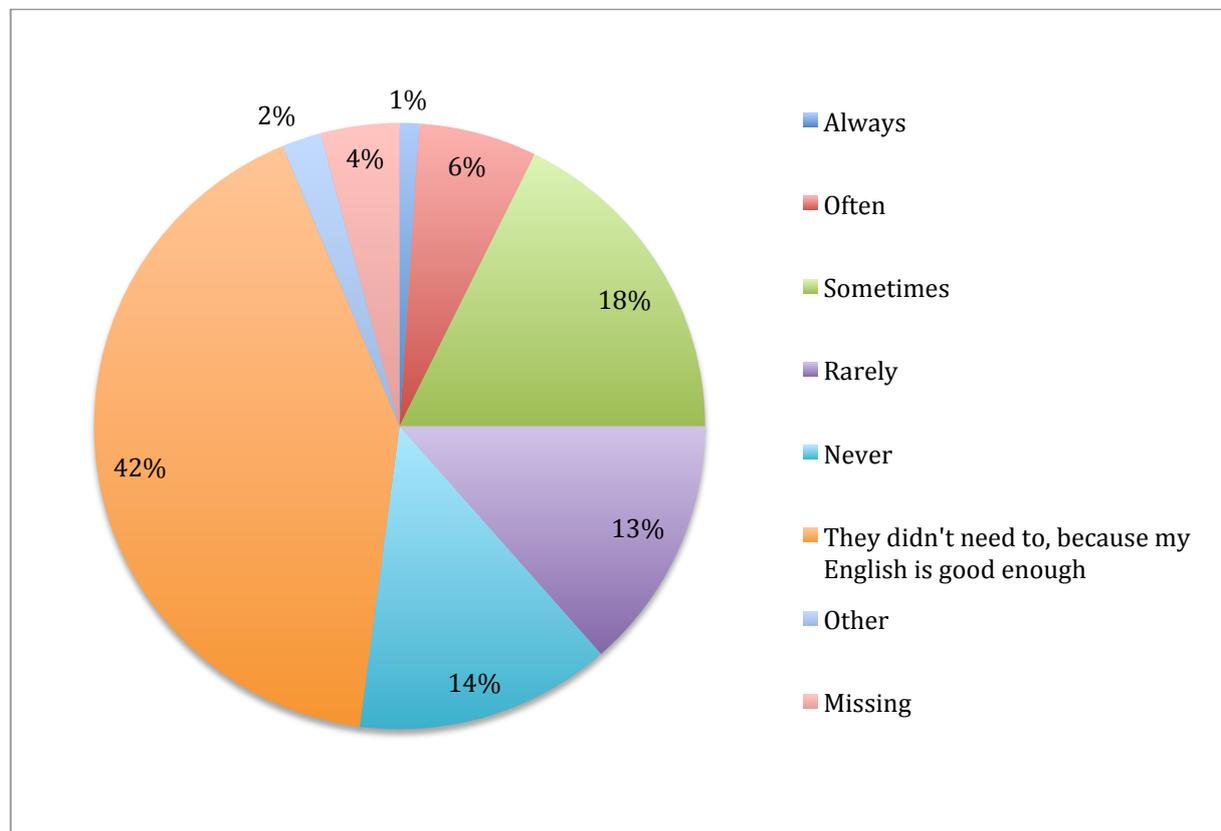
As figure 37 shows, it was not rare for the linguistic negotiation to continue even when the NSs tried to use the local language; one third of the NNS participants said that they sometimes, often or even always insisted on speaking English with their interlocutors.

Fig. 37 – Frequency with which respondents insisted on speaking English



When asked whether they thought that their NS interlocutors adapted their level of English to their, the majority of respondents (44%) answered that they did not need to, for their level of English is good enough. 27% of participants felt that language accommodation rarely (13%) or never (14%) happened, while 18% said that it sometimes did. Only 7 NNSs noted that it often (6) or always (1) occurred. One respondent wrote that their level of English is not good enough to detect the accommodation.

Fig. 38 – Frequency with which NSs accommodated their speech according to NNSs



Only two Italian respondents chose the local language for their occasional interactions with NSs. They both said that their choice was due to the NSs approaching them directly in the local language and to the fact that the NSs' knowledge of the local language was better than their knowledge of English. One of them wrote that they felt that their interlocutors wanted to practice the language and that they were glad to help them.

According to one of them, NSs did sometimes switch to English in the course of the conversation, while the other one said that it rarely happened. However, they give the same answer when asked what they think the reason for the switch was, namely that the conversation flowed better in English. Language negotiation hardly ever continued, for one of them never switched back to the local language and the other one rarely did.

While both of them indicated their level of English as being advanced, one felt that their interlocutors rarely adapted their level of English to his/her level, and the other felt that language accommodation always took place.

The one respondent who indicated Spanish as the chosen language of communication with NSs of English did not provide any further information about their choice.

Some comments highlight the extent to which young Europeans are conscious of the role that English plays today as a lingua franca in Europe; although they always seem to react positively to NSs' attempt to speak their language, they never question the necessity to be able to hold a conversation in English.

'English is an international english [sic] nowadays. Even in the pre-school level for children [sic], it is a must subject.'

'In my dormitory it's always easier to speak English with foreign people even though [sic] they are not native speakers.'

'I noticed that English-speaking tourists who need information usually try to catch my attention using Italian words (ie. "Scusi..."). Although the conversation is almost always held in English, they often greet me with "Ciao" or "Arrivederci" and a big smile on their face. I have always thought this to be their way to show both their appreciation for my use of their language and their attempt to contribute to the conversation using mine.'

'I also spent my semester abroad in Germany with lots of British/American/Canadian exchange students and things with them were a bit different. The chosen language always depended on the level of their respective German language skills and also of course on the topic we talked

about. Sometimes that could lead to a very interesting Denglish/Deuglich mixture, as we would call it :D I might also add that the larger the number of English native speakers in a conversation was, the more likely it was for us to switch to English.'

'When I have interactions with people who don't know my language I speak in English and often they help me to speak and to understand.'

'I live in Berlin. Many people here don't speak German very well, so English is the lingua franca. If I talk to a German person in an English speaking environment, I sometimes speak English (also, my English is better than my German so in certain cases the conversation simply flows better). No matter where you come from, if you're young you're expected to speak English, and even to be fluent.'

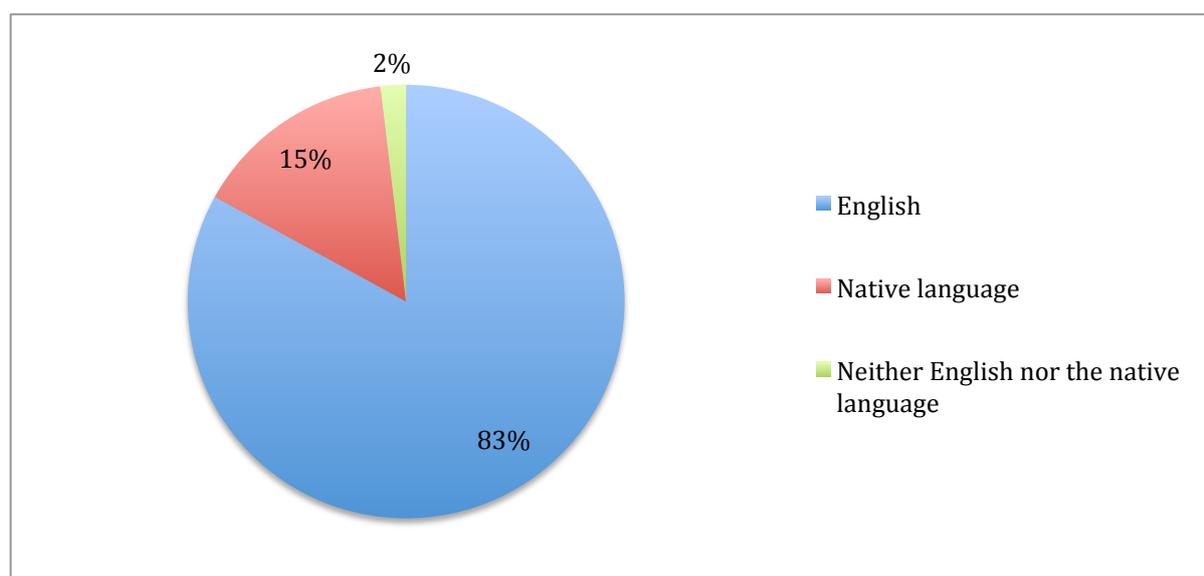
- **Contacts with NS friends**

Out of 95 respondents, 53 said that they had become friends with NSs of English in their home country (41 Italians, 10 Austrians, 1 French and 1 German).

As figure 39 shows, the majority of them (44) chose English for their interactions with them. 8 respondents indicated their native language as the chosen means of communication and only one Italian respondent chose neither English nor their native language.

It is interesting to notice that English was chosen by all the German speaking participants (10 Austrians and 1 German), while the local language was chosen by the French respondent and 7 Italians.

Fig. 39 – Language chosen in interactions with NS friends



A large number of respondents (32) noted that the reason why they chose to speak English with their English-speaking friends was habit, for it was the language of their first contact. Many also admitted that they wanted to practice their English with NSs (24) and that it was their NS friends who preferred English for their conversations (24). Only two respondents indicated their desire to practice the language as the sole reason for choosing English; in the other cases this reason was also accompanied by the lack of knowledge of the local language on the part of NSs (“They did not speak my language”: 20; “Their knowledge of my language was very poor and I wanted to help them”: 18), habit, or the NSs’ preference to speak their mother tongue. Only a minor part of them declared that they wanted their friends to feel welcome (9), and even fewer respondents admitted that they wanted to show off their knowledge of English (3).

Fig. 40 – Reasons for choosing English in interactions with NS friends

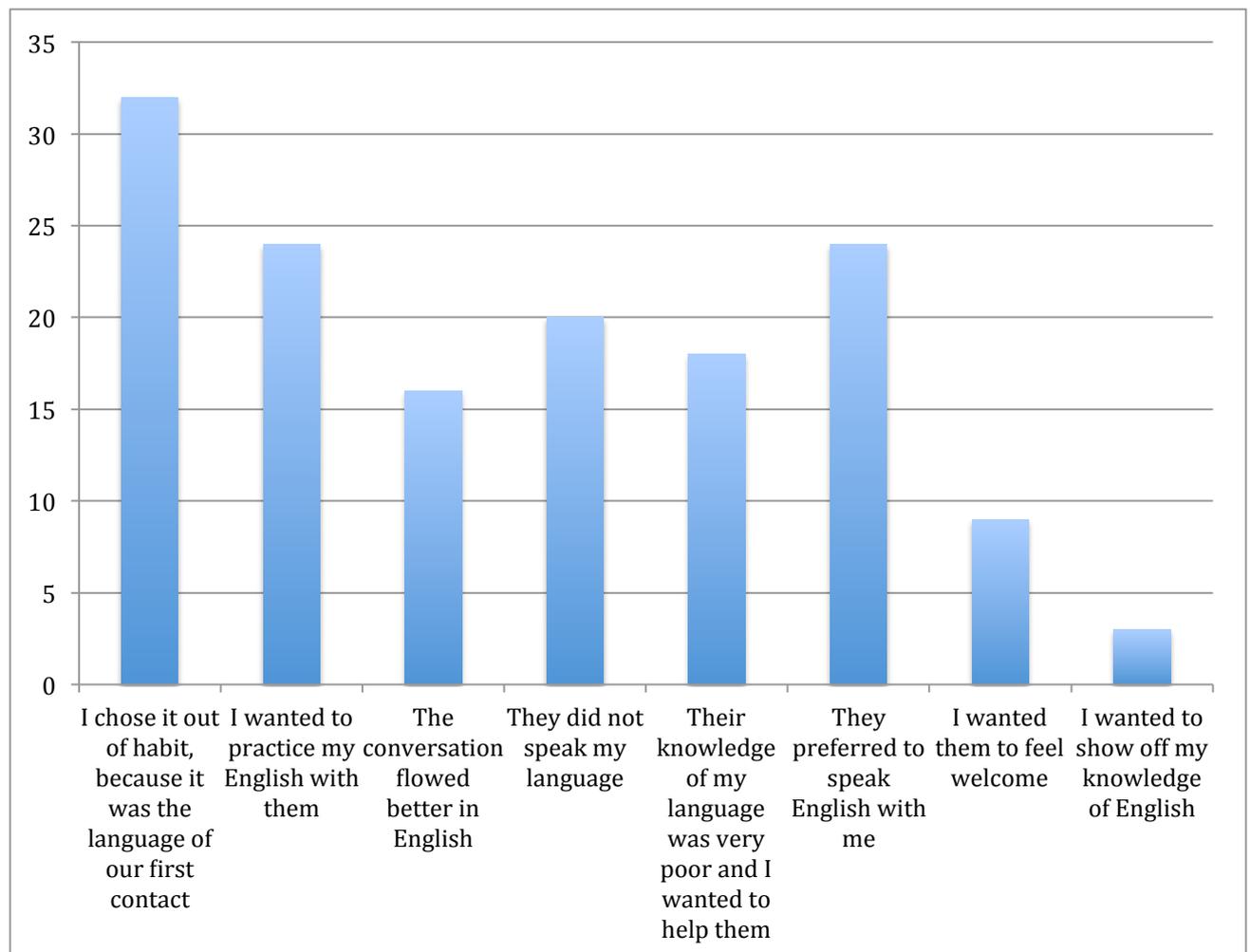
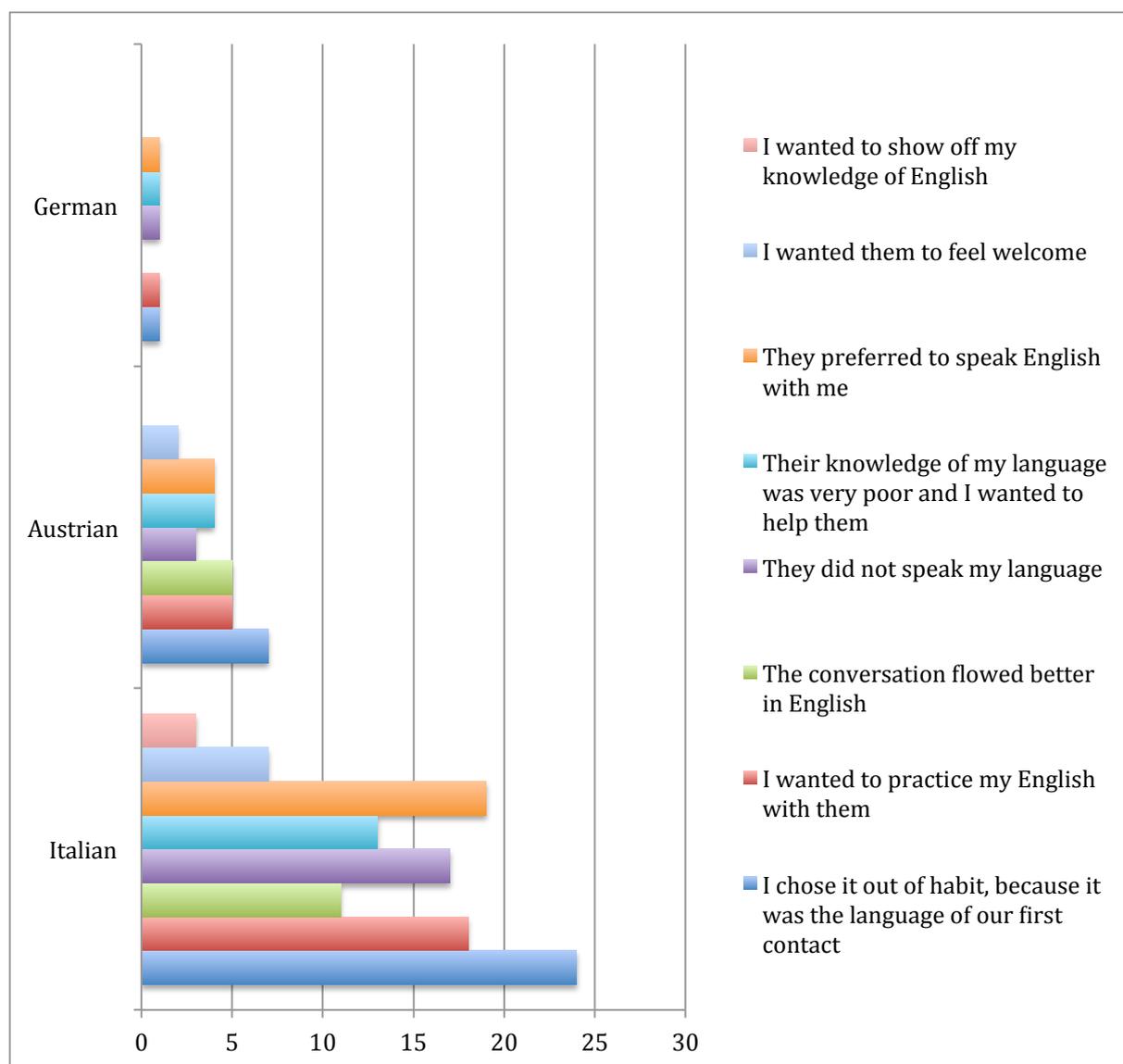


Figure 41 shows the influence that the nationality of the speakers had on the reasons for choosing to use English in interactions with English-speaking friends. Although their answers

vary little, a difference can be noticed in the number of respondents who indicated a lack of linguistic skill on the part of NSs or their preference to speak their mother tongue: the number of Italian participants who indicated them as some of the main reasons for choosing English is proportionally higher than for Austrians, suggesting the greater popularity of German as a foreign language over Italian among English speakers.

Fig. 41 – Influence of respondents’ nationality on their reasons for choosing English in interactions with NS friends

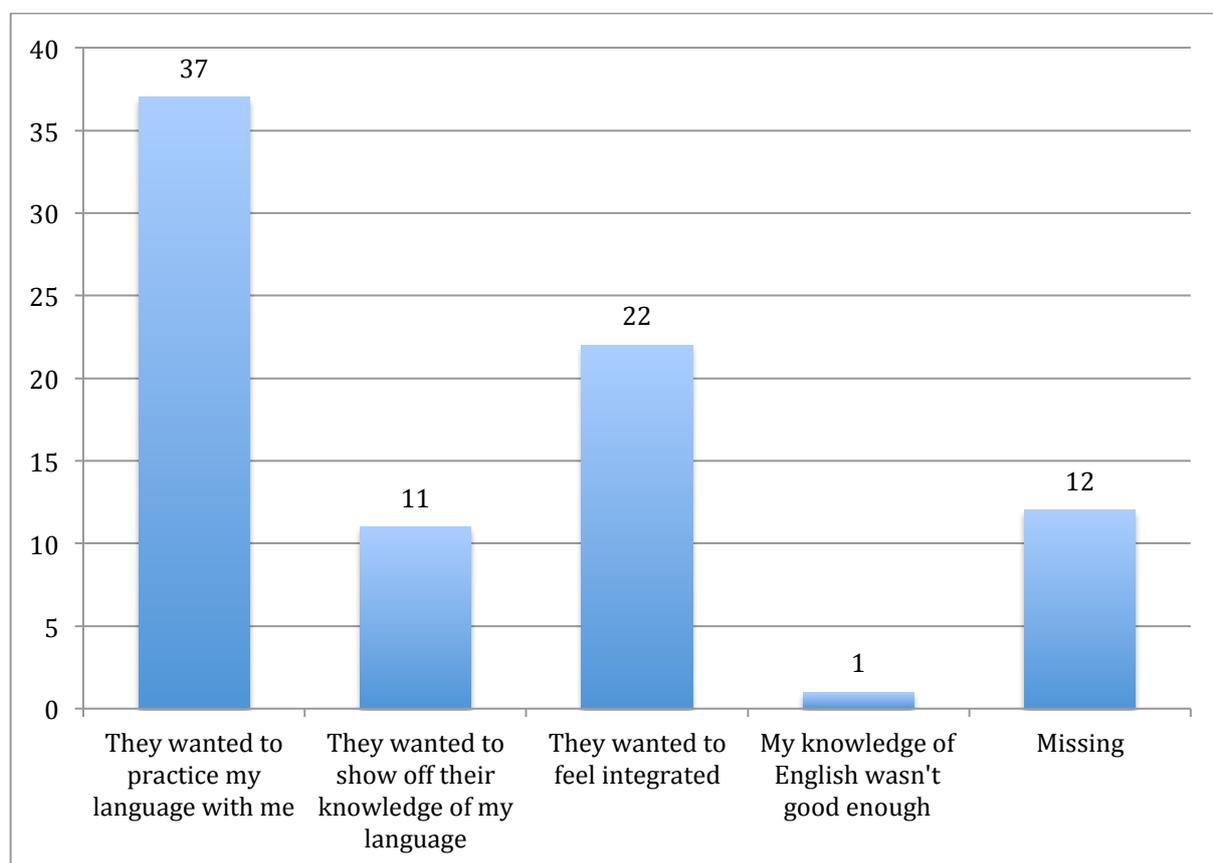


While half of the respondents noted that a language switch on the part of their interlocutors did sometimes occur (21 “sometimes”; 1 “often”), the other half said that it rarely (18) or never (4) happened that their interlocutors would answer them in the local language when addressed in English.

The majority of them indicated integrative motivation as the main reason for their friends’

linguistic choice: they wished to practice the foreign language (37) and/or they wanted to feel integrated (22). 11 respondents felt that they wanted to show off their knowledge of the foreign language and only one participant believed that their knowledge of English was not good enough.

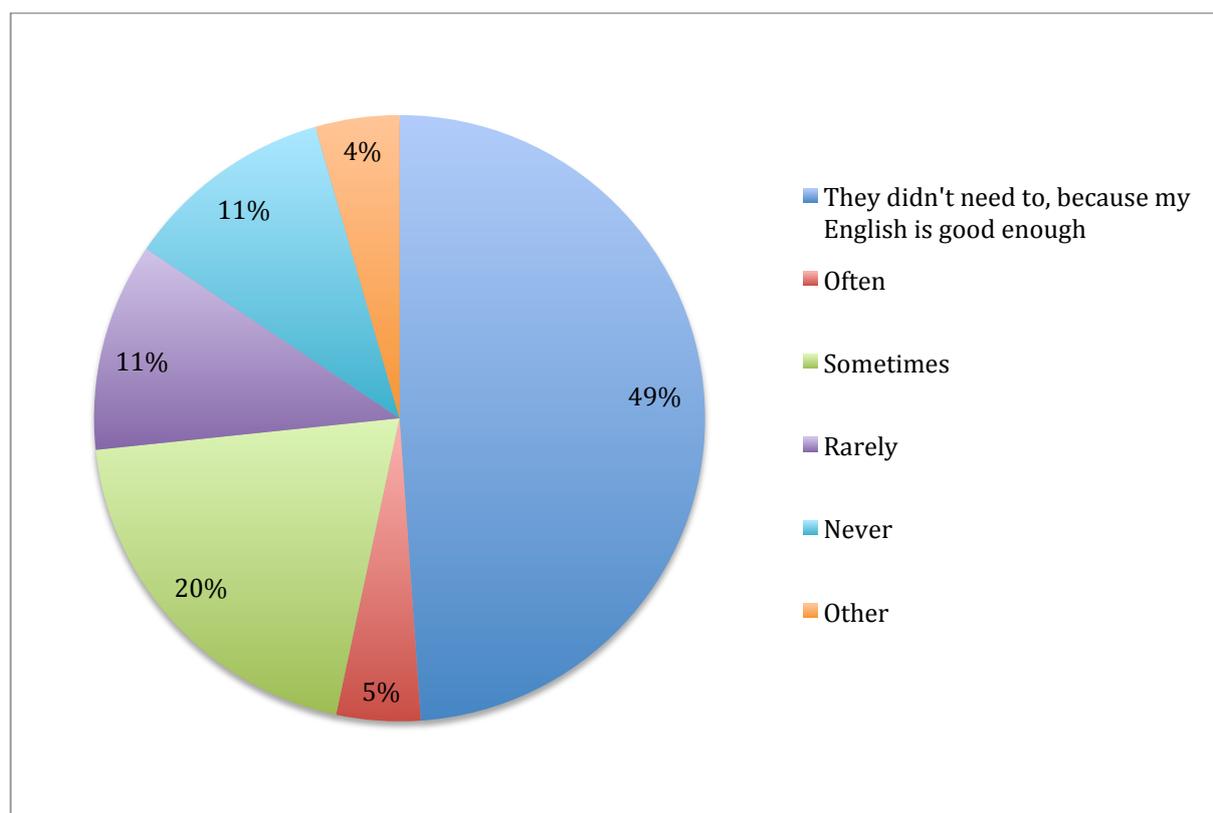
Fig. 42 – Perceived reasons for the NSs’ language switch from English to the local language



In general, linguistic negotiation on the part of NNSs rarely (19) or never (11) continued. One third of respondents admitted that they insisted on speaking English when their interlocutors switched to the local language. 9 participants said they would sometimes insist on speaking English, 3 that they would often do it and one that they always did.

Half of the respondents felt that their English-speaking friends did not need to adapt their level of English to theirs, for their English was good enough. Less than one fourth of the participants felt that linguistic accommodation occurred often or sometimes, while the rest of the respondents said it rarely or never did.

Fig. 43 – Frequency with which NSs accommodated their speech according to NNSs



Of the 8 respondents who said that they chose their native language for their interactions with English-speaking friends, 6 noted that they did so because their friends wanted to practice the local language with them. Four participants wished to avoid a possibly face-threatening situation: their friends spoke their language and they did not want to offend them by using English. One respondent felt that integration (“I wanted to make them feel welcome”) would have been better achieved through his/her native language and one chose it out of habit because it was the language of their first contact.

In this case, language negotiation was usually initiated by native speakers of English, who often (2) or sometimes (3) switched to English, according to their interlocutors. For their part, NNSs then rarely (3) or never (4) insisted on speaking the local language when their interlocutors chose English as a means of communication.

According to respondents, the reasons for the language switch were usually connected to a lack of language knowledge on the part of NSs (“Their knowledge of my language wasn’t good enough” [4]; “The conversation flowed better in English” [4]).

As far as language accommodation is concerned, 3 respondents felt that their interlocutors did not need to accommodate their English to theirs, for their English was good enough, and two

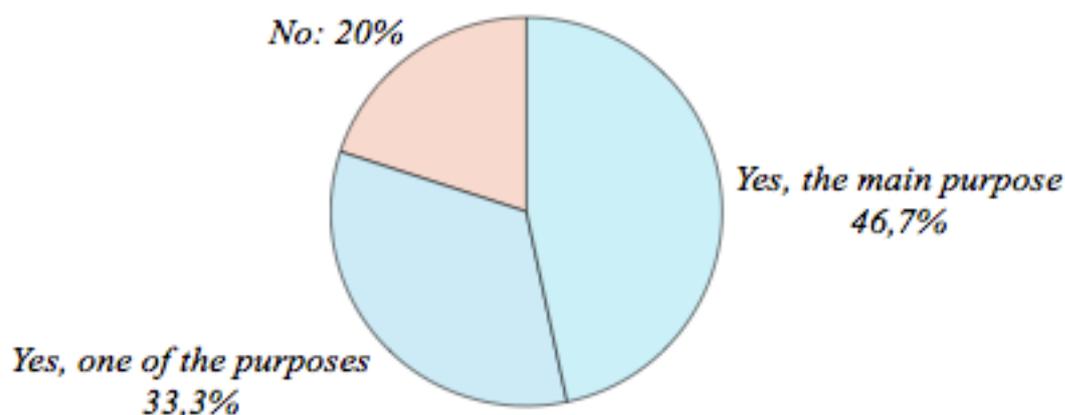
of them said that it rarely happened. A few participants said that linguistic accommodation did occur: sometimes for 2 of them and always for one.

- **Contacts with NSs in study/work abroad contexts**

Among the 95 NNSs who participated in the survey, 15 spent more than four weeks in a European country which was not an English speaking one. They were 3 Austrians, 1 French and 11 Italians, who went to Denmark, Spain, Germany (5), Austria (2), France (5).

For 7 of them, learning the local language was the main purpose of their stay, 5 said that it was one of the main purposes and 3 answered that it was not.

Fig. 44 – Importance of language learning in study/work abroad experiences for NNSs



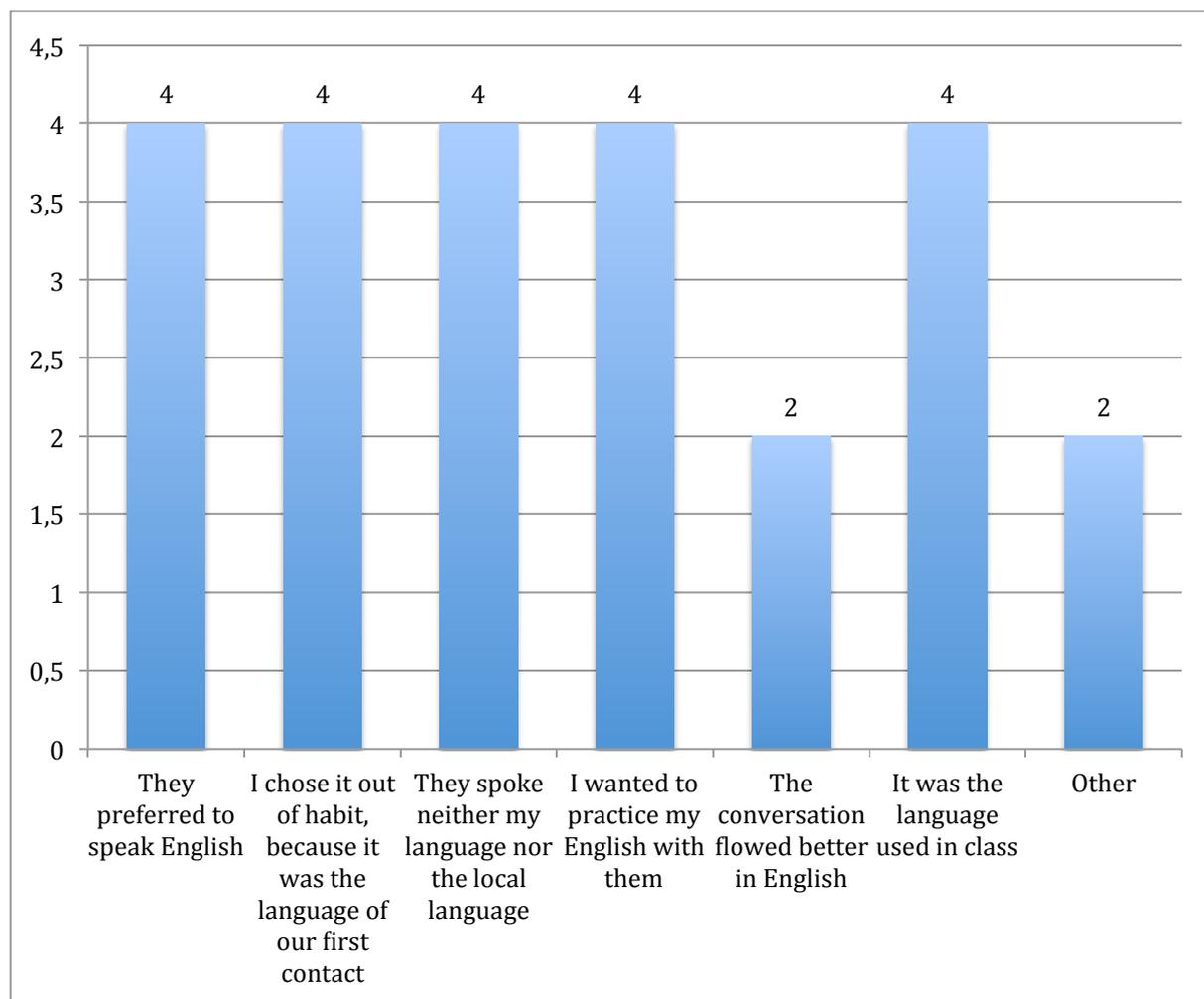
They all had contacts with native speakers of English, except for one respondent.

For their interactions with NSs abroad, the majority of participants chose English as a means of communication, except for 4 Italian respondents, who chose the local language.

When asked about their language choice, those who usually chose English for their interactions with NSs noted a series of different reasons which ranged from habit (it was the language of their first contact [4]; it was the language used in class [4]), desire to practice their English with a native speaker (4), the NSs reluctance to speak a foreign language (“They preferred to speak English” [4]; “They spoke neither my language nor the local language” [4]). Only 2 respondents said that they used it to ease the conversation flow.

One respondent wrote that neither of them spoke Danish well enough to carry out a conversation.

Fig. 45 – Reasons for choosing English when interacting with NSs abroad



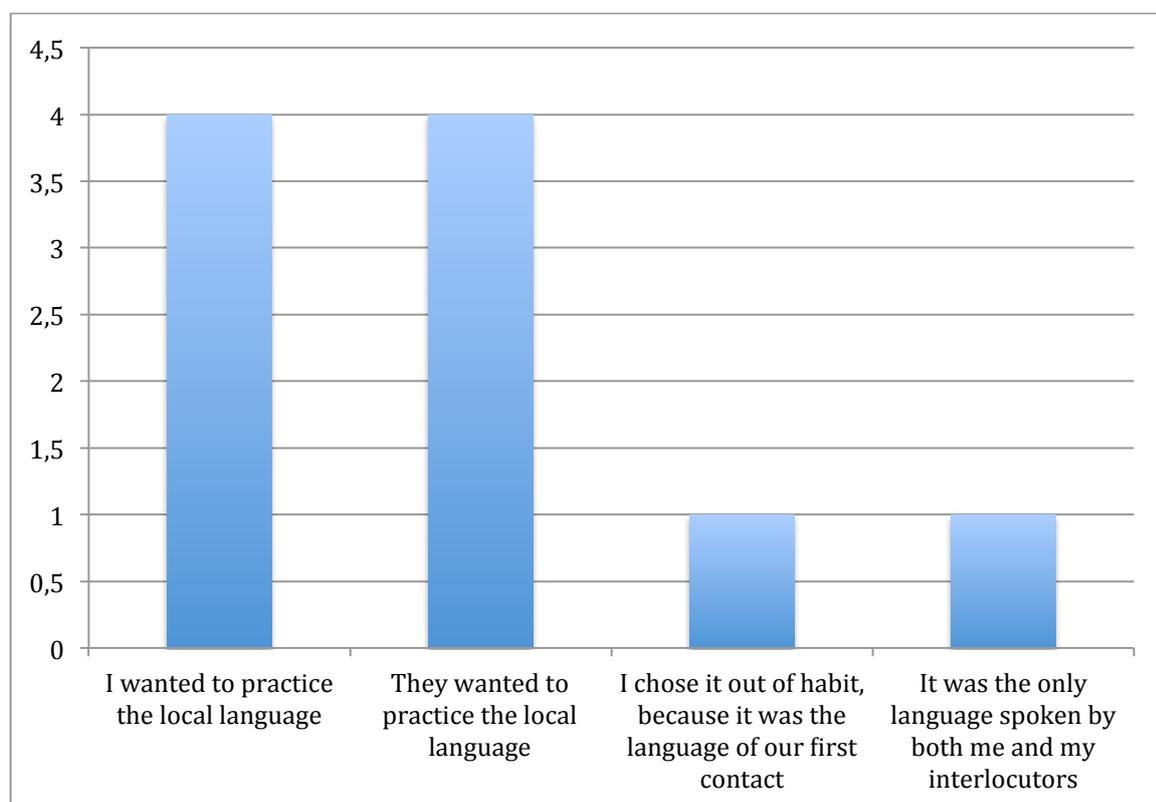
The majority of respondents noted that language negotiation never occurred in this case (6). Three participants said that NSs would sometimes answer in the local language when addressed in English and one said that it rarely happened.

All of those who experienced the linguistic negotiation felt that the reason for it was the NSs desire to practice the local language, and that they would sometimes (2) or rarely (3) switch back to English.

Similarly to the previous cases, the majority of respondents felt that English speakers did not need to accommodate their level of English to that of their interlocutors, for their English was good enough (5). Two respondents agreed that accommodation sometimes took place and another two said that it rarely or never occurred.

The four Italian respondents who chose the local language for their interactions with NSs, noted that the reasons they did it was their (4) and their interlocutors' (4) desire to practice the local language. In one case it was the language of their first contact and in another case it was the only common language between them and their English-speaking interlocutors.

Fig. 46 – Reasons for choosing the local language in interactions with NSs abroad



When addressed in the local language, NSs would rarely (3) switch to English according to their interlocutors. One participant felt that in their experience, this language switch occurred often. The reasons for it were mainly a better conversation flow (3) and a lack of linguistic skills on the part of NSs (3). Two respondents answered that NSs probably felt that their interlocutors' knowledge of English was better than their own knowledge of the local language. NNSs were reluctant to continue the linguistic negotiation, for 3 of them rarely switched back to the local language and only one said that they would sometimes do it.

These last respondents felt that their English-speaking interlocutors never adapted their level of English to theirs: according to 3 of them they did not need to, due to their high level of proficiency in the language and one participant answered that language accommodation never occurred.

Some of the comments left by non-English-speaking respondents highlight the advantages that practicing English with native speakers brought to their language learning:

‘I had lots of interactions with people who could speak English very well and better than me so in each occasion I learnt thanks to them.’

‘I think that it's very useful for me speaking in English with English native people. I think that this is an opportunity to me and that it is kindness doing that.’

3.5. Discussion of the results

As in the case of the preliminary research presented in chapter one, a generalisation of the data would not be reliable, especially as far as the NNSs' survey is concerned, for countries like Germany and France were poorly represented and cannot be taken as an example for broader tendencies. A general analysis can be attempted through the NSs' questionnaire and the Italian and Austrian respondents. In this case, the addition of multiple-choice questions where more than one answer was possible helped to overcome the usually superficial and sometimes ambiguous answers given through the Likert scales. The numerous factors which influence language choice in intercultural communication called for a significant number of variables to be taken into consideration when designing the questionnaire (interlocutors' behaviours, perceptions, motivation, linguistic background, etc.), thus creating a complex portrait of the mechanisms of linguistic negotiation in NS-NNS interactions. A larger sample or follow-up interviews would have allowed to delineate broad tendencies and recurrent patterns. Narrowing the focus to the NSs experience in one of the countries listed above would also have been an option, but that would have hardly created a portrait of the current European situation, for each European country has very distinct linguistic policies and backgrounds, which place the NSs in considerably different positions when interacting with NNSs. Nevertheless, the data collected seem to confirm what was stated by Labrie and Quell at the end of their paper, namely, that in real-life encounters, many factors can influence linguistic choice and that the increasing spread of English was not enough of a reason to determine the probability of it being automatically chosen. Heller's perceptions that 'in the place of unconscious, or semiconscious, use of the language in everyday life is an extreme awareness of language, a new way of holding conversations that involves the negotiation of language choice in every interaction' (Heller, 1982: 109) seems thus to be confirmed.

The first significant difference between NSs and NNSs lies in the languages spoken by participants. The data collected confirm a large discrepancy between NSs and NNSs' ability to speak foreign languages, placing the former in a position of considerable deficiency in language proficiency compared to their European counterparts. All NNS respondents claim the ability to hold a conversation in English, most of whom to an advanced level. Competence in only one foreign language in this case seems to be the exception (17%), for most respondents list two (27%), more often three (36%) foreign languages in which they are proficient enough to have a conversation. In contrast, NSs who claim a working knowledge of one foreign language is 44%, meaning that the number of respondents who are able to have a

conversation in more than one foreign language is considerably lower than for NNSs (31% of respondents listed two foreign languages, 20% listed three foreign languages and only 5% listed four languages, as opposed to 20% of NNSs who can speak four or more foreign languages). The figures which emerged from the survey do not mirror the Eurobarometer data, for only 38% of the European population is able to have a conversation in English, as opposed to 100% of NNS respondents to the survey. Similarly, the percentages of English-speakers who are proficient in one or more foreign languages are higher than the ones reported on the Eurobarometer for UK and Ireland. The nature of the survey itself –it was written in English, and therefore only NNSs with at least an intermediate level of English knowledge could participate in the survey– and the choice of interviewing Europeans aged between 15 and 39 (95% of whom studied English at school) determined the first discrepancy. With regard to NSs, all respondents had spent at least four weeks in a European country, which already seems to demonstrate an interest in foreign language learning, confirmed by the fact that it was one of the main purposes of their staying for the majority of participants.

The data collected seem to prove that the choice of language in study/work abroad contexts for NSs depended largely on the context, although both NSs and NNSs show a notable preference for the use of English in their interactions.

The choice of the local language among the NSs was particularly popular in interactions with locals, in which occasion almost the totality of respondents chose it over English for reasons ascribable to integrative motivation: the desire to learn the language and to feel integrated. The answers given by NNSs appear to be quite different, since all except two respondents chose English for their occasional interactions with NSs in their home country, a choice that was mainly due to the lack of linguistic competence on the part of NSs or to the linguistic choice made by the NSs when approaching their NNS interlocutors. It is important to bear in mind that occasional interactions in this case probably involved English-speaking tourists, who might not have been as interested in learning the language as the NS respondents. This highlights the importance of integrative motivation in code choice, for it seems to prove that if the NS does not feel the need to improve the local language or feel integrated, they will most probably open the conversation in English.

Interactions at both university and work point at the extent to which the language used in class/workplace plays a significant role in determining which language interlocutors will use. In the case of interactions with fellow students, English was generally preferred by the speakers, mainly due to habit –it was the language of the interlocutors' first encounter and/or the language used at courses–, or the desire of allowing a smoother conversation flow, since it

was the common language between speakers of different nationalities, as some comments point out. When NS students chose the local language, it was mainly due to confidence in their linguistic skills, integrative motivation and the fact that it was the language used in class. Similarly, both the respondents who noted they used English and those who noted that they used the local language at work attributed the choice mainly to the language used in the workplace. The reasons given for choosing the local language with colleagues were in every way similar to the ones given for choosing it with fellow students, further demonstrating the important role played by integrative motivation. It is interesting to notice that in both cases (university and workplaces) the country in which respondents spent their semester abroad seems to influence the probability of English being chosen. In fact, participants who spent time in Austria were always the ones who said they used English the most, as opposed to those who lived in France, thus confirming that the average level of English spoken in the host country seems to be relevant in the extent to which NSs come in contact with their mother tongue.

The context in which the role of English as a lingua franca becomes more evident is that of interactions between NSs and their NNS friends. As is often the case in study/work abroad experiences, respondents tended to socialise mainly with speakers of different nationalities and English was the code chosen in the majority of interactions as the common language between speakers of different languages, to allow a smoother conversation flow or out of habit, because it was the language of their first contact. The local language was chosen exclusively when native speakers of the language were involved, mainly due to the NSs' desire to practice it, their confidence in speaking it and integrative motivation. This tendency emerges from the NNS survey, as well: although English was usually preferred in interactions with NS friends, when the local language was chosen it was mainly due to the NSs' desire to practice it, which brought them to start the conversation in that language. According to NNSs, the use of English in interactions among friends was once again due to habit, their desire to practice it with NSs and by the NSs' lack of linguistic skills, which was especially lamented by Italians. The very same responses are valid also for the NNSs' experiences abroad, where English was used more often than the local language, the latter being mainly chosen for the interlocutors' desire to practice it. Similarly to university and work contexts, the use of English among friends was more frequent in German speaking countries, also according to NNSs.

In all the interactions in which the local language was used, NS respondents noted that it had a positive impact on their language learning, even in the rare cases in which its use was triggered by linguistic negotiation on the part of NNSs.

The data on linguistic negotiation tend to confirm the prediction that NSs would perceive it as a face-threatening act in unfamiliar contexts and as a desire to practice English on the part of their NNS friends, hence as a non-face-threatening act, in familiar environments. According to participants, language negotiation occurred rarely in the workplace and at university. When it did occur at university, respondents would sometimes insist on switching back to the language they first chose, be it English or the local language. In turn, in the workplace NSs would always or often insist on going back to their initial choice only when the first choice was the local language. In both cases, however, the linguistic switch was not perceived negatively by respondents, but rather as an attempt to help them or a desire to practice English with them. Moreover, NS participants did not attribute the switch from English to the local language to a poor level of English of their interlocutors. According to them, the situations in which linguistic negotiation happened more frequently were the occasional contacts with locals and the interactions with their friends. The first case appears to be particularly interesting; in fact, while they recognise that NNSs were probably trying to help them or to practice their English, they perceived the linguistic switch as face-threatening: they felt that the locals were either implying that their knowledge of the local language was not good enough, or they were not allowing them to integrate. The feeling of frustration is evident also in the respondents' comments. In this context, NSs would often continue the negotiation by insisting on speaking the local language, thus creating a situation of conflict. On the contrary, when the language switch occurred in interactions with their friends, they felt that the NNSs were simply trying to help them and perceived the event as non-threatening. They would nonetheless sometimes insist on switching back to the local language in order to be able to practice it. As regards NNSs, they perceived that language switch occurred more rarely than NSs, and attributed it to the need of easing the conversation flow, or the desire to help the NSs, whose linguistic skills were often considered limited. When the switch from the local language to English occurred, it was usually perceived as a NS' desire to practice the foreign language, and never as a face-threatening act through which their interlocutor implied that their knowledge of English was poor. In the rare cases in which they insisted on going back to their first choice of language, it was always done in the attempt to ease the communication process.

The discrepancy between the NSs and the NNSs' answers is particularly evident in the questions regarding accommodation. When asked whether they would usually accommodate their speech to that of their NNS interlocutors, the large majority of NSs answered that they

often did, adopting the strategies already noted by researchers and adjusting their level according to the level of their interlocutor, to avoid patronisation. Their attention towards the needs of the NNSs having linguistic interactions with NSs might be attributed to their own experience in a foreign country, which might have raised their awareness towards the challenges of language learning. On the contrary, the majority of NNS respondents felt that NSs did not need to adapt their level of English to theirs, for their English was good enough. Therefore, the self-assessed evaluation of their English proficiency, a question to which most of them answered by rating their level as “advanced”, seems to be confirmed by their (lack of) perception of language accommodation on the part of NSs.

Conclusion

The validity of Labrie and Quell's method seems to be disclaimed by this study as regards the assumption that mother tongue and foreign language studied play a prominent role in the choice of language during an interaction. The study does however confirm their prediction in terms of growing popularity of English and the consequent probability of it being favoured in NS-NNS interactions over other languages.

The data confirm that motivation still plays an important role in code choice among learners, especially in study/work abroad contexts, where integrative motivation is fostered and, consequentially, the desire of speakers to engage in conversations in the language they study. In the case of students who choose to go through a study/work abroad experience, the need for integration is extremely evident, which confirms the literature in saying that those experiences are invaluable for language learning. (Kinginger 2011) The extent to which NSs who chose the local language as their preferred means of communication negotiated the linguistic code when faced with responses in English demonstrates their willingness to overcome the popularity of their native language in order to learn the foreign one. As a consequence, the findings confirm Auer (1995) and Heller (1982), according to whom speech events are not necessarily tied to a particular language, and even when certain tendencies might be observed, those are never constant enough to allow a probabilistic prediction of language choice, therefore every new conversation involves a new negotiation of the linguistic code.

On the other hand, responses from both the NSs and the NNSs surveys highlight a notable preference for English as linguistic code in NS-NNS interactions, which is in line with the data collected during the preliminary research and Labrie and Quell's calculations. English is generally preferred as the means of communication among speakers of different nationalities, which confirms its role as a European lingua franca, even in study/work abroad contexts, where NSs are highly motivated in learning the foreign language. The desire of practicing English with native speakers on the part of non-native speakers came strongly through in both questionnaires, indicating that NSs are aware of the prestige of English, which reduces the risk of them perceiving a linguistic switch on the part of their interlocutors as face-threatening.

Additionally, the study shows that in those countries in which English is more likely to be

used in class at university or in the workplace (e.g. Austria) NSs have fewer chances of practicing the foreign language, for the habitual use of English will prompt them to use it also in interactions with speakers of the local language. Therefore, it would appear that native speakers of English have fewer chances than their non-native-speaking counterparts to benefit from experiences abroad, for they are not allowed the same degree of linguistic and cultural immersion, thus confirming Kinginger's belief that language learning in study abroad contexts does not guarantee the enhancement of communicative abilities and that the outcome is highly variable (Kinginger 2011), especially in the case of English native speakers. The introduction of English-taught courses at university appears to be detrimental to both Anglophone students and universities, which are actually reducing the attraction towards study abroad programmes for English speakers, since they are eliminating what renders study abroad attractive: the possibility of engaging with the foreign language and its attendant culture and the benefits deriving from it. Native speakers of English will not feel the necessity of getting involved deeply in the host country and the host country's culture. (Coleman 2006)

Finally, the study suggests that the recent spread of English and its use as a lingua franca might have significant repercussions on native speakers of the language. Its widespread use, especially in higher education as the new academic lingua franca, is reducing native speakers' chances of practicing the local language in study abroad contexts and hinders their integrative and instrumental motivation, as they might fail to perceive the advantages of learning a foreign language as a valuable asset for their future in a polyglot world. As mentioned before, multi-cultural perspective and intercultural awareness are invaluable benefits of study abroad experiences, which need to be preserved and enhanced, rather than eliminated. By underestimating the harm that incorrect or weak linguistic policies might cause to English-speakers, governments and language professions in Anglophone countries are condemning English monoglot students not only to a professional disadvantage, but also to a linguistic and cultural insularity, which fosters Euroscepticism and xenophobia. (Coleman & al. 2007; Coleman 2009) Further research on the use of English as a lingua franca ought to include its L1 speakers, for it seems to be evident that its widespread use affects them deeply, hindering their language learning motivation and reducing their multi-cultural perspective and intercultural awareness.

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Appendix

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

I am a graduate student from the University of Venice; this research is part of my Master's thesis. I would like to ask you to help me by answering the following questions concerning the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF).

The aim of my survey is to better understand the language choice in conversations between native speakers and non-native speakers of English in study/work abroad contexts. The survey is designed for native speakers of English who spent time abroad in Europe and non-native speakers of English who had interactions with English speakers.

It will take you approximately 5-10 minutes to complete.

I am only interested in your personal opinion and there are no right or wrong answers, so please give your answers sincerely.

This survey is anonymous and its contents are confidential and only used for research purposes.

Thank you very much for your help.

* Required

1. Please indicate your age *

- 15-24
- 25-39
- +40

2. Please indicate your nationality *

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

NATIVE LANGUAGE

3. Is English your native language? *

- Yes
- No

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Please answer this questionnaire only if you are a native speaker of English who has spent time in a European country. If you are a non native speaker please go straight to "Questionnaire for non-native speakers of English".

4. Please indicate which language(s) you speak well enough to be able to have a conversation. *

For example: French - advanced; Spanish - beginner

5. Have you ever spent more than four weeks in the country (EU) where one of the foreign languages you speak is spoken as a native language? *

- Yes
- No
- Yes, but outside of Europe.

6. Which country did you stay in? *

In case you spent time in more than one foreign country, please indicate the one where you spent most time.

7. Was improving your language skills one of the purposes of your stay?

- Yes, the main purpose
- Yes, one of the purposes
- No

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

CONTACTS WITH LOCALS

8. What language did you usually choose for your daily interactions with locals (e.g. going shopping, asking for information, etc.)? *

- English
- The local language
- Neither English nor the local language

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with locals in English

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "English" in the previous question.

9. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose English?

More than one answer is possible

- I didn't feel confident enough in my knowledge of the foreign language
- I chose it instinctively
- Local people spoke good English and I knew they would understand me
- The conversation flowed better in English
- Other:

10. Did your interlocutors ever answer you in the local language when you addressed them in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

11. If they did, how do you feel their language choice influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively

12. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

13. Did you insist on speaking English when your interlocutor spoke to you in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with locals in the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "The local language" in the previous question.

14. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- I felt confident enough in my knowledge of the foreign language
- I wanted to practice the foreign language
- I wanted to feel integrated
- Local people spoke very poor English and I knew they wouldn't understand me if I spoke it
- My interlocutors were usually reluctant or unwilling to speak foreign languages
- I wanted to accommodate my interlocutors
- Other:

15. How do you feel your use of the local language influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively

16. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

17. Did your interlocutors ever answer you in English when you addressed them in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

18. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- My knowledge of the local language wasn't good enough
- They wanted to help me
- They wanted to practice their English
- They wanted to show off their knowledge of English
- Other:

19. How did their language switch make you feel?

- Good, they were trying to put me at ease and help me
- Good, they just wanted to practice their English with me
- Bad, I felt they were implying that my knowledge of the foreign language wasn't good enough
- Bad, I felt that they weren't helping me integrate
- Other:

20. Did you insist on speaking the local language when your interlocutors spoke to you in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

Contacts with locals in a language that was neither English nor the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "Neither English nor the local language" in the previous question.

21. Could you indicate the language you usually chose? *

22. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose a language that was neither English nor the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- The chosen language was the common language between me and my interlocutors
- Local people spoke very poor English and I didn't speak the local language
- The conversation flowed better in the chosen language
- Other:

23. How do you feel this influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively

24. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

[- Back](#)

[Continue ->](#)

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with locals - Additional thoughts

25. Feel free to add any additional thoughts on the subject

« Back

Continue »

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

University - Contacts in English

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "English" in the previous question.

28. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose English?

More than one answer is possible

- I didn't feel confident enough in my knowledge of the foreign language
- I chose it instinctively
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- My fellow students spoke good English and they wanted to practice it with me
- The conversation flowed better in English
- It was the language used in class
- Other:

29. Did your interlocutors ever answer you in the local language when you addressed them in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

30. If they did, how do you feel their language choice influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively

31. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

32. Did you insist on speaking English when your interlocutors spoke to you in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

« Back

Continue »

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

University - Contacts in the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "The local language" in the previous question.

33. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- I felt confident enough in my knowledge of the foreign language
- It was the language used in class
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- I wanted to practice the foreign language
- I wanted to feel integrated
- My fellow students spoke very poor English and I knew they wouldn't understand me if I spoke it
- My fellow students were usually reluctant or unwilling to speak foreign languages
- I wanted to accommodate my interlocutors
- Other:

34. How do you feel your use of the local language influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively

35. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

University - Contacts in a language that is neither English nor the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "Neither English nor the local language" in the previous question.

40. Could you indicate the language you usually chose? *

41. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose a language that was neither English nor the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- The chosen language was the common language between me and my interlocutors
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- My fellow students spoke very poor English and I didn't speak the local language
- The conversation flowed better in the chosen language
- Other:

42. How do you think this influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

University - Additional thoughts

43. Feel free to add any additional thoughts on the subject

« Back

Continue »

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

WORK

Please answer the questions in this section only if you worked while abroad.

44. Did you work while living abroad? *

- Yes
- No (please click on "Continue")

45. What language did you usually use in your interactions with colleagues?

- English
- The local language
- Neither English nor the local language

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Work - Contacts in English

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "English" in the previous question.

46. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose English?

More than one answer is possible

- I didn't feel confident enough in my knowledge of the foreign language
- I chose it instinctively
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- My colleagues spoke good English and they wanted to practice it with me
- The conversation flowed better in English
- It was the language used in the workplace
- Other:

47. Did your interlocutors ever answer you in the local language when you addressed them in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

48. If they did, how do you feel their language choice influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively

49. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

50. Did you insist on speaking English when your interlocutors spoke to you in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Work - Contacts in the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "The local language" in the previous question.

51. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- I felt confident enough in my knowledge of the foreign language
- It was the language used in the workplace
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- I wanted to practice the foreign language
- I wanted to feel integrated
- My colleagues spoke very poor English and I knew they wouldn't understand me if I spoke it
- My colleagues were usually reluctant or unwilling to speak foreign languages
- I wanted to accommodate my interlocutors
- Other:

52. How do you feel your use of the local language influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively
- Other:

53. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

54. Did your colleagues ever answer you in English when you addressed them in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

55. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- My knowledge of the local language wasn't good enough
- They were trying to help me
- They wanted to practice their English
- They wanted to show off their knowledge of English
- Other:

56. How did their language switch make you feel?

- Good, they were trying to put me at ease and help me
- Good, they just wanted to practice their English with me
- Bad, I felt they were implying that my knowledge of the foreign language wasn't good enough
- Bad, I felt that they weren't helping me integrate.
- Other:

57. Did you insist on speaking the local language when your interlocutors spoke to you in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

Work - Contacts in a language that was neither English nor the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "Neither English nor the local language" in the previous question.

58. Could you indicate the language you usually chose? *

59. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose a language that was neither English nor the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- The chosen language was the common language between me and my interlocutors
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- My colleagues spoke very poor English and I didn't speak the local language
- The conversation flowed better in the chosen language
- It was the language used in the workplace
- Other:

60. How do you feel this influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Work - Additional thoughts

61. Feel free to add any additional thoughts on the subject

« Back

Continue »

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

CONTACTS WITH FRIENDS

62. Were the people you socialised with abroad native speakers of the language you study or speakers of other languages?

- Speakers of other languages
- Mainly speakers of other languages
- Mainly native speakers of the language I study
- Native speakers of the language I study
- Native speakers of English
- Mainly native speakers of English
- Other:

63. What language did you usually choose for your interactions with them? *

- English
- The local language
- Neither English nor the local language

« Back

Continue »

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with friends in English

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "English" in the previous question.

64. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose English?

More than one answer is possible

- I mainly spent time with English speakers
- I didn't feel confident enough in my knowledge of the foreign language
- I chose it instinctively
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- My friends spoke good English and they wanted to practice it with me
- The conversation flowed better in English
- It was the common language between speakers of different languages
- Other:

65. Did your interlocutors ever answer you in the local language when you addressed them in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

66. If they did, how do you feel their language choice influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively
- Other:

67. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

68. Did you insist on speaking English when they spoke to you in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with friends in the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "The local language" in the previous question.

69. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- I felt confident enough in my knowledge of the foreign language
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- I wanted to practice the foreign language
- I wanted to feel integrated
- My friends were usually reluctant or unwilling to speak foreign languages
- It was the common language between speakers of different languages
- I wanted to accommodate my interlocutors
- Other:

70. How do you feel your use of the local language influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively
- Other:

71. If your answer was "Negatively" or "Neither positively nor negatively" could you add some details?

72. Did your friends ever answer you in English when you addressed them in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

73. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- My knowledge of the local language wasn't good enough
- They were trying to help me
- They wanted to practice their English
- They wanted to show off their knowledge of English
- Other:

74. How did their language switch make you feel?

- Good, they were trying to put me at ease and help me
- Good, they just wanted to practice their English with me
- Bad, I felt they were implying that my knowledge of the foreign language wasn't good enough
- Bad, I felt that they weren't helping me integrate.
- Other:

75. Did you insist on speaking the local language when your friends spoke to you in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

Contacts with friends in a language that was neither English nor the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "Neither English nor the local language" in the previous question.

76. Please indicate the language you usually chose *

77. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose a language that was neither English nor the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- It was the common language between speakers of different languages
- We used it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- My friends spoke very poor English and I didn't speak the local language
- The conversation flowed better in the chosen language
- Other:

78. How do you feel this influenced your language learning?

- Positively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with friends - Additional thoughts

79. Feel free to add any additional thoughts on the subject

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

LEVEL OF ENGLISH

80. When choosing to speak English in the situations previously listed (contacts with locals, friends, at university or work), did you ever adapt your level of English to the level of your interlocutors

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

81. Feel free to add any additional comments about how you did this.

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Please answer these questions only if you are not a native speaker of English

82. Please indicate your native language *

83. Please indicate what language(s) you speak well enough to be able to have a conversation *

For example: English - advanced; German - beginner

◀ Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

OCCASIONAL INTERACTIONS WITH NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN YOUR HOME COUNTRY

84. Did you ever have any occasional interaction with native speakers of English in your home country? *

For example, helped them or talked to them in the street, at university, in the workplace, etc.

- Yes
- No (please click on "Continue")

85. What language did you usually choose for your interactions with them?

- English
- My native language
- Neither English nor my native language

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Occasional interactions in English

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "English" in the previous question.

86. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose English when interacting with native speakers of English in your home country?

More than one answer is possible

- They spoke English to me when they approached me
- They did not speak my language
- Their knowledge of my language was very poor and I wanted to help them
- I wanted to make them feel welcome
- I wanted to practice my English with them
- I wanted to show off my knowledge of English
- The conversation flowed better in English
- Other:

87. Did they ever answer you in the local language when you addressed them in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

88. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- My knowledge of English wasn't good enough
- Their knowledge of my language was better than my knowledge of English
- They wanted to practice my language with me
- They wanted to feel integrated
- Other:

89. Did you insist on speaking English when they spoke in the local language with you?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

90. Did your interlocutors ever adapt their level of English to yours?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never
- They didn't need to, because my English is good enough
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Occasional interactions in your native language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "My native language" in the previous question.

91. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose your native language when interacting with native speakers of English in your home country?

More than one answer is possible

- They spoke my language when they approached me
- They spoke my language and I didn't want to offend them by speaking English
- I wanted to make them feel welcome
- Their knowledge of my language was better than my knowledge of English
- The conversation flowed better in my language
- Other:

92. Did they ever answer you in English when you addressed them in your native language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

93. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- Their knowledge of my language wasn't good enough
- They didn't speak my language
- They thought that my English was better than their knowledge of my language
- They didn't want to feel integrated
- The conversation flowed better in English
- Other:

94. Did you insist on speaking the local language when they spoke to you in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

95. Did your interlocutors ever adapt their level of English to yours?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never
- They didn't need to, because my English is good enough
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

Occasional interactions in a language that was neither English nor your native language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "Neither English nor the local language" in the previous question.

96. Please indicate the language you usually chose for your interactions with native speakers of English in your home country *

97. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose a language that was neither English nor the local language?

More than one answer is possible

- The chosen language was the only common language between me and my interlocutors
- I speak very poor English and they didn't speak my language
- The conversation flowed better in the chosen language
- Other:

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Occasional interactions - Additional thoughts

98. Feel free to add any additional thoughts on the subject

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

CONTACTS WITH ENGLISH-SPEAKING FRIENDS IN YOUR HOME COUNTRY

99. Have you ever become friends with native speakers of English in your home country? *

- Yes
- No (please click on "Continue")

100. What language did you usually choose for your interactions with them?

- English
- My native language
- Neither English nor my native language

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with English-speaking friends in English

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "English" in the previous question.

101. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose English when interacting with them?

More than one answer is possible

- They preferred to speak English with me
- I chose it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- They did not speak my language
- Their knowledge of my language was very poor and I wanted to help them
- I wanted them to feel welcome
- I wanted to show off my knowledge of English
- I wanted to practice my English with them
- The conversation flowed better in English
- Other:

102. Did they ever answer you in the local language when you addressed them in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

103. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- My knowledge of English wasn't good enough
- Their knowledge of my language was better than my knowledge of English
- They wanted to practice my language with me
- They wanted to feel integrated
- They wanted to show off their knowledge of my language
- Other:

104. Did you insist on speaking English when they spoke to you in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

105. Did your interlocutors ever adapt their level of English to yours?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never
- They didn't need to, because my English is good enough
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with English-speaking friends in your native language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "My native language" in the previous question.

106. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose your native language when interacting with them?

More than one answer is possible

- I chose it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- They spoke my language and I didn't want to offend them by speaking English
- I wanted to make them feel welcome
- They wanted to practice my language with me
- Their knowledge of my language was better than my knowledge of English
- The conversation flowed better in my language
- Other:

107. Did they ever answer you in English when you addressed them in your native language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

108. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- Their knowledge of my language wasn't good enough
- They thought that my English was better than their knowledge of my language
- They didn't want to feel integrated
- The conversation flowed better in English
- Other:

109. Did you insist on speaking the local language when they spoke to you in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

110. Did your interlocutors ever adapt their level of English to yours?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never
- They didn't need to, because my English is good enough
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

Contacts with English-speaking friends in a language that was neither English nor your native language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "Neither English nor the local language" in the previous question.

111. Please indicate the language you usually chose *

112. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose a language that was neither English nor the local language?

- The chosen language was the only common language between me and my interlocutors
- I speak very poor English and they didn't speak the local language
- The conversation flowed better in the chosen language
- Other:

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with English-speaking friends - Additional thoughts

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« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

CONTACTS WITH ENGLISH-SPEAKERS ABROAD

114. Have you ever spent more than four weeks in a country (EU) where one of the foreign languages you speak is spoken as a native language? *

In case you spent time in more than one foreign country, please indicate the country where you spent most time or the non English speaking one

- Yes
- No (please click on "Continue")
- Yes, but outside of Europe (please click on "Continue")
- Yes, in Ireland / the UK (please click on "Continue")

115. Which country did you stay in?

In case you spent time in more than one foreign country, please indicate the country where you spent most time or the non English speaking one

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Experience abroad

116. Was learning the language one of the purposes of your stay?

- Yes, the main purpose
- Yes, one of the purposes
- No

117. Did you have contacts with native speakers of English during your period abroad?

- Yes
- No (please click on "Continue")

118. What language did you usually choose for your interactions with them?

- English
- The local language
- Neither English nor the local language

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with English speakers abroad in English

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "English" in the previous question.

119. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose English for your interactions with them?

More than one answer is possible

- They preferred to speak English
- I chose it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- They didn't speak neither my language nor the local language
- I wanted to practice my English with them
- I wanted to show off my knowledge of English
- The conversation flowed better in English
- It was the language used in class
- It was the language used in the workplace
- Other:

120. Did they ever answer you in the local language or your language when you addressed them in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

121. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- My knowledge of English wasn't good enough
- Their knowledge of my/the local language was better than my English
- They wanted to practice my/the local language
- They wanted to feel integrated
- They wanted to show off their knowledge of my/the local language
- Other:

122. Did you insist on speaking English when they spoke to you in your/the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

123. Did your interlocutors ever adapt their level of English to yours?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never
- They didn't need to, because my English is good enough
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with English speakers abroad in the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "The local language" in the previous question.

124. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose the local language for your interactions with them?

More than one answer is possible

- I chose it out of habit, because it was the language of our first contact
- It was the only language spoken by both me and my interlocutors
- I wanted to practice the local language
- They wanted to practice the local language
- My English wasn't good enough
- The conversation flowed better in the local language
- Other:

125. Did they ever answer you in English when you addressed them in the local language?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

126. If they did, why do you think they did?

More than one answer is possible

- Their knowledge of the local language wasn't good enough
- They thought that my English was better than their knowledge of the local language
- They didn't want to feel integrated
- The conversation flowed better in English
- Other:

127. Did you insist on speaking the local language when they spoke to you in English?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

128. Did your interlocutors ever adapt their lever of English to yours?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never
- They didn't need to, because my English is good enough
- Other:

« Back

Continue »

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

* Required

Contacts with English speakers abroad in a language that was neither English nor the local language

Please answer the questions in this section only if you chose "Neither English nor the local language" in the previous question.

129. Please indicate the language you usually chose *

130. Could you indicate the reasons why you chose a language that was neither English nor the local language?

- The chosen language was the only language spoken by both me and my interlocutors
- I speak very poor English and they didn't speak the local language
- The conversation flowed better in the chosen language
- The chosen language was my language and they studied it / wanted to practice it
- Other:

« Back

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Contacts with English speakers abroad - Additional thoughts

131. Feel free to add any additional thoughts on the subject

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ELF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND NON NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Your response has been recorded.

Thank you for taking part in this research!

Should you have any comments or questions, do not hesitate to contact me at brighenti.irene@gmail.com

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