

The background of the cover is a photograph of a forest floor. Sunlight filters through the dense canopy of tall trees, creating a pattern of bright, dappled light on the dark, shadowed ground. The light appears as irregular, glowing patches against the deep green and brown tones of the forest. The overall mood is serene and natural.

UPRT 2015

Empirical Studies in English Applied Linguistics

Edited by Magdolna Lehmann, Réka Lugossy and József Horváth

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Published by Lingua Franca Csoport
Pécs

ISBN 978-963-642-979-9

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Collection © 2015 Lingua Franca Csoport
Cover © 2015 Tibor Zoltán Dányi

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Preface

Welcome to the 2015 volume of our peer-reviewed e-book series now celebrating the 10th anniversary of University of Pécs Round Table (UPRT). The first conference was organized by Marianne Nikolov in 2006 with the aim of providing a forum for researchers of applied linguistics at University of Pécs as well as University of Zagreb to share their research findings and identify new paths for collaboration. She edited the first UPRT volume sharing the work with her colleagues in the Department of English Applied Linguistics and occasional guest editors later on. From 2012 on, as a result of the fruitful cooperation, the conference has been organized biannually, University of Zagreb hosting the twin event named University of Zagreb Round Table (UZRT) every even year. Thus, the history of the series has seen eight UPRT and two UZRT publications in the past decade.

The volumes have traditionally published empirical research in the field of applied linguistics and language pedagogy in the broad sense. Research designs involved both quantitative and qualitative approaches with a slight shift towards mixed methodology research by the end of the decade. Among the authors we have been glad to welcome an increasing number of talented young scholars besides senior researchers from a variety of regions and prestigious universities of Hungary, Croatia, Italy, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania and Ukraine. These have constituted the unique and rich perspectives on language pedagogy special to the series.

The present volume follows this tradition and reports findings of 16 studies covering a wide range of EFL language learning and teaching experiences. The chapters offer fresh insights into Serbian, Chinese, Japanese, Croatian, Slovak and Hungarian perspectives on a colorful variety of subjects. The major issues explored in the studies involve code-switching, interlanguage development, young learners, identity, multilingualism and multiculturalism, assessment, motivation and demotivation, specialized corpora, content and language integrated learning, skills development and teacher training.

We hope you will find the studies presented in this volume worthwhile and get inspiration for further research by reading them. Enjoy!

The editors

The Use of Target and First Language in a Primary EFL Classroom in Serbia: The Learners' Views

Danijela Prošić-Santovac
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad
d.prosic.santovac@gmail.com

*Language is where forms of social organisation are produced, and disputed,
and at the same time where people's cultural identities come into existence.
In effect, language constitutes realities and identities.
(Talbot, Atkinson & Atkinson, 2003, p. 1)*

1. TL in ELT classrooms

Stemming from the Direct Approach introduced towards the end of the nineteenth century, which “has enthusiastic followers among language teachers even today” (Celce-Murcia, 2001, p. 4), a plethora of twentieth-century literature on the English language teaching methodology recommended total immersion in the target language in EFL classrooms in both multilingual and monolingual settings (e.g., Krashen, 1987). This monolingual view of language teaching is deeply rooted in and intertwined with the similar but at the same time very different contexts of ESL teaching and bilingual education in English-speaking countries. Within these, the ‘English only’ policy originally came into existence due to 1) the early-twentieth-century Americanization movement and promoting US values (Baron, 1990) and 2) British neo-colonial policies, as “monolingualism in English teaching was the natural expression of power relations in the colonial period” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 187). From these fields the transfer to the field of EFL teaching happened imperceptibly, regardless of the fact that “the insistence on using only English in the classroom . . . rests on unexamined assumptions, originates in the political agenda of the dominant groups, and serves to reinforce existing relations of power” (Roberts Auerbach, 1993, p. 11-12).

Apart from those, there are other, practical reasons for adopting a monolingual approach in the field of ELT, such as multilingual classrooms with learners who do not share the same L1, native-speaker teachers who do not share their students' L1, and “publishers' promotion of monolingual course books which could be used by native-speaker ‘experts’ and be marketed globally without variation” (Hall & Cook, 2013, p. 8). Macaro (1997) lists additional benefits of using TL as the sole medium of instruction, such as:

- the amount of language that is acquired subconsciously by pupils;
- the improvement in listening skills;
- the exploitation of the medium itself leading to new teaching and learning strategies;
- demonstrating to the pupils the importance of learning a foreign language;
- demonstrating to the pupils how the language can be used to do things. (Macaro, 1997, p. 8)

However, the recommended exclusion of learners' L1 from FL instruction during the twentieth century spread to the point that "departures from monolingual orthodoxy" came to be viewed as 'illegitimate' (Phillipson, 1992, p. 192), both in theoretical literature and in practice. Occasional 'lapses' into L1, either by students or teachers are frequently accompanied by a feeling of guilt on the part of teachers (Macaro, 1997, p. 76) for not being able to live up to the ideal of exclusive TL use in the classroom, resulting in the 'English mainly' reality instead of 'English only'. Students' challenging behaviour, low motivation level and high level of frustration additionally contribute to heightening teachers' level of stress, as "building up the essential teacher-pupil relationship is essential [sic] to learning pre-disposition and it cannot really be done in L2" (p. 82). These and many other similar problematic issues have led to the questioning of the 'English only' stance, gradually allowing for the possibility of legitimate reintegration of L1 into the process of FL learning.

2. L1 in ELT classrooms

Historically, adopting a monolingual policy in an FL classroom has neither a long nor an uninterrupted tradition. Teaching of classical languages with the aid of mother tongue was common in Europe in the Middle Ages, forming the basis for the development of the grammar-translation method, popularised for the teaching of modern FLs during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries (Weihua, 2000, p. 250). In fact, due to the high demands on the teacher in terms of linguistic competence, the Reading Approach was developed and popularised until the 1940s, as "a reaction to the problems experienced in implementing the Direct Approach", reintroducing the use of L1 through translation, which became "once more a respectable classroom procedure" (Celce-Murcia, 2001, p. 6). The end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century, regardless of the approach or method favoured, saw a new acceptance of the use of learners' mother tongues in ELT classrooms in academic circles (Cook, 2001; Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). Resource books such as David Atkinson's *Teaching Monolingual Classes: Using L1 in the Classroom* (1993) started to emerge, advising teachers on how best to negotiate classroom spaces in terms of combining L1 and TL.

Also, studies have been performed with the aim of revealing the actual practices of teachers at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels concerning the use of L1 and the purposes for its use. For example, Hall and Cook's (2013)

large scale survey of 2,785 teachers from 111 countries, working at all three educational levels, has shown that “own-language use is an established part of ELT classroom practice, and that teachers, while recognising the importance of English within the classroom, do see a range of useful functions for own-language use in their teaching” (Hall & Cook, 2013, p. 6). They used L1 to clarify meaning, to explain grammar and vocabulary, and to help develop positive relationships and classroom atmosphere, while their students found use for their L1 in contrasting vocabulary and grammar of TL and L1, and in preparing for classroom tasks and activities (p. 26). Other studies focused on tertiary level only, taking only teachers (Polio and Duff 1994), only students (Rolin-Ianziti and Varshney, 2008), or both students and teachers into account, and their attitudes and practices connected to L1 use in the classroom (Duff and Polio, 1990; Levine, 2003; Mora Pablo et al., 2011; Jingxia, 2010). To the best of the author’s knowledge, there are no studies targeting secondary school teachers concerning this topic, while Legac (2011) examined the attitudes of students in their last year of secondary school, close to the beginning of their university years. Primary school teachers’ attitudes were the focus of Salah and Farrah’s study (2012), while their practices were observed in Nagy and Robertson (2009). The only study found that looks at 8th grade primary school students’ practice in terms of L1 use is Whitehead (2013), but it does not take into account their attitudes, recording instead the state of affairs through observation of one specific type of activity that took place once a week. However, no studies have been identified that record the attitudes of primary school pupils towards the use of their own languages in ELT classrooms.

3. Research aim

In order to fill this gap, research has been performed with the aim of examining primary school learners’ attitudes towards the use of target and first language in an EFL classroom. More specifically, the aim was to record: 1) the pupils’ feelings towards the use of TL in class, 2) their perception of the roles of L1 and TL in language instruction and class organization, as well as 3) their opinions on the socio-affective aspects of ‘English only’ vs. a bilingual approach. In addition, the aim was to check whether there is any correlation between the learners’ attitudes and their gender/L1.

The first hypothesis, grounded in Hall and Cook (2013), was that the pupils will have a positive attitude towards the use of L1 in their ELT classes, taking into account their low CEFR level, as their English language curriculum aimed at achieving approximately A1+ level by the end of the school year. The second hypothesis was that the speakers of the language spoken by the minority will have a more positive attitude towards the use of their L1 in EFL class, having the need to preserve their language in a way, as research, albeit from the ESL field,

indicates that immersion programs can be effective in the development of language and literacy for learners from dominant

language groups, whose L1 is valued and supported both at home and in the broader society, [whereas] bilingual instruction seems to be more effective for language minority students, whose language has less social status. (Roberts Auerbach, 1993, pp. 15-16)

The third hypothesis was that the girls will express a lower level of anxiety and embarrassment and a higher level of enjoyment in using the TL, based on the stereotype that, in comparison with other subjects, the language classroom represents a ‘girls’ world’, in which “girls can be verbally dominant and academically active” (Sunderland, 1998, p. 75).

4. The context of the study

The Serbian national curriculum recommends the use of communicative approach from the very beginning of FL teaching, explicitly stating that the medium of instruction is to be TL, and offering phrases and sentences to be used for communication during the 90-minutes weekly instruction in a FL, mixed-gender, classroom. However, the ELT teacher of the pupils forming the study sample did not fully follow the curriculum recommendation, using L1 when necessary, through both teacher and peer translation and explanations, because both the provided amount of instruction, at only two lessons a week, and the way the curriculum is organized, in many cases do not lead to the desired results in terms of the acquired knowledge. In the northern province of Vojvodina, the medium of instruction for the rest of the subjects can be any one of the six officially recognized languages spoken in the region. During the compulsory primary school, children can be educated in their mother tongue, based on their parents’ choices. The research was conducted in a village in Vojvodina, with approximately 65 per cent of Hungarian population and 35 per cent of Serbian population. Thus, although an official majority language in the state, Serbian is spoken by a smaller percentage of inhabitants in the pupils’ immediate environment, as many do not have an elementary knowledge of it. This, however, was not the case among adults in the school in which research was performed, as the teachers were mostly able to communicate in both languages, albeit at different CEFR levels.

5. Methodology

5.1 Participants

Sixty primary school pupils with Serbian and Hungarian as their L1 were included in the study, 60% being female and 40% male (for detailed gender distribution see Table 1). The average age of the participants was 13.47 and they all attended the 7th grade of primary school.

Table 1. Participants' gender

	Hungarian class (%)	Serbian class (%)
female	66.7	53.3
male	33.3	46.6

From the 30 children whose L1 was Serbian, 20% were bilingual in Hungarian, as well, while from the 30 children with Hungarian as their L1, 33.3% were bilingual in Slovakian. This reflects the previously described context of language distribution within the given community. Only two children from the Serbian class lived at the time with one parent only, either due to parental loss or due to divorce, while other families were intact in both groups. A much higher rate of parental unemployment was recorded within the Serbian class, with 66.7 per cent of fathers being employed, as opposed to 100.0 per cent in the Hungarian class, while in the case of mothers, 53.3 per cent were employed in the Serbian class and 60.0 per cent in the Hungarian class. The parents' educational status (see table 2) has been found to be lower than the state average (*Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia*, 2013, p. 18).

Table 2. Parents' educational status

	Serbian (%)		Hungarian (%)	
	mother	father	mother	father
no formal education	6.7	.0	.0	.0
4 grades of primary school ¹	6.7	20.0	6.7	20.0
8 grades of primary school	43.3	30.0	6.7	.0
3 grades of secondary school	13.3	66.7	33.3	46.8
4 grades of secondary school	16.7	20.0	46.7	33.3
2 years of college	6.7	.0	6.7	.0
4 years of faculty	6.7	13.3	.0	.0

The mean of the average grade in all subjects was slightly higher in the case of Hungarian pupils, 4.02, and 3.91 in the case of Serbians, while the situation was the opposite for the final grade in the English language, with 3.93 being the Serbian mean value and 3.67 Hungarian. Finally, Serbs started learning English at the mean age of 6.40 and Hungarians at the mean age of 6.47.

5.2 Instruments

The questionnaire was distributed during the students' regular ELT lessons and contained close-ended items formulated in their L1 in order to maximise comprehension. Both the target language (TL) and the students' mother tongue (L1) were named precisely in the questionnaires, but will be referred to as L1

¹ Legally not legitimate, as in Serbia primary school is obligatory for all children and lasts for 8 years in total, consisting of the first cycle, i.e. the first four grades, taught by a home-room teacher, and the second cycle from the 5th to the 8th grades taught by subject teachers.

and TL throughout the paper for simplicity. A number of statements were based on Levine (2003), adapted in accordance with the cognitive abilities of younger study participants, as “simplicity is the key to designing good questionnaires for children” (Bell, 2007, p. 463). The statements aimed at gathering background data and recording the pupils’ general attitude towards learning the TL, their reasons for learning it and feelings related to using it in class, as well as their self-perceived relevant classroom practice in terms of L1 and TL distribution. Finally, their perception of the role of L1 and TL was asked for in language instruction and class organization, as well as their opinions on the socio-affective aspects of ‘English only’ vs. a bilingual approach. The answers offered were either multiple-choice, *yes/no*, or Likert-type scale answers. For statements based on Levine (2003), the scale offering answers in percentages was replaced by a simpler scale ranging from *always* to *never*, which was needed in order to accommodate for a difference in age, although leading to a loss of more precise information. Also, the Likert-type scale ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree* was exchanged for the simpler variant of *yes/no* answers, for the same reason and with the same consequences.

6. Results

A generally positive attitude towards learning English was recorded among the examined population (81.7%), with no statistically significant difference between the groups, either in terms of gender or L1. The pupils’ reasons for learning TL are presented in Table 3 in descending order, reflecting their popularity among the pupils. A statistically significant difference² was present for the statements: “I myself have a wish to learn it for my own sake” ($p < .01$ in case of speakers of Serbian, and $p < .005$ in case of the female part of the whole sample), “I want to move to an English-speaking country one day” ($p < 0.005$, in case of speakers of Hungarian), “I want to get a good grade”, “learning English will help me use the computer more easily”, “my parents want me to learn English” (for speakers of Serbian, $p < .005$, $p < .05$, $p < 0.01$, respectively, and, for the last statement, for male respondents $p < .005$).

² This was computed using the Chi-square test. For simplicity of presentation, Chi-square values and degree of freedom values were not reported for each case where statistically significant difference in results was found, as that would have compromised the text flow.

Table 3. Reasons for learning TL

I learn English because	Agree (%)
I myself have a wish to learn it for my own sake.	56.7
I want to move to an English-speaking country one day.	53.3
I want to talk to English-speaking foreigners.	43.3
I want to get a good grade.	30.0
I have to do it in school.	26.7
it will help me use the computer more easily.	26.7
my parents want me to.	10.0

When presented with the explicit statement about ‘English only’ policy, also recommended in the curriculum and widely popularised, a majority of pupils supported the approach, possibly due to acquiescence bias, as their teacher was present during the work on the questionnaire and the statement was the first one on the page. However, in order to screen for this, throughout the questionnaire other paired and opposite statements were dispersed that would check for the pupils’ level of honesty. Therefore, table 4 presents a somewhat inconsistent set of results, with no statistically significant differences for either gender or L1 groups. However, if the first statement is taken with reservations, a pattern does immerge. For example, the same number of students, approximately one third (37.9 per cent), supported the idea that TL only should be used by the teacher, expressed in two different ways, as opposed to two thirds of those (63.3 per cent) who think L1 has a place in the classroom, too, to be used by the teacher (53.3 per cent) and by the students (66.7 per cent).

Table 4. General attitude towards using TL and L1 in class

Statement	Agree (%)
Only TL should be used in class all the time.	80.0
L1 should be used in class.	63.3
The teacher should use only TL in class.	37.9
The teacher should use L1 in class.	53.3
Regardless of how much students use L1 in class, the teacher should always use only TL.	37.9
Students should use their L1 in class.	66.7

6.1 Language instruction and class organization

Other paired statements produced more or less consistent results (see Table 5), most notably in the case of code-switching, which is considered helpful by more than two thirds and unhelpful by less than one third of the sample, with more female participants considering the practice confusing ($p<.01$). This attitude could be connected with the behaviour pupils are exposed to frequently in their bilingual community; however, additional research would be necessary in order to confirm this hypothesis.

Table 5. Conveying of meaning

Statement	Agree (%)
When I do not understand what the teacher is saying in TL, I ask for an explanation in TL.	63.3
When I do not understand what the teacher is saying in TL, I ask for an explanation in L1.	50.0
It confuses me when the teacher switches from TL to L1 in class.	30.0
It helps me when the teacher switches from TL to L1 in class.	76.7
I always understand what the teacher says in TL, without the translation into L1.	56.7
I can keep up in class more easily when the teacher uses L1, too.	70.0

When asked about their opinion on the desired distribution of languages in certain situations, high-stakes information topped the list in case of L1, with more than three quarters of participants opting for it (see table 6). Girls favoured using L1 for textbook topics and task instruction to a greater extent ($p<.01$ and $p<.05$), while boys preferred TL use in these cases and for important instructions and notifications ($p<.01$, $p<.05$ and $p<.05$). Serbian pupils were most concerned about understanding the high-stakes topics ($p<.01$), while Hungarians preferred vocabulary and grammar instruction in general to take place in L1 ($p<.01$ and $p<.05$).

A slightly different distribution was recorded for conveying of meaning through L1 in terms of vocabulary and grammar, which was considered useful by two thirds of the sample when explicitly referring to verbal explanation only, with a statistically significant difference in case of grammar explanation in Serbian ($p<.01$). (See Table 7.)

Table 6. Preferred choice of language for different aspects of classroom practice

The language that should be used when talking about:	L1 (%)	TL (%)	Both (%)
important instructions and notifications	76.7	10.0	13.3
instructions for tasks	66.7	30.0	3.3
topics from the textbook	53.3	40.0	6.7
new vocabulary	46.7	40.0	13.3
grammar	43.3	46.7	10.0

Table 7. Vocabulary and grammar

Statement	Agree (%)
I find it easier to memorize new vocabulary when the teacher explains the meaning in TL only.	46.7
I find it easier to memorize new vocabulary when the teacher translates it into L1.	63.3
When learning grammar, only TL should be used.	36.7
I find it easier to understand TL grammar when the teacher explains it in L1.	66.7

In terms of their personal engagement in class work, the pupils largely looked favourably upon use of L1 in their mutual communications, being in monolingual classes and sharing the same L1, though there was inconsistency in their attitude towards the language of task preparations, which leaves the question largely unanswered (see Table 8). Among one fifth of students who preferred complete communication to take place in TL, girls were more prominent ($p < .01$).

Table 8. Peer cooperation and communication

Statement	Agree (%)
I think students should use only TL, even when talking among themselves about topics unrelated to the subject.	20.0
After finishing the task in group or pairwork, I immediately switch to L1 to talk to my classmates.	86.7
When we are doing group or pairwork, I think that we should use only TL, even when we are preparing for the task.	63.3
When we are doing group or pairwork, I think that we should use L1 when preparing for the task, and TL only if we have to talk in front of the whole class.	76.6

A majority of pupils were in favour of using TL for administrative purposes, such as calling the register (see Table 9). Slightly more than a half preferred to be disciplined by the teacher in their L1 (a statistically significant difference exists in the case of Serbian speakers, with $p<.001$, and male participants, $p<.01$).

Table 9. Maintenance of discipline and class organization

Statement	Agree (%)
The teacher should use TL for recording attendance.	60.0
I prefer it when the teacher tells us off in L1 when we talk, fidget, and do not listen in class.	53.3

6.2 Socio-affective aspect

Regardless of the pupils' expressed need for the use of L1 in certain situations, anxiety was not prevalent among pupils when using TL (see table 10), as the most frequently chosen answers to describe statements about when they feel anxious were *rarely* (4) and *never* (5). Most concern was expressed about communicating the crucial information on high-stakes topics, such as tests, and was more often observed among the speakers of Serbian, in relation with talk about tests, grammar and, surprisingly, during the administrative talk about presence in class ($p<.01$, $p<.005$ and $p<.001$, respectively). In addition, girls felt more insecure about test talk and talking about textbook topics ($p<.01$ and $p<.005$), and boys about grammar talk in English ($p<.01$).

Table 10. Anxiety related to using TL

I feel anxious and insecure when:	Mean ³	Sd	Median	Mode
I talk about tests in English (e.g. what should be learned), because I think I will not understand everything correctly.	3.27	1.47	4.00	4.00
I need to ask a question about grammar in English, or to talk about using tenses, for example.	3.53	1.34	4.00	5.00
I need to say that I am present in class at the beginning.	3.93	1.58	5.00	5.00
I talk about topics from the textbook in English.	3.93	1.22	4.00	5.00

Few children felt embarrassed when speaking TL (see table 11) and, among them, there were more girls and speakers of Serbian ($p < .05$ in both cases). On the other hand, boys expressed more enjoyment in the activity ($p < .005$).

Table 11. Feelings related to using TL

When I need to talk in English in class:	Mean	Sd	Median	Mode
I feel embarrassed.	4.03	1.34	5.00	5.00
I feel anxious.	3.43	1.58	4.00	5.00
I enjoy it.	2.60	1.42	3.00	1.00

However, this is valid only for the optional use of TL, since, if left without choice on the matter, half of the students felt they would experience insecurity (see table 12). For a majority of pupils, being able to resort to L1 in ELT class contributes to greater relaxation and more class participation, significantly more so in case of Serbian speakers who unanimously claimed that “when [they] are allowed to use L1 in class, [they] find it easier to contribute in class” ($p < .001$) as well as to “ask questions more freely when something is unclear to [them]” ($p < .01$). Also, for the latter statement, there was a statistically significant difference in terms of gender ($p < .01$ for girls).

³ The values represented are the following throughout: 1: always, 2: frequently, 3: sometimes, 4: rarely, 5: never.

Table 12. Socio-affective aspect

Statement	Agree (%)
If we had to use only TL in class, it would make me feel insecure.	50.0
When we use L1 in class as well, I feel more comfortable and relaxed.	86.7
If the teacher used only TL in class, I would ask questions less frequently when something is unclear to me.	56.7
When the teacher uses L1 in class, I ask questions more freely when something is unclear to me.	70.0
If we had to use only TL in class, I would participate less.	40.0
When we are allowed to use L1 in class, I find it easier to contribute in class.	80.0

Approximately two-thirds of pupils considered using only TL by the teacher who is a non-native speaker a kind of artificial behaviour (see table 13), which, again, could have been affected by being exposed to frequent code-switching in the immediate environment, and witnessing the naturalness of bilingual behaviour. Such an attitude was especially pronounced in case of Serbian pupils ($p < .01$), since this subgroup had more need of nurturing bilingualism due to the language distribution in the community. This, of course, would have to be examined by a more thorough qualitative research. Also, students did not seem to have a preference for either TL or L1 for developing teacher-learner rapport, opting for both languages for the same purpose, which slightly goes against Macaro's claim (1997) about the essentialness of L1 in building rapport. However, this conclusion would also have to be checked through further research.

Table 13. Teacher-learner rapport

Statement	Agree (%)
I think it would be fake behaviour if the teacher used only TL in class, when we know that she can speak our L1, too.	60.0
I think it is natural for the teacher to sometimes use L1, because that is her mother tongue, not TL.	70.0
I prefer when the teacher jokes and talks to us about things that interest us in TL.	76.6
I prefer when the teacher jokes and talks to us about things that interest us in L1, as well.	70.0

7. Discussion

As a case study of two classrooms in one school, the study confirms previous research on teacher and student samples, as well as the first hypothesis, having found that, from the primary school children's point of view, there is a place for L1 in ELT classrooms, with the greatest benefits being reported in the socio-affective sphere. Regardless of their positive feelings towards the use of TL, a majority of pupils expressed their preference for a bilingual instead of an 'English-only' approach, which they consider creates an artificial atmosphere when the teacher is a non-native speaker. The implications for practice, based on the results, are that TL should be used in a large number of situations, including building the rapport between pupils and the teacher, but that L1 should also be used for creating and maintaining quality relationships within classroom. Most importantly, L1 should be used in high-stakes situations, when there are direct consequences for the pupils in case of misunderstanding, as well as to aid vocabulary and, especially, grammar learning at lower levels. Therefore, the role of L1 should not be overlooked in lowering the affective filter of learners, taking into account the long-term effects which would eventually lead to greater and more relaxed TL use.

The second hypothesis, that the speakers of the language spoken by the minority will have a more positive attitude towards the use of their L1 in EFL class, in order to symbolically preserve their language, has also been confirmed, in two ways: 1) the positive attitude towards L1 use was recorded with both groups of speakers, who all represent 'minority language' speakers in a way, as Hungarian is a minority language at the wider-environment, i.e. state level, while Serbian is spoken by a smaller number of people in the immediate environment, i.e. at the village level; 2) the immediate experience had a stronger influence on the attitudes towards L1 use in class, while the wider-environment influence was present in the underlying reasons for learning TL. This finding "indicates that relations of power and their affective consequences are integral to language acquisition" and that "acquiring a second language is to some extent contingent on the societally determined value attributed to the L1, which can be either reinforced or challenged inside the classroom" (Roberts Auerbach, 1993, p. 16).

The third hypothesis, that the girls, when compared to the boys, will express a lower level of anxiety and embarrassment and a higher level of enjoyment in using the TL, was not confirmed for the elements of enjoyment and embarrassment. Despite the prevalent stereotype that language learning belongs to the girls' domain, the boys expressed significantly more enjoyment in using the English language in class, and embarrassment was felt more by the girls than the boys, and significantly more so in case of Serbian speakers. Though not necessarily so, this could be connected to the relatively lower educational level of female parents in case of the speakers of Serbian, as opposed to Hungarian speakers, where mothers were better educated than fathers. An overall difference in the case of girls can also be attributed to a much lower percentage

of employed, and thus financially independent mothers in both groups, in comparison with fathers.

8. Limitations of the study

Some inconclusive findings may have been caused by individual differences in the cognitive development of the participants, as, although older than 12, some of the children may not have reached formal operational stage at the time of the research and may thus not have been capable of hypothetical thinking (Hauser-Cram et al., 2014), necessary for giving valid answers in case of some questionnaire items. Also, apart from the very specific context of the research, the nature of quantitative research design naturally limits the conclusions that can be made, as well, and further qualitative research would be necessary in order to provide more detailed insights into the pupils' attitudes and the reasons behind them.

9. Conclusion

Two paradigms have been observed in the ESL, and, consequently, EFL field by Tsuda (1994):

- 1) a diffusion-of-English paradigm, characterised by capitalism, science and technology, modernization, monolingualism, ideological globalization and internationalization, transnationalization, Americanization and homogenization of world culture, and linguistic, cultural, and media imperialism;
- 2) an ecology-of-language paradigm, characterised by a human rights perspective, equality in communication, multilingualism, maintenance of languages and cultures, protection of national sovereignties, and promotion of FL education.

These two paradigms can be viewed as “endpoints on a continuum” (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, p. 436). Humanized FL teaching needs to move back and forth on this continuum, employing practices that would best cater for the needs of the end users, EFL learners. Heritage or gender issues should be considered with the aim of promoting equality and integrating such instruction into daily practices in a variety of ways. And,

rather than fearing teachers' abuse of L1 use, we should trust their capacity to integrate it selectively, based on critical analysis of their own contexts. . . [Also,] just as teachers should be trusted to make informed pedagogical decisions, students should be invited into the conversation: Issuing directives (either to students or to teachers) instead of encouraging dialogue can only be disempowering. (Roberts Auerbach, 1994, pp. 158-159)

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Professor Marianne Nikolov for her constructive comments after the conference presentation. Also, my thanks goes to Vera Savić and Dr Danijela Radović, for their comments on the previous version of the paper.

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The Impact of Assessment on Young Learners

Gabriella Lócsey

Doctoral Programme in English Applied Linguistics, University of Pécs

locseyg@gmail.com

This paper presents how the educational policy decision issued in 2014 (35/2014 (IV.30)) can influence school life at a primary school. The news that a national assessment of young foreign language learners is compulsory on grades 6 and 8 in primary schools has caused panic among language teachers and school principals. Young language learners and their parents wanted more information about the decision of Hungarian educational policy makers. Language teachers of basic education had several questions in connection with the test. What competence is going to be assessed and in what form is it going to be implemented? To what extent can the results of students of various classes or schools be compared to the others if the year when they start learning English is not the same, the number of language lessons is different, the methodology, language teachers, the learners' abilities and backgrounds vary.

The aim of this study was to find out how this policy decision influenced teaching at a primary school. Before presenting the study I first provide a short summary of the background of foreign language teaching in Hungarian primary schools. Then with the help of reviewing the literature the meaning of assessment is defined in order to be able to classify this language competence assessment. The study described in this paper aimed to answer three research questions; what participants knew about the National Language Competence Assessment and how this policy decision influenced the processes at the primary school. The investigation sought to explore the impact of national assessment on the young foreign language learners. Questionnaires, interviews and observations were carried out in order to collect the data in grades 6 and 8. The participants were four language teachers, eight parents and 16 students.

1. Theoretical background

1.1 Foreign language teaching in Hungarian primary schools

A detailed description of the Hungarian educational system was presented in the *Baseline Study on English Language Education in Hungary* (Fekete, Major & Nikolov, 1999). There has been a significant change in the educational system since then. Children of traditional primary schools used to be between the age 6 and 14 but now secondary schools offer school programmes from the ages 10, 12 or 14 in order to attract the most able students.

Hungary did not have a Comprehensive Foreign language policy until 2004 when World Language Programme was launched to reinforce foreign language teaching and learning in primary and secondary schools (Medgyes & Nikolov, 2014).

In 2012, a language policy document, a ministry decree was introduced which was a new version of National Core Curriculum (NCC, 2012). Mandatory foreign language teaching starts in grade 4 but due to parental pressure several schools offer a variety of early start programmes in grades 1-3. Most schools follow traditional foreign language curricula but the group size, number of language lessons, the language teaching methodology and the course books used in language lessons show a great variety. Nikolov (2011) claimed that there were no official achievement targets for the first three grades (p. 74), 'assessment practices are often problematic' (p. 75). Young learners' evaluation is often on a higher level than it would be realistic. In her study Nikolov (2011) defined the aims of early language teaching and described what young Hungarian foreign language learners should be able to achieve at different levels of their development in elementary schools.

1.2 Assessment

According to Brown (2004, p. 3), a test 'is a method of measuring a person's ability; knowledge, or performance in a given domain.' He meant 'a set of techniques, procedures, or items that requires performance on the part of test taker' (Brown, 2004, p. 3). Davies (2005) stated that assessment concerns the measurement of proficiency and of potential (or aptitude) in terms of the progress of proficiency. Smith (1999) views assessment as 'a set of process through which we try to understand and make inferences about a learner's development, skills and knowledge' (p. 143). She insisted on using assessment to learn more about the progress of the individual learner. McKay (2006) asserted that there are two, often overlapping types of assessment: formative and summative assessment. Formative is usually informal, assessment during teaching and learning. It often involves diagnostic assessment to analyse learners' specific strength and weaknesses. 'Summative assessment occurs at the end of a course of study when teachers and others want to know how a student has progressed during a period of study' (McKay 2006, p.22). Summative assessment may be based on results of internal or external tests or on a teacher's summative decisions after observations. Education departments want to know how schools and districts have progressed. Results of summative assessments may be public and may be used for comparison with past and future results (McKay 2006).

After reviewing the literature, Smith (1999) asserted that the different functions for assessment can be classified into three major groups: accountability, certification, and forming and encouraging learning (p. 143). With young learners, the major function of assessment is forming and encouraging learning. Assessment for learning is more essential than assessment of learning. Assessing learners for accountability purposes is of little or

no help to the learners, who become a tool in the hands of policy makers. Wall and Alderson(1993) asserted that “it is common to claim the existence of washback (the impact of a test on teaching) and to declare that tests can be powerful determiners, both positively and negatively, of what happens in classrooms” (p. 41). If too much emphasis is put on external assessment, it can cause backwash effect on learning and teaching. Mc Kay (2006) claimed that the ‘effect of assessment may be positive or negative, depending on a number of factors, ranging from the way the assessment procedure or test is constructed, to the way it is used’ (p. 18). Assessment procedures are effective if they ‘have been designed to ensure valid and fair information on the student’s abilities and progress and they give educators feedback in the teaching and learning process’ (Mc Kay, p. 18). They ‘provide valuable information to administrators of cohorts of students and on whether schools are successfully delivering the curriculum’ (Mc Kay, p. 19).

This national assessment of young foreign language learners is an external assessment as it is prepared by the National Education Office and the stated aim is to measure competence of comprehension. In 2014, proficiency levels of students in grades 6 and 8 in dual-language programmes were tested and the results were analysed by Nikolov and Szabó (2015), who suggested that ‘background variables, students’ individual differences’ and language learning opportunities should also be examined ‘to gain insights into the depth and complexity of language learning’ (p. 21).

2. The study

The aim of the study was to find out how the policy decision issued in 2014 (35/2014. (IV.30) influenced teaching in a primary school. What arrangements the principal made and how language teachers changed their teaching practice. The investigation also sought to explore the impact of national assessment on the young foreign language learners. The policy decision was the following:

A large scale of language assessment has to be conducted on grades 6 and 8 in elementary schools with the participation of students whose first foreign language is English or German. This language assessment will be a written exam organised by the Education Office. The assessment tasks and procedures measuring competence of comprehension will be constructed by the Education Office and the assessment will be conducted on 11 June by the teachers of the school with the received, posted tests and instruments. On their own decision, schools can supplement this examination with the measurement of the participating students’ oral competence. By 21 November, 2014, the involved institutions have to send the Education Office the data needed for the assessment and the results achieved by the students and schools are supposed to be forwarded by the 30 June in the way

required by the Education Office. (35/2014. (IV.30) 2014/2015.
Magyar Közlöny 2014. 61. p. 8835, 7).

2.1 Research questions

1. What do participants know about the National Language Competence Assessment?
2. How does this policy decision influence the processes at the primary school?
3. What impact of national assessment on the young foreign language learners can be explored?

2.2 Participants

This study was conducted in a public primary school in Hungary and this research involved sixteen students from the two grades where the National Assessment was planned to be performed. Eight students from the sixth -grade and eight students from the eighth-grade participated in the study with their foreign language teachers. The students were chosen by their language teachers and the ratio of the males and females was the same. Besides these two English and two German language teachers, the school principal was also interviewed. For the purpose of triangulation eight parents were asked to fill in a questionnaire to find out how well they were informed about the National Language Competence Assessment Project and what they expected from it.

2.3 Data collection method

The study was conducted in a primary school. For the purposes of triangulation three instruments were used: semi-structured interviews, open-ended questionnaire and observation. The Principal and teachers' interviews lasted approximately 20 minutes each and were based on 9 questions, but participants were encouraged and free to express their opinion and thoughts. The interviews were conducted in Hungarian. The students completed a Hungarian questionnaire consisting of eight open-ended items.

2.4 Procedure

The pencil-and-paper method was employed and the interviews were carried out in Hungarian. The parents also filled the Hungarian questionnaire which was taken home by the children. All the data were typed and translated into English. They were analysed in terms of larger categories to uncover shared views and thoughts and subcategories to discover deeper beliefs and notions. The inquiries of the structured interviews designed for the Principal (Pr), language teachers (T), students(S) and the questions of the open ended questionnaire created for the parents (P) were similar, often identical to scrutinise the issue from different perspectives. Six questions were the same:

1. What do you know about the National Language Competence Assessment?
2. When did you hear the news about this assessment?
3. How did you get this information?
4. How and what types of competences are planned to be measured?
5. What is the aim of this assessment?
7. What will the consequences of the results of the language competence assessment be?
6. for the principal: What kind of decision or instructions have you done for this assessment?
6. for students: What kinds of changes have been done in the classroom for this assessment?
6. for parents: What types of tasks do you do to be prepared for this assessment?

Another question was about motivation:

8. for teachers: How do you motivate students to get a better result?
8. for students: How could the students be motivated in the language classrooms to get a better result?
8. for parents: How do you help your child to achieve a good result on the assessment?
9. How will this assessment be conducted?

2.5 Results

The findings of the three interviews and questionnaire are different in length and contents. It can be surely stated that there was not enough information given to the participants about this assessment on any level. The result indicates that the different participants had various expectations about it. The answers are presented and discussed in the sequence of the research questions. I start with the school principal's opinion, then analyse the teachers' and their students' replies; finally the parents' responses are introduced.

2.5.1 Information about the National Language Competence Assessment

All the teachers and the Principal started the exact date of the planned assessment in their answers. They were unanimously upset because of the unfortunate timing and the lack of information.

T2: "The time is perfect for failure; neither student nor teacher can perform it adequately."

T3: {I know} "approximately its content but not exactly. {I don't know} who is going to participate in it and the evaluation, we don't know anything. Will the students of grade eight turn up?"

In contrast to the four teachers and the school headmistress, the students did not worry about the timing at all. Half of the 16 students did not know the answer. None of the parents mentioned whether they were aware of the exact date but

in five of eight parental responses the two grades which are participating in the assessment were stated precisely. Two parents said that they did not know much about this assessment. The two types of competences, listening and reading comprehension which are planned to be measured were well specified by three teachers but the fourth teacher was not sure about it. The students' responses showed great varieties. Nine of them replied 'comprehension' and one of them had no hint about it. Some participants talked about language in more details and some of them mentioned grammar. Five parents simply referred to 'comprehension' but only one of them mentioned listening comprehension, too. There must have been a misunderstanding because Maths and Hungarian were also indicated.

Analysing the data about the aim of the assessment, the preparation for the assessment, motivation and consequences of the assessment an enormous difference can be detected between the attitude of the teachers and students. Teachers, students and parents had been looking forward to this test with dissimilar feelings. One of the teachers expressed her criticism harshly.

T2: This won't measure anything. From this it can't be revealed whether the students can use the language. It does not assess communication.

On the other hand, the majority of the students looked forward to it with a sort of curiosity and considered this assessment as a kind of feedback which would show their level of English, the amount of their English knowledge, what they are capable of English or how students learn. Two students referred to the responsibility of their school and teachers. Only two students thought that the results would be evaluated nationally and they could check themselves, their knowledge in the national list. One of them disapproved the Hungarian people's foreign language knowledge. The parents' answers also proposed a kind of positive expectation: P1: *to bring the language abilities to the same level*; P3: *to categorize the talented students*; P4: *to increase the efficacy of the foreign language, what level knowledge the students have*; P6: *on subject level the students' knowledge is tested, on national level it is assessed how a student is able to use the acquired knowledge in every day.*

2.5.2 The influence of this policy decision on the processes at the primary school

On the school level, no changes have been made except for sending the measurement code in November. The principal claimed there had been no other information about what was needed for this assessment. The participating teachers complained about the lack of information where to find any tasks for this assessment and what strategies to practice. Positive washback effect could be noticed in the case of one of the teachers because her answer revealed that she gave more listening and reading tasks in her lessons after finding some good exercises in language books and on the net. Two other teachers did not find necessary to change their teaching approach but different teaching strategies

could be recognised in their replies which scaffolded their students' learning, such as keyword searching or spending more time on understanding difficult materials. Some materials could be discovered online but one of the teachers highlighted that similar type of task for this assessment did not exist on the net, either. Four children said that they did not practice for this assessment or they did not know that they were doing tasks for that. The others remembered various tests for instance that they had to answer to questions or ask questions about the text after reading them, or writing a composition after an example. Gap filling exercises, creating sentences, listening to CDs, replying questions after listening, yes or no question exercises, grouping exercises, learning topics, translating texts were also recalled in their memories. Some children referred to their teachers' promise that they would practice for it. To sum it up, the positive washback effect could be recognised here, the news of the assessment had positively influenced the process of classroom teaching: more reading and listening exercises occurred in the language lessons.

What did the participants expect? A major difference can be detected in this question between teachers and students. The opinions of the teachers reflected negative attitude, feelings about the consequences or they simply claimed that they did not know the outcomes. One of the teachers expressed the uselessness of this assessment without considering the language learning context.

2.5.3 The impact of national assessment on the young foreign language learners

Except for two children who answered '*I don't know*' (S11), the others were expecting a kind of feedback about their proficiency level in their foreign language, about the fact who was interested in language learning, who studied well or who didn't. Some of them believed that it would also be '*a feedback to the school and teachers*' (S), and '*if the results became unsuccessful then this generation would be developed*' (S 8). Some students supposed that high schools would be able to see the results and they may receive some help, supplementary lessons if they needed. Most students 'attitude was positive towards the National Assessment and all of them expected a real picture of their achievements. Some participating parents assumed that this assessment would serve as the basis of differentiating the students according to their levels and/or their abilities. Moreover, the talented students would be developed while the less talented could have supplementary lessons. From the findings it appeared that parents had a high expectation from this assessment.

Another interesting outcome can be traced after examining the responses in terms of motivation. To the question of how students could be motivated in the language classrooms to get a better result the most striking finding was that except one child whose answer was '*I don't know*' (S13) all the students' started to brainstorm about motivation. They believed that children could be inspired with *more games, listening exercises*(S1), *tasks about the culture of the target language*(S3), *video films*(S8;S12), *stories*(S12), *interesting and exciting facts* for example about the origin of the language (S14). Some children highlighted that the evaluation should be done *individually* (S2) and it should happen *after*

each lesson (S2). They could get more praise (S4) or good grade (S2) if they practise more and somehow make them love the language (S3). Encourage them to learn more (S6). Some of the children emphasized the significance of showing the usefulness of learning a foreign language.

3. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to find out how this policy decision influenced teaching at a primary school, what arrangements the principal made and how language teachers changed their teaching practice. The investigation also sought to explore the impact of national assessment on the young foreign language learners. It can be stated that there was not enough information given to the participants about this assessment, which may have resulted in the fact that different participating groups had various expectations from it. They had different level of motivation-demotivation, attitude towards this National Competence Assessment. While the students and parents did not know the content and exact time of the assessment they were still motivated and expressed positive attitude towards this language assessment and they had a high expectation. They believed that the National Competence Assessment would have a sensible aim and consequences; moreover, it would influence the participants' lives. Further research is recommended after accomplishing the assessment. Analysing the tasks and results of the competence test, post interviews and questionnaires about the students' and other stakeholders' opinions and feelings would provide more important issues and topics to scrutinise and this way an overall picture of the impact of the Hungarian Competence Assessment in a primary school could be drawn.

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“My Sweet Mother Tongue”: Learner Language Analysis

Ildikó Lukácsi-Berkovics
Hungarian – Chinese Dual Language Primary School, Budapest
berkovics.ildiko@gmail.com

1. Introduction

In my work-in-progress empirical research, I analysed eighteen 8th grader primary school students' written performances on a complex topic. The students were from the Hungarian – Chinese Dual Language Primary School in Budapest. They were all immigrant students taking part either in immersion education or in Hungarian as a second language education. These boys and girls were at about the age of 14 at the time of the study. By curriculum, in the subject of Hungarian grammar, students were required to write an essay about their attitudes and knowledge about their mother tongue. Careful planning was necessary before launching this topic, as in this unique school, students come from varied first language (L1) backgrounds.

In my investigation, I used a mixed method research design. On the one hand, I examined the learners' level of proficiency, their frequently occurring linguistic patterns and common mistakes, where I gained mainly quantitative data. On the other hand, I studied their identity related statements, which resulted mainly in qualitative data.

I was interested in what language proficiency levels students are at; what the typical lexical and linguistic patterns are in their written performances; what kind of mistakes they make and how they express their identity through the essays.

The importance of the study is to gain insight into how immigrant students with different levels of proficiency perform at a complex written task in the host country's official language in this dual language school. Another benefit of the research might be that studying learner language helps teachers assess teaching procedures in the light of what can reasonably be expected to accomplish in the classroom, thus more precise planning of syllabus can be carried out. The data provide a deeper understanding of L2 phenomena, which can be an indication of progress or deficiency.

2. Literature review

Lavelle (2007, p. 219) defines writing as a cognitively complex task, involving multiple attentional demands, strategies, and processes, which is affective involving intentionality and self-expression as well. She claims, that it is both an art and a science, inspired yet routine, reflective yet directive.”

Learner language is the oral or written language produced by learners. It serves as the primary data for the study of L2 acquisition (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005, p. 4). One of the most striking differences in gathering samples to analyse learner language is that written samples are permanent, and for this reason, they are easier to collect (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005, p. 28).

Beyond oral and written distinction, we can also distinguish between naturally occurring, clinically elicited, and experimentally elicited performances. In the case of clinically elicited writings, the focus is on the message, whereas in experimentally elicited writings, the focus is on the form. It is not always simple to put writings into one type, as they can appear on a continuum.

Weigle claims that while writing in the first language is challenging, it is more so in second language: in addition to limited linguistic resources, second-language writers may be disadvantaged by social and cultural factors. She adds that motivational and affective factors play a role as well. Furthermore, the issue of time constraints is salient for them, because they are unable to write as fluently and quickly as their native speaker peers (Weigle, 2002, pp. 36-38).

A corpus can be defined as a collection of texts or parts of texts upon which some general linguistic analysis can be conducted (Meyer, 2002, p. xi.)

Modern-day corpora are of various types ranging from general/reference corpora vs. specialized corpora (e.g., British National Corpus and Bank of English), through historical corpora vs. corpora of present-day language (e.g., Helsinki Corpus, ARCHER); regional corpora vs. corpora containing more than one variety (e.g., Wellington Corpus of Written New Zealand English); learner corpora vs. native speaker corpora (e.g., International Corpus of Learner English); multilingual corpora vs. one-language corpora); to spoken vs. written vs. mixed corpora (e.g., LLC = London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English) (Nesselhauf, 2005).

Meyer claims that corpora have numerous uses, ranging from the theoretical to the practical, making them valuable resources for descriptive, theoretical, and applied discussions of language. He also adds that as corpus linguistics is a methodology, all linguists could use corpora in their studies of language. (Meyer, 2002, p.45).

The benefits of collecting linguistic data from language learners are manifold. By analysing them with appropriate computer software, new scientific results can be gained and used for compiling new curricula or monolingual dictionaries. Furthermore, they can create a basis of a new programme that is able to correct mistakes made by the learners (Durst, Szabó, Vincze & Zsibrita, 2014a). Conrad (2005) urges an increase in such second language learner corpora. She suggests that larger scale, cross-sectional, longitudinal studies should take place in SLA corpus linguistics, therefore, from larger databases greater influence could be exercised on L2 teaching in the future.

For analysing Hungarian as a foreign/second (HFL/HSL) (learner) language, two corpora have been compiled so far. One was published in the USA at Indiana University (Dickinson & Ledbetter, 2012, 2015), the other one, called

HunLearner, was published at Szeged University, Hungary (Durst, Szabó, Vincze & Zsibrita, 2014b). Currently, the Indiana University corpus contains data from 14 learners at three different proficiency levels. Nine are so-called beginners, one is intermediate and four are advanced level. They total in 9391 sentences with ten annotated journals. The texts are composed of entries on various topics chosen by the student, and each one is ten to fifteen sentences in length. *HunLearner* is a new corpus that includes essays written by learners of Hungarian. In the project launched by Szeged University, written data were collected from 35 students majoring in Hungarian studies at the University of Zagreb, Croatia. Texts were morphologically and syntactically analysed by the *magyarlanc* tool (Zsibrita, Vincze & Farkas 2013). The topics were Egy szimpatikus ember [A nice person] and Magyarországról és a magyarokról [On Hungary and Hungarians]. Learners were at A2, B1 proficiency levels. Currently, the corpus consists of 1427 sentences and 22000 tokens.

3. The study

3.1 The research questions

The aim of the study was to investigate the language proficiency and typical linguistic patterns of immigrant students throughout their written performances in their target language, Hungarian, as well as to study their attitude and feelings towards the topic of mother tongue presented in their course book.

The research questions were as follows:

- Which language proficiency levels are students at?
- What are the typical lexical and linguistic patterns in their written performances?
- What types of mistakes do they make?
- How do they express their identity through the essays?

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Research context and participants

The context of my study is the immigrant community in the Hungarian – Chinese Dual Language Primary School, Budapest. At present, this is the only Chinese – host country bilingual school in Europe, established in 2004. Currently, 360 pupils are enrolled at the school. Some 110 of them speak Mandarin Chinese as their first language, and there are altogether 123 students whose mother tongue is not (or not only) Hungarian. The number of Hungarian pupils has outnumbered immigrant students' year by year. There seems to be a growing interest in and popularity of the Chinese language among Hungarian parents. In this school, all students learn both Chinese and Hungarian languages

and civilization. A more detailed description of the academic context can be found in Lukácsi-Berkovics (2015, pp. 159-160).

The participants of the study were eighteen 8th grader students, whose first language (L1) was Mandarin Chinese with one exception. There was also a Russian as a first language speaker pupil. These boys and girls were at about the age of 14 at the time of the study. Seven of them learned Hungarian as a second language (HSL). These students belonged to the so-called MID class. MID is an abbreviation of “magyar mint idegen nyelv” meaning Hungarian as foreign language class (HFL). Although the school management is aware that Hungarian here is a second and not a foreign language, the reason for calling it “idegen” [foreign] is simply practical: it is easier to pronounce it MID for Hungarians in everyday use (instead of MMINY).

Eleven pupils were considered proficient enough in Hungarian to take part in fully immersed education. It means that these students learned Hungarian literature and grammar, and all the other subjects along with their Hungarian L1 classmates. In the analysis section of my study, I will compare the performance of these two subgroups as well.

Besides the mother tongue being mostly Chinese, there was another common feature of all the students: as all of them had been taking part in the Hungarian education system for more than one academic year, by law they were all required to sit for the annual test called ‘The National Assessment of Basic Competencies’ (Oktatási Hivatal, 2014, p. 7), a test of mathematics and reading comprehension skills originally designed for HL1 students. Officially, L1 is not a differentiating factor when assessing learner competence.

3.2.2 Data collection instruments and procedure

To answer the research questions, my data collection included language proficiency tests, a questionnaire, classroom observations, and students’ written performances. The instruments used for measuring students’ language level were the following: (a) an A2 language exam validated by ELTE Origo Examination Centre Ltd. (ELTE Origo Nyelvi Centrum Kft., 2013); (b) a B1 language exam also validated by ELTE Origo Examination Centre Ltd. (ELTE Origo Nyelvi Centrum Kft., 2013); (c) a Student’s questionnaire (pilot version); and (d) a Teacher’s questionnaire (pilot version). Some of the findings related to the level of proficiency were discussed earlier (Lukácsi-Berkovics, 2015, p.162). For further information about linguistic and lexical patterns used by these students, I collected essays from them on a complex topic. In the present study, I will focus on this area.

In the grammar course books for 8th graders (Lerchné Egri, 2013), there is a section devoted to languages, especially focusing on the mother tongue among the other languages in the world. The book provides texts in the topics of mother tongue, bilingualism, the nature, history and typology of languages, and also further activities, typically research based ones and written tasks. One of the written tasks by the end of the section is to write an essay titled *Édes anyanyelvem* [My sweet mother tongue]. As L1 was not Hungarian for all the

students, they were required to do some preparatory research about their mother tongue and participate in class discussions before embarking on the task. The participants were encouraged to use their notes in the process of writing the essays. The course book and work book also suggest process writing for completing a final essay.

The study was carried out in two consecutive academic years, in 2013 and 2014. The data for language proficiency were collected in both years in two waves: October and April, the essays were collected between the two waves each year.

4. Results and discussion

In this section, I will analyse the level of proficiency, comparing the performance of the subgroups of immersion class – MID class, boys and girls. Then, I will move onto the lexical and linguistic findings including length and statistics on word count, frequency analysis, range of vocabulary, typical vocabulary related errors and content. I will briefly touch upon the identity related statements, but I will not go into details about them in the present study.

4.1 Level of proficiency

Besides the overall language exam results (Lukácsi-Berkovics, 2015, p.162), I evaluated the written performances for this study separately. Based on my language examiner and teaching HSL experience, I considered most of the pupils' texts to be at level of high standard, with wide range and high quality of vocabulary. In Table 1, I present the language proficiency results in the two subgroups.

Table 1. Level of proficiency in the immersion and MID groups

level	immersion group	MID group
C1	5	0
B2	3	2
B1	2	2
A2	1	2
A1	0	1

The first column stands for the Common European Framework (CEFR, Council of Europe, 2001) levels, the second column indicates the immersion group, and the third column is for the MID group. Those whose overall level of proficiency was high had a wider range of vocabulary, too. By the written performances, I judged five participants to be C1 performers.

In my study, the C1 performer pupils were all from the immersion group. Five students were B2 performers, three of them belonged to the immersion group and two to the MID class. Of the four B1 students, two were in the immersion class and two in the MID class. Out of the three A2 performers only one attended the immersion group and two were from the MID group. There

was only one student with an A1 result; she was the weakest performer in my previous study, as well. Immersion students clearly performed better than their peers from MID classes.

In Table 2, I compared the results of the girls and boys:

Table 2. Level of proficiency among boys and girls

level	boys	girls
C1	1	5
B2	4	1
B1	2	1
A2	2	1
A1	-	1

Girls tended to be higher achievers: five of them achieved the C1 level, whereas there was only one boy at this level. On the other hand, the B2 level achievers were mainly boys, four of them versus one girl. Two boys and one girl reached level B1, and the same was true for level A2. The only A1 performer was a girl.

4.2 Lexical and linguistic findings

The eighteen essays altogether contained 3,342 words, which means that an average essay was 184 words long (SD = 96.55). Figure 1 presents the length of the essays.

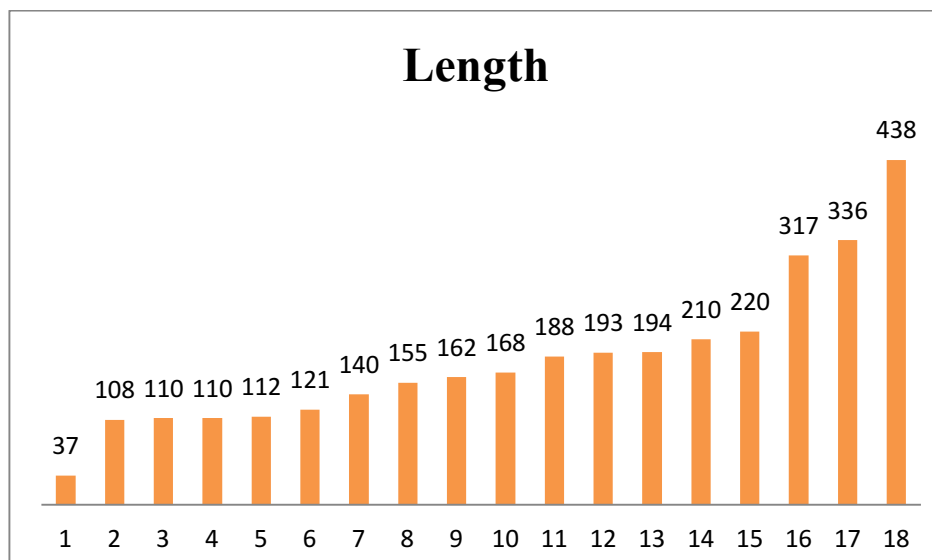


Figure 1. Essay length in words

The shortest essay was 37 words, the longest one had 438 words. A typical C1 level language exam usually requires writing an approximately 200-word text on a complex topic. Table 3 presents the most frequently used words in the text as analysed by Cobb's (2002) frequency analysis tool.

Table 3. The most frequent words

Frequency	Word in Hungarian	Meaning in English	Frequency
1.	a	the	154
2.	nyelv	language	101
3.	kínai	Chinese	86
4.	az	the	55
5.	és	and	47
6.	magyar	Hungarian	34
7.	10	10	23
8.	én	I	19
9.	nyelvet	Language (obj.)	17
10.	anyanyelvem	my mother tongue	16
11.	van	be/there is/exist	16
12.	de	but	15
13.	világon	in the world	14
14.	mert	because	13
15.	használják	they use	12
16.	nem	no/not	12
17.	mint	as	11
18.	sok	lot	10
19.	szeretem	I love	10
20.	édes	sweet	9
21.	magyarul	in Hungarian	9
22.	második	second	9
23.	olyan	like (as)	9
24.	is	too	8
25.	nehéz	difficult	8
26.	nyelvtan	grammar	8
27.	sino	Sino	8
28.	tartozik	belong	8
29.	tibeti	Tibetan	8
30.	használ	use	7
31.	izoláló	isolating	7
32.	milliárd	billion	7
33.	tudom	I know	7
34.	angolul	in English	6
35.	azt	that	6
36.	beszélek	I speak	6
37.	beszélük	they speak	6
38.	csak	only	6
39.	egyszerűsített	simplified	6
40.	ember	person	

The most frequent content words were *nyelv* [language] (N = 101), and *kínai* [Chinese] (N = 86). It is interesting to note the popularity of conjunctives like *és* [and] (N = 47), *de* [but] (N = 15) and *mert* [because] (N = 13). Another striking phenomenon was the high occurrence of complex words like *sino-tibeti* [Sino-Tibetan] (N = 8) or *egyszerűsített* [simplified] (N = 8).

The keywords of the texts were *anyanyelv* [mother tongue], *nyelv* [language], *magyar* [Hungarian], and *kínai* [Chinese]. As the topic of essays was about mother tongue, it is no wonder these words appeared in every text.

We can state that C1 level students all used varied expressions, complex sentences regarding lexical cohesion and idioms in their adequate place and form. It could be noticed that most of the B2 pupils strived to use varied vocabulary, although in some cases their choice of wording was rather incorrect. B1 performers mostly avoided abstract arguments and tried to use simple vocabulary, although they could express themselves at ease in the field of their own opinion or experience. In this study, the students at level A2 could formulate very simple sentences with basic vocabulary, approaching the complex topic from a rather own experience based way. The only person at level A1 used very simple, isolated sentences with basic vocabulary, hardly related to the topic. In the next section, I will provide some examples.

Spelling and punctuation mistakes (“*edés*” instead of *édes* [sweet], “*mondgyák*” instead of *mondják* [they say]) were the most typical vocabulary related errors. One of the most common mistakes was the issue of writing words together or separately (“*az én anya nyelvemben*” instead of *az én anyanyelvemben* [in my mother tongue], “*esztmonta*” instead of *ezt mondta* [he said that]), which is an issue for L1 users in Hungarian, as well. Further, using the wrong word or expression was typical but less frequent (“*gyerekem [...]* ebben az iskolában fogja újra lépni a gyerekkoromat instead of *az én gyerekem is ebbe az iskolába fog járni, mint most én* [my child will go to this school like I did]).

4.3 Content

Regarding the content of the texts, I found one striking difference between the immersion group and the MID group. While the immersion students wrote more freely and frankly about their attitudes and feelings towards Chinese, Hungarian and English, the MID group students were rather objective and factual. The reason behind this phenomenon might be that the higher language proficiency in the immersion class allowed for smoother ways of expressing emotions. Let me present some typical examples from both types of writings. A factual writing from the MID class:

A kínai nyelv körülbelül 1,7 milliárdan és körülbelül 5000 éves a története. És a kínai nyelvben van öt hangsúly pedig az első hang, második hang, harmadik hang, negyedik hang és hangsúlytalan. Az írott pedig két fajtája van: Egyszerűsített és hagyományos kínai. A kínai nyelvtan kevés van. [Chinese is {spoken} by 1.7 billion and it

has a history of 5000 years. And in Chinese there are 5 tones: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and unstressed. And there are two types of its writing: simplified and traditional. There isn't much grammar in Chinese.].

Whereas, in the immersion group, these kinds of utterances are more common:

Szeretem az anyanyelvemet, szeretem használni, tanulmányozni, vagy éppen csak nézegetni is. A kínai kalligráfia világhírű. Nagyon nehéz nyelv, de pont az a nehézsége köti össze a világszerte utazó többmint 1,5 milliárd ember szívét. Én is ebbe a csoportba tartozom, ezért büszke vagyok származásomra és arra is, hogy ezt a gyönyörű nyelvet, mint anyanyelvem, tanulhatom még itt Magyarországon is. [I love my mother tongue, I love studying it or just looking at it. Chinese calligraphy is world famous. It is a very difficult language, but this difficulty bonds together the hearts of more than 1.5 billion people all over the world. I belong to them, therefore I am proud of my heritage, and I am also proud that I can learn this beautiful language, my mother tongue, even here, in Hungary.]

4.4 Identity

The identity related analysis is still in progress, because I aim to collect more essays for a further study, focusing on the identity related statements. Here, I will present some examples from a number of texts to demonstrate how fruitful this field is. The following excerpts illustrate the bonding and positive attitude to both the heritage language and the host language.

Nehéz lenne kiválasztani melyik is az anyanyelvem. [It would be difficult to choose which is my mother tongue.]

A kínai a távoli hazám nyelve. [Chinese is the language of my faraway homeland.]

A kínai nyelv köti össze a lelkemet Kínával és így összeköti a kínai embereket is. [The Chinese language connects my soul with China and thus it connects the Chinese people with one another, as well.]

Szeretem az anyanyelveimet. [I love my mother tongues.]

4.5 Benefits and limitations

This study aimed to gain insight into how immigrant students with different levels of proficiency perform at a complex written task in the host country's official language. One of the limitations of the study is its small scale; therefore, its results cannot be generalized beyond the sample. Nevertheless, it could serve as a basis of comparison to other learners of Hungarian as a second language.

The study also hoped to provide further information on what can be expected from students lexically and linguistically. However, further research is needed into the attitudinal and motivational aspects, as well.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this work-in-progress study was to investigate the language proficiency and typical lexical and linguistic patterns of Chinese immigrant students taking part in Hungarian education throughout their written performances. Attitude and motivational analysis is still in progress.

In my research, I collected eighteen essays of learner language in Hungarian as a second language from eighteen 14-year-old students taking part in bilingual and immersion education. The topic of the text was their mother tongue. The level of proficiency ranged from A1 to C1. The immersion group outperformed the MID group, just as the girls did better than the boys. The immersion group also wrote more freely about the topic than the MID class. A wide range of vocabulary was used in almost all the texts. The length of the essays was around 184 words on average, with the keywords being the most frequent content words. The most typical errors were spelling mistakes, errors regarding the issue of writing words together or separately, and concordance mistakes.

My previous and current findings strongly suggest that after one year, or in some cases even some more years of instruction, the students from immigrant families who are not in immersed classes still might lack the necessary skills and knowledge in Hungarian as a foreign language to be able to endorse items formulated in relatively complex wording such as the National Assessment of Basic Competencies.

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The Role of Languages in Socialization: A Case Study of Chinese People in Hungary

Wang Dong
University of Pécs
82077529@qq.com

1. Introduction

For political and economic reasons in Hungary and China in the early 1990s, a considerable number of Chinese immigrants swarmed into Hungary, hence Hungary became a large Chinese community hub in Europe (Nyíri, 1997). According to figures from the Immigration and Naturalization Office (2010), there were 11,000 legal Chinese residents in Hungary at the time. The current figure is estimated between 20,000 and 30,000, most of them living in Budapest (as cited in *Népszabadság*, 30 April 2010). Against this backdrop, contacting and socializing with people in Chinese and Hungarian linguistic settings is a frequent occurrence for immigrants. The participants in this study live in Chinese communities in Hungary and use at least two languages. My aim is to study what roles their languages play in the immigrants' socialization process.

2. Literature review

The Hungarian government issued a liberal immigration policy in early 1990s that stimulated the flourishing period of Chinese immigration to Hungary (Nyíri, 1997). Under the increasingly worsening Chinese political and economic circumstances in the wake of Tiananmen in 1989, qualified and even highly qualified senior officials, experts, elites, and active entrepreneurs escaped China in large numbers to Hungary with no visa requirement for citizens of China (Nyíri, 1997). In the early 1990s, the free market economy and prosperous economic development attracted around 40,000 Chinese immigrants (Nyíri, 2001). Then, the government tightened immigration rules and introduced visa obligations, which resulted in a drop in the total number of Chinese. The Chinese community in Hungary was about 9,000 strong in 2007 (Hárs, 2009). But now, according to figures from the Immigration and Naturalization Office (2010), there are 11,000 legal Chinese residents in Hungary at present. The real figure is estimated at 20,000, even 30,000, most of whom live in Budapest.

Socialization as a term is used to describe different stages at which individuals acquire the knowledge, language, social skills, and value to conform to the norms, customs and ideologies, required for integration into a group or community throughout the life courses (Clausen, 1968). As Macionis (2010) stated, "Socialization is... the means by which social and cultural are attained" (p. 104).

Language socialization is concerned with socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986); its study emerged in the 1980s and focused on children's L1 acquisition through interactions between caregivers and children and the focus still remains a heated topic today (Bayley & Langman, 2011; Demuth, 1986; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). According to Lave and Wagner (1991), there are two types of language socialization. Primary language socialization occurs in children in a particular culture, whereas secondary language socialization occurs as an individual enters a new sociocultural setting, a new profession or an educational program, acquiring a new language and assumes a new role in society. Today, the research focus has extended to second language (L2) acquisition in the classroom (Bayley & Langman, 2011; Cekaite, 2007; Duff, 2002; Harklau, 2003). Language is acquired and used through interactions in specific contexts. As Watson-Gegeo (2004) stated, "there is no context-free learning" (p. 340).

When novices enter into a new community via language and are socialized through language in the local context, it is accepted that the novices recognize themselves as members in a social group with culturally grounded social beliefs, values, and expectations (Cole & Zuengler, 2003; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Ochs, 1986; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). However, they will also confront cross-cultural communication hardship in the process of L2 socialization. As Ochs (2002) claimed, "in cross-cultural communication, commonalities assist novice second language acquirers who venture across geographical and social borders. Alternatively, cross-cultural differences often thwart the language socialization of novices trying to access second cultures..." (p. 114). Resistance to adaption and acculturation will negatively impact the L2 learners' progress in L2 socialization (Katz, 2000).

Linguistic resources possess symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991). In the words of Pavlenko (2001a), "symbolic power can be converted into economic and social capital by providing access to more prestigious form of education, desired positions in the workforce or social mobility ladder" (p. 123). Based on Bourdieu's theory, Norton (2000) stated that "power relations play a crucial role in social interactions between language learners and target language speakers" (p. 12), which means target language speakers always control both material and linguistic resources in L2 learning contexts.

Language socialization for novices or newcomers participating in new social and linguistic practices is far from being a one-way process (Shi, 2006). Thus, for most adult cross-cultural newcomers, they should integrate their deep-rooted preconceptions framed in primary socialization in their original cultures into the host secondary language socialization contexts (Pavlenko 2001c; Pavlenko & Lantolf 2001; Schecter & Bayley 2004).

Gardner (1985) proposed a socio-educational model which emphasizes the role of attitudes towards L2 acquisition in the field of language learning motivation. Two types of motivational orientation were identified: integrative orientation: aiming to interact and to socialize with local members of the L2 community through languages; and instrumental orientation: being motivated

by practical needs, such as getting a job, achieving an academic goal, career advancement (Gardner, 2001).

A task-based approach may interpret why immigrants and their children have to learn the language of the host community by taking learners' language needs into consideration. The answer is determined by what he/she needs to with the language in terms of raising their chances of seeking a proper job, functioning more efficiently in the workplace, achieving academic attainment, getting better acquainted with their neighbors (Van Avermaet & Gysen, 2006). In order to achieve academic attainment, Chinese parents tend to provide everything they have for their children (Chan, 2005). Zhong and Zhou (2011) asserted that education is a tool for social upward mobility in Chinese culture. Most Chinese parents are so concerned about their children's achievement that they consider getting the entrance into universities to be the best way to prove success and to outperform others (Kipnis, 2011).

Immigrants are motivated by acculturation and upward socioeconomic mobility in host country in order to assimilate into and to increase the opportunities of contact with the majority group. As Massey (1985) claimed, "acculturation implies an achievement-oriented outlook that reinforces the link between social and spatial mobility. Upwardly mobile immigrants seek out neighborhoods with better schools, more prestige, and richer amenities, places where natives tend to predominate" (p. 330).

Alba and Nee (2003) pointed out that housing is a key to assimilation. Better housing is a symbol of significant socioeconomic achievement and residential (or spatial) integration into a local neighborhood (Logan et al., 2002). The success of Chinese merchants' business abroad, to a large extent, is heavily reliant on the family's hard work. Those Chinese merchants focus on two kinds of family businesses, shops and restaurants (Chen, 2003).

According to Nyíri (2006), Chinese parents in Hungary typically see English-language education as a means of moving up in society and as an instrument of that in space: towards studying in Britain or the US. Consequently, the quality of education at their children's Hungarian school does not appear to most Chinese parents to be particularly important, and while they generally expect their children to bring home good marks, they rarely attempt to inform themselves thoroughly about what is happening at the school (Nyíri, 2006). At the outset of the research (Nyíri, 2006), they had expected that the public schools which migrant children enrolled in would influence their social integration later on. Interestingly, they found that upwardly mobile migrant families preferred their children to move to English-language schools no matter what their initial experience and level of achievement had been at the Hungarian school. This is particularly striking at the secondary level. Nyíri (2006) found few migrant children in state-run secondary schools even in those areas that had a strong migrant presence at the primary level. In Hungary, this phenomenon is most salient among the Chinese, one of the largest migrant groups that is also the most transnational in character (Nyíri, 2003).

Contemporary research on residential assimilation is rooted in Massey's (1985) model of spatial assimilation which describes an immigrant or ethnic

group move from a segregated group and into a community that is primarily dominated by the ethnic majority. If their economic status improves, an immigrant or ethnic group will move away from their initial ethnic enclave to an ethnic majority dominated neighborhood (Massey, 1985; Murdie, 2010; Pamuk, 2004)

Most immigrants from neighboring countries set foot on Hungarian soil and then settle in Budapest, which is the capital of Hungary, a strong economic center. The proportion of immigrants (the legal resident immigrant population) was 2.5 times higher in Budapest than in the country, on average. In Budapest, the proportion of Chinese immigrants accounted for 10 per cent of the whole immigrant population of the city (Hárs, 2009, Based on the results of the Localmultidem project). In Budapest, residential assimilation is scarce, while segregation between immigrants and locals is remarkable, although foreigners live scattered in all parts of the city. The 8th district of Budapest holds the biggest part of the immigrant communities. The area also hosts the biggest Chinese market of the country. Asian and Chinese as well as African immigrants live in the middle and lower status slum area of the district (Hárs, 2009, based on the results of the Localmultidem project).

The foreign business and different enterprises, such as Chinese, Arab, and Turkish retail shops and fast food restaurants and the biggest Chinese market of Hungary, are remarkable. Since there was great demand for cheap goods both in Hungary and other Eastern European countries, the market developed rapidly in the middle of the 1990s. Today, dominant Chinese merchants can be found everywhere in Hungary (Hárs, 2009, based on the results of the Interreg project).

3. The study

3.1 Research questions

Chinese Immigrants and their offspring venture into a new sociocultural and linguistic environment and face challenges on all fronts. After talking with several Chinese immigrants who had been in Hungary for at least ten years and now do business in Pécs, I became interested in their stories, so I decided to elicit information on a couple of areas that they are trying to make progress in, including their children's educational attainment, residential assimilation with the locals, their conversational exchanges with native speakers of Hungarian in the workplace, and economic integration, the way they make a living in Hungary.

In order to understand the role languages play in their socialization processes, this qualitative study will probe into four families in a Hungarian linguistic environment and discuss the analysis of and reasons for what accounted for their experience of socialization and using of different languages. The study was sought to explore the relationship between the roles of language and socialization. Therefore, the answers to the following questions are targeted:

1. How do the immigrants perceive the roles of languages (Chinese, Hungarian, English) in their residential community?
2. How do the immigrants perceive the roles of languages (Chinese, Hungarian, English) in their workplace?
3. How do the immigrants perceive the roles of languages (Chinese, Hungarian, English) in their children's education?

3.2 Participants

Basic demographic information (e.g., age, gender, language proficiency, ethnic identity); economic mobility (e.g., economic background or the respondent's education or the current job); geographic mobility (present neighborhood of residence) are collected from four Chinese families and two individuals.

Participant 1: Liu came to Hungary with his wife for the sake of seeking opportunities in 2003. They reside in Harkány (near Pécs) and their daughter is 5 years old. At the time of the study in 2015, he could understand and speak general Hungarian, but he was not able to read or and write. They run a couple of clothes retail shops in Pécs.

Participant 2: Liang arrived in Hungary with his wife seeking new business opportunities in 2000. They live in Kozármisleny, Pécs and have a 7-year old daughter. He could understand and speak general Hungarian language. He is not capable of reading and writing. He and his wife manage two restaurants in Pécs.

Participant 3: Feng followed his wife to Hungary after they got married in 2006. They have a 7-year old daughter. His wife came earlier in 1999. They met through a match-maker when his wife went back to China in 2006. He is an optical wholesale merchant. They live in Budapesti út. He knows nothing about Hungarian language except basic greeting expressions and numbers.

Participant 4: Zhao came to Hungary in 2004 for the family reunion with her husband. They are clothes wholesale merchants. Her son is 13 years old. She could only speak specific Hungarian language on clothes (price and materials). They live in Kőbányai út in Chinatown.

Participant 5: Wang, a single, has been in Hungary for 5 years. She was posted by the Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban) as a Chinese teacher to Hungary. She has a B.A degree in Chinese and her Hungarian language proficiency is B1. She lives near her workplace in the *vásárcsarnok*.

Participant 6: Guo, 50 years old, has been in Hungary for two years. Before coming, he was a Chinese teacher at Beijing Foreign Studies University. He could only speak a little Hungarian and lives close to his workplace.

3.3 Instrument

Data for this study were obtained using semi-structured interviews, which were conducted in Pécs and Budapest. I interviewed each interviewee once, and each interview lasted about 30 minutes. The interview is comprised of 18 questions. The researcher asked participants to describe their expectations, family needs, language proficiency, how to manage to live in Hungary, experience in socialization and in using Hungarian. All interviews were conducted in Chinese, and audio-recorded on a mobile phone.

3.4 Procedure

This study applied a qualitative research method. Qualitative research aims to deeply understand the meaning behind individuals' interactions with a given event or object (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009). Before the data collection, the author carefully organized and proofread the questions in terms of the participants' family needs, language proficiency, expectations, how to manage to live in Hungary, experience in socialization and in using Hungary. Then, the author revised those items with his supervisor's feedback. First, the researcher identified two familiar Chinese merchants and then made an appointment to interview in a Chinese restaurant in Pécs. Second, the researcher went to Budapest to collect data with another two familiar Chinese merchants and with a teacher (Wang), who was introduced by the researcher's classmate from a Hungarian-Chinese school. Fortunately, Guo offered to participate in the interview.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Process of language acquisition

The adult respondents' accounts of language acquisition methods can be grouped into two categories: (1) informal situations at workplace where they were forced and motivated to learn language and culture (2) formal higher educational context that happened in language-training classes both in Beijing Foreign Studies University and ELTE University.

Although the immigrants have been in Hungary for at least ten years, from their narratives it is clear that they learned the language in an informal context (working context). The other two individuals who are from Confucius Institute Program learned Hungarian in a classroom setting. On the whole, it seems that there are some similarities and differences among the four families and two individuals by their stories happened in both contexts:

My wife and I learned Hungarian by using indigenous methods taught by our predecessors. We also collected detailed Hungarian linguistic materials provided by our predecessors. For example, we

used Chinese pinyin to imitate and to produce the pronunciation of Hungarian words. (Liu and Liang)

My husband and I learned the language by speaking to my employees in my company, but my language competence is only limited to the working place. I did not know any other words if they are not related to clothes. (Zhao)

I am not able to speak any Hungarian words except basic everyday expressions, “Helló”, “Szia”, “KÖSZÖNÖM”, “várjon”, “Kérem, segítsen nekem válaszolni a telefont” and numbers for business (egy, kettő, három, négy...). Although I have been in Hungary for ten years, I don’t want to learn the language. My wife has been in Hungary for 17 years and she has received an education from a local vocational school. She could speak very well, hence when I have to use Hungarian on some occasions alone, I would call my wife to answer the phone. (Feng)

Before I came here, I received culture and language training at Beijing Foreign Studies University. After I arrived, I learned Hungarian at the University of Loránd for ten months. I taught in Confucius Institute at the University of Loránd for half a year and then I have been teaching in Magyar-Kinai Két Tanítási Nyelvű Atalános Iskola for four years. I have a B1 level Hungarian proficiency certificate. (Wang)

Before I came here, I received culture and language training at Beijing Foreign Studies University. After I arrived, I learned the Hungarian at the University of Loránd for 10 months. (Guo)

In these narratives, all the respondents mention specific reasons for learning Hungarian. On the one hand, we could report the results that differences in the linguistic gains made by formal setting learners and informal setting learners are apparent. One was a regular university classroom situation, the other was primarily situated in workplaces. On the other hand, all the participants complained about the difficulties in pronunciation, particularly the “Ö”, “I”, “sárgarépa” and “reték”. Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish the “t”, “d”, “g”, “k”, “b” and “p”. They are always confused by collocation, word form variation (verb to adjective) and grammar.

Apparently, those who are not literate know that acquisition of Hungarian is a great advantage to survival in this country. Most of them adapt their own language use in order to foster expected linguistic competencies in their business and their children, while a few of them are reluctant to entail themselves into the sociolinguistic milieu. Also, they are under pressure to feed their families and do not have time to receive formal training in Hungary.

4.2 Children's language learning in formal education

My daughter was born in Hungary. She is five years old now. Besides Chinese and Hungarian. She also learns German and English. I think English and Chinese would be the focus for her in the future. (Liu)

My daughter was born in Hungary. She is 7 years old now. Besides Chinese and Hungarian. She also learns English. (Feng)

My daughter came to Hungary when she was five years old. She learned the language at kindergarten. It has been three years that I drive her to a local family to learn Hungarian after she finishes school every afternoon. I also employ an English tutor to teach her English on every Saturday morning. (Liang)

My son is 13 years old now. He came to Hungary in 2006 when he was 4 years old. He attended the local kindergarten for 2 years in Hungary and then we sent him back to China to receive education. Because we want him to learn mother tongue. When he was in China, he learned in a Chinese-English bilingual school. He has been in China until he was in 4th grade. Then, he came to Hungary again in 2012. During the 4 years' period in China, he has totally lost his memory of Hungarian language, hence he has to attend an English program school. He is not able to speak Hungarian and not willing to learn it. Also, we do not want him to learn the Hungarian. (Zhao)

Parents are linguistically incompetent, not capable of providing their children with the sorts of linguistic socialization necessary to their future social and economic survival; therefore, schools take on the responsibility for children's language socialization. Hence children have more access to linguistic resources, and are thus likely to acquire them faster and effectively than their parents.

4.3 Motivational orientation towards immigrants' language socialization

The most dominant situations described was the learning setting in which adult participants were motivated to learn the host language while others felt demotivated to learn it:

I have to learn how to speak the language in order to do business and to make a lot of money for life and my children. Money make me feel secure in the totally strange country. (Liu, Liang, Zhao)

I am a teacher. I have to use Hungarian to communicate with my students, particularly with the students in 1st and 2nd grade. They don't have enough Chinese knowledge to understand me. I live alone in an apartment, hence

I have to use the language to manage the rent, bills, apartment maintenance and repair and shopping etc. (Wang)

I could only speak simple Hungarian. I am 50 years old now, it is difficult for me to acquire a new language. Although I teach in Hungary, for me, English is more useful than Hungarian. English is widely used in my daily life for shopping, socializing with my friends and some of the local teachers in the school. Hungarian local teachers will aid me in preparing the new words and sentences before classes. In class, I employ modern audio and visual equipment to aid my teaching, for example, the pictures and sound scripts. Body language is also a big help. Sometimes, I speak clumsy and broken Hungarian to please the Hungarian pupils. (Guo)

I don't want to learn the language and I could do business with simple limited Hungarian. I only need calculator to bargain with my clients. That is easy and feasible for me. If not, I will call my wife and she will help me with translation. (Feng)

Overall, language learning is driven by internal motives, often connected to specific life expectations. Education, including language training, plays an important role on the way to achieving linguistic goals. It seems that instrumental and integrative motives are equally important to these participants.

4.4 Task-based approach to socialization through languages

4.4.1 Children's educational attainment

To give sample remarks:

We were not well educated when we were young, that is why we came to this country as a laborer chef to make a living. We do not want our daughter to experience our hardships like us. It is becoming increasingly difficult to make money in Hungary. I hope she could learn English well. If we move back to China, she could attend a bilingual school. The kids in school do not learn as much knowledge as in China. My wife and I teach her Chinese knowledge after school. We want her to learn more. (Liang)

We don't know where we could go except staying in Hungary. My daughter was born in Hungary in 2008. She is used to the environment here. My wife and I didn't receive much education, hence we wish her perform well in schooling. We would provide everything we could to support her education and her future. After she is 18 years old, she could determine her destination country to receive higher education. She is our hope and motivation to work for the future. (Feng)

I am absolutely sure that I would send my daughter abroad to English-speaking countries when she grows up and I would also like her to attend Confucius Institute to learn Chinese culture and knowledge. English would be an open sesame for her to success and future. (Liu)

We encourage our kid to learn for his interest. We hope he could change his life with good performance in education. If his GPA is good enough, we would send him to English-speaking countries. However, if we have to change our workplace for business, he has to be with us. (Zhao)

In their narratives, the parents gave extensive perceptions about why they take schooling for children so seriously. The most obvious reasons are that they did not receive much education, therefore, they pin their hopes on the next generation.

4.4.2 Residential assimilation

As they put it:

We get along very well with our neighbors. More often than not we dine out or enjoy coffee with our neighbors together. My neighbor is an old lady. Although her son is the mayor of our town, she often asks me to drive her to clinics, barber's shop or the market. Due to a sudden heart attack in the midnight last year, her son called me to help drive the old lady to hospital for emergency. (Liu)

We are hard-working merchants. Without holidays and weekends all the year round, we get up early and go back home late, thus, we don't have opportunities to communicate and to socialize with them. "Hello" and "how are you doing" are the only greetings when we meet. Although we live in a better community, we don't have opportunity to enjoy leisure and beautiful environment. (Liang, Feng and Zhao)

I live alone in an apartment near my teaching place. The majority group is senior old people in the community. We never communicate with each other. (Wang and Guo)

Lower levels of language competence and long-time work are the major reasons that lead to lack of communication with their neighbors. Due to some of their short stay in the country, they lack the motivation to learn the language and contact with their neighbors. However, one interviewee who has many friends, including Chinese people as well as Hungarians and other foreigners said that

he is considered a community member. This suggests that high social contact is a critical aspect for successful residential assimilation.

4.4.3 Economic integration

To quote some comments:

At present, I run a couple of clothes retail shop around Pécs city. When we set foot on this land, my wife and I opened a small shop in a community of Harkány, and then we expanded our business to downtown after years of accumulation. My customers are all from the middle and lower classes. (Liu)

When I came to Hungary in 2000, I was employed by a restaurant owner in Vác, near Budapest. I had been working with other colleagues until 2011. Then, I left Budapest and started my own business with my wife. Now, I have two restaurants, one is run by my wife in Budai Vám TESCO and I manage another one in Király street in Pécs. Most of my customers are from the middle and lower class. Only few upper class customers come to my restaurant. (Liang)

I run an optical wholesale store in Chinatown, Budapest, hence my clients are both Hungarian retailers and Chinese retailers. These sunglasses are sold wholesale to retailers and small shops. My wife manages an online logistics, shipping European and Hungarian products to China. (Feng)

My husband and I run a clothes wholesale store in Chinatown, Budapest. My clients are both from Hungary and neighboring countries, such as Czech, Slovakia and Poland, etc. (Zhao)

Economic assimilation is a vital step towards immigrants' integration into their host society. The process of their gradual upward economic assimilation is uniform. With the time going by in the host country, immigrants learn the Hungarian language, get to know about the functioning of the host country economic situation, overcome initial disadvantages and eventually improve their economic status. It is result of their earlier hard work upon arrival and continuing in it for many years in the fortune cumulative process.

4.5 Negative experience in socialization

Every participant gave at least an account of a negative event or a cultural shock that happened to them. To quote some remarks:

I could feel that some of the locals give me the unfriendly eyes.
(Liang, Liu, Zhao and Feng)

Shangfen is a worship activity to honor the deceased relatives and ancestors in China. It is a taboo that going to the graves to honor the dead who has no relationship with you. That old lady's son asked me to help him with weeding in a cemetery, which shocked me a lot.
(Liu)

Although I know the way to my destination, one taxi driver drove me the opposite direction and took a very roundabout way. I dared not say and pay a lot of money. When I bought fruit near train station, I gave the vendor 10,000 Ft, but he claimed that I gave him 1000 Ft. Actually, I was cheated, he didn't give me the change. At that time, I was greatly depressed and frustrated. (Wang)

Immigrants are frequently confronted with a variety of cross-cultural interactions in economic, political and social situations. Cross-cultural misunderstandings and conflicts occur, due partly to lack of cultural awareness of differences. To avoid the uncertainties caused by cultural differences, immigrants must be aware of cultural diversity and build trust with people in host country.

From the accounts it is clear that the immigrants and their children exhibit similar patterns of language socialization. Instrumental and integrative motives are equally important to them in language learning. Regardless of the immigrants' national origin or immigration status, their children have enjoyed equal access to elementary and secondary education in Hungary. From their narratives we can see that they have achieved success in socio-economic upward mobility. However, social distance in residential environments with native-born Hungarians remains large. Overall, they appear to have achieved the similar economic status of natives soon after arrival but their acculturation and residential assimilation with host society are not concordant with their success in socio-economic upward mobility.

5. Conclusion

Much more work needs to be done on the immigrants' socialization process with languages. Children's linguistic competence will eventually outperform that of their parents', particularly in their mastery of the reading and writing. One area needs to be explored is children's roles on adult immigrants' secondary language socialization (socialization through using languages).

Simply put, parents may actually learn languages from their children. In order to help immigrants better acculturate the host culture, sense of cross-cultural communication could be instilled to their process of language acquisition and socialization. It also remains a topic for future research to investigate the second generation of immigrants and their process of socialization through different languages.

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Appendix: Interview questions

1. Why did you immigrate to Hungary?
2. How do you like the country?
3. Do you speak Hungarian? Please talk about a memorable story in using the Hungarian? What time did it happen and with whom?
4. For what purposes do you use Chinese, Hungarian, English, other languages separately?
5. When is Hungarian a must?
6. When and how can you manage without Hungarian?
7. What do you think about Chinese living in Hungary who are not able to use Hungarian?
8. Where and how do you pick up Hungarian?
9. What difficulties did you have in acquiring Hungarian?
10. What is the value of knowing Chinese, Hungary and English?
11. Where do you live?
12. Whom do you socialize with and which language do you use in your community?
13. Do your children speak Hungarian?
14. How important is Hungarian in your children's education?
15. How do your children socialize with local kids?
16. What is your plan for your children's current and future education?
17. Do you have negative experiences in Hungary?
18. What are your expectations in Hungary in the future?

Bridging Learners in Hungary and Japan: A Case Study of an Online EFL Communication Project

Julia Tanabe
University of Pécs
juliasmith88@gmail.com

1. Introduction

Due to the rapid expansion of electronic communication, using digital devices for foreign language learning is on the rise. In her study, Butler (2014) addresses young learners as digital natives, who socialize on virtual spaces and frequently turn to digital devices in their daily life. Previous studies (Butler, 2014; Ke & Cahyani, 2014; Miyazoe & Anderson, 2010) have shown positive attitudes towards e-learning in both tertiary and elementary education. It has been found that online writing enhanced students' vocabulary, elicited more interaction and resulted in more balanced participation (Fitze, 2006, pp. 78-79). These studies demonstrated advantages of e-learning, which is a very powerful motivating tool for language learning, however, having equal opportunities to the access and use of the technology is not always provided, especially in socially disadvantaged areas.

The present study focuses on research conducted in Hungary, in a low socio-economic status (SES) elementary school, where tablets were made available due to successful application for support. This fortunate event granted the opportunity to launch an online communication project between Hungarian elementary school students and Japanese learners of English in a low SES setting. The aim was to bridge the learners of two distinct continents by using English as a lingua franca.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Lingua franca

The lingua franca of the twenty-first century seems to be unquestionably English, the “language used for convenience” (Crystal, 1995, p. 454) and a medium of international communication for speakers who do not share the same first language (Phillipson, 2008, p. 250). After World War II, the political and economic influence of the US entailed English language dominance and it is still the most popular language preceding German and French (Dörnyei, 2006, p. 4). English is the major foreign language in Hungary as well and according to Medgyes, it is the first choice in the school curriculum (1992, pp. 268-270).

However, the issue of English being lingua franca is surrounded by debates as well. Some arguments claim that one single language is essential to connect people due to current growth in mobility and globalization. Further, English is widely escalated; therefore, it is the best candidate for “International English” (Jenkins, 2006, p. 160). On the other hand, several existing varieties of English need to be considered together with political and identity issues. Language purists only recognize globalization and the expansion of English as a threat against their own language. A nation’s values are partly symbolized by their national language; therefore, English may lead to marginalization of other languages and identity loss (Phillipson, 2008, p. 251). For that reason, local English varieties need to be considered and adjustments have to be made in order to maintain balance in intercultural communication, as suggested by Phillipson (2008, p. 265). One needs to know manners, to be polite, thoughtful, both culturally, and linguistically sensitive, when using English in an international conversation, regardless of the variety spoken (McArthur, 2001, p. 11). This approach treats ELF or “International English” as a way of “international communication across national and linguistic boundaries”, mostly, but not restricted to, the countries belonging to Kachru’s (1992, 2005) expanding circle (Jenkins, 2006, p. 160). In this paper, similarly to Jenkins (2009), I will refer to English as lingua franca in this functional sense, not as a linguistic variety (p. 200).

When English is used as lingua franca, between groups of English speakers with different L1 backgrounds, usage and norms become less relevant (Jenkins 2006, p. 161). The emphasis is on successful communication; therefore, negotiation of meaning is more essential. Seargeant (2009) calls this approach the “repertoire paradigm of language use” in which speakers possess a wide variety of registers or situation-specific strategies to activate and apply in the appropriate context (p. 12). The majority of previous studies explored online communication projects between native and non-native speakers of English (NNS), despite the fact that nowadays most English interactions take place between NNSs, as claimed by Graddol (2006, p. 87). Therefore, my project investigates communication between NNS, using English as lingua franca.

2.2 Language learning motivation

Previous studies also demonstrated that e-learning has the potential to boost learners’ motivation among frequent computer users and it may lead to greater learner autonomy (Garris, Ahlers, & Driskell, 2002; Miyazoe & Anderson, 2010; Ushida, 2005). Further in the globalized world, Hungarian children are expected to be motivated to use English as well as to communicate and deepen their understanding of people from different countries. A recent study conducted by Kormos and Csizér (2014) revealed that perceived importance of intercultural contact predicted motivated behavior in a study abroad context (p. 18). Further they have found in a Hungarian classroom context that direct positive contact with the L2 community resulted in motivational change (p. 18).

This study focuses on direct written contact between Hungarian and Japanese learners of English in a virtual classroom context.

According to Dörnyei (2000), motivation research intends to seek answers for *why*, *how long* and *how hard* an individual persists in carrying out an action (resulting in success or failure) (p. 520). Motivational theories shifted from the behaviorist to the constructivist approach, which depicts the learner with certain goals and wishes, self-regulated within a temporal frame, influenced by particular contexts (p. 520). In this study, I borrow Dörnyei's process-oriented concept of student motivation, which focuses on motivational maintenance, executive motivation, motivational evolution and fluctuation (p. 522). He claims that motivation does not stabilize, rather accounts for dynamic change due to constant estimation and harmonization of internal and external influences on the learner and the level of effort put into achieving a certain goal (p. 523).

Heitzmann (2014) looked at the interaction between different motivational factors and examined dynamic changes in secondary school students' motivation over four years (p. 24). Her findings demonstrated that language-learning success, along with cooperation, was a decisive element contributing to motivation (pp. 28-29). Further, her results indicated that in the beginning positive L2 experiences and instrumental motives were dominant; however, in the long run students' intrinsic motivation was facilitated by setting sub-goals, in order to accomplish their main target (p. 31). Nonetheless, dynamic motivational change can be detected within a shorter period of time as well, as learners may undergo fluctuation of their enthusiasm and engagement every single day (Dörnyei, 2000, p. 523). Thus, I assume that fluctuation of motivation may be present even in a short online communication project implemented in the English language classroom, subject of present paper.

Similarly, in the Japanese context, Nitta's (2013) findings revealed regular ups and downs in student motivation, thus the author considers student motivation in the classroom as a "dynamically co-constructed process that evolves and fluctuates through time" (p. 268). Likewise, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2013) elaborated on the relationship between motivation and learning taking the dynamic, process-oriented stance (p. 11). My research focus is on motivational development over time on the micro level. I aim to demonstrate the complexity of students' motivational systems and identify changing patterns.

I relied on Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) process model of L2 motivation, which describes motivational change in pre-actional, actional, post-actional phases (p. 47). Their motivational model was originally inspired by Heckhausen and Kuhl's (1985) Theory of Action Control (p. 46). They implemented in their model two motivational dimensions, proposed by Heckhausen (1991, p. 170): choice motivation, which refers to a primary determination to pursue a goal, and executive motivation concerns the implementation of an action with motivational maintenance and control. Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) regarded executive motives highly relevant as these represent the motivational influences that promote or hinder goal-directed action during goal implementation (p. 45).

Building on the Action Control Theory, Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) Process Model of L2 motivation contains two dimensions: action sequence and motivational influences (p. 47). Action sequence concerns primary wishes and hopes converted into goals, later into motivation, resulting in taking action and probably goal achievement (p. 47). This dimension is divided into three phases and includes sub-phases such as goal setting, intention formation, initiation of intention enactment, subtask generation and implementation, appraisal process, action control, post-actional evaluation (p. 48).

Motivational influences are responsible for sustaining the behavior in the actional sequence (p. 51). The first phase (pp. 52-56) contains factors such as attitudes towards L2 and the L2 community, expectancy of success, environmental influences and instrumentality. In social psychology, it is believed that attitudes stimulate direct impact on an individual's way of acting in certain situations because a person's attitude towards the aim, impacts on how the individual responds to that aim (Dörnyei & Ottó p. 44). Expectancy of success comprises the interaction of self-confidence, perceived goal difficulty, amount of expected support, L2 anxiety, perceived L2 competence and L2 contact. Environmental influences, for instance the socioeconomic status of an individual, also interacts with motivated behavior (p. 53). Instrumentality is connected to Gardner's (1985, p. 52) concept of instrumental motivation, which refers to engagement in an activity for the sake of external reward. As the concept links instrumentality to extrinsic motivation, for instance when language learning is not related to the joy of a certain task, it may restrain learners' intrinsic motivation, which refers to the joy of engaging with an activity which one finds stimulating and intriguing (Noels, 2013, p. 16).

In the second phase of Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) model, executive motivational influences include performance appraisal, learner autonomy, self-regulatory strategies, and the impact of learner group. Cooperation in the classroom has proved to facilitate motivation as well as performance appraisal, which has a strong impact on how learners form attitudes towards engaging in a certain task (p. 59). Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) relate learner autonomy to Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory, in that one's need for autonomy is a primary condition for any action to be pleasant for the individual (p. 58). In the university context, Noels (2013) claimed that students' motivation could be enhanced by supporting learner autonomy. As she put it, autonomy concerns the free choice of an individual to carry out tasks that they believe to be useful and relevant on their own (p. 27).

The third stage of the process model is fueled by self-concept beliefs, which consist of one's perceived degree of self-confidence and self-competence. Individuals with high self-confidence tend to cope with random failures and focus on task engagement better than those with low level of self-perception (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998, p. 61).

2.3 Intercultural competence

An online project conducted by Lakatosné Török and Dorner (2007, n. p.) has shown that virtual learning environment facilitates more intense communication, and provides great opportunity for authentic intercultural experience; therefore, such an endeavor may enhance intercultural competence. There is a growing demand for students to possess intercultural competence because in the globalized world with increasing international mobility they need to make themselves understood in linguistically and culturally challenging contexts. Even in one's local classroom context, it is possible to have learners from various ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, the Hungarian National Core Curriculum encourages the inclusion of intercultural dimension in language education as well (2012, p. 15).

Dombi (2013) suggested that one way to estimate whether one is competent in intercultural encounters is to explore their intercultural competence (p. 37). In present classroom research I focused on students' intercultural competence, which is the conscious integration of culture sensitive *knowledge* (about our own and different cultural, social groups; cultural traditions and about social interaction), favorable *attitude* (towards cultures, languages and foreigners) and flexible communicative *skills* in an intercultural contact situation (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012, p. 304).

Byram, Nichols and Stevens (2001) use the same components for intercultural competence, in which one needs to possess open-minded, curious attitudes and a "readiness to suspend disbeliefs" about the other and one's own culture (p. 5). Another necessity for the intercultural learner is to be attuned to the way other and one's own social groups function, as well as obtain certain knowledge of social interaction (pp. 5-6). Besides attitudes and knowledge, developing certain skills is essential. An individual needs interactional skills to identify misunderstandings and overcome communication breakdowns as well as skills to compare cultures (p. 6). I relied on these notions to gauge my students' intercultural competence in the foreign language classroom.

2.4 Identity construction

Important elements of intercultural interactions are to confront students with the fact that the success of communication is strongly dependent on how they are perceived by others, referring to Oetzel's (2009) concept of ascribed identity, whether this is the one they wish to convey, meaning their avowed identity, and how they view their international communication partners (p. 62).

My study is embedded in a socio-cultural framework (Vygotsky, 1978), with special focus on classroom interactions, collaborative learning and constructing knowledge through social interactions (p. 33). Further, I wish to take a dynamic, situation specific perspective, relying on poststructuralist notions of identity. Following this approach, Norton (2000) highlights identity as "dynamic and changing over historical time and social space" (p. 125) in her qualitative study, hence it is context dependent. This notion of identity includes the social

dimension, in other words, identity is “co-constructed” through social interactions (pp. 12-13). Further, she connects her idea of investment with Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of cultural capital; she suggests that if learners invest in their L2 learning, they know they will “increase the value of their cultural capital” (2000, p. 10). Also, investment in L2 entails investment in an L2 learner’s identity because learners are constantly organizing and reorganizing “their sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world” (Norton, 2000, p. 139). Baker (2006) also states that a person’s identity is not steady, rather it is formed by social context and language through negotiating meaning and understanding. It is always re-constructed and shifts as situations change (p. 407).

Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001, p. 12) claim that in the poststructuralist theory, language belongs to the ways in which people interact and influence others, therefore, power relations are relevant to consider in connection with identity negotiation. In line with this, Norton (2000, p. 7) refers to Foucault (1980) claiming that power relations operate on both macro and micro levels, on the level of daily interactions as well. Later on, Norton (2011) extends this approach by adding that subjectivity, in other words identity theories, has to be perceived within the web of relations and one’s position is constructed within a variety of discourses (p. 2).

Further, in an online project, public and private identities are also important to consider (Coleman, 2013a, p. 24) because of the technological advancement, which surrounds the students and may determine their identity construction. Weintraub (1997) suggested that private facet is “hidden or withdrawn,” while public refers to “open, revealed or accessible” (pp. 4-5). Nissenbaum’s (2004) idea of “privacy as contextual integrity” conveys the privacy of information about people, engaged with contexts or “life spheres” (p. 120). She further explains that contextual integrity is sustained when two types of norms: “norms of appropriateness” and “norms of flow” are equally supported (p. 120). Within an interaction, people understand what kind of information is adequate to inquire in a particular situation (norm of appropriateness) and also they expect others to know whether the gathered information should be shared with others (norm of flow) (p. 120). Let us take the context of human relationships as an example, in which a person shares confidential information with his or her ally, then in the “sphere of friendship” that person will expect that the friend will not give away the private message (pp. 131-132).

Nissenbaum (2004) adds that contextual integrity, being context-dependent by nature, differs across culture, moment and situation (p. 138). Thus, private identity is the one a person shares only in a certain situation with a limited number of people, while public identity is more open and accessible to a wider group of people.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research context

The research project was implemented in Hungary, in a low SES elementary school, where the majority of students are learning German, whereas the minority studies English. Taking advantage of the brand new supply of tablets, I launched an online EFL communication project between Hungarian teenagers and Japanese university students. Communication sessions took place in the English classroom three times a week, while the virtual classroom space (*Edmodo*) made it possible for the Japanese partners to join, regardless of time difference. *Edmodo*, used as an online forum, served as a platform for virtual intercultural exchange, which lasted for five weeks. The school had previous Japanese cultural experience through a picture exchange partnership program; therefore, my attempt was to extend students' authentic experience and to help them benefit both culturally and linguistically from the interactions. Prior to the project teenagers were taught how to use tablets in the IT classes.

3.2 Participants

The participants were six Hungarian EFL elementary school students from grade seven and eight, whereas from Japan, four university students joined the project, learners of English likewise. In this research, I focused on the Hungarian teenagers to whom I gave pseudonyms for the sake of anonymity. Aliz and Zoli are 14- year old students from grade 8 with average socio economic background. While Zoli has fairly low general academic motivation, Aliz can be described with average motivation and high aspiration to live abroad in the future. The other students belong to the 7th grade: Emese and Bea are twins with a highly disadvantaged background and with learning difficulties, albeit can be described with fairly high general motivation. Due to low SES background, they lack internet access at home. Betti is a student with average socio-economic background, average academic motivation and has great ability in building group cohesion. Betti has got mobile internet access, computer is not provided in her home. In contrast, Béla is a frequent computer user, who aspires to become an IT expert. He is slightly antisocial and has a disadvantaged background with strong parental pressure, resulting in high academic motivation.

3.3 Research questions

The study seeks to address the following research questions:

1. How can students' motivation be characterized as a result of online interactions?
2. How does student motivation at the group level change during the project?
3. How does individual students' motivation change during the project?

4. How does this project shape Hungarian students' attitudes towards dissimilar others, cultures and the L2?
5. How does online interaction with Japanese learners contribute to students' intercultural competence and identity construction?

3.4 Data collection and analysis

Data were collected with multiple methods for triangulation to establish the internal validity of the study (Duff, 2008, p. 143). First, the Hungarian teenagers were asked to answer three audio questionnaires in three time intervals: before the launch of the project, in the middle and at the end, to display longitudinality. The audio questionnaires were in Hungarian and consisted of 27 statements on a four point Likert scale, moreover, further explanations for their answers were elicited in the recordings. Second, during the project, five English classes were audio recorded and transcribed. Further, learners' posts on the website and their comments served as the third source of data set. Looking at the posts and comments by exact date, enabled me to see sequences and patterns of motivation. Finally, Hungarian students' written reflections in English about the project were collected.

Data analysis followed the qualitative tradition. Content analysis was applied on students' online comments, posts, follow-up reflections and classroom transcripts. This included establishing categories and links to reveal students' motivation, identity construction and intercultural competence in this project. I was concerned about how this project worked, therefore, analysis focused on both recurring and salient features (Duff, 2008, p. 160). As for the audio questionnaire, qualitative responses were analyzed for content, whereas frequency occurrences were calculated from the Likert scale scores.

4. Findings and discussion

4.1 Motivation

4.1.1 Students' motivation as a result of online interactions

By the end of the project, students' motivation could be described as, manifold: the audio questionnaire responses revealed that the use of tablets was very enjoyable for all students throughout. It supports previous findings that e-learning facilitates intrinsic motivation (e.g., Ushida, 2005). Further, all students claimed to be motivated to get a good grade, which indicates instrumental motivation, and this position was maintained in the case of Zoli, Bea and Emese. However, in the case of Aliz and Betti traces of intrinsic motivation were found. Both of them claimed in the questionnaire that they visited and actively took part in Edmodo discussions outside classroom, which indicates the beginning of learner autonomy. Students' voluntary participation was discovered in the forum posts and comments. These results revealed that e-learning fosters motivation not only among intense computer users, (as in

Garris, Ahlers, & Driskell, 2002; Miyazoe & Anderson, 2010; Ushida, 2005), but also among students who are less exposed to technology in their daily life. In addition, Béla's online comments on the last day of the project demonstrated intrinsic motivation, similarly to Betti. Moreover, five anonymously written post reflections confirmed these findings, with the exception of one absent student. (Hungarian reflections are given in my translation, See: Excerpt 3.)

Excerpt 1 (Béla on Edmodo)

I'm sorry to be the end of the program.

Excerpt 2 (Betti on Edmodo)

Bad to end of this project.

Excerpt 3

I need more of that!

It was very useful and I liked it. I would like to do this next year too!

I think it was good, it's a pity that it's over.

I'm very happy that my teacher organized this project, it was very good to talk to Japanese people and I learnt new things.

It was very good and it would be nice to do projects like this in the future.

On the forum and in the class transcripts a surprising pattern emerged: the formation of debates and competition in students' interactions. Later on these led to students' increased participation and fostered their motivation. For instance, when Japanese students were not motivated to comment on a certain topic such as animations, probably due to age difference, then Hungarian teenagers started to discuss the topic with each other, which turned into an online debate. Interestingly, Hungarian students were interacting with each other online in English, even though they were in the same classroom. The following excerpts illustrate this phenomenon:

Excerpt 4 (from class transcripts)

Béla: Aliz, I asked 'who are the players'.

Aliz: Okay, I will refresh (the page) in a minute.

Excerpt 5 (on Edmodo)

Yoshi: Why paprika is so famous in Hungary? Because everybody like it?

Zoli: I think paprika is the most delicious vegetable in Hungary. Have you ever eat Hungarian paprika?

Betti: I don't think, because most paprika is foreign in shops.

Béla: The soil is good for the rain and plenty of sunshine for paprika in Hungary.

Excerpt 6 (Betti, from class transcripts)

Well, Yoshi asked about the Hungarian paprika and we are arguing about that (on the forum)

In Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) model students' self-perceived L2 competence and L2 self-confidence play a relevant role as motivational influences, therefore, these constructs were explored in the case of Hungarian participants. Findings correspond with Heitzmann's (2014) classroom research that the process model (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998) is in line with the learning process. As Table 1 illustrates, prior project teenagers' self-perceived L2 competence was relatively high, as they all agreed that they could understand and react on posts in English on a 4 point Likert scale. What is more, almost all students were positive that online interactions would boost their linguistic self-confidence. Audio questionnaire data also revealed Emese's anxiety prior project, which was strengthened by her qualitative response. However, by the end everyone felt that online interactions maintained or enhanced their L2 self-confidence as the following audio questionnaire excerpts show:

Excerpt 7. (Emese, in phase 1)

I'm a bit scared that I misspell something.

Excerpt 8. (Emese and Aliz, in phase 2)

Emese: In written communication, I had more time to think and write well. The others helped me too.

Aliz: Yes, because I knew that it isn't a shame if I make a mistake.

Table 1. Hungarian students' self-perceived L2 competence and L2 self-confidence in three phases of research

	Aliz	Zoli	Béla	Betti	Emese	Bea
Self-perceived L2 competence	1 2 1 2 2 2	1 1 1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 2 2	2 1 1 2 1 1	1 1 1 1 2 1	1 1 1 2 1 1
L2 self-confidence	1 1 1	2 2 1	1 2 1	1 1 1	3 1 1	2 1 1

4.1.2 Motivational change on the group level

Figure 1 demonstrates students' motivational change on the group level, separately for the Japanese and Hungarian students. It shows the frequency of posts and comments throughout the project from the start until the last day. The fluctuation of motivation is visible all through, as Hungarian students were motivated to post when they had English classes and on other days most of them did not seem to engage actively in the virtual discussions. It is also apparent that the amount of posts and comments were less in the beginning due to classroom discussions, explanations and technical issues. However, later on, posts and comments increased probably as a result of decreasing technical problems.

Teenagers became more familiar with the website and thus had more time to read and formulate their ideas in English. In addition, Japanese students posted more than Hungarians, which can be attributed to the difference between their language proficiency and internet availability. Findings suggest that even during such a short project student motivation fluctuates, due to instrumentality, environmental influences, and varying degree of self-confidence. This is consistent with research conducted by Heitzmann (2014), Nitta (2013), and the process model of L2 motivation proposed by Dörnyei & Ottó (1998).

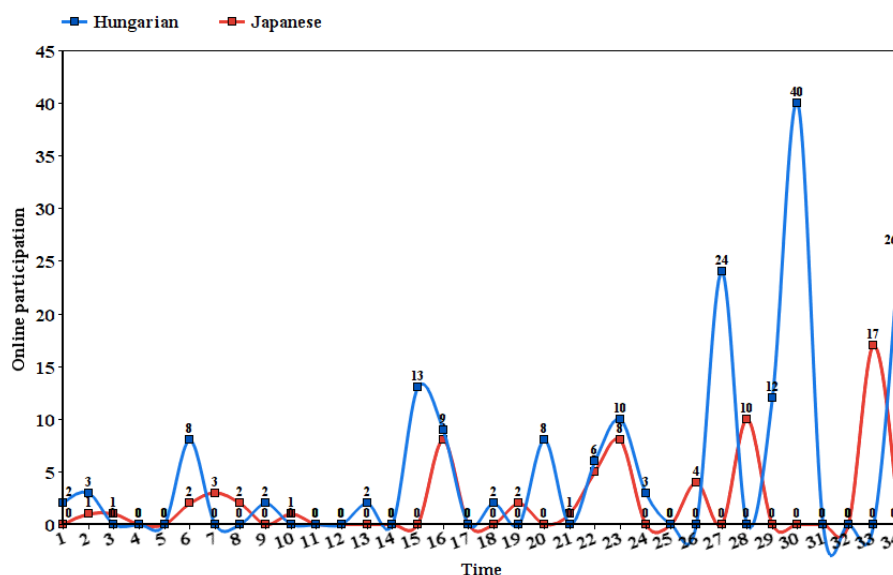


Figure 1. Frequency of online posts and comments on the group level

4.1.3 Motivational change on individual level

Figure 2 illuminates Hungarian students motivational change on the individual level. Even though Aliz could only start attending the classes from the third week, both girls demonstrated dynamic motivational ups and downs and were fairly motivated due to frequent posting and commenting. Further, Betti exhibited a salient feature of learner autonomy as she posted on Edmodo on a Friday, when she did not have an English class. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the case of Aliz, who decided on her own to join the English class through Edmodo, after being sent home from school, due to illness. She not only seemed to understand the advantage of e-learning, but was autonomous as well, which gives support to the findings of Noels (2013), in a different context.

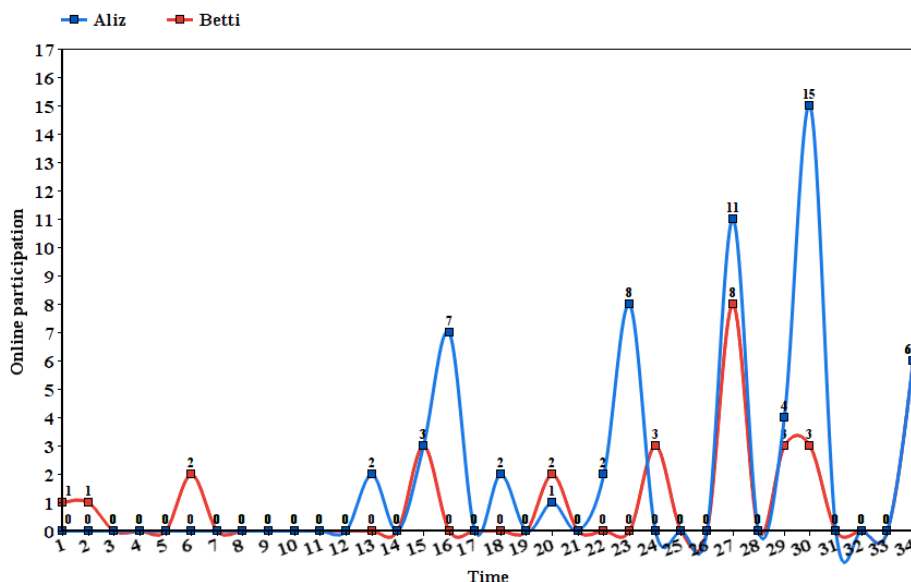


Figure 2. Frequency of online posts and comments for Aliz and Betti

In contrast, Zoli and Béla could be characterized by lower frequency of posts and comments in the beginning of the program, as it appears in Figure 3. Fluctuation was present for all students, and Zoli's online participation exhibited extreme ups and downs, as he became aware of his high number of absences and the end of the project drawing near. His increased online activity by the end is an example of instrumental motivation. Béla's posts exhibited more motivated behavior, due to his aspiration and interest in technology, which was also present in the online interactions, shown in the next excerpt:

Excerpt 9 (Béla, on Edmodo)

Béla: I know that in Japan there are robots. What kind of robot Japan people have?

Yoshi: We have a famous robot who can talk! A mobile phone company built the robot. You don't need mobile phone anymore, you can talk to robot instead call somebody.

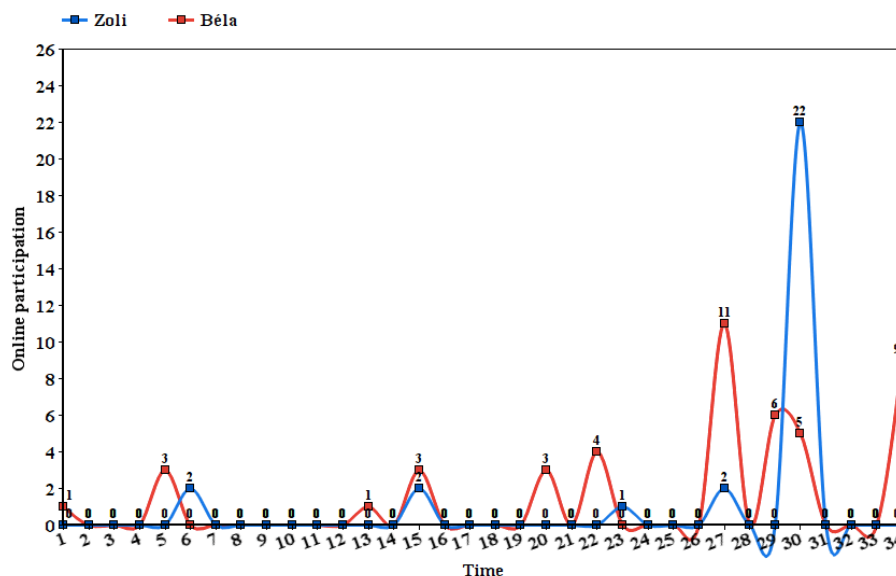


Figure 3. Frequency of online posts and comments for Zoli and Béla

4.2 Intercultural competence

Outcomes of current online communication project demonstrated that the majority of the group could develop open-minded, positive attitudes, certain knowledge and skills necessary for intercultural competence, even within such a short period of time. These findings give support to the view that virtual learning environment may enhance intercultural competence (see: Lakatosné Török & Dörner, 2007). Further, Dombi (2013) has found that anxiety has a direct influence on Hungarian university students' intercultural communicative competence. This study shows such occurrences in the case of Emese and Bea. During the first half of the project, anxiety was present due to low self-perceived L2 competence, but later students' L2 self-confidence increased as they engaged more actively in online discussions.

4.2.1 Students' attitudes towards dissimilar others, cultures and language

Table 2. Students' attitudes towards dissimilar others, language and culture in three phases of research

Attitude towards	Zoli	Aliz	Betti	Béla	Bea	Emese
Language	1 2 1	1 2 1	2 1 1	1 1 3	2 1 1	1 1 1
People	1 1 1	1 1 1	2 1 1	2 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Culture	1 3 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 2 1

Table 2 indicates that students' attitudes prior to the project were positive and open-minded towards other cultures, languages and foreign people. This is apparent from the audio questionnaire responses:

Excerpt 10 (Zoli, in phase 1)
I like to get to know other cultures.

Excerpt 11 (Emese, in phase 1)
Well, I would really like to talk to foreigners because I will learn the language and other interesting things as well.

Data from later phases revealed maintained positive attitudes in general (See: Excerpt 11), except for Zoli, who referred to his absences and lack of participation in cultural discussions halfway through the project. By the end of the project, all students developed positive attitudes towards foreign people and culture. In connection with language, one participant felt that it is interesting to possess knowledge about Japanese language; however, he failed to see the practical benefits.

Excerpt 12. (Aliz, in phase 2 and 3)
I like Japanese culture in general, but now that I could talk to Japanese people, I like it even more.
I like Japanese language and I thought that it is not that difficult, but now I know that it really is.

4.2.2 Students' knowledge about Japanese culture, people, language and their own culture

In order to develop intercultural competence, besides attitudes, knowledge and skills are important. (See Table 3.)

Table 3. Students' knowledge about Japanese culture, people, language and their own culture in three phases of research

Knowledge about	Aliz	Zoli	Béla	Betti	Emese	Bea
Japanese culture	1 1 1	1 3 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 2 1	1 1 1
Japanese people	1 1 1	1 3 1	2 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Japanese language	1 2 1	1 2 1	1 1 4	2 1 1	1 2 1	2 1 1
own culture	3 2 1	2 3 3	2 2 1	1 1 1	1 2 1	1 1 1

The majority of Hungarian teenagers acquired knowledge about Japanese culture throughout the online project concerning for instance religion, cultural festivals and traditional food. Curiosity was also expressed concerning

technology in Japan, which is an important attitudinal feature of the intercultural competence model of Byram, Nichols and Stevens, (2001).

Excerpt 13 (Béla, in phase 1)

Yes, I think technology is so advanced there, that we can get to know what the robots are like. I am very curious about the robots.

Excerpt 14 (Aliz, in phase 2)

Sure, I have already known a few things, but I could get to know a lot more and I am even interested in it! For example, about Gods that Japanese people believe that God exists in everything: in plants, in objects etc.

Students also gained knowledge about Japanese people, concerning their appearance, customs, habits and language learning. One salient response also shed light on the awareness of stereotyping and generalization.

Excerpt 15 (Béla, in phase 1)

I think I will get to know new things about that person, but it does not mean that I will know more things about Japanese people in general.

Excerpt 16 (Béla, in phase 3)

Yes, for example, I know that they like doing fireworks and that they like to eat spicy soup, the ramen soup.

Excerpt 17 (Betti, in phase 3)

Now I know that they also have difficulties learning English.

Referring to knowledge about Japanese language, inconsistency was revealed between audio questionnaire responses and other data sets. According to the answers in the questionnaire, teenagers confirmed the attainment of new knowledge, however, they seemed to acquire less, as their comments and the forum reactions showed. In their responses, about what they have learnt about the Japanese language, the participants' only conscious reference aimed at Japanese orthographic characters (kana and kanji), hence the number of interactions about the Japanese language were not as frequent as discussions on topics such as customs or food. This can be explained with the fact that some language related questions were left unanswered, for instance when a Hungarian pupil expressed her wish to see how her name would look like in Japanese, her request was ignored (for further details see Kovács, 2016, p. 415). On the other hand, forum data included several Japanese words explained and supported by picture illustrations, embedded in posts, such as *ramen* (noodle soup), *senbei* (rice cracker), *piiman* (green pepper). However, most teenagers did not mention these words in their responses, which implies that Hungarian participants were

not conscious of them or simply could not activate these words for productive use.

In addition, some Hungarian students could discover new things about their own culture from their peers, concerning traditional food differing by region or various cultural events in different villages. A surprising finding was indicated by the case of Aliz, in the case of whom the Likert scale scores in Table 3. reveal an improving tendency. In the first phase of research, she had negative attitudes towards her own culture, however in the last phase, data revealed a slight change in her attitude and knowledge about Hungarian culture, as she managed to learn from her peers.

Excerpt 18 (Aliz, in phase 1)

I do not really like my culture and I am not really interested in it...

Excerpt 19 (Aliz, in phase 3)

Yes, because there are some things I have read in connection with my culture and I even said to myself; that is so interesting. For example, about Hungarian language, it has never crossed my mind that we have certain sounds difficult to pronounce for Japanese.

Excerpt 20 (Betti, in phase 2)

Well, for example I did not know why paprika is so famous in here and everybody knew it differently because they have heard it from different people.

4.2.3 Students' skills about introducing and comparing cultures, communication

Table 4. Students' skills about introducing and comparing cultures, communication in three phases of research

Skills about	Aliz	Zoli	Béla	Betti	Emese	Bea
introducing own culture	3 2 2	2 1 2	3 2 2	1 1 1	1 2 1	1 1 1
comparing cultures	1 1 1	1 3 1	2 2 1	1 1 1	1 3 1	1 1 1
communication	1 1 1	2 2 1	3 2 2	3 2 2	1 1 1	1 1 1

Results suggest that Hungarian students, besides knowledge, developed certain skills as well (see Table 4). More specifically, students could introduce their immediate environment, but had less opportunity to write about a certain segment of their own culture because Japanese students' questions were not targeting that particular issue well enough. The reason may lie in the lack of guidance on the Japanese side; therefore, the questions asked by the Japanese students were rather vague, and not always culture specific. With Hungarian teenagers, cultural issues and lingua franca related issues were discussed in class. In addition, Béla's case demonstrated a salient feature, when privacy

issues came to surface. Low SES background influenced his hesitant behavior to introduce his immediate environment. He considered his milieu as taboo:

Excerpt 21 (Béla, in phase 1)

Maybe yes, but there might be some private things I do not want to share.

However, by the end of the project, he opened up and decided to share their home practices about preparing fireworks, as described by the next excerpt:

Excerpt 22 (Béla, in phase 3)

For example, I could explain them how we make fireworks at home.

Most students could successfully identify cultural differences in connection with food, holiday, religion and clothing (See: Excerpt 23, 24).

Excerpt 23 (Aliz, in phase 2)

Yes, for example they do not have nun, only priestess...

Excerpt 24 (Béla, in phase 3)

Well, they eat different food, like the spicy soup and I am going to try that out at home.

Communicative skills turned out to be more problematic for half of the group, as Betti and Béla had prior anxiety about potential misunderstandings in the interactions. They related anxiety to their perceived L2 competence. However, misunderstandings were not detected in the actual forum interactions. On the other hand, communication breakdowns were a frequent pattern in the online dataset. All students experienced this phenomenon, but seemed to be unaware and left these situations unhandled. From the second half of the project, Japanese students managed to deal with breakdowns by using certain strategies, such as asking further questions.

4.3 Identity

Content analysis of qualitative data shed light on students' recognized avowed identities, which equaled ascribed identities (Oetzel, 2009). Japanese participants viewed Hungarian teenagers as they wished to be perceived. Forum data unfolded that all teenagers wanted to be perceived as an expert on certain discussion topics they knew best and every teenager attempted to reveal their special skill. For instance, Aliz wanted to be perceived as an expert on Japanese animation and other issues, such as her ability to use chopsticks or knowledge about Japanese traditional clothes. The following excerpt illustrates how she initiated the talk about the kimono:

Excerpt 25 (Aliz, on Edmodo)

Aliz: Yukata is clothes, which must wear a summer festival. ^^ But just summer ☺ In winter something else to wear. You know what?

Takako: Right ☺ That's kimono. Nowadays they wear that mainly on formal occasions like graduation, coming of age ceremony, wedding, funeral. But older people still wear kimono as their everyday clothes. Clothes of kimono are thickly woven and more gorgeous than yukata. The pictures below are about coming of age ceremony in Japan.

Moreover, it was found that Hungarian students positioned themselves towards their peers differently compared to Japanese learners. Teenagers turned out to be more competing among each other on the forum. On the other hand, towards Japanese students, probably because of age difference, they demonstrated more humble behavior as they took all the information granted from them. This is in line with Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001), who claimed that power relations were relevant to consider in connection with identity negotiation. Dynamic positioning in the forum discussions supports Norton's (2000, 2011) post-structural theory of identity. Even though Hungarian teenagers perceived their Japanese communication partners as authority and the source of ultimate knowledge in the first half of the project, later on, as the participants engaged in more frequent intercultural interactions, they started to show a more open and friendly atmosphere, where even private identities surfaced. This is also illustrated by the fact that most interactions were initiated by Hungarians at first and could be characterized as rather one-sided, but in the second half of research Japanese comments became more initiative with increased curiosity, thus could handle communication breakdowns more than the Hungarian participants. This transformed positioning triggered changes in the frequency and quality of interactions.

5. Conclusion

The aim of the study was to bridge Hungarian and Japanese learners of English by a virtual classroom project. Current online communication endeavor intended to shed light on how this project worked, and how it shaped Hungarian teenagers' motivation, identity construction, and intercultural competence.

The online communication project between Japanese university students and Hungarian teenagers empowered Hungarian students by developing attitudes, certain skills and mindsets, as well as boosted their linguistic self-confidence online. The discovery of e-learning and indirect intercultural contact led to increased participation in the virtual classroom project. Half of the Hungarian group was driven by intrinsic, while the other half by extrinsic motivation and two teenagers indicated a start for autonomous learning. Hungarian students' avowed identities were recognized while they took on different identities towards their own peers and Japanese communication partners.

The limitation of the study lies in the age difference between the participants and the results cannot be generalized, as they are restricted to the situation the data came from. However, it is certain that the conclusions I have arrived at touch upon a central point of the situation examined. Further research could explore online communication projects between non-native speakers of English in different contexts to see how these projects shape students' intercultural competence, identity and motivation in other parts of the globe. The findings underpinned that ELF online reduces geographical and socio-cultural boundaries and prepares students for global communication practices; therefore, such classroom projects should be encouraged. These activities are meant to provide the first step in building international relationships and help students deal with the multicultural world.

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Multilingual Speakers' Reflections on Multilingualism, Multiculturalism and Identity Construction

Adrienn Fekete
University of Pécs
fekete.adrienn@gmail.com

1. Introduction

Learning a new language (L2) entails linguistic, social, cultural and symbolic processes since multilingual speakers (MLS) encounter not only the linguistic forms of a new language but also the cultural connotations of words and expressions. Through a new language they encounter cultural and social phenomena that facilitate their identification with the language, culture, and the speakers of the language. Furthermore, they gain knowledge about the speakers' culture, customs, attitudes, way of life, and mindset as well as about the history, geography, and the politics of the country. Language proficiency also empowers speakers, as it enables them to communicate with people of various national and lingual origins; moreover, it may open up new opportunities in various domains of life and result in personal satisfaction and pleasure. MLSs also become familiar with the contextual, cultural and pragmatic meaning of utterances, thus they internalize meaning, making learning a "subjectivity-in-process" (Kramsch, 2009, p.18). These factors tend to trigger changes in speakers' present identity, facilitate the adoption of new identities or contribute to the loss of old identities. Therefore, identity formation (an unconscious process) and identity construction (a conscious process) involve emotional, social, cultural, behavioral and symbolic processes. Recreating themselves as MLSs through the ability to use different languages and allowing themselves to switch codes whenever they have to or want to enable speakers to identify their 'old' Self with the 'new' Other as well as to tell their own Self apart from others.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Identity in SLA

Individuals and their identities alike are not considered coherent, unchanging, constant and homogeneous concepts but rather diverse, heterogeneous, constantly changing and often contradictory entities (Hall, 2000; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2013, p. 4; Pavlenko, 2003; Ricento, 2005; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). Having multiple identities is a common phenomenon, which is aided by the fact that in this globalized world information has become a lot more

accessible and communication much easier, making language knowledge inevitable. Adopting a new identity in second language acquisition (SLA) is far more intense amongst polyglots than monolingual speakers as speaking various languages enables them to get an insight into different worlds through their languages as well as to let these worlds become part of them. Similarly, identification may be seen as a result of construction, “a process never completed – always ‘in process’” (Hall, 2000, p. 16).

Identity is not independent of context and situation, rather it emerges and is constructed and shaped in and via social interactions, thus identity may be perceived as social behavior characteristic of an individual or a group (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, pp. 156-59). Kramsch (2009, p.18) refers to identity construction as subjectivity-in-process, constructed through symbolic forms. As a result, languages possess a symbolic power to include, exclude, or to discriminate against certain individuals, groups, or communities owing to differences in language use, for instance. Identity construction through difference signals one’s relation to the Other causing the exclusion of certain individuals or groups, which establishes or maintains social order and hierarchy (Butler, 1997, pp. 3-41; Hall, 2000, pp. 17-8).

Moreover, identity is also racialized and genderized, which may be capable of thwarting any learning achievement. Giving an example, it is highly implausible that an Afro-American person will be a successful learner in a classroom dominated by practices of white domination and prejudice or that this person will identify with a language the culture of which advocates racist ideas. No doubt this individual will object to SLA and adopt an identity of resistance. It is a further obstacle which has nothing to do with motivation, investment or aptitude; still, it is capable of thwarting any learning achievement. On balance, MLSs’ identification and their adaptation of new identities influence their performance, behavior, attitude, way of thinking, and language use in varying contexts.

2.2 Imagination and imagined communities

Research into identity construction and identification in SLA is inevitably connected to attitudes towards the imagined communities of English language countries, peoples and their cultures as MLSs use their imagination and their body to make their own discoveries in a new, unknown world (Kramsch, 2009, p.10). Myths and imagined meanings created in the minds of MLSs about a language or a country, its people and their culture all pertain to their intrinsic motivation to learn the language and to identify with the meanings they represent. Our global world is so abundant in images and myths from and about English-language countries that a great number of individuals feel highly motivated to make investments in learning the language. The spread of American and British trends, holidays, icons, and idols along with easy access to all sorts of English language data and information on the Internet in the form of community sites, blogs, music, movies, and search engines motivate learners to acquire English if they are to keep up with the fast flow of information in the

world. Additionally, reading in the original language, watching films without subtitles and dubbing, and communicating with other English speakers are great achievements and provide the learner with completely new perspectives to discover and internalize. Thus investing in language learning enables them to exploit better work, travel, educational, and social opportunities.

All citizens consider themselves members of the same community; even though they will never stand a chance of knowing each one of them. This is because people live in an imagined community (Anderson, 1991, p. 7). They imagine being bound together by an unseen hand, an idea, an image that persists in their mind no matter where they live. This is what MLSs do, they imagine belonging to a new group, resulting in a desire to connect to them to varying degrees. Some people just take more interest in a new culture, some adopt new customs or lifestyles, some wish to live among native speakers, and some take up a native like accent in their endeavor to be indistinguishable from them. This feeling of belonging to a community requires identification with it, which is a pre-requisite for the evolution of the individual's social, cultural and political identity. Consequently, MLSs' life is shaped by influences coming from cultures and languages different from theirs.

An extended version of Anderson's (1991, p. 7) imagined community is a community of practice (Pavlenko, 2003; Wenger, 2010) that individuals strive to be part of; therefore, they locate themselves (and others) in the world as members of certain imagined communities. For example, some MLSs seek entrance to the imagined communities of English majors, English teachers, or native British or American speakers, and they may feel uneasy to interact with gatekeepers to imagined communities that they are struggling to join, resulting in different investment levels. Unfavorable or exclusive educational practices may dishearten even highly motivated MLSs and cause them to invest less effort in SLA; however, supportive and inspiring practices embolden them to make more investments in learning. When access to imagined communities is granted to only a selection of individuals based on prejudice, disdain or discrimination, those whose desire to enter these communities has been denied are likely to opt out of the learning process. To facilitate MLSs' successful learning and to avoid nonparticipation, MLSs' imagined communities have to be recognized and acknowledged (Norton, 2001, pp. 166-68).

2.3 Motivation and investment

When speaking of motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic types are differentiated (Norton, 2013, Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). However, Bonny Norton (2013) replaced this notion of motivation with the concept of investment since motivation may not always effect investment. Despite being highly motivated to learn a language, learners may not invest time, energy and effort in learning due to oppressing, racial or any unfavorable social contexts that they may be exposed to in or outside the classroom (Norton, 2013, p. 3). Consequently, the degree of investment tends to be a more precise indicator of future learning achievements than motivation. Learners' investment in the language is also a

cultural capital as they expect to gain not only language knowledge but also other resources such as culture, education, friendship, or money (Norton, 2013, p. 5).

2.4 Cultural involvement

Cultural involvement in a language different from one's mother tongue may be broken into first-hand cultural exposure (FHCE) and second-hand cultural exposure (SHCE). The former refers to direct encounters with native environments and people and their culture, for example through visiting or living in native English countries whereas the latter refers to indirect encounters with native environments and people and their culture, for instance through studies, films or books.

2.5 Linguistic relativity

The strong version of linguistic relativity or the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis saying that language determines thought and the way people perceive the world has been refuted by researchers of the field (Boroditsky, 2013; Deutscher, 2010). However, its weak version has been backed up by empirical evidence. According to this, the meanings of what certain linguistic categories (such as grammatical gender like in German or French or aspects such as continuous or perfect of tenses like in English) along with usage shape thought and how people think about the world, since languages differ in what meanings they are obliged to specify, not in what they may convey (Boroditsky, 2013, Deutscher, 2010; Salzmänn, 2004). In some languages it is a must to specify whether one's brother is older or younger whereas other languages can simply use the word 'sibling' without revealing gender (Boroditsky, 2013, p. 2). Some languages do not have a word for 'blue', others distinguish dark and light blue while some have a color category that includes both blue and green (Boroditsky, 2013, p. 2). While peoples in Europe use the relative concepts of 'left' and 'right' for orientation, peoples relying on an absolute reference frame apply cardinal directions such as North or West, so even a seven-year old remains oriented at all times and is able to say without thinking that 'there is a fire to the West of the garden', then when turning around the fire will be to the East of the garden (Boroditsky, 2013, pp. 9-12). Talking of grammatical gender, it is assigned to nouns in German and Spanish, for instance. The object 'key' is masculine in German while feminine in Spanish; therefore, when native speakers of the two languages were asked to describe the object with adjectives, German people came up with masculine adjectives such as heavy, hard, jagged and metal, whereas Spaniards deemed the object tiny, shiny, lovely and golden, which are feminine characteristics (Boroditsky, 2013, pp. 19-20). The test was in English which lacks grammatical gender. Similarly, 85% of personification of concepts such as victory, sin, life and death in art is based on the grammatical gender of the particular languages (Boroditsky, 2013, p. 20). Consequently, although people speaking different languages attend to the same reality, they think about

it in different ways owing to linguistic differences. Languages guide people what to highlight or overlook in the world, change their mental representations and shape their way of thinking (Boroditsky, 2013).

Becoming multilingual by learning an L2 or L3 is different for everyone due to the subjective, internal and personal nature of learning. Since people have different language learning, social and cultural backgrounds, learning English is a different experience for everyone. Language learning may be furthered or thwarted by the knowledge of other languages and a flux of other internalized experiences. Hence the same linguistic input is experienced differently by each MLS.

2.6 English as a lingua franca

English is no longer a national language but has rather become a global language. Whereas English as a foreign language (EFL) is learnt for communication with native speakers, English as a lingua franca (ELF) is learnt for communication amongst non-native speakers of English (Jenkins, 2009). These days EFL speakers have become to be viewed as ELF speakers due to the fact that English is now spoken by far more non-native speakers than native speakers, thus English language conversations are more likely to occur amongst non-native speakers than native speakers. Therefore, ELF (a L2) is now used as a contact language for communication amongst speakers whose first language (L1) is not English (2011; House, 2003, Jenkins, 2005, 2006, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2004). Nevertheless, native English speakers are not shut out of ELF conversations, but it is them who have make adjustments to the local norms of ELF conversations. Moreover, English is also an international and 'intercultural' language used for international and intercultural communication (Jenkins, 2006, p. 161).

English is taught as a foreign language in Hungary and it has become the most popular foreign language today (Nikolov, 2011); however, students of English are learning the language to use it for their own purposes and to interact with people from all over the world. Thus they have become ELF speakers rather than EFL speakers. In my study I use MLSs and ELF speakers interchangeable, referring to the fact that ELF speakers are by definition multilingual speakers (speaking at least two languages) while avoiding the outdated term of non-native English speakers. The non-native – native distinction places English speakers in an unfavorable position, rendering them as incompetent users of the language compared to native speakers. Both multilingual speaker and English as a lingua franca speaker free English speakers from the foreign and non-native discrimination. Being capable to use English for their own purposes successfully grants ELF speakers power and ownership of English as they are no longer perceived as English speakers who are less competent than native English speakers.

3. The aim and the context of the study

The aim of this study was to reveal how multilingualism, that is becoming a MLS, influences polyglots' multiculturalism, identification, and identity construction. I have studied the reflections of four MLSS, two qualified EFL teachers and two English majors, based on a semi-structured interview framework.

4. Research questions

2. What does it mean to be a multilingual person?
3. How do they view their multilingualism?
4. What stages do the participants remember in the process of becoming a multilingual speaker?
5. How are they multicultural?
6. How are they a different person using their various languages? Do they switch identities when they switch codes? Does their code-switching entail switching between identities?
7. What foreign language (FL) identities did they adopt?
8. Which language do they feel more comfortable to use and why?
9. To what extent did they identify with the culture and the people of the target language?

5. Participants

When speaking of the participants, I will use pseudo-names to protect their identity. Both teachers are of Hungarian nationality, Katie is 25 and Anne is 38 years old. They are qualified teachers of EFL with sufficient teaching experience. They learnt three languages in their lives, out of which English was the most fluent one and both had a high (C1-level) English proficiency. They began to learn German as a first foreign language. They both failed to fully acquire the language, and they claimed to have forgotten almost everything in German. For a third language, Anne had had compulsory Russian lessons in elementary school, but now she only remembered a few basic words. Katie learnt Spanish and held a B1-level Spanish language exam certificate; but after obtaining it, she quit learning the language and claimed to have forgotten it. Regarding their teaching experience, Katie taught English for four years in a school, language school and private tuition context. Anne taught English for 14 years in language school, company and private tuition settings. Katie had never spent time in an English-speaking country and had no intention to do so in the future while Anne lived in England on two occasions (1 year as an au-pair and a 6-month employment on a cruise liner).

As for the two English majors, John learnt English for 5 years and Daniel for 12 years. John was a first-year English major in the correspondence program while Daniel was a second-year student majoring in Hungarian Literature and Linguistics and minoring in English Studies in the full-time program at the

University of Pécs. Both of them were my private students at the time of the interview, so I knew fairly well their proficiency level, language learning background as well as their performance at university and in my lessons. They both took the same university entry exams (in which they achieved very similar results) to gain admission to university. Neither of them spoke or had learnt a foreign language other than English. They never visited an English-language country and they only spent a short time abroad when they were on holiday.

6. Data collection instruments

Two instruments were used: a semi-structured interview and short questions on background data.

7. Procedure

All participants agreed to take part in the study on a voluntary basis. Then I fixed an appointment with each one of them to conduct the interview. Unlike the students, both teachers lived in different parts of Hungary; therefore, I was forced to use Skype to initiate contact with them. Despite the lack of personal contact, the interviews were technically flawless. Once the interviews were recorded, they were transcribed and word-processed on the computer. Due to the limited length of this study I do not include full interview transcripts in the appendix, only quotations to support my findings. However, upon request the full-length interviews may be available.

8. Results and discussion

8. 1 Reflections on multilingualism

Becoming a MLS does not happen overnight, it is a prolonged process in which several significant stages may be detected. These stages may be subjective (based on the individual's own assessment) and objective (based on academic or professional achievements). I asked my four interviewees to name and comment on these stages in the process of becoming MLSs.

A most striking finding was that Anne, a highly proficient English speaker, was shocked by the realization of being a multilingual speaker:

I have never said to myself that, oh, I am a multilingual person...
I haven't realized yet that I am.

The explanation for her reaction is likely to be that she compared her English knowledge to that of native speakers, and naturally, in this respect, she fell short of them, as the knowledge of a multilingual person like her does not compare to that of a monolingual native English speaker. Yet, in English language teaching worldwide this distinction is underpinned by gate-keeping practices when native English teachers are preferred to non-native English teachers to

take certain teaching positions. Besides, people, even proficient English speakers tend to associate multilingualism with natural bi- or multilinguals whose parents were of different nationality or with those who moved to a native English country early in life where they picked up native English proficiency. The two English majors were well aware of their multilingualism despite being less proficient in the language than the English teachers; consequently, they felt proud and confident to have learnt a new language.

When being asked what it meant to be a MLS, the interviewees came up with ideas such as having more travel and work opportunities, obtaining information on the Internet and from books, seeing the world differently, making friends, feeling “special” and getting “extra pleasure” by knowing another language. However, English takes a special place amongst languages in the world as it has become to be used as a lingua franca, enabling English speakers to access information that would otherwise be unavailable to them. As a result, ELF permits access to more ways of learning and education as well as entertainment opportunities in the form of movies, books and websites; furthermore, it promotes international relations and making friends.

Feeling unique through English means that it causes MLSs to be different from monolingual Hungarians because of the achievement of having mastered another tongue and because they are empowered by English to be involved in activities from which non-English speakers are excluded:

If I read something in English, I feel special from other Hungarian people who cannot read English; it gives me some kind of extra pleasure because not everyone can do it. ... But I try to be careful with this because if I speak with Hungarian people who can't speak in English at all, I try to avoid all English expressions because I don't want to humiliate them, that's not the best word, I don't want to make them feel different, something like this. (Anne)

The power to utilize English for their own purposes gives MLSs ownership of English. However, linguistic abuse takes place when for example an English speaker attempts to dominate the conversation by sporting her English skills to make non-English speakers or less proficient English speakers feel less confident and inferior and to make herself seem superior, smarter and dominant. Linguistic abuse can go as far as humiliating interactants in a conversation by unnecessary code-switching or using seemingly superior language or accent.

The comment on seeing the world differently carries two messages. On the one hand, different languages focus on different aspects of the world while overlooking others, and the knowledge of several languages interact with one another, making MLSs see the world differently from monolingual speakers, as they have to bear different things in mind when speaking their various languages. On the other hand, knowing the cultural connotations and pragmatic meanings of utterances permit MLSs to understand cultural differences, which shape the way they see the world. Also, real-life interactions with native

speakers and direct exposure to native environments and cultures shape MLSS mindset and attitudes towards the language, its peoples and cultures.

Concerning the stages of becoming MLSSs, Anne and John listed several stages in their learning process. Anne contrasted stages involving FHCE and SHCE. The former one included institutionalized forms of learning (high school and university), which she associated with dislike, boredom, forgetting, needlessness and dead language whereas FHCE, that is ‘meeting flesh and blood people’ or ‘taking a sip of British air’ meant real learning, linguistic improvement, culture and life for her. John, who was a self-taught learner in the first three years of his English learning, experienced SHCE solely. The ability to read and understand books in the original language was the embodiment of English for him; and in addition to this, he favored learning from language books as they opened up new opportunities for him in English and they represented the only available access to English. He never received any institutionalized form of English education so when he began to take lessons with a private English teacher, for the first time in his life he was provided with feedback on his learning, so he became even keener on improving his English. Katie and Daniel considered understanding texts without help to be a crucial stage. Three of them regarded successful language exams as an important marker of a new stage. All of them agreed on an advanced stage (either achieved or desired) at which English is not the ultimate goal of learning but a tool to acquire something else.

All in all, meeting gate-keeping requirements such as language exams or admission to university along with using English as a tool to acquire some other knowledge and to have fun gave them ownership of English and power.

8.2 Reflections on multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a current and popular topic in every walk of life as floods of information, fast travel and work abroad are easily accessible to people. MLSSs may be expected to be even more multicultural since they have greater insights into various cultures. Still, the participants’ reflections on their multiculturalism were diverse and often contradictory.

According to Daniel, people become inevitably multicultural regardless of whether they speak foreign languages or not. All four of them claimed to be open to and interested in English-language cultures; however, Daniel said he was open to these cultures in Hungarian, not in English because of the language barrier he was struggling with. Anne and John were highly interested in English language cultures. Anne deemed England her “second home” and English her “best friend” but she did not view her way of life as British- or American-like. John planned to move to an English-language country at some point in his life and explained he would be willing to adopt new ways of life and customs there. Not having spent time in a native-English environment, the only source of English language cultures for Katie was through SHCE. However, she felt guilty for not being multicultural enough compared to when she was a university student, as, in her opinion, teaching English did not involve dealing with culture

and she said she “started to forget about it” because she was “not forced to do it” unlike when she was an undergraduate; furthermore, she added “I only teach the language not the culture”.

Considering the various responses, the participants experienced different levels of multiculturalism. In contrast with my preconception that the more proficient a MLS is, the more multicultural the person is, John, a student with lower proficiency levels felt more open to other cultures and was more aware of his multiculturalism than Katie, a more proficient EFL teacher who felt guilty for her lack of cultural involvement. Even though they neither experienced FHCE, John sought and treasured every opportunity of SHCE, as these experiences were the incentive which drove him on on the path of English learning. By contrast, Katie refused FHCE and felt guilty for not exposing herself to more SHCE. Despite the fact that they all surfed English websites, watched films and read books in English (except for Daniel who preferred reading texts in Hungarian), Katie, for instance, did not deem such pastime activities multicultural involvement; however, SHCE is also a form of cultural involvement and contribute to making people multicultural with the help of imagination, even without experiencing FHCE.

8.3 Reflections on identity construction

I also sought to find out whether MLSs switch between their various identities when they switch codes. When code switching occurs MLSs are forced to apply a different logic and different lexical and grammatical categories as well as to adopt another way of thinking. Moreover, this switch must go beyond the linguistics of the language and the culture of the people speaking that language as the speech people produce is always internalized and subjective meanings are added to the referential meanings of utterances.

Katie and Anne appeared to be absolutely conscious of acting and feeling different when using English and Hungarian:

I feel it all the time. If I use a different language, I am a different person, even my voice is different. I think all students at the university who study any kind of second language think this. If I speak Hungarian, I feel more comfortable because, of course, it is my mother tongue and if I speak in English, I feel different, it will always be this way, I don't know how, it is not that comfortable. (Katie)

When I Speak English, I'm more open-minded, I'm more free. It feels to me as if I was hugging the whole world because I can get to know people from all over the world, which I have already done... The person who speaks English is a globe-trotter, who seeks opportunities and who grabs opportunities... The difference is just to be more, so it's not different, just a bit more. ... When I speak Hungarian, I always have in mind that, all right, Hungarian

people and this little country...But when I speak English, the whole world opens up and I feel the whole world... I feel that the whole world is just here. (Anne)

Both teachers switched between their English and Hungarian identity when switching between their two languages. Katie talked of a change in her voice when speaking English, and she felt more confident using her mother tongue than English. English seemed like a limitation, depriving her of her comfort zone where Hungarian is used. By contrast, Anne felt as if she was two different persons when switching between her languages and she kept referring to her English self as “to be more” than her Hungarian self. Her English self was an agent, a doer, an active person who sought and grabbed opportunities rendered by English. However, she felt rather constrained when using Hungarian since she knew Hungarian, as a small language spoken only in a small country, limited her opportunities. Considering their reflections, despite being highly proficient in English, MLSs may experience freedom, opportunity and constraint in various ways while using either their mother tongue or a second language.

As the two teachers, Daniel and John also claimed to feel different when switching to English from Hungarian.

For example, it is like in translations, when you read in another language, there are expressions and grammatical structures that, you realize, you can't really express in another language. ... I guess, it is different subconsciously, because the grammatical rules are different, you think in a different way, you structure your sentences differently in English than in Hungarian. (Daniel, translated from Hungarian into English by me)

I feel freer when I'm speaking English. It causes freshness in my mind. ... Well, I like speaking English and I feel pride because I could acquire another language pretty well in some years and I had enormous endurance, additionally, as an adult. ... Of course, your native language is the most beautiful language for you, but one is glad to possess another language because, as a matter of fact, a second language can be comprehended as a code in your brain and as you can speak it, you are smart enough to be a decoder. (John)

It was Daniel who doubted acting differently in English. He attributed thinking differently to the linguistic differences between the two languages. This idea is in concert with the weak version of linguistic relativity, saying that the way people perceive the world is influenced by the language they speak to some extent, highlighting or overlooking certain aspects of reality as well as raising the question of untranslatability of language- and culture specific phenomena and terms. Furthermore, a new language then evokes and entails a new culture with a different mindset, logic and world views.

Similarly to Anne, John also experienced freedom evoked by the use of English. Also, he took pride in having been able to acquire English as an adult and a self-taught learner. Comparing the two English majors to the two English teachers it can be concluded that irrespective of proficiency levels a second language identity evolves in MLSs, which is a finding corresponding to the findings of other studies that scrutinize identity construction in SLA. However, high proficiency in a second language may not guarantee a full-fledged or confident L2 identity as it is in the case of Katie. On the other hand, lower proficiency levels do not hinder the evolution of a L2 identity.

John seemed to be more aware of identity-switching during code-switching, and he associated the use of English with pride, higher self-esteem and freedom. Learning English proved to be a life-shaping event for him, thus knowing English is a huge attainment for John. Daniel deemed code-switching associated identity-switching an unconscious process, probably because speaking English at an advanced level was a stressful activity for him, causing all his attention to focus on producing grammatically correct utterances. Therefore, his English identity was characterized by a constant struggle for improvement extruding other life-experiences. Despite the language barrier John faced, he was more confident and optimistic about his future, and his imagination had already taken him to an imagined life in an imagined country where he would do a desired but then only imagined job, which finally freed and refreshed his mind, causing him to feel happy and proud when speaking English.

8.4 Reflections on culture and identification

The issue of identification must be addressed here as it influences the kind of identity MLSs adopt when speaking a second language. MLSs' desire to only learn about a new language, its culture and people without direct contact with them or their desire to be indistinguishable from them or a stage in between determine the degree of their identification with the culture and the people of the new language. In the same vein, preferences for FHCE or SHCE are also indicators of MLSs' degree of identification.

Consequently, I also investigated to what extent the participants identify with the cultures and peoples of the English language. Talking of the two teachers' identification, Anne was characterized by a higher degree of identification with English, as she favored FHCE over SHCE. She disliked the institutionalized form of English education she received because in high school, as she described, English was "letters in a book, it meant nothing to me". She even went on to call her university studies, which she found unnecessary, a "torture" because she could not identify with a dead form of English taught in schools. The real identification for her, when the language became alive for her, was through going to Britain, taking "a sip of British air" and meeting "flesh and blood" people. She deemed English her best friend and considered England her second home. She was capable of and willing to identify with British English culture. She cherished her English identity as it opened up the world for her and freed her from the constraints of a small language, her mother tongue.

Since she could identify with English culture, she adopted an L2 identity of opportunity, freedom and confidence. Thus her identification with the cultures and peoples of English can be considered to be full or complete even though she did not wish to become indistinguishable from native English people and did not wish to live among them.

Anne, who never visited an English language country, preferred second-hand cultural exposure to first-hand cultural exposure, because she preferred her university courses on culture and literature or watching movies in English to going abroad or living there. Katie adopted an identity of resistance concerning English as she did not desire to live abroad even for a short period of time: "Because I am Hungarian. That's all. I like living here and this is my whole life. I don't need anything to do that. I don't want to be a stranger." She cherished and treasured her Hungarian self so much that English was a threat to it, hence the only safe ground for her to identify with English was through her studies, namely through SHCE. She could not imagine belonging to a community other than Hungarian. For this reason, she could only partially identify with all the culture that speaking English entailed. At the same time, her Hungarianness, her Hungarian identity dominated her English self, making her refuse first-hand cultural exposure and also resulting in frustration and guilt. Consequently, her identification with English can be perceived as partial or incomplete. For she stopped dealing with English language cultures after graduating from university, she felt unexposed to even SHCE, which caused her guilt and unease. To make matters worse for her, she had higher expectations of her English self as an EFL teacher as well as a proficient English speaker in terms of her language skills: "I should be better than this" as well as of her cultural involvement: "I feel I should deal with them [cultural studies]". Finally, all these factors contributed to her feeling of slight unease when speaking English and feeling at ease when using her mother tongue.

John demonstrated a high level of identification with English since he was interested in many things connected to the language, culture and people of English. Besides, he was highly motivated to become more and more proficient in English and was planning on moving to an English language country, preferably to New Zealand or England, in the future; moreover, he did not mind taking up customs and ways of life associated with these countries. In contrast with him, Daniel favored learning about English language cultures in Hungarian, but he also planned to live abroad for a year as work and language learning experience. His difficulties in using English hindered his identification with English at that stage which, I think, might change when using English properly is no longer an obstacle but an opportunity for him.

Taking all their responses into account, high proficiency levels do not always signal a high degree of identification with English, thus MLSs with lower proficiency levels and without FHCE may identify with English to a greater extent owing to their determination, motivation, investment and imagination (as members of imagined communities). However, even proficient EFL teachers without FHCE may have lower levels of identification due to inability or unwillingness to be part of imagined communities even though they think they

should be. Finally, MLSs with FHCE show higher levels of identification with English language cultures and peoples due to direct exposure to the native language, people, their culture and way of life.

As the interviewees were offered to choose the language of the interview, three of them chose English and Daniel preferred to speak in Hungarian. The most confident and fluent users of English were Anne and John. Katie was fluent but under-confident and kept excusing herself (and her English) for not being good enough and Daniel's language choice can be explained by understanding the stress that speaking English caused him in formal situations. For a better understanding he was the only participant who chose to read English books in Hungarian. Only Anne spoke with some British accent; Katie, John and Daniel had a Hungarian-accented English speech. (Even though, Daniel used Hungarian throughout the interview, I heard him speaking English in our English lessons). Anne, being highly identified with English, consciously or naturally adopted a British-like accent. Katie's English was fairly Hungarian-accented which was not due to her low proficiency level in English but rather owing to the following reasons. First, she refused and never experienced FHCE. Second, based on her own statements, she experienced the lack of sufficient SHCE. Third, even though she did switch between identities when she switched languages, her Hungarian self dominated her English self, not allowing her to take up native-like linguistic and behavioral patterns such as accent or way of thinking. Fourth, her unwillingness to identify with English did not enable her to take up a native-like accent. For this reason, she did not want to and was not interested in even giving it a try. Daniel did not care about producing an accent when speaking English. Although John strove to master English as much as possible, he preferred remaining distinguishable from native English speakers by keeping his Hungarian accent and he found speaking with a native-like accent most unimportant when learning a language.

Finally, I address the question of how comfortable MLSs feel using their various foreign languages, which depends on three factors: their proficiency level, the degree of their identification with the cultures and peoples of their L2 and their motivation. Katie and Daniel felt least at ease when using English but for different reasons. Daniel's problem was rooted in the language barrier issue causing him lots of stress and under-confidence when speaking English; furthermore, he was not intrinsically motivated to learn English at an advanced level or to learn about English cultures at a university level and in English. He was only instrumentally motivated to exploit better work and entertainment opportunities through English. Katie's English self suffered from inadequate levels of identification causing her unease, low self-confidence and guilt. By contrast, Anne and John enjoyed every minute of speaking English despite their different proficiency levels. Anne, being a proficient English speaker, being amply motivated to use English, and being highly identified with English, felt "to be more", "more free", "more open-minded" using her English identity, because with the help of English the whole world opened up to her, and she could "hug the whole world" because it was just "on the corner". No doubt she even prioritized English over Hungarian, because Hungarian as a small

language, only spoken in a small country, constrained her opportunities. In addition, due to her minimal proficiency level in German she explained she felt as if she “was in jail” when speaking German. John, with lower proficiency levels, felt pleased and comfortable to use English owing to a greater degree of identification with English.

9. Conclusion

MLSs adopt a L2 identity and they tend to switch between identities when they switch between their various languages. They experience their L1 and L2 in various ways: Some feel constrained using a mother tongue and adopt a L2 of freedom, opportunity and high self-confidence; others feel limited by a L2 and adopt an identity of resistance or low-self confidence.

Even highly proficient MLSs such as EFL teachers may have differing attitudes to cultural involvement. To paraphrase it, they may have different attitudes to FHCE and SHCE, which causes their identification with English to be complete/full or incomplete/partial. The more capable of or willing MLSs are to expose themselves to cultural exposure, especially to first-hand cultural exposure, the more multicultural they become and the greater their identification with English is. As a consequence, MLSs’ ability to identify fully or partially with the culture and the people of English is representative of how multicultural they are.

The more proficient MLSs are in English and/or the more extensive their identification with English is, the more comfortable they feel using English. High levels of motivation, high proficiency levels and a greater degree of identification alone or in concert with one another facilitate the adoption of native-like linguistic, cultural and behavioral patterns such as accent, intonation, mentality, way of thinking and way of life. High proficiency level in a second language alone does not warrant high levels of multiculturalism or identification. Finally, imagination, motivation and willingness to communicate in English play an important role in MLSs’ identification with English.

10. Limitations and further directions

Being a small-scale, fully qualitative study this inquiry is limited by the low number of participants and their similar academic and professional background – being practicing and prospective English teachers. This investigation could be expanded to include more informants from various professional backgrounds, sharing only one common denominator, that is being multilingual speakers.

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‘I Wish I Had’ Secondary School Teachers’ Beliefs About Teacher Autonomy: A Qualitative Study

Krisztina Szőcs

Doctoral Programme in Applied Linguistics, University of Pécs

szocs.krisztina@gmail.com

1. Introduction

Justifications for promoting learner autonomy are manifold, as it is agreed that learner involvement in decisions about different aspects of the learning process makes learning more purposeful and increases motivation, thus resulting in more effective learning. Researchers agree that learner autonomy and teacher autonomy are strongly interrelated in the sense that teachers cannot be expected to have a sense of personal responsibility for their teaching if they have not experienced autonomy as language learners. Although the role of the teacher is central to the development of learner autonomy, autonomy support could be influenced by teachers’ negative attitudes towards autonomy originating from their own learning experiences. Given the influence teachers’ beliefs have on their decisions concerning classroom practices, it might be revealing to have some insight into their views regarding teacher autonomy.

The current small-scale study explores the extent to which teachers feel autonomous in their professional development and teaching practice. The study looks into teachers’ attitudes and beliefs concerning teacher autonomy in a Hungarian comprehensive secondary school, involving four language teachers. Data was collected through semi structured interviews with questions meant to elicit narratives about personal experiences and memories concerning autonomous learning behaviour and professional development.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Teacher autonomy

The term was brought into language education by Little (1995), who stated that “while learning strategies and learner training can play an important supporting role in the development of learner autonomy, the decisive factor will always be the nature of the pedagogical dialogue” (p. 175) and that “learning arises from interaction, and interaction is characterised by interdependence between the teacher and learners, the development of autonomy in learners presupposes the development of autonomy in teachers” (p. 175). Little (1995) found teacher autonomy to be “the starting point in the ... process of negotiation by which

students can be brought to accept responsibility for their learning” (p.179), and that “genuinely successful teachers have always been autonomous in the sense of having a strong sense of personal responsibility for their teaching, exercising via continuous reflection and analysis the highest degree of affective and cognitive control” (p. 179). As Smith (2001) stated, “in order to promote learner autonomy teachers may need to have ... capacity for self-directed teaching, ... freedom from control over their teaching ... capacity for self-directed teacher-learning” (p. 5). However, Smith suggests that “the freedom from control” aspect should be treated carefully as “constraints on independent action are necessary to prevent abuse, and one legitimate constraint could involve the argument that self-directed ‘professional’ action needs to benefit students’ learning” (p. 7). Similarly, McGrath (2000) claimed that constraints from the institutional perspective constitute the structure of the professional activity and should serve as reference points, whereas from the teachers’ perspective they are more likely to be viewed as the instruments of control. This view emphasises the importance of teacher professionalism as a prerequisite for teacher autonomy, and that “teachers need to understand the constraints upon their practice but, rather than feeling disempowered, they need to empower themselves by finding the spaces and opportunities for manoeuvre (Lamb, 2008, p. 127-127). As Dam (1995) claimed, teachers should act “independently and in co-operation with others, as a socially responsible person” (p. 1).

Several researchers agree that teachers cannot be expected to support the growth of their students’ autonomy if they have no experience about what it is to be an autonomous learner (Joshi, 2011; Lamb, 2008; Little, 1995; Sinclair, 2008; Smith, 2008), “language teachers are more likely to succeed in promoting learner autonomy if their own education has encouraged them to be autonomous” (Little, 1995, p. 180). However, Aoki (2008) found that teacher autonomy is more closely related to teachers’ classroom practices, the ways in which they promote learner autonomy than to teachers’ capacity to implement it. Feryok (2013) concluded that teachers’ knowledge and understanding of learner autonomy are essential in fostering autonomous behaviour in language learning, which gives emphasis to the relevance of understanding teachers’ beliefs concerning autonomy in language learning, as well as the importance of incorporating the pedagogy for learner autonomy in teacher education. Moreover, it is likely that teachers will be more effective in their profession if they could experience strategies for learner autonomy as students, reflect on these strategies they applied in their learning as teachers and experiment with them in their teaching practice (Little, 1995).

2.2 Teachers’ roles in supporting learner autonomy

It has been agreed (Benson, 1997; Dam, 2008; Little, 1991; Nunan, 1997; Voller, 1997) that the main role of the teachers in an autonomy-supportive classroom is remarkably different from their role in traditional educational settings. Teachers are expected to act as counsellors or facilitators in a

classroom where learners are supported to become actively involved in every stage of their learning process.

As argued in Camilleri (1999), Ho and Crookall (1995), the main roles of a teacher should be more of a manager, a resource person and a counsellor. Joshi (2011) and Yang (1998) found that teachers played an important role in helping learners understand and use learning strategies to increase their independence in learning. Miller and Ng (1996) suggested that teachers' assistance was required to train learners to be able to assess their peers accurately and to accept feedback from their peers. Reeve (2006) found that learners' engagement in autonomous learning depends "on the supportive quality of classroom conditions in which their learning take place" (p. 225) and that teachers have an essential role in creating an autonomy-supportive, motivating atmosphere in the classroom. Reeve claimed that teachers can be high or low in autonomy support and that autonomy supportive teachers were likely to shape their classroom practices to meet learners' needs and provided them with rationales for the requested activities. Reeve identified "instructional behaviours" (p. 231) to foster learner autonomy. For instance, teachers high in autonomy support were more open for their students' ideas and allowed students to alter the learning materials more often; they also asked about students' wishes, answered to student-generated questions, took into account their learners' emotional state and by structuring the learning environment (p. 234) teachers encouraged their learners to take control of their learning.

Voller (1997) claimed that teachers' main role is to facilitate learning and associated this role with "personal qualities (being caring, supportive, patient, tolerant, empathic, open, and non-judgmental), a capacity for motivating learners, and an ability to raise learners' awareness" (p. 102), as well as with technical support "to plan and carry out their independent language learning, objective setting, helping learners evaluate their learning, and helping them to acquire the skills and knowledge needed to implement the above" (p. 102). Teachers were seen as counsellors and as resources for students' learning. However, as Sheerin (1997) pointed out when discussing teachers' roles as counsellors, one should be aware of the "paradox of independent learning that almost all learners need to be prepared for and supported on the path towards greater autonomy by teachers" (p. 63) and suggested that teachers should find the balance between too much and too little advising.

However, as Yildirim (2008) pointed out, teachers' roles in LA development could be influenced by teachers' negative attitudes towards autonomy originating from their own learning experiences. Teachers' roles and, more specifically, their teaching and communicative styles influence learners' motivation, which has an impact on autonomous behaviours.

2.3 Teachers' beliefs

Teacher cognition is an umbrella term for "the unobservable cognitive dimension of teaching – what teachers know, believe, and think" (Borg, 2003, p. 81). As all teachers hold beliefs about their profession, themselves as

professionals, the term *teachers' beliefs* is usually understood as educational beliefs (Pajares, 1992) or “beliefs of relevance to an individual’s teaching” (Borg, 2001, p. 187). Since the 1990s teachers and their perceptions about language learning have attracted increasing attention resulting in a proliferation of terms: *beliefs, cognition, knowledge, perception, conceptions, theories, thinking*, which may be justified by the complex nature of the phenomena (Borg 2006).

In her overview of the ideas concerning teachers’ beliefs, Johnson (2006) noted that teachers’ professional development and their perceptions about teaching had been grounded in the positivistic paradigm as teachers were expected to acknowledge the content they were supposed to teach, then observe teaching practices, then finally gain pedagogical expertise during their years of teaching. However, the reflective movement (Schön, 1983) brought a turn in understanding teachers’ work and shed light on the complexity of teachers’ cognition which was seen inseparable from their previous experiences and social contexts. Reflective thinking is considered key concept in professional development as it brings unconscious beliefs to the level of awareness. For teachers reflection involves observation and critical thinking about teaching experiences occurring in the classroom, it helps them gain a deeper understanding of the teaching and learning process, influencing their teaching decisions (Schön, 1987). Pacheco (2005) addressed the need to apply reflective practice in the classroom as this requires practitioners to slow down in order to notice and analyse what they are doing, and thus it helps teachers reveal mismatches between theory and practice.

Teaching has been recognised to require both thinking and action within the framework of Vygotsky’s (1978) sociocultural theory. In line with Vygotsky, Ennis (1994) claimed that beliefs are connected to teachers’ social environment and may develop as a response to political or economic possibilities and constraints within the teaching context. Apart from the importance of the social context as an influencing factor, Ernest’s (1989) mentioned the teachers’ level of consciousness about their own beliefs. The social context was viewed to include the parents’, students’, colleagues’ and superiors’ expectations, and the whole educational system. All these factors may have to be negotiated by teachers, although it occurred that teachers in the same institutions utilised similar classroom practices even though they held different beliefs. Teachers’ level of awareness about their own beliefs was also found to have an impact on their instructional practices. Ernest (1989) considered these two factors to influence teachers’ beliefs and their teaching either negatively or positively.

Another finding surfacing from the literature on teacher cognition is that changes in knowledge are seen as the reframing of earlier knowledge, as Borg (2003) puts it, relabelling. It also seems to be certain that there is a strong interrelatedness between cognition and behaviour. Borg (2006, 2011) claimed that transfer of perceptions from teacher education to classroom practice did not happen in a smooth way, but it was altered by various external factors, such as school and classroom management and professional relationship with colleagues, which may outweigh principles promoted during pre-service teacher

education. Similarly, Polat (2010) also found significant differences between pre- service and in-service teachers' beliefs which could be explained with the suggestion teachers' beliefs are shaped through their teaching career, observations, positive or negative experiences (Ennis, 1994). Researchers (Pajares, 1992; Williams & Burden, 1997) pointed out that teachers' deep-rooted beliefs, which may have never been articulated and which refer to the way language is learnt influences their decisions in the classroom more than a particular methodology they are expected to adopt.

2.4 Teachers' beliefs about autonomy in language learning

Little is known about what learner autonomy means to language teachers in various cultural and educational contexts (Borg & Al-Busaidi, 2011, 2012). However, Benson (2008), Joshi (2011) and Martinez (2008) noted that misconceptions persisted in the way teachers perceived LA, namely that autonomy was understood as synonymous with self-instruction in contexts where teacher intervention was not desired. Palfreyman (2003) acknowledged the gap existing between theoretical discussions of autonomy in language learning and teachers' beliefs about the concept and he noted that "while it is useful to distinguish the different perspectives mentioned above ... in real educational settings such perspectives are not black and white alternatives" (p. 4).

Camilleri (1999, 2007) pioneered in investigating teachers' views on LA, and she found that teachers were willing to develop their practice, they supported the idea of incorporating LA in different areas of teaching, but at the same time they were reluctant to involve students in methodological decisions. Participants reported that institutional constraints made the promotion of learner autonomy less feasible. Teachers were positive about involving learners in activities where they decided about the position of the desks, assessing themselves or in working out learning procedures. In contrast, teachers were reluctant to let students decide about the selection of learning material or the time and place of lessons. Chan's (2003) large-scale study conducted in a university context in Hong Kong supports Camilleri's findings about the responsibility for methodological decision. Al-Shaqsi (2009) explored English teachers' beliefs about the characteristics of autonomous learners, and teachers' evaluation of their students' level of autonomy in Oman. In his study teachers defined autonomy in terms of learning independently, self-evaluation, taking responsibility and cooperating. Furthermore, they were positive about their learners' autonomous behaviour. However, the study did not reveal the extent to which teachers' optimistic views about learner autonomy were justified. Teachers' views about LA were examined in a Turkish educational context exploring students' involvement in classroom management, and assessment from the perspective of pre-service teachers. Balçikanlı's (2010) results suggested that the student teachers were positively disposed towards learner autonomy, and similarly to the previous studies (Camilleri, 1999, 2007; Chan, 2003) participants were willing to involve learners in decisions about classroom

activities, they showed a “clear view of learner autonomy and the involvement of students in the learning process” (Balçikanlı, 2010, p. 98). Moreover, “the student teachers would probably feel ready to pass onto their future students some responsibilities and choices” (p. 98), although they thought that involving students in classroom management was less feasible. The study revealed some restricting factors in the development of language learning autonomy including teacher-centred approaches to teaching, traditional teaching methods, as well as the high level of teachers’ authority in the process of teaching and learning.

Borg and Al-Busaidi (2012) administered a survey with 200 teachers to develop autonomy in language learning in Oman, and along with Bullock (2011), Joshi (2011) and Yoshiyuki (2011) found a gap between theory and practice, and that teachers had diverging views about the extent to which their learners were autonomous. Reinders and Lazaró (2011) highlighted that teachers felt that students did not understand the importance of autonomy, lacked the skills and were reluctant to learn independently. In a diary study Reinders, Sakui and Akakura (2011) explored novice language advisors’ experiences working in university self-access centres. Advisors’ comments revealed that the facilitation of LA required thorough preparation and training. Previous findings (Al-Asmari, 2013; Reinders et al., 2011) emphasised the importance of integrating the methodology for promoting LA in the curriculum of teacher training programmes.

3. The study

3.1 The Hungarian teaching context

Although the opening up of the borders, the growth in the tourist industry and economic relations, joining the European Union and the undeniable boom in the accessibility of media and Internet should have led to an increasing need for speaking foreign languages, Hungarians still seem to lag behind in foreign language proficiency. The overview on recent research in the Hungarian language teaching and learning context points towards dispiriting conclusions (Révész, 2011; Soproni, 2013): heavy workload, and sporadic communication among colleagues, teachers not informed about changes in policy, scarce, if any, contact with training institutions. Although the National Core Curriculum (1996) went through several modifications, language teachers kept teaching following their own hidden curriculum, adopting an eclectic approach (Nikolov, 2003). Research showed that the most frequently used teaching methods were teacher-centred, LA was not supported and that teachers did not feel responsible for raising and maintaining motivation, claiming that students ought to come to English lessons motivated (Galántai & Csizér, 2009; Dombi, Nikolov & Turányi, 2011; Nikolov, Ottó, & Öveges, 2009).

3.2 Research questions and design

I aimed to investigate Hungarian secondary school English and German FL teachers' beliefs about teacher autonomy, thus the research questions addressed in this study were as follows:

- *How do teachers understand TA?*
- *To what extent do teachers feel autonomous in their professional development?*
- *To what extent do teachers feel autonomous in their teaching practice?*

The research was conducted within the qualitative paradigm. As I intended to gain rich data, I observed language classrooms; moreover, the nature of the semi-structured interviews and the small number of participants point towards the qualitative strand.

3.3 Context and participants

The context of the present study was a medium-sized comprehensive secondary school in the south of Hungary. The school is specialised in economics, and as the increasing number of applications indicates, it is very popular in the region, mainly due to the growing interest in Economics and Information Technology. Apart from the usual four years of education, the school offers a two year-long post-secondary education in accounting, logistics and Information Technology. At the time of the research the institution employed 51 full-time and four part-time teachers and had 683 students overall.

I involved seven EFL teachers and five German FL teachers in the classroom observation phase of my study; these teachers comprised the English and German departments of the school. Obviously, participants did not present a homogeneous group concerning age and years of practice, although all the teachers were women. They were all qualified teachers of EFL and GFL; apart from the regular FL classes all the teachers taught ESP or GSP including special purposes such as informatics, logistics and accounting.

In order to gain insight into the participants' beliefs and reported practices concerning teacher autonomy I asked four individual classroom teachers (two EFL and two GFL teachers) to participate in the interview phase of my research. The selection of the interviewees was based on the classroom observation. Apart from the age difference (32, 42, 46 and 58), teachers also differed in their work experience, which ranged from fourteen to 35 years. Three participants had full-time jobs, one of them worked part-time, another three teachers had previously taught in other secondary schools, while two of the interviewed teachers had private students.

3.4 Data collection instrument and procedures

As the language classroom is a place where various processes of teaching occur, it was extremely important to consider what to observe and how to observe it (Dörnyei, 2007; Mackey & Gass, 2005). Although I was aware that the less structured observation could also result in losing valuable classroom data, to reach a deeper understanding of the classroom processes I focused on broader categories rather than specific issues. By conducting semi-structured classroom observations, I hoped to gain insight into language teachers' classroom practices with a special focus on manifestations of teacher autonomy and teachers' supportive practice concerning learner autonomy (or the lack of it). I observed seven EFL and five GFL lessons in the 9th grade, overall involving four classes of students divided into eleven language groups. The lessons focused on various issues not only because of the difference in the time when I could visit these lessons, but also because one of the classes was a preparatory language class where certain target areas (Grammar, Communication and Culture) were taught by different teachers. The classroom observations served as a springboard in selecting the participants for the interviews: I chose participants from the two ends of the scale: two teachers proved to have the most supportive approach towards autonomy in language learning, and two teachers who showed slight or no sign of such an intention, both pairs being mixed concerning the languages taught.

The semi-structured interviews offered a compromise between being prepared with a set of questions and being open for further elaboration on certain issues at the same time, when it was necessary (Dörnyei, 2007). Several interview questions were meant to elicit narratives about personal experiences and memories concerning learner and teacher autonomy, as narratives carry encoded life experience and knowledge (Abbott, 2003).

The process of constructing the final interview schedule had several stages. Firstly, in order to achieve construct reliability, a set of prompts was collected which resulted in carefully worded questions (Patton, 2002) related to the research questions. Then, to ensure content validity, the interview schedule was given to four FL teachers who did not participate in the main part of the research and who were requested to comment on the questions concerning content as well as possible wording ambiguities. The research instrument proved to gather a wide variety of rich data smoothly, which indicated that it could be relied on and that the number of questions could be considered sufficient.

The same procedure was followed in all the four interviews. Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity before and throughout the procedure. The interviews were one-off face to face events taking place at the participants' workplace in a setting which made sure not to be distracted or interrupted by external factors. The interviews were conducted in Hungarian, the reason for the language selection was that I wanted my interviewees to feel more natural and relaxed using their mother tongue with someone whose first language was also Hungarian. The semi structured frame offered opportunities for interaction: participants could ask for clarification. Three of the participants

spoke with natural ease and were willing to answer the questions. However, one of them, Kata (pseudonym) became anxious and rather reluctant by the time of the interview, although previously she had agreed to participate. She said that she “*should have prepared more for the interview*”, which suggested being especially aware in her case of the Hawthorne effect. Apart from Kata, all the three participants approved of their answers to be recorded and transcribed, and in Kata’s case I used my notes taken during the interview for data analysis.

3.5 Results and discussion

3.5.1 Teachers’ understanding of teacher autonomy

The interviews revealed that all participants understood teacher autonomy as freedom in teaching, freedom from the curriculum and course books. However, they seemed to be aware that institutional constraints were not only instruments of control, but also served as reference points which structured their professional activity (McGrath, 2000; Smith, 2001). One of the participants claimed that it was teachers’ responsibility to find the spaces within the constraints for manoeuvre, keeping in mind students’ needs (Dam, 1995; Lamb, 2008). Another interviewee added that in her view teacher autonomy also meant freedom from students’ influence, emphasising the importance of teacher authority: “*TA is needed, otherwise there would be chaos in the classroom*”. According to her understanding: “*If I don’t do what I planned, I’m not autonomous*”, the concept of teacher autonomy seemed to overlap traits of personal autonomy (Benson, 2013).

When I asked the participants about their previous knowledge regarding autonomy in teaching and in learning, the instances they had experienced learner autonomy, and about the influences that shaped their practice to support autonomy in language learning, as a first reaction they tried to recall memories of formal instruction focusing on learner autonomy, revealing no explicit influencing factor. Moreover, one of the interviewees expressed her surprise as “*I’ve never thought about it*”. All participants mentioned their own learning experiences when asked about the influences on the way they teach. Another teacher reported to be led in her teaching practice by negative examples from her past, she explained that she knew what she wanted to avoid, mentioning as an example rote learning. This implies that those interviewees who showed inclination for supporting autonomy, acquired fostering, advising skills on-the-job, pointing towards the need for specific training to be prepared for supporting autonomy in language learning (Al Asmari, 2013; Reinders, Sakui & Akakura, 2011).

3.5.2 Autonomy in professional development

Given that language teachers are more likely to promote autonomous language learning if their own education had encouraged learner autonomy or they had experience about what it is to be an autonomous learner (Joshi, 2011; Lamb,

2008; Little, 1995; Sinclair, 2008; Smith, 2008), it was revealing that all participants could recall learning experiences which they considered instances of autonomous learning. However, when they provided more details about these memories, it turned out that these occurrences of learning were not as autonomous as reported. The interviewees showed different levels of self-direction, they recalled that their learning was fuelled by both extrinsic and intrinsic motivation (Dörnyei, 1994): interest in a foreign language, wish to catch up with the rest of the group, intention to take a language exam, and the wish to become a language teacher.

When speaking about autonomy in their own professional development, participants used strong words (decide, want) which showed determination. However, interestingly, all answers were given in past tense: *"I did everything I needed"*, *"I was motivated"*, which could imply that they did not consider learning being part of their present. Participants reported out of class use of printed material, attending a language course, asking for help from their teachers, one of them mentioned that one of her language teachers introduced a new way of keeping record of vocabulary items, which she found very useful, however, when her group got a new teacher, she did not continue learning vocabulary in the way the previous teacher taught them. This implies that teachers' presence was needed to maintain the process of learning. Another participant mentioned that her role as a teacher influenced her behaviour as learner: when she was studying another foreign language she expected to be instructed. Kata said that she started to learn autonomously when she went to another school and wanted to catch up with the rest of the group. She recalled her learning process as solitary painful effort without any help from teachers, revealing that she understood learner autonomy as a learning process where teacher interaction was not desired.

3.5.3 Autonomy in teaching

The interviews shed light on different levels of autonomy in participants teaching practice, which seemed to influence their awareness about their roles in supporting learner autonomy. As for autonomy in teaching, a wide range of answers was given from not having autonomy at all, due to institutional constraints or other restricting factors to feeling lucky for being an English language teacher because of the many possibilities for supporting learner autonomy and the opportunities to benefit from technology.

The participants reported to perform autonomously in the language classroom by tailoring the content and the difficulty of the materials in order to meet students' needs, as well as by tailoring the activities according their students energy levels: when they seemed tired, some teachers mentioned playing language games with them or offered the possibility to contribute to the lessons with songs. Teachers mentioned watching, although rarely, films in the target language and to have lessons in the language lab. They also reported to give students opportunities for decision making in the order of the topics discussed, in the date, type and sometimes even in the content of the assessment.

Three of the participants emphasised the influence of their previous language teachers, mentioning positive influences: *“to some extent I teach in the same way she did”* and negative ones as well, mentioning that the negative influence led to practice fuelled by the wish to avoid the same mistakes that the teacher in the past made. Kata, who learned alone without any support from her language teachers and blamed the school and the curriculum for her lack of autonomy as a teacher, did not recall any specific way to act autonomously in her teaching practice.

Teachers reported feeling challenged by their students’ lack of motivation, laziness, disinterest, and their frequent coming up with excuses. The participants also complained about lack of time, institutional constraints, and pressure from the expected outcome, and said that they were challenged by large and mixed ability groups. Interestingly, three of the four interviewees emphasised the negative effect of technology and only one of them could see the benefits of using computers to facilitate autonomous learning. Another participant claimed that *“schools are not student-friendly places”* and that there is no space for teacher autonomy at her school. She found this problematic because –in her view students sense the lack of teacher autonomy as a weakness, which could affect students’ attitude towards the teacher and the language lesson, thus suggesting that lack of teacher autonomy affects learner autonomy negatively. The frequent mention of external constraints led me to the idea that the participants did not feel responsible for their teaching, and thus their level of autonomy as teachers was low. The language use (could be, should be, *“I could do so much, but I can’t”*) showed the influence of the powerful socio-educational tradition which implies learned helplessness (Dörnyei, 1994).

The participants believed that their main roles as teachers were to facilitate learning by motivating their learners, and by identifying and fulfilling their students’ needs, which resonates with Voller (1997). Answers pointed to another role in supporting learner autonomy, that of the resource person, as suggested in Camilleri (1999), Ho and Crookall (1995): teachers reported to bring in extra materials, to provide learners with a range of sources. Participants viewed themselves as counsellors, too: they served as guides, gave advice about how to learn, and provided students with metacognitive knowledge, which is in line with the findings of Joshi (2011) and Yang (1998), who emphasised teachers’ role in helping learners understand learning strategies to facilitate their independence in learning. However, this knowledge was reported to be acquired through participants’ own learning experiences, not during teacher education. Seemingly, the strategies they could try in the past as learners had bigger influence on their teaching than the knowledge acquired through the years of teacher training (Little, 1995). Kata, again, saw her main role as a model. Since she obviously understood learner autonomy as learning outside the classroom, without any teacher intervention and she could give a long list of activities which could be done outside the classroom to enhance autonomy in language learning, but she did not mention any activities to be done in the classroom. As Yildirim (2008) pointed out, teachers’ attitudes towards autonomy originating from their own learning experiences influenced teachers’ roles in fostering their

learners' autonomy. Teachers were also seen as counsellors for students' learning, although participants seemed to be aware of the paradox of independent learning and suggested that teachers should find the balance between too much and too little advising as it was pointed out by Sheerin (1997).

4. Conclusion

The study shed light on teachers' different understandings concerning teacher autonomy as they associated the concept with freedom from external constraints, personal autonomy to teacher authority. The exclusive use of past tense when speaking about autonomy in their own development suggested that there was no space for professional growth in their career. The fact that teachers mostly blamed their circumstances and complained about external constraints revealed the influence of the powerful socio-educational tradition manifesting in learned helplessness. The most prevalent emerging issue was the importance of previous learning experience and the influence of previous teachers or the lack of it, which implies that if teachers could experience strategies fostering autonomy as learners, reflect on these strategies and experiment with them in their teaching practice they would be more likely to become more effective teachers.

With this study I intended to reveal how language teachers relate to teacher autonomy and to gain insight into the relationship between learner autonomy and teacher autonomy. The weaknesses of the study are manifold: because of the small sample size generalizable results probably cannot be put forward. However, the findings from the study may be of interest to teachers and teacher educators as awareness should be raised about the roles of the teachers which are central to the development of learner autonomy and they could be influenced by teachers' attitudes towards autonomy originating from their own learning experiences.

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Second Language Motivation: A Comparison of Constructs

Višnja Pavičić Takač and Vesna Bagarić Medve
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Osijek
vpavicic@ffos.hr; vbagaric@ffos.hr

1. Introduction

This paper is dedicated to Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović, whose work set the paradigm for second language (L2) motivational research in Croatia. Inspired by Gardner's motivational theory and aware of the critical role of the socio-cultural context in which L2 is acquired, she embarked upon research into what motivates Croatian learners to learn foreign languages (FLs). Mihaljević Djigunović (1998) designed a questionnaire that measures both the type and intensity of motivation in a FL learning context. She concluded that Croatian learners possess types of motives that had not been found in similar studies: *affective motivation*, referring to learners' wish to learn English for aesthetic or emotional reasons, *pragmatic-communicative motivation*, encompassing the instrumental value learners attach to the FL knowledge, and *integrative motivation* suggesting learners' wish to be integrated into a L2 community. In addition to these, two types of *demotivators* were revealed: the *teaching setting* and *learning difficulties*.

A notable body of motivational research in Croatia was based on Mihaljević Djigunović's (1998) conceptualisation of motivation. However, a few studies were grounded in recently advanced theories, such as Dörnyei's (2005, 2009a) *L2 Motivational Self System* (cf. Martinović, 2014). It links motivation to learn a L2 to three sources: the *Ideal L2 Self* (learner's vision of oneself as an effective L2 speaker), the *Ought-to L2 Self* (the social pressure coming from the learner's environment), and the *L2 Learning Experience*. The system looks at learners in relation to who they want to be as language users and attempts to consider the multiplicity of underlying motives.

Our study sets out to compare and contrast Mihaljević Djigunović's and Dörnyei's conceptualisations of L2 motivation in Croatian socio-educational context and across two foreign languages (English and German). Several analyses are conducted (reliability, correlations, and multiple regression) in order to identify the interrelationships between and among constructs defined by the two theories. This study contributes to the understanding of motivation of Croatian FL learners by looking at it from two different angles thus enabling us to grasp its sense more fully.

If asked to list what psychological factors seem crucial in second language (L2) learning, the majority of both theoreticians and practitioners would undisputedly include motivation, because it intuitively – and conveniently –

covers both the initial stimulus and the driving force ebbing and flowing throughout the learning process, both the cause and effect of learning, as well as the cause of success.

However, when it comes to defining and measuring the construct of motivation, there is no unanimous viewpoint. Constrained by the inherent complexity of human motives, i.e. intentions, decision and endeavours, researchers often looked at separate aspects of motivation which resulted in a number of different theoretical models describing L2 motivation. Consequently, these theories have implications on how the construct is to be measured.

As can be discerned from a number of reviews (Cohen & Dörnyei, 2002; Dörnyei, 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2005; Dörnyei & Skehan 2003; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Dörnyei et al. 2015; MacIntyre, 2002), L2 motivation research has gone through several periods of theoretical and empirical advancement: from the social psychological period (1959-1990), the cognitive situated period (during 1990s), and the process-oriented period (the turn of the century), to the most recent socio-dynamic period. The present study sets out to compare and contrast two conceptualisations of L2 motivation, namely the one put forward by Mihaljević Djigunović which is based in the social psychological theoretical paradigm and Dörnyei's *L2 Motivational Self System* (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a) whose development spans over several periods and claims to expand Gardner's model to include cognitive and situation variables as well as the dynamic dimension of L2 motivation. Therefore, we will outline the most relevant tenets pertaining to the two theoretical frameworks. Then we report on the study whose purpose was to explore how the two conceptualisations tap L2 motivation of foreign language (FL) learners in the Croatian socio-educational context by comparing two instruments designed to measure L2 motivation.

2. Theoretical underpinnings

2.1 Socio psychological theoretical paradigm and Mihaljević Djigunović's motivational construct

The social psychological period, marked by the work of Lambert, Gardner, Clément and other researchers (Clément & Noels, 1992; Clément, Noels & Denault, 2001; Clément et al., 2003), has laid the foundation for much of the subsequent L2 motivation research. One of the most important contributions of this period is the socio-educational model (Gardner, 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; Gardner, 2001; 2007) which was one of the first theoretical frameworks encompassing cognitive, affective as well as contextual factors influencing L2 learning. In this theoretical view, language learning is socially rooted. In other words, L2 learning is closely associated with learners' ethnocentric tendencies, attitudes toward the L2 community, and orientation toward language learning (Lambert, 1972, p. 291). Learners' motivation is determined by two factors: their attitudes and readiness to identify and their orientation to the process of L2 learning (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). Motivation is conceptualised as including four components: a goal, desire to

achieve a goal, effort or intensity, and positive attitudes (Gardner, 1985, p. 10). One component on its own is ineffective and insufficient: a learner is said to be truly motivated if he shows all four components.

Gardner's motivational theory is characterised by two major constructs: integrative and instrumental orientation. Integrative orientation is defined as "motivation to learn a second language because of the positive feelings toward the community that speaks that language" (Gardner, 1985, pp. 82-3), whereas instrumental orientation refers to "the practical value and advantages of learning a new language" (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 132) often connected with a pragmatic gain (e.g., better job or higher salary). The integrative motive encompasses integrativeness, attitudes towards the learning situation and motivation. Integrativeness reflects "genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community" (Gardner, 2001, p. 5) and may even lead to a complete identification with the target language group members. The second dimension, attitudes towards the learning situation, refers to attitudes towards aspects such as the school context and attitudes directed toward the teacher, the classmates and the course. Naturally, some learning situations in some individuals evoke more positive attitudes than in others. The third dimension, motivation, is defined as consisting of three elements: effort, desire and attitudes towards learning the language.

Despite its undeniable influence and inspiration for many other researchers, Gardner's socio-educational model has also been widely criticised, mostly for its conceptual definitions, some terminological confusion and, according to Dörnyei (2005), even some logical contradiction. For example, the term *integrative* is used in 'integrative orientation', 'integrativeness', and 'integrative motive/motivation' without a clear disambiguation. Similarly, the term 'motivation' can be found as a subcomponent of the overall construct of 'integrative motivation'. These unclarities have led to misinterpretations of Gardner's theory as being the sum of the two motivational orientations (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Dörnyei, 1994, 2005, Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011).

To measure the dimensions conceptualised in the socio-educational model the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) was designed (Gardner, 1985). It is a multicomponential self-report instrument consisting of 12 scales. *Integrativeness* is measured by three scales: attitudes towards the target language group, interest in foreign languages, and integrative orientation. *Motivation* is measured by motivational intensity or the amount of effort invested in learning the language, attitudes toward learning the target language and the desire to learn the target language. The concept of *attitudes toward the learning situation* (i.e. a person's reactions to the immediate learning context) is measured by two scales, namely attitudes toward the teacher and attitudes toward the course. Other scales included in the AMTB measure L2 class anxiety and L2 use anxiety as typical representatives of *language anxiety*, i.e. learner's reactions to situations in which they are asked to speak the target language, *parental encouragement*, and *instrumental orientation*.

Regardless of abundant criticism (cf. Dörnyei, 2005), the AMTB has been considered a useful instrument that has seen a widespread use in research in many learning contexts, including Croatia, where Mihaljević Djigunović (1991, 1996, 1997, 1998) conducted a number of studies exploring the types and intensity of motivation for learning English as a foreign language. Since it is her work that is at the centre of the present study, we now turn to a more detailed description of findings specific to FL learning in the Croatian socio-cultural context.

In an initial study, Mihaljević (1991) asked learners of English to describe why they like or dislike learning English. A content analysis of their responses revealed thirteen categories, nine of which were related to motivation and four to lack of motivation. The nine categories reflecting the types of motivation for learning English were: 1) reflecting the importance of English as a world language, 2) the cultural orientation, 3) the affiliation orientation, 4) future benefits of knowing English, 5) the possibility of using English at present, 6) the requirement orientation, 7) the affective orientation, 8) the integrative orientation, and 9) the teaching methodology. The four categories related to the lack of motivation included 1) the perception of usefulness, 2) personality traits of the learner, 3) aspects of the language itself, and 4) the teaching setting.

Next, Mihaljević (1991, also Mihaljević Djigunović, 1997, 1998) combined the above mentioned learners' free descriptions and Gardner's AMTB items to design a questionnaire to measure the type and intensity of L2 motivation to learn English. A series of exploratory factor analyses were run first to refine the questionnaire items and reduce their number and then to identify the underlying, not-directly-observable constructs based on the set of observable variables. The results of the factor analyses revealed a L2 motivational framework somewhat different to Gardner's. It consisted of three types of motivation (pragmatic-communicative, affective and integrative) and two sets of demotivators (the teaching setting and learning difficulties). The identified motives were found to be specific to learning English in a context where it is to be used as a means of communication with other non-native speakers. Indeed, the studies conducted in the Croatian socio-educational context point to the pragmatic-communicative motivation as playing a key role in EFL learning success (Mihaljević, 1998; Jakovac & Kamenov 2012, Karlak 2013).

An additional asset of this model is the inclusion of demotivation which is defined as "specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioural intention or an ongoing action" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 139). Because demotivation is an important aspect of motivation, any L2 motivation theory should take it into account.

2.2 Cognitive situational theoretical paradigm and Dörnyei's motivational construct

Inspired by Gardner's socio-educational model, but also by developments in cognitive theories in educational psychology – most notably attribution theory (cf. Weiner, 1985, as cited in Mihaljević Djigunović, 1998; Dörnyei, 1990;

Julkunen, 1989, Ushioda, 1998), self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Noels, 2009; Noels et al., 1999, 2000, 2001), and task motivation (cf. Julkunen, 2001; Dörnyei, 2002) – researchers sought to further expand the conceptualisations of motivation in L2 acquisition. In this new period in L2 motivation research, known as cognitive-situated period, greater importance was given to cognitive and situation-specific motives, which included, among others, learners’ perception of their own abilities, possibilities, limitations, past performances, and of many other aspects of the task they set out to achieve. It is within this theoretical agenda that Dörnyei laid the foundations of his *L2 Motivational Self System* (2005, 2009a) in which he tried to counterbalance the shortcomings of the existing models of L2 motivation. One of these limitations is failure to incorporate the temporal dimension and phases in the motivational process. The researchers adopting process-oriented approach to L2 motivation started to view motivation as evolving and constantly fluctuating over time, both during a specific learning task and during longer periods of time (Ushioda, 1996, 1998; Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998, p. 48). However, as Dörnyei himself noted, this theory too fails to “do the complexity of the motivation system justice” (2009b, p. 197). Not only does the model fail to define the onset and offset of actional processes in a real classroom setting, or to demarcate one process from the other, but it also does not consider learners’ multiple goals and agendas. What is more, linear cause-effect relations remain unexplained. These limitations called for a radical reformulation of motivation which is, in Dörnyei’s view, offered by the complex dynamic systems perspective. Thus, the study of L2 motivation moved into the socio-dynamic period (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Dörnyei et al., 2015) which generated several noteworthy approaches to L2 motivation research, such as *A person-in-context relational view of motivation* (Ushioda, 2009), *Motivation from a complex dynamic systems perspective* (Dörnyei, 2009b), and *The L2 Motivational Self System* (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a).

L2 Motivational Self System is a motivational theory rooted in self and motivation theories in psychology, in particular Markus and Nurius’ (1986) theory of possible selves and Higgins’ (1987, 1996) self-discrepancy theory (all cited in Dörnyei, 2005). It is a “motivational framework that seeks to incorporate affective and emotional factors with cognition” (Ryan & Dörnyei, 2013, p. 91), that views learners in relation to who they want to be or become as language users and considers the multiplicity of underlying motives.

Motivation to learn a L2 is seen as emanating from three different sources: learner’s vision of oneself as an effective L2 speaker, the social pressure coming from the learner’s environment, and positive learning experiences. Therefore, the system consists of three elements: the Ideal L2 Self, the Ought-to L2 Self, and the L2 Learning Experience. The Ideal L2 Self, one of the fundamental concepts of this theory, is closely related to Gardner’s concept of integrative motivation. It is based on learners’ hopes, aspirations and goals they would like to achieve and represents a powerful motivator to learn L2 because of the learners’ desire to narrow the gap between their actual and ideal selves (Dörnyei, 2009a, p. 29). Dörnyei’s concept of the Ideal L2 Self, which has

derived from what Markus and Nurius (as cited in Dörnyei, 2009a, p. 12) refer to as *possible self*, reflects the idea that imagination plays an important role in human behaviour and can therefore affect motivation in many ways. In other words, it involves notions of what individuals would like, might, and are afraid of becoming (Dörnyei, 2009a). A learner's vision as a member of an imagined L2 community may partly be based on real-life experiences of L2 members, and partly on imagination. Consequently, learners are willing to study a L2 in order to achieve their desired "self-image".

The Ought-to L2 Self is an outcome of learners' sense of duty, their obligations, expectations from the social environment, and responsibilities which are expected from them in the future as language learners. This self shares similarities with the instrumental motivation. In addition, it contains characteristics that learners ought to possess in order to be in control and avoid any negative consequences of L2 learning (such as failing exams, disappointing one's parents, getting low grades etc.).

The third element, the L2 Learning Experience, is an effect of the immediate learning environment (teachers, learner groups, peers, and classroom environment) and learners' perceptions of their previous language learning successes and failures. The inclusion of this element in the model of L2 motivation clearly reflects the contention that learners' immediate learning environment too may significantly influence learners' motivation.

Research on the *L2 Motivational Self System* was conducted by Dörnyei and his colleagues in many countries around the world, such as Hungary, Iran, Japan, China and Saudi Arabia (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei *et al.*, 2006; Al Shehri, 2009; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi *et al.*, 2009) including large samples of learners from different learning environments and learning different target languages. On the basis of these studies, Dörnyei (2009a) concluded that the stable structure of the *L2 Motivational Self System* was confirmed. Next, the concept of the Ideal L2 Self was found to significantly correlate with integrativeness, intended effort, as well as instrumentality-promotion. Also, the Ideal L2 Self explained a greater percentage of variance than integrativeness. The Ought-to L2 Self correlated highly with instrumentality-prevention, but there was no relationship between instrumentality-promotion and instrumentality-prevention. These results led Dörnyei (2009a) to propose a division of instrumental motivation into two categories: 1) instrumentality-promotion associated with the Ideal L2 Self, and 2) instrumentality-prevention associated with the Ought-to L2 Self.

A recent study conducted on Croatian university students (Martinović, 2014) corroborated the results of previous studies. This primarily refers to Dörnyei and Csizér's (2005) argument that the Ideal L2 Self includes incentives related to professional competence, and that Ought-to L2 Self is related to avoidance of negative outcomes, as well as Taguchi *et al.*'s (2009) findings that instrumentality has two dimensions based on promotion versus prevention tendencies. Martinović's (2014) study also showed that in order to better explain L2 motivation, research needs to include both types of instrumentality. The analyses revealed strong relationships between interest in English and

dimensions of the *L2 Motivational Self System*, which indicated a strong link between these two complex motivational variables. L2 anxiety, on the other hand, negatively correlated with L2 motivation. As in previous studies (cf. Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005), this study showed that the Ideal L2 Self, as well as learners' perception of English as important for their career play a more relevant role in L2 motivation than other dimensions of the *L2 Motivational Self System*.

The results of the previously mentioned studies instigated a re-interpretation of the concept of integrativeness: integrativeness is to be understood as reflecting fundamental identification process within an individual's self concept (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). This implies that Gardner's concept of integrativeness and integrative motivation could in the *L2 Motivational Self System* be interpreted as the Ideal L2 Self (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a). According to Dörnyei (2005), the re-interpretation of integrativeness as the Ideal L2 Self can better explain L2 motivation in a variety of learning contexts characterised by different degrees of contact with L2 speakers. This seems acutely important in current times of globalisation which unavoidably include language globalization and consequently entail diverse motivational orientations.

The main research instrument in these studies was a questionnaire which included a large number of items covering various aspects of L2 motivation and attitudes toward L2, such as integrativeness, instrumentality, attitudes towards forming acquaintances with L2 speakers and travelling to the L2 country, cultural interest (i.e. the enjoyment of L2 cultural products, such as films, TV programs, magazines and pop music), vitality of the L2 community (i.e. the perceived importance and wealth of the L2 community), milieu (i.e. perceptions of the importance of L2 learning in school, including peer and parental influence), and linguistic self-confidence (referring to a belief that L2 proficiency is attainable and feelings of confidence which are free of anxiety) (Dörnyei, 2009a). There are different versions of the questionnaire resulting from its adaptation to particular socio-educational contexts (cf. Taguchi et al., 2009).

2.3 Theoretical underpinnings – concluding remarks

Although the above outlined approaches to L2 motivation research, notably the one advocated by Mihaljević Djigunović and the other by Dörnyei and his colleagues, may indicate a number of differences in conceptualising the motivational construct, they are not entirely incompatible. This is first of all due to the fact that they are both based on the ideas put forward by the social psychological approach to motivation and include the concepts of identity. One of the comparable dimensions is the concept of integrativeness which includes a psychological and emotional identification with the L2 community (Gardner, 2001) and which is in Dörnyei's view (2005, 2009a) related to the identification process involved in the Ideal L2 Self. Additionally, the components incorporated in the Ideal L2 Self can be compared with some features of Mihaljević Djigunović's framework, such as integrative orientation,

instrumentality (contained in pragmatic-communicative orientation), and attitudes towards the target language and its speakers (as a feature of affective orientation). In general, both models seem to take into consideration integrativeness, instrumentality, and attitudes toward the learning situation.

Another shared characteristic of the two approaches is that they sought empirical evidence to support their proposed model by conducting large-scale statistical studies. This inevitably involves the use of questionnaires as main research instruments. It is the comparison of two instruments developed to measure various motivational dimensions conceptualised in the two models that is the focus of the present study.

3. The present study

3.1 Aims

The aim of this study was to compare and contrast Mihaljević Djigunović's and Dörnyei's conceptualisations of L2 motivation with the purpose to explore which of these theoretical concepts might be better applicable to empirical research of motivation for learning English and German as L2 in a Croatian socio-educational context. In order to fulfil this aim, Mihaljević Djigunović's and Dörnyei's questionnaires designed to measure L2 motivation were investigated with respect to two subtypes of validity – convergent validity (as a subtype of construct validity) and incremental validity. More precisely, the present study seeks to answer the following questions:

- a) Is there a correspondence between Mihaljević Djigunović's and Dörnyei's concepts of motivation; that is, to what degree are the two measures of constructs related?
- b) Does Dörnyei's measure of motivation contribute more information about learners' motivation, beyond what might be obtained by Mihaljević Djigunović's measure of motivation?

3.2 Participants

The sample included learners of two foreign languages in Croatia: German and English. As previous studies have shown, learners of English, in contrast to learners of German, are more motivated for language learning which can be attributed to differences in various dimensions of a school and out-of-school learning context in Croatia (Bagarić, 2007; Karlak, 2013). Unlike German learners, learners of English have considerable contact with English and the culture of various English-speaking communities through the media, so that the context of learning English in Croatia may be described as having many features of a L2 learning context in terms of the amount and quality of input readily available outside the classroom (Pavičić Takač & Bagarić, 2011). Such out-of-school learning context enables them to acquire English also unconsciously (Bagarić, 2001) through authentic, unsimulated language use, which is

generally not the case with German. This may influence learners' personal motivational dimensions for learning the target language over the years (Mihaljević Djigunović & Bagarić, 2008; Karlak, 2013). In order to avoid the target-language based bias, learners of both English and German were included in the study.

A total of 468 learners from four Croatian secondary schools participated in this study: 236 learners of English and 232 learners of German. All participants were Croatian, aged between 15 and 19.

Learners' final course grade is taken as an indicator of FL proficiency. In Croatian educational system, grades range from 1 to 5, with 5 being the highest, 2 the lowest passing grade, and 1 the failing grade. Participants' average grade in the foreign language is 3.62 (SD=1.083). More specifically, English learners' average grade is 3.63 (SD=1.084) and German learners' average grade is 3.61 (SD=1.084). This difference was not found to be significant ($t_{(431)}=.207$; $p>.05$).

3.3 Instruments and procedures

The instrument used in the present study to investigate motivational dimensions based on Mihaljević Djigunović's (1996, 1997, 1998) motivational framework (see Section 2.1) was the *Types and Intensity of Motivation for learning EFL Questionnaire* (Mihaljević Djigunović, 1998). Its 38 items are distributed over five scales (with the scale name abbreviation given in parentheses):

1. Pragmatic-communicative (MDprag-com) – 12 items, reflecting learners' views of knowledge of English as instrumentally and professionally valuable in the context of international communication. Some items in this scale also include elements of integration, but, as Mihaljević Djigunović (1997) contended, the scale referred to a general type of integration into the international community rather than integration into another linguistic-cultural group.
2. Affective (MDaffect) – 6 items, referring to the learners' wishes to learn English because they find the language aesthetically or emotionally appealing (e.g. they like the sound of the language).
3. Integrative (MDinteg) – 4 items, looking into learners' wishes to be integrated into an English-speaking linguistic and cultural community.
4. Teaching setting (MDteach) – 9 items, assessing the potentially negative influence of the following factors: teacher's behaviour, teaching materials, teaching and assessment methods.
5. Learning difficulties (MDlearn) – 7 items, measuring the negative influence of bad grades, learners' pre-existing experience and lack of background knowledge, beliefs about themselves, their wishes and their parents' wishes.

The statements were followed by a five-point Likert scale: (1) strongly disagree, (2) slightly disagree, (3) neither agree nor disagree, (4) slightly agree, (5)

strongly agree. The questionnaire had been validated in participants' L1 in their learning context.

The motivational dimensions rooted in Dörnyei's *L2 Motivational Self System* were measured by a questionnaire based on the Taguchi et al.'s (2009) version of Dörnyei et al.'s (2006) instrument as well as the version validated in the Croatian context (Martinović, 2014). The final questionnaire used in this study, which we will refer to as Dörnyei's questionnaire, contained 92 items addressing motivational dimensions that were relevant for the profile of participants who participated in the study. This questionnaire was a compilation of different versions of Dörnyei et al.'s instrument, but the original item wording was kept to ensure that the same construct was measured. The items were spread over 16 scales:

1. Ideal L2 Self (Didsself) – 9 items, referring to learners' ideal pictures of themselves learning L2.
2. Linguistic self-confidence (Dling) – 3 items, assessing learners' confidence in their linguistic abilities.
3. Instrumentality-promotion (Dpromo) – 11 items, measuring the extent to which learners believe learning L2 is necessary for them to meet some personal goals (e.g. getting a good job, making more money) and to become successful in future.
4. Travel orientation (Dtravel) – 2 items, measuring the extent to which learners wish to learn L2 in order to travel.
5. Cultural interest (Dculture) – 4 items, exploring learners' interest in the cultural products of L2 culture (e.g. books, magazines, music).
6. Interest in the L2 (Dinterest) – 3 items, investigating the affective dimension that learners possess about the L2 (e.g. they like the rhythm of L2).
7. Attitudes toward L2 Community (Dcommun) – 3 items, assessing learners' attitudes toward the country and its citizens whose language they are learning.
8. Integrativeness (Dinteg) – 2 items, examining learners' attitudes toward native speakers of L2 and their culture.
9. Ethnocentrism (Dethno) – 2 items, investigating learners' attitudes toward L2 culture, its values and customs.
10. Attitudes towards learning English (Dteach) – 5 items, exploring motives related to the learning situation (e.g. atmosphere of L2 classes).
11. Criterion measure (Dcriter) – 9 items, assessing learners' intended efforts to learn English.
12. Ought-to L2 Self (Douself) – 11 items, exploring learners' beliefs about how necessary learning L2 is for them (as an obligation, duty or responsibility) in order to avoid some negative outcomes.
13. Instrumentality-prevention (Dprevent) – 6 items, referring to regulation of duties and obligations such as studying L2 in order to get good marks, pass the course or to graduate.

14. Parental encouragement/Family influence (Dparent) – 8 items, looking into the active or passive role of parents/family members in the process of learning L2.
15. L2 Anxiety (Danxiety) – 10 items, examining the role of various sources of L2 anxiety (e.g. speaking L2 in class/public, speaking to a native speaker, making mistakes).
16. Fear of assimilation (Dfear) – 4 items, exploring learners' beliefs about internalization and its negative influences on them, their values and their native language.

The majority of these scales contained statement-type items followed by a six-point Likert-type scale (from 1- strongly disagree to 6 – strongly agree). The 15 items referring to L2 anxiety and cultural interest were question-type items based on 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 6 (very much).

Participants were additionally asked to complete several questions pertaining to some demographic characteristics (e.g. age, gender, previous language learning experience, exposure to the target language outside the classroom). Both questionnaires (omitted due to space limitations) are available from the authors on request.

The questionnaires were distributed in Croatian, i.e. participants' L1, and were administered on two separate occasions during regular FL classes. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study and were told that their participation was anonymous and voluntary. It took them on average 15 minutes to complete Mihaljević Djigunović's questionnaire, and about 25 to complete Dörnyei's questionnaire.

Cronbach's alpha for internal reliability of the questionnaires was .965 for Dörnyei's questionnaire, and .826 for Mihaljević Djigunović's questionnaire. The following table presents a summary of the number of items and the Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each scale in the final version of the instrument. As can be seen, all coefficient values indicate that both instruments worked well in terms of their internal consistency. All but one of the scales in both questionnaires reached the .70 threshold, which points to focused scales and acceptable homogeneity. The fact that *integrativeness* failed to reach the .70 threshold was expected because a similar tendency was noted in previous studies (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010, pp. 122-124). To answer the research questions, correlational analyses and multiple regressions were conducted. The statistical analysis was performed using SPSS (Version 20).

Table 1. Cronbach's alpha for internal reliability of Dörnyei's and Mihaljević Djigunović's questionnaire

Dörnyei's questionnaire			Mihaljević Djigunović's questionnaire		
Name of scale	Items	α	Name of scale	Items	α
Didself	9	.962	MDprag-com	12	.925
Dling	3	.885	MDaffect	6	.929
Dpromo	11	.920	MDinteg	4	.751
Dtravel	2	.869	MDteach	9	.781
Dculture	4	.858	MDlearn	7	.752
Dinterest	3	.754			
Dcommun	3	.875			
Dinteg	2	.635			
Dethno	2	.696			
Dteach	5	.879			
Dcritr	9	.861			
Douself	11	.868			
Dprevent	6	.694			
Dparent	8	.865			
Danxiety	10	.920			
Dfear	4	.814			
TOTAL	92	.965		38	.826

3.4 Results

In order to investigate the convergent validity of the instruments, the relationship between questionnaire scales was investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. The correlations are presented in Table 2. As can be inferred from Table 2, there are very few statistically insignificant correlations. A content analysis of the scales within the two instruments revealed potential similarities in the underlying construct. Indeed, these were confirmed by large correlations ($>.5$) between MDprag-com and Dpromo (.770), Dtravel (.676) and Dculture (.768) all of which reflect valuing learning a L2 in order to attain a personal goal or to become part of international community. Similarly, large correlations were found between MDaffect and Dinterest (.687), which was expected because these scales refer to learners' affective perception of the L2. There was a medium positive correlation between MDinteg and Dinteg (.451) (both mirroring learners' wish to integrate into the L2 community).

Table 2. Correlations among the scales of Dörnyei's and Mihaljević Djigunović's questionnaire

	MDprag- com	MDaffect	MDinteg	MDteach	MDlearn
Didself	.758**	.715**	.515**	-.164**	-.615**
Dling	.634**	.584**	.441**	-.253**	-.515**
Dpromo	.770**	.665**	.578**	-.207**	-.428**
Dtravel	.676**	.594**	.554**	-.222**	-.413**
Dculture	.768**	.710**	.392**	-.204**	-.528**
Dinterest	.598**	.687**	.466**	-.207**	-.482**
Dcommun	.604**	.610**	.560**	-.271**	-.474**
Dinteg	.451**	.484**	.444**	-.166**	-.287**
Dethno	.370**	.328**	.305**	-.130**	-.240**
Dteach	.535**	.605**	.418**	-.371**	-.453**
Dcriter	.622**	.625**	.472**	-.289**	-.404**
Douself	.427**	.311**	.322**	-.107*	-.073
Dprevent	.199**	.106*	.182**	-.055	.145**
Dparent	.335**	.243**	.272**	-.117*	-.005
Danxiety	-.276**	-.294**	-.099*	-.019	.446**
Dfear	-.007	-.028	-.076	.042	.134**

As for the scales assessing potential negative influences, MDteach was statistically significantly correlated with Dteach (-.371) as well as Dcriter (-.289). The three subscales all measure learners' attitudes towards the learning situation, i.e. the teacher, teaching materials or classroom atmosphere. The subscales exploring learning difficulties learners may experience due to anxiety, lack of knowledge or negative influence of the L2 on their L1 or their own values were also statistically significantly correlated: the correlation between MDlearn and Danxiety was .446 and between MDlearn and Dfear was .134.

There are also several low correlations in the matrix which indicate relatively little relationship between the scales. This suggests that these scales may contain distinct motivational dimensions (e.g. Dprevent, Dparent, Douself and Dfear). Interestingly, the Didself scale is highly correlated with all those scales in Mihaljević Djigunović's questionnaire that contain an aspect of personalisation. On the other hand, it shows low correlations with the scale referring to teacher, teaching materials and methods. A similar pattern can be noticed with the Dling scale. Both Didself and Dling scales contain items associated with learners' perception of themselves as L2 learners which is obviously a motivational dimension inherent to both L2 motivation measures, the only difference being the extent to which it is explicitly stated in individual items: whereas this dimension is articulated explicitly in Dörnyei's questionnaire, it is implicitly contained in the items related to pragmatic-communicative and integrative motives in Mihaljević Djigunović's questionnaire.

To address the second research question, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed with course mark as the dependent variable and Dörnyei's and Mihaljević Djigunović's scales as predictor variables. Table 3

shows the results of the analysis when Mihaljević Djigunović's scales were entered in the first block, and Dörnyei's scales in the second block.

Table 3. Model summary of hierarchical multiple regression 1

Model	R	R ² Change	F Change	Sig F Change
1	.515	.265	28.044	.000
2	.607	.103	3.820	.000

The results in Table 3 show that the variables in Block 1 (MDprag-com, MDaffect, MDinteg, MDteach, MDlearn) explained 51.5% of the variance. After Block 2 variables were entered (Didsself, Dling, Dpromo, Dtravel, Dculture, Dinterest, Dcommun, Dinteg, Dethno, Dteach, Dcriter, Douself, Dprevent, Dparent, Danxiety, Dfear), the model as a whole explained 60.7% of the variance. R² change value was .103 indicating that the variables in Block 2 (i.e. Dörnyei's scales) explained an additional 10.3% of the variance in the course mark. This is a statistically significant contribution (as indicated by the Sig F Change value).

Table 4 presents the results of the analysis in which Dörnyei's scales were entered in the first block followed by Mihaljević Djigunović's scales in the second block. Mihaljević Djigunović's scales also made a statistically significant contribution to the variance (6.8%).

Table 4. Model summary of hierarchical multiple regression 2

Model	R	R ² Change	F Change	Sig F Change
1	.548	.301	10.160	.000
2	.607	.068	7.999	.000

4. Discussion and conclusion

Since motivation is often pinpointed as a crucial factor in the complex process of language learning, it has been the focus of much research. To reiterate, the present study compared two instruments designed to measure a variety of motivational dimensions proposed within their respective theoretical frameworks: *Types and Intensity of Motivation for learning EFL Questionnaire* (Mihaljević Djigunović 1998) and the questionnaire based on Dörnyei's *L2 Motivational Self System* (Taguchi et al. 2009.). The study set out to answer the following research questions:

- Is there a correspondence between Mihaljević Djigunović's and Dörnyei's concepts of motivation, i. e. to what degree are the two measures of constructs related?
- Does Dörnyei's measure of motivation contribute more information about learners' motivation, beyond what might be obtained by Mihaljević Djigunović's measure of motivation?

In answer to the first research question, the results of correlational analysis revealed that a great majority of variables (90%) displayed statistically significant correlations. Moreover, scales that are theoretically related (e.g. MDaffect and Dinterest) were highly correlated. These results point to the conclusion that the majority of items in the scales converge on the same construct. This would suggest that both Mihaljević Djigunović's and Dörnyei's instruments for measuring motivation measure the same underlying construct. However, as the description of the instruments in section 3.3 clearly shows, the L2 motivational construct is operationalised in different ways. In addition, low correlations between a few scales may indicate that each instrument measures an additional dimension that the other one does not. Although no single study can prove construct validity, the results of correlational analyses in the present study contribute evidence of construct validity of both instruments.

Next, the results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis indicated that both instruments have predictive validity and that they both provide significant additional contribution. However, Dörnyei's instrument provided a somewhat higher percentage of new information to the predictive power than Mihaljević Djigunović's. The new information the questionnaires make available may be crucial to understanding particular dimensions of L2 motivation. Specifically, Dörnyei's questionnaire may disclose the active or passive role parents or other family members play in the process of L2 learning, the underlying reasons to learn a L2 rooted in specific duties and obligations learners have, or learners' beliefs about internalization and its negative influences on them, their values and their native language. Mihaljević Djigunović's questionnaire, on the other hand, offers an insight into particular aspects of pragmatic-communicative motives. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that both instruments can be used in empirical research in Croatian socio-educational context. Which one the researcher will choose will depend on specific research aims, as well as practical constraints. The two instruments offer insight into the same underlying concept but due to their unique qualities each probably reveals certain aspects that the other one seems to withhold.

A follow-up study would provide beneficial addition to the present findings. For example, a factor analysis would undoubtedly yield more information on the underlying structure of the motivational construct. Also, a subsequent study may include exploration of the potential causal mechanisms of individual subscales by employing mediation analyses which may reveal how each subscale, representing a particular motivational dimension, affects the outcome (e.g., final course mark).

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Characterising a Demotivating Language Teacher from Students' Perspective: Do FL Learners and Teachers Hold Similar or Different Beliefs?

Kornél Farkas
University of Pécs, Pécs
fkornels@gmail.com

1. Introduction

This paper aims to prepare the ground for a doctoral dissertation, which examines the relationship of foreign language (FL) learners' and teachers' beliefs about classroom motivation, demotivation, and teachers' roles as controllers of these processes. Moving away from a long-lasting quantitative tradition in both beliefs- and demotivation research (see Barcelos, 2003; Ushioda, 2009), the paper draws on the first phase of an ongoing qualitative research project conducted at the University of Pécs. The results of this phase come from the content analysis of reflective and narrative accounts written by two groups of university students of English as a foreign language (EFL) and two groups of practicing FL teachers, who were participating in a teacher development course. Focusing on a specific, and undeservedly under-researched component of FL learning demotivation, student participants' beliefs were first examined through their written accounts about *The most demotivating language teacher ever*, then compared with teacher participants' beliefs, who were asked to characterise a demotivating language teacher from the perspective of students similar to the ones they were teaching.

The demotivating language teacher is of course not unheard of in applied linguistic research; nevertheless, the established knowledge about this global educational problem is fragmented and incomplete. One reason for this is that demotivating FL teacher attributes are often lumped together with other demotivating factors in numerous large-scale self-report studies (Gorham & Christophel, 1992; Falout, Elwood, & Hood, 2009; Sakai & Kikuchi, 2009); even though teachers are often reported to occupy the top place on FL learners' demotivation lists. At the same time, the number of studies focusing explicitly on demotivating teacher attributes is scarce (Falout, Murphey, Elwood, & Hood, 2008; Oxford, 1998, 2001; Zhang, 2007); additionally, different authors tend to emphasize different teacher characteristics and to use different terminology when talking about this problem. Another reason, and perhaps the bigger problem, is that in each of the listed studies it is only students' beliefs and viewpoints that are represented and discussed (see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). In other words, at present there is practically no published data about

how FL teachers see the problem of teacher-induced demotivation, whether they attribute the same characteristics to the demotivating language teacher as students, and, thereby, whether they know which are the attributes that students tend to associate with demotivating language teachers.

In order to add some of the missing pieces to the puzzle, this study offers qualitative insights into some remarkable similarities and differences between teacher and student beliefs along three main categories: the teaching methods, the teaching style, and the personality and teaching experience of the demotivating language teacher. To keep the presentation of the data systematic, each main category will include (1) teacher characteristics that seemed equally salient to both students and teachers, (2) those that seemed more salient to students, and (3) those that seemed more salient to teachers in the dataset. As the range of demotivating attributes described by the participants is much bigger than would fit the scope of this paper, the selection offered here shows only the tip of the iceberg, a tip that, nonetheless, tells much about the root of the problem, as well as the direction in which the research project is going.

2. Overview: Why are differences problematic?

Differences between FL learner and teacher beliefs have received growing attention in the past decades in applied linguistic research, and the consensual view seems to be that wherever there are differences, there are also problems and a conflict of interests. To bring an early example, Williams and Burden (1997, p. 207) state that “[t]he learning activities that teachers select, and the way in which they present them, reflect their beliefs and values; learners in turn will interpret these activities in ways that are meaningful to them.” Since then several authors have documented differences (or mismatches) in several domains, such as teachers’ and learners’ conceptualisations of knowledge, learning, and development (Heitzmann, 2008, p. 215), their views on the nature and difficulty of language learning, or their preferences in terms of teacher and learner roles (Gregersen & MacIntyre, 2014, pp. 39-41). As Gabillon (2012, p. 94) captures the gist of the phenomenon, “[i]n some cases L2 learners tend to follow their own learning agendas rather than those of their teachers and teachers on the other hand implement their pedagogical schemes without being aware of their students’ expectations.”

The problem of these mismatches acquires its full volume in demotivation research, where large-scale quantitative studies have shown that students on a global scale tend to attribute about 40-50 percent of their language learning demotivation directly to their teachers (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Falout & Falout, 2005; Falout, Elwood, & Hood, 2009; Sakai & Kikuchi, 2009). The two questions that immediately come to mind are why this is so and why teachers are not more concerned about finding a solution, and the answer of Falout, Elwood, and Hood (2009) is that teachers and learners generally attribute demotivation differently, with teachers underestimating their own influence in the process. Do they really? The results of the present study suggest that the attributes that FL teachers and learners assign to the demotivating language

teacher, even in a relatively small sample, can reveal at least as many similarities as differences among their beliefs, and the root of the problem, therefore, is likely to lie elsewhere.

3. Comparing learner and teacher beliefs about the demotivating language teacher

3.1 Participants

The participants of the study were 24 university students of EFL and 22 in-service FL teachers, who came altogether from four different groups. The student group consisted of ten Austrian students (two males and eight females, aged between 22 and 25, having studied 3.4 languages on average) and fourteen Hungarian students (five males and nine females, aged between 20 and 24, having studied 2.3 languages on average). Although these two groups came from two different educational contexts, the analysis of their writings revealed only marginal differences in the ways they characterised demotivating language teachers (Farkas, 2014), thus the 24 students are referred to as one group in this study.

The teacher group was put together from two groups of in-service FL teachers who were participating in two identical teacher development courses at a Hungarian university. Both groups consisted of eleven members, and the sample involved two male and twenty female teachers altogether, who came to the university from various private or state-owned educational institutions. While the majority reported teaching mostly children and teenagers, five were teaching mostly adolescents and adults. Besides, teacher participants represented various age groups ranging between 23 and 51 years (mean 33.15; SD 7.58), and various linguistic backgrounds: eighteen of them were teaching English only, three were teaching English together with another FL, and one was teaching Russian only.

3.2 Data collection

The data for this study were collected in two consecutive stages. In the first stage, student participants were asked to write short compositions entitled *The most demotivating language teacher ever* (Appendix A), without any further restrictions on style, format, or content. The rationale of choosing this data collection instrument was twofold. On the one hand, researchers of beliefs agree that beliefs can be best investigated through learners' (and teachers') "stretches of talk" or "pieces of writing" about various aspects of second language acquisition (SLA) (Kalaja, 1995, p. 196). This broad definition includes both narrative and reflective accounts, which can be equally effective tools for describing classroom events and experiences both retrospectively and introspectively (Borg, 2006, p. 250), i.e. by focusing on specific events and reflecting on cognitive and affective components at the same time. Although students' accounts were meant to be embedded in a narrative framework, the 24

collected samples consisted of both narrative and reflective essay-like elements; this, however, did not hinder their meaningful analysis and comparison (Farkas, 2014). On the other hand, the written format took the constraints of time and spontaneous production off the shoulders of students and teachers, and it was convenient to work with during the analysis.

The second stage of data collection was similar to the first in terms of both the instrument used and the procedures applied. While the student participants were all recruited on a voluntary basis, participation in the study was a course requirement for the two groups of in-service FL teachers, who were asked to write reflective accounts entitled *The most demotivating language teacher for students* (Appendix B). Besides asking for reflective accounts only, teacher participants were also asked to describe the demotivating language teacher from students' perspective, and to list at least five demotivating characteristics. Since all the participating students and teachers received their instruction and were required to qualify in English, the data were collected in English as well. Before submitting their accounts, all students and teachers returned a form of consent (based on The British Association for Applied Linguistics, 2006), which ensured them that their data would be used up anonymously and for research purposes exclusively.

3.3 Data analysis

In order to fit the multiple viewpoints and teacher attributes into a plausible structure, the central stage of data analysis was the construction of two qualitative corpora, along which students' and teachers' beliefs could be readily compared. In alignment with the literature, teaching style, teaching methods, and the teacher's personality and teaching experience were assigned as the main categories (Dörnyei, 1994, Heitzmann, 2009) of the corpora, whereas other subcategories from a variety of sources (e.g., Falout & Falout, 2005; Gorham & Christophel, 1992; Nikolov, 2001; Oxford, 1998, 2001; Zhang, 2007) were considered for inclusion and for establishing a transparent terminology. In the actual process of analysis, the corpora were structured through emergent categorization, which means that excerpts with similar ideas were entered under the same headings, but new subcategories were formed whenever different or unprecedented ideas appeared in the texts. The format and content of the corpora is illustrated by Figure 1 below.

Unclear / inappropriate feedback (T5, T6, T13, T21)

“[If the] teacher keeps telling me that [students are] so good at English, and [they] don’t feel it.” (T5) [→unrealistic positive feedback]

“[If the teacher] does not offer enough feedback” (T6)

“Omission of encouragement has lots of problems also inside the classroom and outside it.” (T13)

“If the teacher does not encourage [a student], and simply has a ‘poker face’ when the kid, for instance, talks, he/she will feel more unsure than he/she felt before.” (T21)

Excessive error correction (T5, T9, T10, T19)

“[The students] can’t even finish a sentence, the teacher starts correcting [them] immediately.” (T5)

“It is very demotivating if the teacher concentrates mainly on errors and weaknesses rather than on strengths and development.” (T9) [→learners’ effort unappreciated]

Figure 1. A snapshot of the format and content of the teachers’ corpus (Taken from the main category ‘The teacher’s personality and teaching experience’).

What follow the names of all subcategories (written in boldface in Figure 1) are the identification codes of all students and, in this case, teachers who referred to the given aspect of demotivation at least once in their texts. In addition to the qualitative content, this technique shed light on the frequencies with which the specific demotivators appeared in the sample. Unlike in quantitative research, however, the frequency counts here might only be loosely connected with the *salience* of the demotivators in question. In other words, although it seems likely that more frequently mentioned demotivators are more salient in the given educational context, the results do not prove that less frequently mentioned aspects affect less students or are “less demotivating”. As Figure 1 also shows, one particular excerpt can frequently refer to more than one category of the corpus; therefore, these overlaps were marked with tags in square brackets after the excerpts. Since the construction of both the students’ corpus and the teachers’ corpus started out from the same basic structure, the two qualitative corpora provided a tangible framework for comparing the beliefs of students with those of FL teachers.

4 Results and discussion

As indicated earlier, this section of the paper follows the three main categories of the qualitative corpora and offers in each category a selection of teacher attributes that seemed (1) equally salient to both students and teachers, (2) more salient to students, and (3) more salient to teachers. In order to represent the emic perspectives of participants in qualitative detail, the selected attributes are illustrated with relevant excerpts from students’ and teachers’ accounts. The

writers of the excerpts are identified by their individual codes (S=student; T=teacher). As most results speak for themselves, the number of researcher comments is kept to a minimum. Although one excerpt might refer to more than one aspect of teacher-induced demotivation, each is presented under the subcategory to which it seemed the most closely related; because of this, however, the reader is encouraged to interpret the results in other possible ways, too.

4.1 Learner and teacher beliefs about demotivating teaching methods

Starting with the equally salient aspects of teaching methods, most teachers and students criticised the teacher's *lack of variety* in terms of methods and tasks, as expressed by these participants:

If he or she always uses the same methods and techniques and he or she is not open to try alternative and innovative ones to teach certain elements of language, the lessons can easily become unexciting. (T9)

There is nothing wrong with classical materials but it should have been mixed up from time to time. (S11)

Another characteristic feature of the demotivating language teacher, according to both students and teachers, was his or her inability to transmit applicable, or *real-world knowledge*; in other words, to teach the students how to apply what they learn outside the classroom context. To illustrate this problem with students' words:

Students need to be able to connect what they are learning to the real world in order to process the new materials properly. They need to feel like they could really use what they have learned. (S2)

I always felt in classes that it was enough if I knew how to say three or four sentences that were appropriate for the given task but real conversation was only rarely encouraged. (S19)

As for the aspects that were more salient to students, many of them referred to the teacher's *unclear explanations* as a typical demotivator, yet it was hardly ever mentioned in teachers' accounts. The most creative comments were written by female students:

I think the teacher thought we would be able to learn all the grammar rules without further explanations through the magic of our pens. (S3)

She never explained anything, just expected us to naturally understand the grammar and be perfect in German. (S21)

A more striking finding was the position of *learner autonomy* in the two corpora: while students assigned it a central role among demotivating teaching methods, not a single teacher raised the question of how much autonomy ought to be provided to their students. Among students the opinions were divided between two extremes: some would have required more, others less autonomy and more teacher control. To illustrate this divide with comments:

Too much autonomy: [T]here are teachers who forget that students are still in the process of learning, that they need guidance. (S5)

Too little autonomy: [I]t is important for teachers to allow their students to have arguments over a certain item (...) and integrate them into our teaching so [students] would not be passive absorbing brains sitting in the class. (S12)

Among the listed demotivating teaching methods the only one that was more salient to language teachers was the *lack of homework and testing*, as it turns out from these remarks:

[The] teacher does not provide (...) homework regularly or if he or she does, the homework is not controlled. (T8)

[A] demotivating teacher does not have the students take tests or does not examine the students in oral. (T2)

Besides the aspects listed, the proportions of excerpts under teaching methods clearly showed that EFL students assigned a much greater importance to this main category than teachers. In contrast, teacher participants placed a much stronger emphasis on the teacher's personality and teaching experience as possible sources of student demotivation. Taking this observation one step further, the most widely criticised aspects in the students' corpus were those that teachers would be able to change for the better with some more attention, whereas most teachers expected learners to be demotivated by personality issues, which generally seem harder to change or eliminate from one's teaching practice.

4.2 Learner and teacher beliefs about demotivating teaching style

In spite of receiving the least criticism from students as well as teachers, the category of teaching style also included aspects that seemed equally salient to both groups. One of these were *boring and monotonous* teaching style and lessons, and the classic image of:

[A teacher] who does boring and apparently endless lessons and does not [strive] to improve and to change. (T8)

Another problematic aspect for both groups was the teacher's *lack of enthusiasm* as a central demotivator. Unlike students, teacher participants often referred to the well-known burn-out syndrome, too, as it is reflected by the following comments:

If I can see on my teacher that coming into class is a chore for her/him, it will become a chore for me too and I will likely associate the target language with the negative feelings that the unpleasant classes awake in me. (S19)

[I]f the teacher is burnt out, or has the symptoms of it, it can be demotivating for the students, because nobody likes being in the company of a miserable, depressed person. (T12)

The teacher's inappropriate *attitude towards the lessons and towards teaching*, which seemed closely related to enthusiasm but rather portrayed the laziness of teachers and their lack of devotion to their profession, was more salient to FL teachers, despite also being touched upon by some students:

[A] teacher who shows to be light-minded and irresponsible towards the students and the school which he or she works for. (T8)

Sometimes [teachers] express their [negative] personal opinions on the lessons so the students' attitudes also change. (T16)

If they cancel classes more than 2-3 times, keep 'forgetting' agreements, or they are low-spirited, bored and don't bother to make any effort to help you making progress during the course. (S22)

To also mention some aspects that were more salient to students, *group norms and classroom discipline* ranked high on their lists of demotivators; as opposed to the teachers' group, in which only one person referred to this aspect. Among students the most typical comments were:

It is also demotivating if the teacher isn't consistent, doesn't set the rules. (S16)

Also, he could not discipline the class, so it literally was a disaster. And he did not care about it. (S23)

Many students emphasized the importance of *arousing interest* in the FL classroom, such as the student who wrote:

Students need to be willing to learn and most importantly they need to want to learn something, and it is the teacher's responsibility to ensure that his/her methods are interesting and challenging as well. (S2)

4.3 Learner and teacher beliefs about the personality and teaching experience of the demotivating language teacher

Having the highest number of subcategories in both corpora, the teacher's personality and teaching experience proved problematic in many respects for students and teachers alike. While the majority of subcategories labelled concrete and widely criticised aspects of the main category, many students and teachers listed general *disfavoured personality traits* and portrayed, for instance, negative, pessimistic, aggressive, rigid, undetermined, hysteric, and crabby teachers. As for the more concrete aspects, the *misuse of the teacher's authority* received equally much and harsh criticism from students and teachers. A perfect example here is the summary of a teacher participant, who described:

An overly self-confident teacher who visualizes himself or herself to be perfect and infallible, tends to think to be superior and [to] be the only one who knows about the language or any other things in life, talks to the students in an inappropriate way, treats them sardonically, [and also] criticizes or humiliates them. (T8)

Another problem that was equally salient to students and teachers were those cases when the teacher did not appreciate *students' efforts* in the FL classroom. The most typical comments were the following:

Not all student works can be correct, relevant or proper, but at least work was put into it and then the teacher would give praise for their work and results. (S14)

S/he emphasizes the negative things as opposed to the significant and spectacular effort. (T13)

Since this main category was more widely criticised by teacher participants, the only subcategory that seemed more salient to students described the teacher's *unrealistic expectations* towards students. As one of the students wrote:

[The teacher] refused to talk Hungarian and was offended when we asked her to repeat something or tell it in Hungarian since we were not on that level yet. (S21)

Since her expectations were too high for us, learning German felt like a failure. (S21)

Of course this does not mean that all participant teachers were indifferent to this aspect of learner demotivation; a counterexample might be the following savvy comment:

If the teacher sets impossible standards, it can mean a setback in language learning, thus leaving the students disappointed with their own progress. Everyone learns in a different speed and the teacher should take this into consideration while setting requirements for each student. (T22)

As for those aspects that were more salient to teachers, it was interesting to read the vivid descriptions of the *physical appearance* of the demotivating language teacher, especially because none of the student participants mentioned this aspect as a potential demotivator. Some teachers, however, wrote the following comments:

First of all, the appearance of a teacher can be a determining factor: when a teacher looks neglected or wears old-fashioned worn clothes or glasses he or she can look funny and unrespectable. (T4)

As for her/his appearance, s/he is not well-groomed. I do not intend to detail it, but all her/his appearance is disappointing including her/his hair, clothing and so on. (T13)

When I was thinking about a demotivating teacher, a picture was in my mind: a middle aged lady, with a frown on her face, her greying hair put up in a sleek chignon, with a ruler in her hand. (T22)

Another “person” that only appeared in teachers’ accounts was the *inauthentic teacher*, who cannot simply be called inexperienced because of his or her age, but who has a bad command of the target language and who is, for some reason, incompetent in teaching. To explain with teachers’ words:

First of all he was not a real English teacher just someone who had to switch professions. (T7)

My French teacher bored my language group because she was a world-weary woman after her divorce. She never smiled or laughed. (T15)

[The teacher] was not energetic. She never created any interesting tasks, game or had an idea that the book did not contain. (T15)

As all the quoted results show, teacher-induced demotivation has many facets, yet the number of participants describing practically the same problems and the number of similarities between the two examined groups suggest that the most

typical attributes of a demotivating teacher are equally known to students and teachers alike. Considering the fact that most demotivators identified in this relatively small-scale study largely correspond to those described in large-scale quantitative studies (summarised in Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Sakai & Kikuchi, 2009), the findings also suggest that many of these problematic aspects persist across cultures and educational contexts. The most important contribution that these and similar qualitative results can offer to demotivation research is that they give depth to the labels listed in quantitative studies, a context created by students and teachers themselves, which is perhaps easier to relate to for both scholars and practicing teachers. Simply reading through the short excerpts, as imprints of personal and communal beliefs, guarantees a greater awareness for these potential hindrances and a chance for teachers to reflect on their own practices and on the feedback they get from their students.

5. Conclusion

By tracking salient areas of teacher-induced demotivation through the comparison of FL students' and teachers' beliefs, the results of this study are hoped to encourage students to communicate similar problems towards their teachers, and teachers to reflect on and communicate their own insights and experiences towards their colleagues, and find solutions together. While the uncovered similarities may be used as bridges for such negotiations, the differences need to be addressed as well, first of all by acknowledging students' autonomy in the process of SLA (Lamb, 2009; Szócs, 2015) and teachers' intentionality in the process of FL teaching (Kubanyiova & Feryok, 2015). In case the signs or sources of students' demotivation are not obvious to some teachers, asking students to anonymously write either similar accounts or, for instance, letters of advice to their teachers (Falout, Murphey, Elwood, & Hood, 2008) can be a tangible way of increasing the efficiency of FL learning and teaching.

As for the future of this research project, the author is currently working on triangulating the data by involving more students and in-service teachers in similar qualitative investigations, as well as triangulating the methods by which different sides and experiences of classroom demotivation can be elicited and examined. Regardless of the limitations resulting from sample size and from the possible inaccuracies and biases in the categorization of demotivators, the results of the study can definitely serve as a caveat to (FL) teachers and as a call to academics to start the quest for an educational system in which demotivation can be diminished through co-operation and open communication.

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Appendix A – Elicitation task and form of consent for students

Dear Student,

This task is a key constituent of a Master's Degree research project conducted at the University of Pécs, Hungary. The aim of this project is to explore and describe how university students of English as a foreign language think about demotivation, and especially demotivating features or practices of teachers in the language classroom. In order to gain an insight, participants are kindly asked to express their ideas through a short written composition. All the texts and data produced by the participants will be used anonymously and exclusively for the purposes of the present research project.

If you agree to participate in this research project under the above conditions, please sign this paper before you submit it. Don't forget to attach this sheet to any printed or hand-written compositions that you hand in. In case you send an e-mail, please include your name and the above required personal information. Thank you for your contribution.

Signature:

Task: I am interested in finding out more about what trainee teachers and language learners think makes a demotivating teacher.

Please write a short text entitled: “**The most demotivating language teacher ever.**” You can focus on a real language teacher or an imagined person. The important thing is to make clear in your story what it is that makes this teacher such a bad, demotivating language teacher in your eyes.

As I am interested in the detailed descriptions of such teachers, it would be great if you could write at least 1 page (300 words). Feel free to write longer if you have more ideas to share. 😊

When to submit: by [date]

Where to submit: in class or via e-mail to [address]



Appendix B – Elicitation task and form of consent for teachers

Characterize a demotivating teacher from students' perspective

Instructions: Please think about students similar to the ones you teach and try to put yourself into their shoes. Write a short text about a language teacher whom you think students find absolutely demotivating. The title of your text could be: *The most demotivating language teacher for students*

Please list **5 reasons** why students think that the teacher you characterize is so demotivating.

As I am interested in the detailed descriptions of such teachers, please try to write at least 1 page (300 words). Feel free to write longer if you have more ideas to share. 😊

Where to submit: in e-mail to [address] (Subject: demotivation)

When to submit: by [date]



Background information (necessary):

Your age: _____

You are: male / female

You have been a teacher of the _____ language(s) for _____ years.

Most of your students are: children / teenagers / adolescents / adults

Please remember that the texts you submit will be part of our classroom work, as well as the instructor's research project conducted at the University of Pécs. The aim of the project is to explore how teachers of English or other foreign languages think about student demotivation. Your texts and data will be used up anonymously and exclusively in both our classroom work and the research project.

The Happy Corpus: A Diachronic Study of University Students' Written Proficiency in EFL

Akasha Ghaboosi and József Horváth
University of Pécs
akasha.ghaboosi@gmail.com; jozsefhor@gmail.com

1. Introduction

The study of learner language, spoken as well as written, has become a major field within corpus linguistics in the past twenty years. Since the beginning of the 1990s, with the parallel development of the International Corpus of Learner English and the Janus Pannonius University Corpus, the field of learner corpus research (LCR) has established a number of standards specific to the design, analysis, and application of such corpora (Granger, 1996, 2002; Horváth, 2001, 2013; Lehmann, 2013).

In this paper, we aim to present the initial results of what can be considered a new vista in LCR: the quantitative and qualitative investigation of diachronic features of written language. We were interested in whether and, if so, how learner language has changed since the early years of the BA program, introduced in Hungary in 2006. We have developed a small specialized diachronic learner corpus of essays written at the University of Pécs as part of English majors' proficiency exams. The corpus has two components: the 2009 and the 2014 batches. In both exam situations, students were presented with the same choice of two themes, of which they were instructed to develop one essay, of about 300 words. We hypothesized that of the two topics, "Don't Worry; Be Happy" would be chosen by an overwhelming majority of the students in 2014, as this had been the case in 2009, too. We investigated content and language features of the two subcorpora. Specifically, the study aimed to examine whether there were distinguishing differences between the two subcorpora thematically and lexically, each of these two aspects corresponding to an assessment criteria applied in marking the exam essays. We will highlight the most interesting results and suggest ways in which the results can inform future development of essay writing skills as well as testing procedures.

2. Theoretical background

L2 learners are more likely and eager to succeed in communicating real messages with a real audience in real communities where the target language is used in authentic interactions. One way to succeed in having comprehensive and proper communication in a second or foreign language is based on how a language is learned. Language learners attempt to acquire syntactic accuracy and how different text conventions are applied in target language texts. Collecting real world data from students' written texts is one way to find out the process which students take in learning how to write in the target language appropriately. When the required data is compiled, it can be used as learner corpora. Language teachers and researchers can focus on writing difficulties students may encounter in developing their texts in a target language by using such corpora. As Bitchener and Basturkmen stated, learner corpora assist experts to "operationalize writing difficulties" (2006, p. 14). Such difficulties encompass collocational patterning, pragmatic appropriateness, and discourse features. It seems that some learners' problems stem from their unfamiliarity with lexico-grammatical patterning (for the Hungarian perspective on these issues, see Doró 2014, 2015 and Horváth, in press).

There is, however, a controversial issue concerning the development, analysis, and application of learner corpora. Should L2 studies retain the mostly descriptive focus guiding L1 corpus linguistic investigations or should there be a move away from it and into a prescriptive domain? According to Granger (2004) and others, learner corpora are essential for descriptive purposes: they are valuable in terms of both pedagogical and functional approaches to SLA and the emphasis is on description over prescription. However, it can be argued that in several L2 corpus linguistic studies the prescriptive focus has also been gaining ground, a development that is especially problematic in the context of English as a lingua franca (Mendikoetxea, Bielsa & Rollinson, 2010; Partington, 1998; Römer, 2010). In the present study, we undertake to remain within the bounds of the descriptive school.

Teachers and researchers can understand the level of lexical fluency and accuracy in language learners' written texts by assessing learners' proficiency in writing. We can evaluate learners' ability to perform in a language they acquire, to form and express words compatible with required criteria which are essential for optimal communication and for normal social and occupational functioning, and to write effectively and authoritatively by using proper grammar, vocabulary, spelling, and punctuation.

To capture some of these features, lexical profiling is concerned with how a set of texts can be described and evaluated on the word and phrase level, an important aspect in our case as well since students' timed essay writing performance is assessed along these lines. As such, lexical profiling, together with the larger context of descriptive learner corpus linguistics, with all its apparent limitations, has presented itself as a valid theoretical frame for our investigations in the current study.

3. Research context and questions

In order to assess students' performance in writing in English and possibly guide them in further studies learning effectively, a writing program has been provided for the students attending the English programs at the BA level at the University of Pécs, Hungary. Each semester, there are five sets of proficiency tests to assess language learners' performance in writing, grammar, reading, listening and speaking. The level of the exam is set at C1. The main focus in this paper is on students' writing ability, as documented in the scripts of the essays they wrote in two examination occasions: in 2009 and 2014. (For the test instrument see Appendix A. See a sample essay in Appendix B.) For this purpose, we produced the electronic version of the essays written by keying in the handwritten essays. After checking text authenticity, that is, after we proofread the transcribed essays to ensure they were proper representations of what the students had written, we created our corpus to serve as the objective basis for our quantitative and qualitative analyses. Thus, our corpus, called the Happy Corpus, has been created from 95 student essays gathered from the two sets of proficiency tests: 51 essays (of 19,777 tokens) from the 2009 batch, and 44 essays (of 17,087 tokens) from the 2014 batch, two comparable subcorpora based on identical test instructions, allowing for an acceptable level of valid comparisons.

As can be seen in Appendix A, in the writing section of the proficiency tests given in 2009 and 2014 BA students were asked to choose one of the two tasks provided for them and write a 300-word text. The first task, *Don't worry! Be happy!*, was about worry and happiness, in which students had an opportunity to explain their attitudes to people who worry, describe a person who worries too much, write a story related to that person, and share their ideas on whether people can be happy if they do not worry. The second task, *Can anything worth learning be learned in the classroom?*, was about students' attitudes to classroom study, their ideas about how classroom activities could be useful by bringing an example and telling a story about a classroom activity which they thought was helpful in the process of language learning, and finally write about whether they agree with learning languages through activities in classrooms or not. The majority of students selected the topic about worries and happiness. That is why we compiled the data in our *Happy Corpus* from essays written about students' expression on how happiness and worries affects people's life.

We asked two research questions: 1. What differences can be identified in the lexical profiles of the two subcorpora? 2. What can we learn from the way students focused on the narrative component of the task? As we were analyzing our data, we aimed to discover whether and how the content and language used in these texts changed between 2009 and 2014, and what was the level of academic vocabulary used in 2009 and in 2014. We were curious about an important aspect of short-text characterization: the ratio of functional words and content words as well.

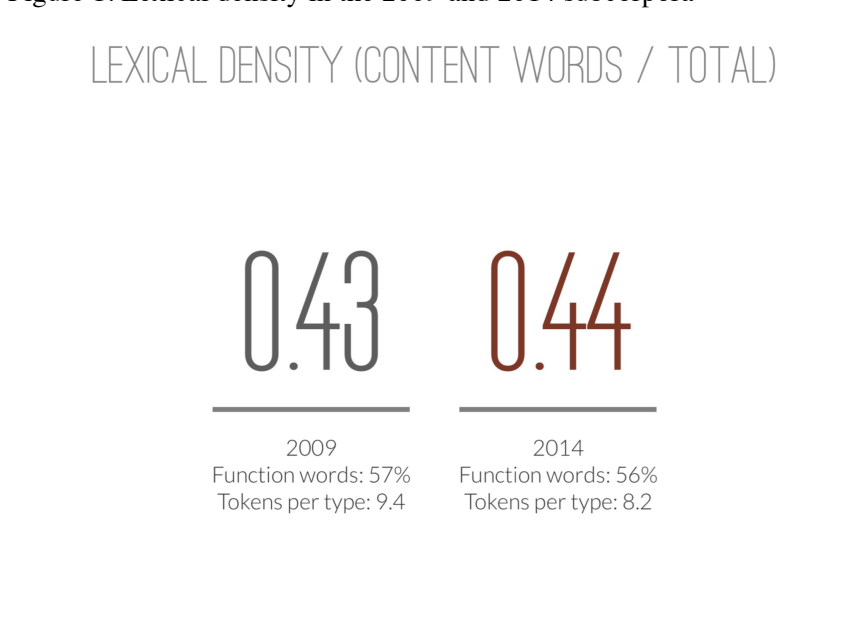
4. Results and discussion

Several BA students of the English program in the University of Pécs, who took these proficiency tests 2009 and 2014, appeared to try to use grammatical rules and vocabulary as appropriately as they could. They also did their best to express their opinions and tell their stories as comprehensively as possible. Thus, we investigated how the content and language that students applied in these scripts have changed between 2009 and 2014.

In order to do the vocabulary analysis and evaluate the lexical density in the two subcorpora, *Happy Corpus 2009* and *Happy Corpus 2014*, and the occurrence of keywords in these subcorpora, we used the tools available on Cobb's *Lextutor* website.

After studying the results of word categorization by users as K1 items including proper nouns and other items, we came to the realization that there was no major change in the use of content words in the essays across the two subcorpora as the lexical density was almost exactly the same in essays written in both 2009 (0.43) and 2014 (0.44). We could clearly observe the close percentage of function and content words appearing in the texts in 2009 (F = 56.88% and C = 30.75%) and 2014 (F = 56.12% and C = 31.35%). See Figure 1.

Figure 1. Lexical density in the 2009 and 2014 subcorpora



In our courses that include an element of writing skills development, students have confronted the issue of choosing an appropriate strategy that would result in the use of concrete, appropriate, and accurately chosen vocabulary items. This is especially important in light of the fact that in a short text, lexical

richness needs to be achieved to a degree that can communicate good focus. To help with this, the proficiency exam approach used in the past several years has always included the recommended use of a thesaurus, with initial training in its use.

When we look at the specific layering of the two subcorpora, we can see that the patterns there, too, are almost identical. Figures 2 and 3 are based on the data extracted from the vocabulary profile tool of Cobb's *Lextutor* site. Again, we can very similar profiles in 2009 and 2014. (The off-list count in both subcorpora originated mostly from misspelled words and Hungarian proper nouns.)

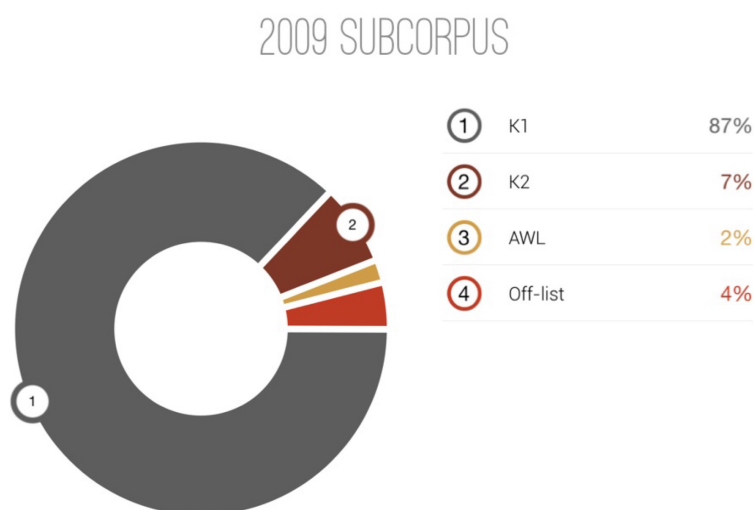


Figure 2. The lexical profile layers of the 2009 subcorpus

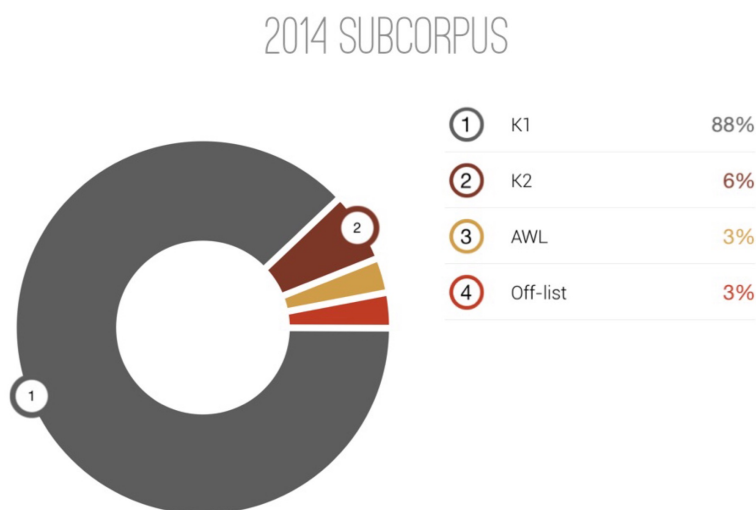


Figure 3. The lexical profile layers of the 2014 subcorpus

Thus, we can see that a claim that some have made in term of standards of student proficiency levels being on a decline cannot be substantiated as far as the lexical density and profile character of the essays represented in the two subcoprora are concerned. Obviously, in addition to the objective measures concerning this aspect of L2 performance, we need to investigate further aspects as well.

Although this was not originally intended to be a focus of our study, in the course of the analysis it became obvious that the length of the essays often exceeded the recommended word count, 300 words. Figures 4 and 5 show those results, with a clear trend of the essays becoming longer over the years. The qualitative elements of our analysis brought to light that one reason for this was that in 2014 the narratives about the worried people tended to be longer (maybe indicating that there was more to worry about recently than five years earlier).

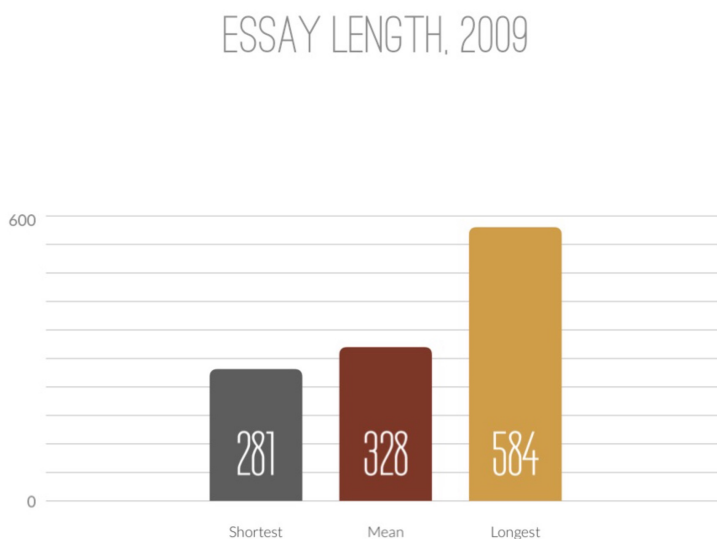


Figure 4. Word count of essays in 2009

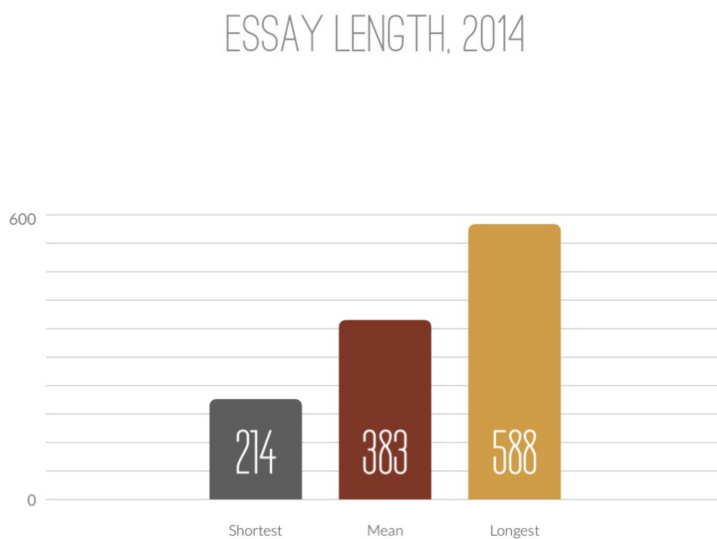


Figure 5. Word count of essays in 2014

As pointed out earlier, we were also interested in how students dealt with the narrative requirement of the task as one of its content elements: telling a story related to the person worrying too much. We read and interpreted all stories and came to the realization that a few students wrote about tales which seemed logical, especially their stories about their mothers and how their worries

affected their children's life emotionally and/or mentally, and how some of them described their mothers as their heroes. There were also stories in which students seemed to exaggerate somewhat to draw a picture of situations they wrote about which sometimes appeared fictional narratives, rather than descriptions of events that they experienced personally. Such details add evidence to the need that in courses preparing students for these exams more attention should be paid to issues of originality and credibility of non-fiction narratives.

5. Conclusion

In analyzing exam scripts, in our case, the essays written in a proficiency examination of students whose language skills are expected to be near or on the C1 level, we need to bear in mind the many constraints that students have to deal with in such tests. One among these is the choice of theme. As on both exam occasions presented in this paper the "Don't worry" theme was chosen by a majority of students, we think we have some evidence that in this case, topic familiarity and willingness to express ideas about it were both sufficiently high, meaning that any features of the essays can be claimed to represent accurately the characteristic of individual and group performance.

Perhaps the most interesting finding of the study is the lack of any clear difference in the lexical profiles of the 2009 and 2014 essays. We did not anticipate either a dramatic drop or increase over the five years, but such a similar picture from both tests was largely unexpected.

Another useful finding for us as testers is related to the length of the essay scripts. As we have seen, the task instructed students to write about 300 words. The majority of students wrote significantly longer than that, and thus we have objective evidence that raising the word length to 400 would be an adequate decision by the testing team, which will be implemented in the 2016 test.

We hope that this change will not deepen anyone's worries.

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Appendix

Appendix A: The essay writing task of the May 2009 and December 2014 proficiency exams

Test of Writing

In this part of the test, you have a choice. Choose Task A or Task B and write the required essay according to its instructions. Your writing will be evaluated according to the following criteria:

- the degree to which you have completed the task;
- the range and appropriateness of vocabulary;
- the range and accuracy of structures;
- the organization and coherence of paragraphs.

For each task, four topics are given. Write about all of them. Treat each topic in a separate paragraph. Write about 300 words altogether.

You have 60 minutes for the test. You may use a thesaurus.

Task A: Don't Worry: Be Happy

Write an essay about worry and happiness. In the text,

- explain your attitude to people who worry;
- describe a person who worries too much;
- tell a story related to that person;
- discuss whether people can be happy if they don't worry.

Task B: Can Anything Worth Learning Be Learned In The Classroom?

Write an essay about classroom study. In the text,

- explain your attitude to classroom study;
- describe a useful classroom activity;
- tell a story related to that activity;
- discuss whether anything worth learning can be learned in the classroom.

Appendix B: A script from the Happy Corpus

As I am someone who will raise, I would say that those who behave like this are often the perspiring, shivering, thrilling and so on. But there are not only external signs of the body. Heartbeats' acceleration and inability to express oneself in an intelligent manner are the most easily noticeable ones (concerning those internal). A very good technique to calm down myself as well as those who are nervous besides me is to represent the obstacle to get over with as a common-day task which can be solved without any difficulty, for example to prepare the dinner. If it fails, we have other things to eat in the fridge so, no real challenge.

Those who worry too much are unable to manage the tasks they have been given or they succeed in doing them with much bigger effort than it would be necessary for others. A good illustration for that is to give a lecture in front of the classmates or to interpret a piece of music for the relatives. In both cases, the auditors are well-known by the protagonist, comprehensive with him/her. However, worrying people cannot fight back their emotions when being 'on stage'.

My brother is such a kind of person. I remember as if it had happened yesterday, when he performed for the first time at a family gathering at my grandfather's house. The assembly was waiting for my brother's first song impatiently, as he was already above us with his guitar, settled on a chair when instead of beginning to sing, he started to cry, his pouring tears dropping on the instrument's strings. After having given him more confidence, reassuring him about his talent he finally managed to start singing, and the once his performance had ended, all of us applauded him, so that he got enough self-confidence, since then to not to lose it ever again.

People will surely be happy by avoiding stress and self pression because there is no real fearful situation about completing a task if the individual convinces and persuades itself of its ability to do it. Of course, they are circumstances when these factor, I mean self assurance, does not impede on what occurs and we are impotent facing them, however there is this eternal and very true statement which says in French "quand on vent, on pent" signifying "who really wants something, (he/she) manages to get it". And isn't the most enjoyable feeling when we reach the thing what we desired to have?

Linking Adverbials in EFL Undergraduate Argumentative Essays: A Diachronic Corpus Study

Katalin Doró
University of Szeged
dorokati@lit.u-szeged.hu

1. Introduction

Formulating one's opinion on a particular topic often requires reflection, logical thinking, careful lexical selection and the consideration of the audience. If this is done in a formal setting or in writing, the text needs to be well-planned and coherent. In order to help the listeners and readers follow the authors' line of thinking, the semantic and textual relationship between ideas and units of texts need to be signaled. An important part of learning to write in a second language is to acquire the appropriate use of rhetoric structures and linking devices. While some of these are learned early, they may cause problems even for advanced writers due to similar forms or meanings, linguistic transfer or the small repertoire of linking devices at disposal. Lists of linking adverbials with their functions, dictionary definitions and even sample sentences may not guide the language learner and user about which word or phrase best fits the given purpose or with which they should enlarge their productive vocabulary.

While a growing body of literature has investigated the linking devices of L2 texts of learners with various backgrounds, little has been empirically documented about how students of English in Hungary or Central Europe connect their textual chunks in essays and other academic texts (Chitez, 2014; Čurković-Kalebić, 2009; Tankó, 2004). The present paper aims to fill this gap by offering a diachronic comparison of two parallel corpora of argumentative essays written by third-year students at a large Hungarian university. It investigates the frequency and function of linking adverbials and their possible differences in essays written in recent years and those produced some years earlier. The study is both quantitative and qualitative, and also corpus-driven and corpus-based as, on top of the frequency check of a pre-selected list of adverbial connectors, it also discusses how some items from the most frequent ones are used in context and what semantic function they have in the essays.

2. Background to the study

The terms signaling words and phrases that link clauses and sentences into coherent texts are numerous. Broader groups of words in linking functions are referred to as ‘connective adjuncts’, ‘connectives’, ‘linking adjuncts’, ‘logical connectors’ and ‘logical connectives’, all of which include adverbials and coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (Chen, 2006; Crewe, 1990; Granger & Tyson, 1996; Halliday & Hasan, 2014; Liu, 2008). More restricted groups of linking devices that function as adverbials are called ‘conjuncts’, ‘conjunctive adverbials’, ‘connective adverbs’, ‘adverbial connectors’ and ‘linking adverbials’ (Anderson, 2014; Liu, 2008; Garner, 2013). Linking adverbials (e.g., *on the other hand*, *moreover*, *finally*) can be defined as adverbials that help to connect two units of discourse by signaling the semantic relationship intended by the author and which, therefore, help to strengthen the cohesion of a text. They differ from conjunctions (e.g., *and*, *or*, *but*) for their function of showing this semantic relationship between units (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan, 1999; Biber, Conrad & Leech, 2002). In the present article the term ‘linking adverbial’ is adopted as being the most commonly researched group of linking devices in recent literature.

Research on connectors and linking adverbials (LAs) has mainly focused on the over- and underuse of these elements by non-native speakers compared to native authors (Leńko-Szymańska, 2008; Tazegül, 2015; Yeung, 2009). Other than simply concentrating on the relative frequency of individual connectors, studies have also called attention to the misuse of linking devices. Novice L2 writers misuse linking adverbials either because they do not understand the semantic properties of certain adverbials, or because they are not aware of the stylistic restriction of the connectors. Inappropriate syntactic positioning of some linking adverbials has also been reported. It is often the case that L1 thinking and text organization is transferred into L2 writing. Studies have addressed texts written by different L1 writers, concentrating mostly on one local group of learners (Chinese in Lei, 2012; Japanese in Narita, Sato & Sugiura, 2004; Taiwanese in Chen, 2006; Pakistani in Jameel, Mahmood, Hussain & Shakir, 2014; Swedish in Altenberg & Tapper, 1998; Croatian in Čurković-Kalebić, 2009; Hungarian in Tankó, 2004) or on a mixed group (Anderson, 2014; Shea, 2009).

Studies have also indicated that the explicit teaching of connectors may lead to their misuse, over- and underuse (Leedham & Cai, 2013; Leńko-Szymańska, 2008; Liu 2013). Those that are marked as important may be overused, while those indicated as problematic, underused. Many teaching materials are intuition- rather than corpus-based, therefore not reflecting the real use of connectors either by local learner groups or other native or non-native writers. Anderson (2014) stresses how useful it is to conduct small-scale, classroom-based corpus research so that instructors have a clearer picture about general tendencies of writing of students in the given educational context.

While it is a widely held belief that the quality of text is closely tied to a greater number of connectors, Shea (2009) reports that words per T-unit

measures do not correlate with the use of connectors in her corpus of undergraduate non-native argumentative essays. The author also suggests that the perceived quality of text by readers may not depend so much on the conjunctive adverbial use. Others, however, have found relationship between connector use and text processing, namely that the explicit marking of the semantic relationship between units of a text speeds up processing (Cain & Nash, 2011; Sanders & Noordman, 2000). Shaw (2009) points out a paradox, namely that while the quality of test essays and the use of a higher number of connectors are linked, in more academic genres, such as research papers, fewer linkers are used by more professional authors. Not only genres, but also disciplines have varying use patterns of linking devices. Peacock (2010) compared research articles in eight disciplines and found that “linking adverbials are more important in RAs as signaling and cohesive devices, and for helping RA authors construct and strengthen claims, than previously thought by experts in this field” (p. 9).

It is also very often the case that inexperienced or lower-level L2 students write for surface logicity. The use of a number of frequent connectors gives the impression that their essay is well-planned and coherent, while, in reality, may only be built around a general textual skeleton. Tankó (2004) in his Hungarian argumentative essay corpus found a high number of enumerative (*first, second, third*) and additive (*also, moreover, furthermore, in addition*) adverbial connectors. He concluded that “[t]he writing of Hungarian students is characterized by the presentation of highly structured contrastive set of ideas arranged cumulatively” (Tankó, 2004, p. 171). In general, he documented twice as many connectors in the learner corpus as in the parallel native corpus. This is in line with other studies that have found an excessive use of certain adverbial connectors in learner texts compared to those produced by native speakers (see e.g., Yeung, 2009; Tazegül, 2015; Vinčela, 2013). Nevertheless, it is important to point out the methodological complexity of finding closely-matching native-speaker base corpora of similar size, genre, topic and the difficulty of drawing conclusions based on data coming from these. Also, it is questionable to what extent non-natives should follow native norms and how much the explicit teaching of LAs reflects native use, as has been discussed above.

The present study addresses the question of linking adverbial use in the argumentative essays of Hungarian students of English. Rather than looking at native versus non-native differences, it offers a diachronic comparison of the usage patterns of two similar student corpora written with at least 6 years apart. This provides the opportunity to investigate whether there are marked differences in the writing of students in past and recent years. A previous study using the same corpora revealed similar general lexical richness figures, but more variation in the recent corpus (Doró, 2015). It was argued that these results partly reflect the growing diversity in the student populations entering higher education while the general parameters of texts written under the same conditions have remained the same. The present study takes this diachronic comparison further and, after providing overall scores for the 100 essays, also analyzes whether there have been changes in the linking adverbial use over the

years. It is also investigated whether syntactic and semantic misuse is evident in the case of the most frequently occurring LAs or those that are usually problematic for Hungarian learners of English (e.g., *however*, *on the other hand*).

3. Methods

3.1 Corpora

A total of 100 argumentative essays were compiled for the study, written by English Studies students at the end of their third year in a Hungarian university in timed, exam conditions (320-350 words each, approx 35,000 running words). The corpus is divided into two sub-corpora of essays, each containing fifty texts, approximately 17,500 words. The essays in corpus A were written in 2006 and 2007, while the corpus B essays come from 2013 and 2014, therefore the time gap between the two sets of compositions was at least 6 years. This provided a basis for the diachronic comparison.

3.2 Items searched for, taxonomy and method

Following a corpus-based method, a list of linking adverbials compiled by Liu (2008), and also used by Lei (2012), was the starting point of analysis. The list contains 110 items (sometimes variations of similar items such as *first/firstly*) categorized into four main types of linking adverbials, each containing two to four sub-categories as follows:

1. **Additive**: emphatic, appositional/reformulation, similarity comparative (e.g., *also*, *moreover*, *in addition*);
2. **Adversative**: proper adversative/concessive, contrastive, correction, dismissal (e.g., *however*, *in contrast*, *on the contrary*);
3. **Causal/Resultative**: general causal, conditional causal (e.g., *because of this*, *as a result*, *therefore*);
4. **Sequential**: enumerative/listing, simultaneous, summative, transitional to another topic (e.g., *first of all*, *at the same time*, *in conclusion*).

As Liu (2008) and Lei (2012) explain, this taxonomy was based on those of Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) and Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1985), then checked against the British National Corpus (for more detail refer to Liu, 2008, pp. 494–497). In the present paper *first/firstly*, *second/secondly* and *third/thirdly* are treated as separate elements to see which ones are used more often, making it to a 113 item list of LAs.

The corpus was searched for all the items on the preselected list using the AntConc concordancing software (Anthony, n.d.). The number of occurrences was registered for the two corpora separately for later comparison. The concordance lines were manually checked and the contexts carefully read to

exclude cases in which the selected items were not adverbial or metadiscoursal (for example when *first*, *second* and *so* were used as phrase modifiers).

4 Results and Discussion

The results are first discussed for overall frequency of linking adverbials in the corpus, then for their semantic distribution. Particular attention is given to the similarities and differences in the two corpora. Corpus A refers to the earlier essays and Corpus B to the more recent texts.

4.1 Overall frequencies of linking adverbials

In our corpus of 100 essays, linking adverbials appeared 862 times. The two corpora have an almost identical number of LAs, reaching 437 in Corpus A and 425 in Corpus B. This means 8.6 linking adverbials per essay on average and equals to 246 tokens by 10,000 words. This figure is rather high, but difficult to be compared with other studies that used longer essays or academic genres such as dissertations or research articles. Liu (2013), for instance, found 213 LAs per 10,000 words in a Chinese learner corpus containing close to half a million words and argued that this was much higher than the figure found in the parallel native corpus. Argumentative essays are short and the transition between sections and ideas are usually strongly signaled. In addition, L2 writers are instructed to use linking devices to explicitly mark these transitions. As has been discussed in the literature review above, a greater use of LAs may not automatically mean better essay quality. Not all LAs that were searched for appear in the learner corpus, only 81 of them, and many with a few occurrences only (see Tables 1 to 4 below).

4.2 Semantic distribution of linking adverbials

The taxonomy of the four main types of LAs, together with their subcategories, is presented in this section. Only the actively occurring 81 types are discussed. The four groups show the following order of frequency, starting from the most frequent one: additive, sequential, adversative and causal/resultative. The main function of the additive and sequential groups is in line with what Tankó (2004) found in his similar corpus and called “a highly structured contrastive set of ideas arranged cumulatively” (p. 171). To compare, Liu’s (2008) investigation of the British National Corpus found an additive, adversative, causal/resultative and sequential order for most registers. Lei (2012) also documented the same order of frequency in both his corpus of doctoral dissertations and the control group of published research articles as Liu did.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the additive conjunctions, which is the most numerous of the four main types (n=335), with the emphatic group (n=277) being well over-represented compared to the other two. The LAs *also*, *as well*, *in addition*, *furthermore* and *moreover* were the most frequent ones in the emphatic group. No syntactic or semantic misuse was found for these

adverbials. The other LAs were used less than ten times. It is important to note that, as a result of the manual checking of the concordance lines, and the analysis of the context in which the adverbials occurred, the adverbial *on the other hand* was added to the list both with an emphatic and a comparative function. Examples from the corpus are discussed below, together with the sequential function of this adverbial.

Table 1. Additive conjunctions in the two corpora

Additive conjunctions	Corpus A	Corpus B
a) Emphatic		
above all	0	1
(but then) again	2	2
also	56	60
as well	23	22
as a matter of fact	0	1
besides	1	4
in addition (to)	9	9
furthermore	7	16
moreover	17	14
not to mention	5	1
of course	1	6
too	5	4
what's (is) more	4	5
on the other hand	2	0
Subtotal	132	145
b) Apposition/Reformulation		
that is	1	2
in other words	4	0
for example	13	8
for instance	5	12
namely	3	1
to put it bluntly/mildly/simple	0	2
Subtotal	26	25
c) Similarity comparative		
similarly	3	2
Subtotal	3	2
d) Difference comparative		
on the other hand (with on the one hand)	0	2
Subtotal	0	2
TOTAL	161	174

Of the adversative conjunctions (n=162), which represent the third largest group, a few very frequently used ones stand out, namely *however*, *on the other*

hand, *instead* and *still*. At the same time many appear only less than five times (see Table 2). Some visible differences exist between the two corpora in the use of *at the same time*, *actually*, *instead*, *rather* and *still*. Nevertheless, the differences are not favoring one or the other group in terms of frequency, making the overall distribution quite similar for the two corpora.

Table 2. Adversative conjunctions in the two corpora

Adversative conjunctions	Corpus A	Corpus B
a) Proper adversative/ Concessive		
at the same time	5	0
however	27	23
nevertheless	1	4
of course	1	6
then again	1	0
yet	0	3
Subtotal	35	36
b) Contrastive		
actually	1	5
as a matter of fact	0	1
in/by contrast	2	1
in fact	1	3
in reality	0	1
on the other hand	3	5
Subtotal	7	16
c) Correction		
instead	10	5
on the contrary	2	3
rather	11	5
Subtotal	23	13
d) Dismissal		
anyway	1	1
despite n/this/that	0	2
in spite of this/that/etc	1	0
still	17	10
Subtotal	19	13
TOTAL	84	78

The least frequent type turned out to be the causal/resultative group (n=144), but still not lagging very much behind the third group. Interestingly, the two corpora had identical tokens (n=72). While items of the general causal subgroup occurred regularly, the conditional causal ones did so only very sporadically. The top LAs were *because of this*, *so*, *therefore* and *thus*. The word *so*, which is also frequent in colloquial English, leads the list (see Table 3).

Table 3. Causal/resultative conjunctions in the two corpora

Causal/Resultative conjunctions	Corpus A	Corpus B
a) General causal		
accordingly	0	2
as a consequence (of)	1	3
as a result (of)	2	9
because of it/this/that	10	9
consequently	2	6
naturally	1	2
so	25	14
therefore	8	14
thus	15	8
Subtotal	64	67
b) Conditional causal		
all things considered	0	1
in such a case/cases	0	2
otherwise	4	0
then (often used with if)	4	2
Subtotal	8	5
TOTAL	72	72

As for the sequential group, which is the second largest with 214 tokens, an uneven distribution among the three sub-categories is evident. Listing is a very large sub-group, especially for Corpus A (n=84 vs. n=65 for Corpus B). This is the sub-category for which the largest difference (19) was found between the two corpora. The three items on the list that make up most of these are *first of all*, *secondly* and *finally* (see Table 4). It is worth examining more closely the two most frequent items on the enumerative list, namely *first of all* and *secondly*. *First of all* is more colloquial than *secondly*, which has *firstly* as a pair only in 12 of the 43 cases. *Thirdly* and *finally* also occur less often (n=9 and n=17, respectively). This suggests that writers mark the second paragraph or viewpoint in their argumentative essay the most strongly. This is in line with what Liu (2008) found both for the mixture of the numerative and the numerative plus -ly forms and the outstanding use of *secondly* in the sequence. Simultaneous functions are rarely marked, most likely because the essays were short, containing three or four main points. As a summative conjunction, *all in all* is used the most often (n=23) which is a rather colloquial LA. To compare, another colloquial and often employed LA by Hungarian learners is *to sum up*, which appears only 7 times. The more formal items, *in conclusion* and *to conclude* are seen 13 and 8 times.

Table 4. Sequential conjunctions in the two corpora

Sequential conjunctions	Corpus A	Corpus B
a) Enumerative/Listing		
afterwards	1	0
eventually	1	2
first	5	1
firstly	6	6
first and foremost	1	0
first of all	15	16
in the first place	1	1
to begin with	0	3
second	3	2
second of all	0	1
secondly	20	13
third	1	0
thirdly	7	1
finally	8	9
last	2	1
lastly	3	1
last but not least	3	3
then/and then	6	7
on the other hand	1	1
Subtotal	84	65
b) Simultaneous		
at the same time	5	0
in the meantime	0	0
meanwhile	1	1
Subtotal	6	1
c) Summative		
all in all	13	10
in conclusion	3	10
in short	0	1
in summary/sum	0	1
to conclude	5	3
to sum up	4	3
to summarize	1	1
Subtotal	26	29
TOTAL	116	98

It is interesting to note, however, that only 55% percent of the authors marked their end of essay with a summative LA, although essay writing instruction usually favors the use of formal summative LAs. This does not mean that the essays do not contain a concluding paragraph. Writers have other options to mark transition between ideas, phrases, sentences and paragraphs. Sample 1

shows examples for how students indicated the summative role of their final paragraphs.

- (1) *To summarize what have been said, I would say ...*
Unfortunately, the above mentioned examples are frequent ...
Taking everything into account, ...
Having weighed up the advantages of ...
For the reasons argued above, I would like to claim that ...
The three arguments I have mentioned above support the idea that ...

As was pointed out earlier, one of the adverbials, namely *on the other hand*, is worth some additional discussion. On Liu's (2008) original list, which served as the basis for the selection and evaluation of the linking adverbials in my corpus, *on the other hand* is categorized as a contrastive LA. However, in the present corpus three other functions were identified, although in some cases it is difficult to decide on the semantic value and the role of this LA. Sample sentence 2 below illustrates a form of use of this LA in which no contrast is expressed. The sentence would have the same meaning with the deletion of *on the one hand* and *on the other hand* and the addition of the linking word *and* or the LA *what's more*, if the author feels that more stress needs to be put on the second item.

- (2) *Also, the indication of personal information would enable people to find, on the one hand, the most suitable position, on the other hand, the most skilled employee for the job.* (Corpus A, additive)

Sample section 3 is a unique example as it contains two of the same LA in two consecutive sentences. While the first one expresses some contrast (although some additive function is felt here as well), the second one is clearly additive and introduces a new set of ideas which is in no close link with the views expressed in the previous sentence, therefore cannot serve a contrastive function. Note that grammatical or lexical changes have not been made to the original student texts used as examples.

- (3) *It is a well known fact that the production of paper requires huge amounts of wood, machines, human workforce, not to mention the dangerous chemicals used to whiten the paper sheets. On the other hand e-books can exist almost without any physical means, we only need a computer to produce and read an e-book.*
On the other hand, the use of e-books are extremely comfortable in many aspects. (Corpus A, contrastive and additive)

Two cases of the sequential use were also registered. The first one in Corpus A stands at a paragraph initial position, introducing the second paragraph in the body of the essay. This essay has the following introductory sequence in the three paragraphs: *First of all... On the other hand... The third reason for...* The

second example for the sequential function is seen in a Corpus B text, in sample (4). Although *on the other hand* here also introduces a new set of ideas, the listing function is stronger here, especially because the sentence has another additive LA, namely *as well*. Tazegül (2015) categorized similar examples as replacive in his Turkish and native corpora and also found concessive and antithetic examples.

- (4) *In my opinion being educated is not a one-sided phenomenon. It can be presented in my different levels. On one hand, it means that someone has a huge amount of lexical knowledge which they gained during the university. On the other hand, I consider those people educated, as well, who have their knowledge from their everyday lives. These people are educated in different ways so I do not think they can be compared with each other.* (Corpus B, sequential)

Sample section (5) is an example for the contrastive function, although not a very strong one, as it is simply stated that advantages and disadvantages exist for the given situation.

- (5) *Immigration from the less developed countries to the wealthier ones has been a widespread phenomenon in the current century. On one hand there can be disadvantages of immigration and free movement of labor. On the other hand there are various benefits of them from many aspect.* (Corpus B, contrastive)

Leedham and Cai (2013) in their study concentrated on the LA *on the other hand*. They documented its excessive use among Chinese students enrolled in UK universities as a result of its direct teaching in Chinese secondary schools. They argue that the explicit teaching that favors certain LAs may lead to students being primed to use them regardless of their appropriacy in a register, and to favor sentence-initial LAs only. This may well be the case in other countries, although less centralized teaching materials and school backgrounds make it difficult to track the teaching/learning factor in the use of certain lexical elements, including LAs.

Besides the influence of teaching materials (such as non-equivalent LAs being grouped under the same semantic categories or offered as synonyms, and too much importance being given to certain linking devices), research has voiced that students may also overuse linking adverbials because these provide them with surface logicity (Crewe, 1990; Lei, 2012). Narita, Sato & Sugiura (2004) also found an overwhelming use of LAs in sentence-initial position in their Japanese corpus and explained it as students' need to explicitly mark cohesive ties but doing so without using more flexible placement options. Another reason for using LAs is to mask the authors' otherwise weak writing skills. It is easy to see even from the present corpus that some LAs are treated almost as lexical teddy bears that give writers a feeling of safety and provide a skeleton for any short essay. Venturing out of one's comfort zone may be risky

and not all students take this risk, especially when writing for direct evaluation such as the exam condition under which the essays in this corpus were produced.

5. Conclusion

This study reported the results of a diachronic corpus study that compared the usage patterns of linking adverbials in argumentative essays written in recent years and in some years earlier. The frequency of LAs was found to be high compared to the figures reported in other studies. Of the investigated 113 adverbials, 81 appeared at least once in the essays. Linking adverbials with an additive function were the most frequent ones, followed by sequential, adversative and causal/resultative adverbials. Most subcategories have a handful of LAs that occur very frequently, although not exclusively, with a number of other LAs in the group, often used less than 5 times. This shows that by the end of year 3 students have had experience in producing essays, have received feedback on their writing and have been exposed to academic texts during which they could observe and broaden the range of LAs appropriate for given genres. This knowledge of linking adverbials may, however, stay passive and not turned into active use. Of the most commonly occurring adverbials, *on the other hand* was analyzed more closely as it assumed different semantic roles compared to the ones discussed in other studies.

In terms of the general frequency and the semantic categories of LAs, no major differences were found between the two corpora, with individual adverbials being more frequent in one or the other corpus. This shows that, as a group, students in recent years have employed similar writing strategies and used similar sets of vocabulary to produce exam essays than did students a few years earlier (see also Doró, 2015). Group averages may, of course, mask individual differences. Future studies in this area could include argumentative essays written by first-year students in the same university and could compare usage patterns between more and less experienced writers.

The present study added to the body of research on LAs that investigate locally compiled student corpora in order to have L1 and context specific linguistic data and also to facilitate writing instruction. While those involved in writing pedagogy may have trustful intuitions about their students' writing strategies and text production, corpus investigations built on even small local corpora may provide us with fuller pictures of particular aspects of L2 texts.

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Sheltered Beaches: A Tourism Collocation Approach to CLIL Vocabulary Teaching

Ilona Kiss and József Horváth
University of Pécs
kiss.ilona3@googlemail.com
jozsefhor@gmail.com

1. Introduction

The systematic, continuous development of language learners' lexicon is the key concern of teaching English for specific purposes (ESP), as the main aim is to equip students with communicative skills in occupational and academic settings. ESP, and within its realm the content-language integrated learning (CLIL) method lay emphasis on the acquisition of domain-specific lexis that underlies and promotes fluent professional communication. Since fluency in English is a crucial element of tourism occupational standards to achieve customer satisfaction, the enhancement of tourism students' vocabulary and professional communicative skills is of paramount importance.

Collocations, frequently occurring word combinations, contribute to fluency to a great extent as these easily retrievable lexical chunks facilitate fluent language production. However, collocations are generally problematic for language learners as their collocational competence does not improve at the same rate as their lexical knowledge (Lesniewska, 2006), due to insufficient exposure to create associative links between the constituents of multi-word units (Cowie, 1992; Durrant & Schmidt, 2010). The compilation and application of corpora and corpus-based collocation lists can provide feasible and effective ways of expanding the special vocabulary and collocational competence of CLIL learners, especially at intermediate and advanced proficiency levels (Bahns & Eldaw, 1993) as well as a measure of the facility and difficulty of the reading component of various academic programs (see one recent example of how this was implemented in Lehmann, 2014).

We will discuss the results of a corpus-linguistically oriented CLIL study in which we investigated the possibilities of the compilation of a high-frequency, pedagogically applicable attribute-noun tourism collocation list. We have analyzed the data coming from a specialist CLIL corpus of tourism texts we have built, focusing on the topic of beach holidays. Corpus-driven tasks based on collocation lists may be a useful means of promoting learners' spoken and written fluency as they are exposed to increased input by meeting frequently co-occurring word combinations. We will provide details on the development, application, and drawbacks of the approach. This latter consideration is all too

often forgotten when the approach is implemented, but we firmly believe that as with any other practice, it is only when critical and unbiased attitudes are in place that the results can be positive in the long term, rather than just the short term.

2. Collocations and colligations

As our study aimed to tease out how a corpus can assist students and teachers in the acquisition of collocational competence in CLIL context, one of the greatest corpus linguists', John Sinclair's, principles are relevant as our theoretical construct. To explain how lexical selection is governed and how meaning arises from texts Sinclair (1991) put forward his complimentary principles: the open-choice and idiom-principles. In the former, also known as slot-and-fill principle, the terminological tendency is central, whereas in the latter, the phraseological one. When the speaker has an open choice, they have a large number of lexical bits to choose from to fill a vacant place, and the only constraints are syntactic or pragmatic. In contrast, the idiom principle introduces a lexical restriction besides the grammatical one. Sinclair (1991, p. 115) considers collocations as illustrations and manifestations of the idiom principle.

In term of tourism lingo, we come across a large number of pre-constructed phrases, many of which are clichés, rigid, and widely known and used phrases. As the language of tourism depicts the potential tourism destinations and services in persuasive, encouraging and alluring manner, the texts of travelogues, brochures and advertisements are crammed with descriptive, evaluative and superlative attributes of the target tourism entities. All of this points to the need to define two more relevant concepts: collocation and colligation.

Collocations can be explained from a semantic, while colligations from a syntactic point of view. Collocations form two- or three-word syntagmatic units that can consist of both lexical and grammatical words (Henriksen, 2013, pp. 29-30). A node word or basis has numerous collocates that are neither completely free lexical choices nor fixed either. Consequently, collocations can be defined as phrases that are more restricted than free combinations but less restricted than idioms (Lesniewska, 2006, p. 95). Collocations entail the lexical associations of words, whereas colligations refer to their syntactic relations in context; a lexical item tends to co-occur with certain grammatical categories in a particular textual position (Cheng, 2014). That is, colligations refer to the formation of grammatical structures such as *that*-clauses or infinitive complements, whereas collocations denote constrained lexical choices (Bartsch, 2004).

As we will demonstrate, both collocations and colligations are needed in ESP and CLIL contexts to achieve collocation competence. Among the lexical problems of language learners' collocational errors are the most frequent, they are the most salient markers of non-nativeness. The most problematic collocations are at the borderline of free and restricted phrases, a common type

of error being the overextension of words that results in awkward collocations. Collocations are semantically transparent, thus, when learners encounter collocations for the first time in a foreign language they find them comprehensible. An important characteristic of advanced learners' L2 performance is that deviations from native-speaker norms are often implicit errors as they do not violate the rules of L2 morphology, syntax or semantics; only the cumulative use of certain phrases gives the impression of non-nativeness (Lesniewska, 2006). Learners often rely on 'safe bets', generally collocations that have direct translation equivalents in L1, or use 'all-purpose' phrases that can be easily extracted from the mental lexicon. A frequent violation of restrictions on word selection is the production of erroneous collocations using synonyms that are not interchangeable (Lesniewska, 2006). Durrant and Schmitt (2010, p. 11) argue that L2 learners' difficulties with acquiring collocations are due to insufficient exposure to create associative links between constituents. It was found by Durrant (2008) that language learners can acquire collocational patterns and create associations through exposure to collocation lists, this way facilitating retention. The lack of collocational competence leads to lexical and grammatical failure as learners tend to use complicated word-by-word phrases instead of collocations, relying on their L1 to compensate for their deficiency in an L2. Consequently, the acquisition of appropriate collocational patterns is crucial for language learners to ease language production; to speak and write in natural and accurate way (Barnbrook, et al., 2013).

In terms of the specific educational and research context, that is, collocational competence as an important focus in EFL education for vocational students, the day-to-day business operations in their future job require a familiarity with geographical locations: and this we see another level of authenticity in terms of the way we apply the notion of col-locations: the way CLIL content contributes to fluency and accuracy.

3. ESP and content-language integrated learning

Both ESP and content-based instruction aim to develop proficiency in an L2 in academic or occupational contexts. Content-based instruction integrates the content of the subject matter with the acquisition of the target language and communicative skills (Tarnopolsky, 2012), however, the focus is on the content not on teaching the professional or subject-specific language. In ESP language is used for learning the content and as a means of learning that content, in an ESP class language is a 'service rather than a subject for its own sake' (Robinson, 1991, p. 2). Thus, the key difference between these two approaches is that in CLIL content-learning objectives are equally or more important than language learning objectives, whereas in ESP language-learning objectives are predominant (Ardeo, 2013).

The benefits of content-based instruction are reflected in CLIL syllabi; the thematically organised materials are easier to remember, the information is presented coherently and meaningfully, and the topics develop as learners'

knowledge progresses to complete more complex tasks (Jalilzadeh & Tahmasebi, 2014). Another great value of CLIL is that it creates motivating and interesting language learning environment, and it develops communicative, cognitive, and collaborating skills through implicit language learning. Unlike in other approaches to language teaching, in CLIL fluency is more important than accuracy, thus, content-based learning can commence with teaching vocabulary relevant to a topic instead of teaching grammatical structures (Motuziene, 2013, p. 332). Our title refers to sheltered instruction, a content-based language teaching method, in which the content is adjusted to the learners' level of proficiency.

In Hungarian vocational schools English in tourism is mainly learnt in ESP context, only would-be tour guides acquire the discourse of sightseeing in content-based instruction. Besides learning the special tourism terminology learners need to be aware of the main features of tourism language. This special language reflects the promotional-marketing aspect of tourism as the aim is to convince the customers to buy the tourism product. To observe the intensive use of keywords, descriptive and evaluative adjectives in tourism language and exploit the findings in teaching collocational patterns, we compiled a corpus on the topic of beach holidays.

4. Research context and method

Corpora and corpus methods offer much potential to exploit in vocabulary teaching and learning. Corpora, large collection of texts in digitalized format allow investigations on the authentic usage of words and lexical chunks, as the aim of corpora is to provide data for linguistic inquiry. "With concordance software and corpus of natural English learners can shortcut the process of acquiring competence in the target language because the computer is able to help students organize huge amounts of language data so that patterns are more easily discerned" (Stevens, 1993, p. 11). Sinclair (1991) detected, framing the basic idea of corpus linguistics, that a single word carries only meaning through several words in a sequence.

Corpus processing tools enable researchers to analyse huge amount of corpus data. The majority of corpus research is based on frequency counts using software to produce wordlists of word types and their occurrence. A widely used corpus tool is the concordancer that generally provides an alphabetical listing of the keyword called node word or target item and its collocates. Wordlists help to select the most important vocabulary items, and with the help of a concordancer learners can explore the authentic usage of words, their grammatical features and typical collocates. Cobb's *Compleat Lexical Tutor* (CLT) and Antony's freeware *AntConc3.2.4.w* are broadly applicable, simple yet versatile data processing tools; the vocabulary profile analysis was administered with CLT, while the keyword and collocation lists were generated with the help of *AntConc* in the study.

ESP settings, including English in tourism, are one of the most obvious applications of corpora and corpus methods. However, only a few language

teachers have ever built corpora or examined concordance lines as corpus compilation and analysis seem technically demanding. Investigations on the compilation and classroom application of collocation lists are niche research area; self-built corpora have much potential to exploit in vocabulary teaching.

The central aim of our project was to create a corpus that can serve as the basis for a two-word attribute-noun collocation list related to some keywords. We also sought for effective means and techniques of data analysis to define and select frequently occurring typical word pairs to include in the list. We compiled a corpus comprising 51,150 tokens by downloading articles and relevant parts of articles related to beach holidays from a free and practical website *Articlecity*, www.articlecity.com/articles/travel_and_leisure, and saved them in plain text format, applying standard clean text policy measures (Horváth, 2001). For keyness reasons (see its discussion in the next section), we call the corpus Sheltered Beaches (SB). The *Articlecity* site was chosen for the creation of the corpus for two reasons: one is legal, the other is pedagogical. The *Articlecity* resource pool makes available free articles that can be used without permission for non-commercial purposes. This was a crucial feature for us as we did all we could to ensure sustainability of the project. This, then, was the legally relevant decision we made when choosing *Articlecity*. In terms of the pedagogically relevant aspect of opting for this site in setting the framework for the corpus, we can point to the wide range of travel destinations described in accessible, often brochure-like, language, which represented a level of authenticity that was necessary to ensure. The local color of these articles, the cultural diversity and content, and the stylistic range have made the texts available on the site a valid choice for the corpus element of a tandem ESP and CLIL approach (To read a representative sample of these texts, see the Appendix).

Following the vocabulary profile analysis we selected the keywords of the texts in the SB corpus applying the *AntConc* Keyword function's Chi-square test, then compared the top 100 keywords to statistical Log-likelihood measure findings to increase reliability, and selected the common, shared content words of the two lists. Afterwards, we examined the left two-word span adjacent attribute-noun collocates of two keywords with the Clusters function, relying on the mutual information (MI) scores as they yielded the same results as T-scores. Finally, we compiled a collocation list of the most typical evaluative and descriptive adjective-noun clusters on the basis of frequency and statistical measures.

5. Results and discussion

5.1 The vocabulary profile

Analysing the vocabulary profile of the SB corpus (Table 1) a characteristic feature of the specialised tourism texts could be observed; the number of tokens per type is relatively high, accordingly, the type-token ratio is quite low.

Table 1. The Vocabulary Profile output in CLT on the SB corpus

Words in text (tokens)	51150
Different words (types)	4757
Type-token ratio	0.09
Tokens per type	10.75

The tokens per type figure shows something very important in this kind of marketing lingo: repetitions. This fortunately coincides with a lexical skill development principle, making the application of this corpus for collocation competence development purposes eminently relevant as well as authentic.

5.2 Keyness information and relevance

The keyword lists were generated by sorting words on frequency and keyness, the first keyword generating method was the Chi-squared test followed by Log-likelihood ratio analysis. When applying the Chi-squared test keyness is marked with frequency; accordingly, keyness and frequency scores are equal. The second keyword generating method was the Log-likelihood ratio; in this case the frequency and keyness measures are different. However, both Chi-square and Log-likelihood ratio tests resulted in the same list of keywords as frequency is constant. We found only eight content keywords in the top 100 list as plural and singular forms were not treated as different instances, and, the proportion of function words and proper nouns was extremely high in the texts (Table 2).

Table 2. Keyword lists of the beach holiday corpus sorted by keyness and frequency (FREQ) applying AntConc3.2.4w Chi-square test and Log-likelihood measure

Chi-square test				Log-likelihood ratio			
Rank	Freq	Keyness	Keyword	Rank	Freq	Keyness	Keyword
1	214	214	beach	1	214	296.667	beach
2	46	46	island	2	46	66.542	island
3	43	43	town	3	43	59.611	town
4	42	42	bay	4	42	58.224	bay
5	38	38	ocean	5	38	52.679	ocean
6	34	34	coast	6	34	47.134	coast
7	31	31	resort	7	31	42.975	resort
8	19	19	sea	8	19	26.340	sea

5.3 Collocates

From among the keywords we tested the first two key nouns, beach and island by examining their two-word span left collocates, then selected all the attributive clusters of evaluative and descriptive adjectives. The selective collocation measure was the mutual information (MI) score. The total number of clusters types was 185 related to beach and 84 to island; the number of attributive clusters was 39 pertaining to the former and 24 to the latter. The fifteen most frequent evaluative attributive clusters of these keywords are listed in the order of frequency in Table 3.

Table 3: Evaluative attributive clusters of the keywords ‘beach’ and ‘island’ in the order of frequency generated by *AntConc3.2.4w* Clusters function

<i>famous</i> beach	award-winning island
the best beach	beautiful island
the finest beach	romantic island
<i>friendly</i> beach	exotic island
good beach	<i>famous</i> island
luxurious beach	must-see island
<i>perfect</i> beach	unspoilt island
popular beach	<i>perfect</i> island
<i>paradise</i> beach	extraordinary island
stunning beach	<i>friendly</i> island
ultimate beach	magical island
excellent beach	mystical island
fabulous beach	<i>paradise</i> island
indulging beach	unique island
spectacular beach	wonderful island

The evaluative adjectives such as *excellent*, *fabulous* and *indulging* reflect the superb, alluring feature of tourism texts to influence the attitude of potential tourists to buy the tourism product and reward themselves with these beach holidays. Some of the adjectives like *famous*, *friendly* and *perfect*, printed in italics, occur as attributes of both keywords. The intensifying adjectives, such as *best*, *ultimate*, *unique* and *extraordinary*, have a general heightening effect on these described tourism entities. Some adjectives can be considered either evaluative or descriptive as they partly denote an objective property, and partly refer to a more subjective stance as *exotic* or *spectacular*. The most frequent descriptive adjectives refer to the quality, size, and function of beaches and islands: *sandy*, *accessible*, *long* and *recreational* beaches, and *quiet*, *large*, *tropical* islands.

5.4 The pedagogical implications of the corpus and the collocation list

The late Tim Johns, a pioneer of corpus applications in language classes, made the suggestion to “confront the learner as directly as possible with the data, and to make the learner a linguistic researcher” (2002, p. 108). Observing and analysing authentic texts in a corpus, students can investigate significant or problematic word patterns in natural context and describe lexical and grammatical features of a language. Concordances are the most visually effective as well as exciting ways of exploring the collocations and colligations in a corpus.

A concordancer, a widely used corpus tool, provides an alphabetical listing of the key-word called node or target item and its collocates (e.g., *sheltered* as a collocate of the node word *beach*). A concordance is a screen display of each occurrence of the target word or phrase centered in the middle, surrounded with the relevant part of co-text. This is also known as a Key Word in Context or KWIC concordance. A short space, generally the distance of no more than four words to the right and left of the node, is referred to as span (Sinclair, 1991). Figure 1 shows some random concordance lines in which the collocates of the keyword *beach* can be observed.

a beach wedding then a whale **beach** holiday is for you. Bali beaches
lays spent relaxing on a quiet **beach** with soothing, crystal waters la
likely to have to share your **beach** towel! Read on for a pick of the
t each of them! This stunning **beach** can be found just a short drive
c, especially at sunset. This **beach** is without a doubt the option fo
upon the equally petite Relax **beach** in Pomos. The beach is usually
ite Relax beach in Pomos. The **beach** is usually populated with a few
k is a beautiful and secluded **beach** that offers affordable rental be
that offers affordable rental **beach** huts (at 500 PhP) for those who
day or two frolicking by the **beach**, there are also several resorts
n the town of Bolinao, Arnedo **Beach** is a must for surfers looking fo
as Snake Island, this island **beach** in Dasol boasts a magnificent sh
Island by boat from Tambobong **Beach**, which is about 20 minutes away
oy their privacy here in this **beach** located in a quaint fishing vill

Figure 1. Concordance citations for the keyword *beach*

Learners can look at some of the attributive collocates of this target word such as *petite*, *stunning*, *secluded*, the proportion of proper nouns, and a colligational pattern of a sequence of adjectives (*affordable rental beach hut*). As the observation of concordance lines can be daunting for some students after a while due to the high recurrence of proper nouns and function words, a collocation list often can help provide more targeted exposure to the attributive clusters of the keywords under study. The excerpt (see Table 4) from the list illustrates that teachers and learners can select the most important adjectives to be learnt.

Table 4. Excerpt of the collocation list of the target word ‘beach’

nudist beach (2)	Caribbean beach (1)
excellent beach (1)	sheltered beach (2)
stunning beach (2)	recreational beach (2)
ultimate beach (2)	shelly beach (2)
fabulous beach (1)	paradise beach (2)
indulging beach (1)	popular beach (2)
memorable beach (1)	party beach (1)
oceanfront beach (1)	

Obviously, with such an innovative and technically demanding approach, language teachers should be proficient and creative in the application of methodologies when teaching vocabulary items. Collocation lists facilitate vocabulary acquisition as they include phrases that are more time-consuming to acquire by reading, in addition, they encompass the lexicon of a topic for a vocabulary test. The exploration of collocations is not only beneficial in teaching synonymous adjectives, special word patterns and the specific lexis and features of the language, but makes the lessons more enjoyable with fun that we, teachers, tend to forget about. Serendipities of collocations can serve as a source of humour in ESP and CLIL classes.

A wide range of vocabulary teaching and learning activities based on corpora can be applied in ESP and CLIL lessons that students really enjoy and appreciate, however; still the printouts of multiple-matching and gap-filling activities are the most popular ones among the tourism students. Corpus-based reading comprehension tasks, matching words with their definitions, finding synonyms and antonyms, or simply the most typical collocations of a certain word facilitate access to the lexico-grammatical structures of real language.

5.5 Drawbacks of the approach

Obviously, the approach does not represent a one-size-fits all methodology to lexical and CLIL-related educational contexts. One limitation in our case is seen in the current un-annotated nature of the corpus. Semantic and syntactic tagging would enable a multi-dimensional exploitation of the material, but this is not available at this stage. Another problem we need to point out is what we see as still relatively insufficient evidence on the long-term usefulness of such data driven learning techniques. That such research is essential cannot be contested, in our view. A third drawback is the scarcity of reliable students feedback on the project thus far, a component that would be necessary to take the project to the next level.

6. Conclusion

In Hungarian vocational schools, English in tourism is learnt in a wide variety of ESP contexts. Students training to become tour guides and travel agents, for example, acquire the discourse of sightseeing and marketing in content-based instruction. They need to be aware of the main features of tourism language. This special and specific language reflects the promotional-marketing aspect of tourism as the aim is to make the potential buyer interested in the tourism product: to buy the package tour, to order the flight ticket, and to enjoy and recommend the service. To observe the intensive use of keywords, descriptive and evaluative adjectives and exploit the findings in teaching collocational patterns, we designed a specialized corpus on the topic of beach holidays and presented the current results in our paper. Surveying the field of CLIL and ESP, we discovered a niche, a corpus linguistically feasible project that built and exploited a small specialized English corpus of freely available articles.

As the project is taken forward, we will explore how the approach can be extended and developed: we will see how feasible it is to further integrate it within the school curriculum and how students' needs and wants can be accommodated further. We are looking into ways of adding tagging information to the corpus as well as of combining it with the learners' oral and written performances, thereby establishing a new type of parallel corpus.

A course, such as an ESP course in tourism, can be seen as a sheltered beach where students receive encouragement and support. The Sheltered Beaches corpus project has aimed to provide an innovative aspect to that environment, and we hope many students using these and other materials as well as their clients will be able to visit those beaches in real life too, which would be the ultimate form of internal and external validity aspects of this project.

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Appendix: An *Articlecity* sample text

Escape To The Beaches Of Pangasinan by Kat March

Are you looking for a place to escape to, away from the hustle and bustle of urban life? Well, aren't you the lucky one! There's a gem of a place somewhere north of Manila that offers sanctuary to those individuals looking for a quiet solitude. And that place is none other than Pangasinan.

Pangasinan is a province of coastal villages and lovely beaches. Located 250 kilometers (or 5-6 hour drive) north of the Philippines' busy capital, the place is picture perfect for weekend getaways as it provides a refreshing break from the madness of city life. Although primarily known for its most famous tourist attraction, the Hundred Islands National Park, Pangasinan has a lot more surprises to offer. And the beaches in this coastal town are among those surprises. Indeed, they never fail to amaze local and foreign tourists. Among the province's charming beaches are the following:

Abrak Beach.

Just a few minutes' drive from Bolinao town proper, Abrak is a beautiful and secluded beach that offers affordable rental beach huts (at 500 PhP) for those who are on a budget. For visitors who want to spend a day or two frolicking by the beach, there are also several resorts available in the area.

Arnedo Beach.

Also located in the town of Bolinao, Arnedo Beach is a must for surfers looking for surfing facilities with reasonable fees. For those who want to relax, there are also quite a few resorts around the place. One of the popular ones is the Rock Garden Resort.

Colibra Island.

Known also as Snake Island, this island beach in Dasol boasts a magnificent shoreline with crystal clear waters perfect for recreational activities such as diving and snorkeling. Prepare yourself to get a mean tan, though, as the island offers no shade, except for a few coconut trees planted in the area. Visitors can reach Colibra Island by boat from Tambobong Beach, which is about 20 minutes away.

Tambobong Beach.

Tourists looking for some quiet time alone can enjoy their privacy here in this beach located in a quaint fishing village in Dasol. Tambobong White Beach

Resort offers affordable accommodation, with the amenities being very simple and basic compared to other upscale resorts. But at least you get to take pleasure in your own personal retreat, so what's not to love in this place?

Tondol Beach.

Located in the town of Anda, Tondol Beach is said to be one of the most beautiful beaches in northern Luzon. The best time to visit is during low tide as it isn't that extraordinary when it's high tide. Nevertheless, the place is still considered one of the best in the region.

Local and foreign tourists, especially those who prefer an outdoor travel destination other than the more popular ones like Boracay, are welcome to spend their vacation in these charming Pangasinan beaches.

If you are wondering, getting to Pangasinan is easy. From Manila, Pangasinan is accessible by bus going to Alaminos, one of the province's four cities. From there, public transportations can take you to the different villages that lead to these beaches. However, since these destinations are not yet fully commercialized, transportation options are quite limited. There are not so many tricycles and jeepneys that ply some of the routes so you may have to wait for available rides. You don't have to worry though, because your patience is sure to be rewarded upon setting foot on these beautiful beaches of Pangasinan.

About the author

TripSiders is your travel guide to a fun-filled, adventurous outdoor travel in Philippines. We feature Philippine destinations that make your visit to local places more than the ordinary tourist experience. We want you to experience the beauty of Philippines by being with nature.

Becoming Professionals in English: A Social Identity Perspective on CLIL

Mónika Fodor and Réka Lugossy
University of Pécs
fodor.monika@pte.hu; lugossy.reka@pte.hu

1. Introduction

Our study of academic, professional EFL users' experiences in a content and language integrated learning (CLIL) course builds on a combination of the identity approach to language learning and the theoretical underpinnings of CLIL. The first C in the acronym, content, has become the grand equalizer among the participants with distinct experiences in their respective fields of study, positions in the international community of professionals, exposure to and background in learning English, and their practice of teaching their academic subjects to international students in English.

Attending the CLIL course, members of the group soon translated their differences into two compelling narratives: one about the vulnerable, often struggling, adult learner of English as a foreign language now burdened with the challenge of having to teach an academic subject in English and the second featuring the successful, accomplished professional. These stories were about the struggles to face and bridge the gap between participants' professional expertise and language knowledge. We soon realized that understanding the benefits and challenges of CLIL in a higher education professional development course would mean to reconsider the traditional identity categories of second language acquisition research such as race, gender or ethnicity.

Our research foregrounds two conflicted adult professional learner identities specific to the CLIL classroom: that of the struggling, often discouraged, and thus vulnerable foreign language learner and of the successful professional academic. The CLIL approach helped participants view the two selves as blended rather than distinct and separate and it underscored the possible ways in which the successful professional identity could facilitate an ongoing language development through boosting motivation and the willingness to invest in language work.

2. Identity and self in SLA

The social constructivist turn in second and foreign language learning research in the 1990s has highlighted the discursive processes in which individuals communicate their needs, beliefs, attitudes, and values about the surrounding society and culture. Language use has come to be understood as a social process that positions the speakers in particular communities via their use of context-

dependent linguistic practices. According to Ogulnick, “language learning entails a process of fitting into one’s place in society, or rather, one’s imposed place” (2008, p. 250). Thus, language plays a vigorously complex role in voicing the self and identity of the learners that emerge from multiple social positions. These two notions have become quintessential in making sense of the speaker-language-community triangle and of the language learners’ experiences and achievement as speakers of the target language. Language has become the means to act and perform identity in societies and cultures, which, in return, are maintained by speakers as individual members in various, often not connected communities.

Although there is no agreement about the synonymy of the concepts of “self” and “identity” or about the precise relationship between the two, they are inevitably central to an already very far-reaching and multi-disciplinary corpus of SLA and FLL research (Kramsch, 2002, 2009; Mercer, 2015; Norton, 2013; Ochs, 1993). In their reflective conceptual summary on the terms, Oyserman, Elmore and Smith define the self as a stable knowledge of oneself and identity as a “dynamic construction of who one is in the moment,” depending on momentarily vital aspects of one’s life in respect of the self (2012, p. 70). Thus, the self is “a stable anchor, and ... the identities that constitute the self are, in fact, dynamically constructed in context. The self is useful because people look to their identities in making choices and because these identities are situated, pragmatic, and attuned to the affordances and constraints of the immediate context” (Oyserman et al. 2012, p.70). This approach takes the self to be the basis to identity and defines the latter as the multiple and context-related ways of thinking about the self, where both notions are mental concepts, situated social products, forces of action and understandable in the dichotomy of process vs. stability.

Concerning the relationship of stable and dynamic aspects of the self, Morf and Mischel propose that the term be understood as a psycho-social processing system (2012). They suggest that such complexity of the self bespeaks the permanent interaction of two inherent segments conceptualized as self and identity by Oyserman et al. and integrate static and dynamic features while using only one term. First, a dynamic, responsive and adapting yet organized set of “cognitive-affective units” of the self constitute a peculiar network for each individual. Second, a relatively stable set of network structuring principles within the self refer to “processes typically activated for particular individuals in certain contexts” (Morf and Mischel quoted in Mercer, 2015, p. 161). Morf and Michel’s understanding of the self as a complex dynamic system of meaning making justifies the synonymous use of identity and self as well.

3. Language learning as investment

Second or Foreign language learning is a particular, socially and culturally informed frame in which learners take on new literacies, with consequences for their identities (Menard-Warwick, 2005; Norton, 2013). This process requires the commitment time, effort, and money with the expectation of attaining an

improved status and prestige in society or a given community. Such conceptualization of identity vis-à-vis language, learning, and SLA has been informed by the social theories of the social, cultural embeddedness of language learning by Pierre Bourdieu, Bonny Norton, and Claire Kramsch. French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu coined the economic metaphor of the world as a market where individuals engage in social activities depending on the value of those activities (Bourdieu, 1977; 1986). Such value is represented by symbolic capital constitutive of social, cultural and linguistic capital referring to knowledge, qualification, modes of thought, relationships, and forms of group or network membership. All three forms of capital have situated rather than standardized value, take time to accumulate, require investment, have the capacity to produce profits and are exchangeable with each other. The possession of symbolic capital enables people to gain better positions in society and motivate them to invest in various social activities such as learning or practicing a foreign language. With investment and capital at its core, the complex economic metaphor of society as a marketplace of language users puts people in the role of competitors who are willing to act upon their wish to gain better financial, social, cultural positions. In Bourdieu's conceptual matrix, language is understood primarily as a medium of power rather than a mere means of communication. Thus, investment is seen as one of the leading causes of success behind many social practices such as learning, communication and the successful engagement in social practices.

Bonny Norton has revisited Bourdieu's concepts of capital and investment, and related them to language learning as a complex, socially and culturally informed set of activities (Norton, 2000; 2013). Norton explained the variable success of Canadian immigrant women in their second language acquisition with the perspective on learners' wish and willingness to participate in social interaction and community practices. In this context, investment refers to the commitment of time, effort, and money to perform certain personal goal-related activities such as learning a language or improving the already existing skills in that language and earn new symbolic and material capital or increase what is already possessed (Norton, 2013; Darvin & Norton, 2015). Norton argues that the sociological construct of investment and the psychological construct of motivation are two interacting elements of the intricate connection between language learner identity and language learning commitment (2013).

In proposing the alternative reading of how and in what circumstances content and language integrated learning leads to improved language knowledge, we look at how adult professional users of English as a foreign language study their language development as investment. The parallel development of EFL knowledge, academic content and teaching methodology makes adult EFL speakers more conscious of their professional identities and results in an enhanced willingness to invest continuously in language learning.

4. Context of research

In the academic years, 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 the University of Pécs (Hungary) advertised courses for university staff from diverse disciplines. The courses were meant to support lecturers teach their courses in English, within the English programmes launched by their departments for students from abroad. Therefore, the courses advertised integrated a double focus: they aimed to support participants' language skills and enhance their confidence in using English as the language of instruction (1), and to develop participants' methodology skills in teaching their own courses in English and help them design new teaching materials for their courses (2). Three courses integrating a focus on content and language were advertised: *How to implement content and language integrated learning (CLIL)*; *How to design materials for CLIL*; and: *How to use blended learning techniques in CLIL*. The courses were taught by different tutors from the Department of Applied Linguistics, University of Pécs.

We present findings gained during the course *How to design materials for CLIL* (from now on referred to as CLIL course), which was run by the authors of the study first in the autumn semester of 2013, then in the spring semester of 2014, and finally in the spring semester of 2015. The last time the course was advertised (2015 spring) was due to the bottom-up initiative of a course participant who took part in the CLIL course the previous semester and decided to organize the course for her colleagues and doctoral students at the Pharmacognosy Department.

5. Research questions

We aimed to find answers to the following research questions:

- What are the most common professional challenges faced by teachers in their English programmes?
- How does implementing CLIL influence participants' professional development?
- How do the CLIL courses affect teachers' confidence to use English in their teaching and their language use?
- How does the willingness to invest in learning English influence participants' professional identity?

6. Participants

The eighteen university teachers who participated in the CLIL courses we taught came from various faculties and departments of the University of Pécs, including the department of Pharmacognosy, Internal Medicine, Analytical Chemistry, Biology, Geography Department, Mathematics, and Architecture. The participants varied in age, level of English proficiency and teaching skills in their subject domain. All of them shared Hungarian as their first language (L1) and had considerable experience in teaching their subjects in Hungarian.

Most of them were also teaching or getting prepared to teach their subjects in the English programmes launched by their departments and therefore were extremely motivated to learn innovative methodologies and to develop both their interpersonal communicative skills as well as their cognitive academic language proficiency in English.

7. Data collection

Data were collected from participants through classroom observation carried out during the three CLIL courses we taught, as well as through informal discussions with participants after the sessions. At the end of each course, we asked for written feedback through open-ended questions. Semi-structured interviews were also carried out with six participants to gain a more in-depth understanding of how the CLIL course they participated in influenced their professional development. Finally, data were also obtained from participants' emails, which were sent either because those who were interviewed wanted to add further details to the already elicited interview data, or merely because they wished to give more feedback long after the course finished. In all instances, data were collected in participants' L1, which was Hungarian.

8. Results and discussion

8.1 Teachers' challenges

In what follows, we discuss some of the issues that were most frequently raised by participants either during the semi-structured interviews or during the self-initiated discussions on the sessions. It turns out from the data that although we initially aimed to explore the challenges that teachers experienced when teaching their subjects in English, it turned out that most of their difficulties were of a more general methodological nature.

8.1.1 The need to develop students' critical thinking

The need and ways to develop critical thinking with students attending both English and Hungarian programmes appeared to be one of the major common concerns of the teachers attending the course. Participants agreed that their students in general rarely saw their active role in the learning process and that they expected to get things ready. Most of the participants attributed this attitude to students' experiences in secondary schools, where the teacher is perceived as an absolute authority on the subject and where the role of the student is to absorb knowledge rather than reflect critically on what is heard or read and thus, become involved in a dialogue where meaning is constructed in interaction.

Participants also pointed out students' tendency to think of the subjects they study in isolation, separately from one another. A good example for this is shown by the way students prepare for complex exams, where they are expected to demonstrate their ability to synthesise information gained from several

sources. Teachers claimed that students insist on being given the exact course material about each topic before their complex exams, as well as the expected answers to the questions. On the other hand, they are less willing to accept that questions do not always have clear-cut answers, that the areas within their chosen field of study are interrelated and that they are strongly encouraged by their teachers to connect information from various sources.

Course participants emphasised the need to address these critical issues in methodologically informed ways as soon as students entered tertiary education. Ironically, the teachers who saw the need to meet students' needs and perceived the classroom as a space of dialogue in which „minds meet” (Cummins, 1994) were the ones who joined the CLIL course quite because they understood the importance of methodology in teaching their subjects. They also pointed out that some of their colleagues, typically the ones who were highly qualified professionals, tended to care less about scaffolding students' development, and showed no innovative tendencies in their teaching. The interviews suggest a general trend across departments in that teachers who tend to focus on building their career at the expense of their teaching duties also tend to downgrade the role of methodology, as well as other teachers' efforts to support students' learning, claiming that they “lowered the level” by providing too much help. “I don't lower the level,” claimed Anikó, a young and enthusiastic researcher from the Analytical Chemistry Department, who also emphasised that “mapping students' existing knowledge” and linking new information to their already existing knowledge “involves more work,” but it looks like the only way to students' development. As for a concrete way for contextualising new information, three interviews mentioned that they used case studies in their practice: “I realised that they [students] like it if I give personal examples.” Or: “I make them act out a concrete situation, for example, they have to analyse the purity of a compound we ordered from a company. If it is not pure, it will be banned. This way, they make more sense of it, they get the point, it somehow becomes more tangible” (Marianna, Biology Department).

8.1.2 Cultural differences

While the challenges discussed above were typical both in the English and Hungarian programmes where the participants taught, other challenges emerged only in situations where participants showed their subjects to groups which included students from various cultures. The semi-structured interviews carried out with some of the participants and the in-class discussions alike provided rich narratives around the theme of educational and cultural mismatch between teachers and learners. For example, teachers' narratives highlighted differences in the way students from different cultural and pedagogical traditions perceived their own and their teachers' role in the classroom. While teachers reported that the newly learned, innovative techniques, such as involving students into cooperative tasks and self-assessment were well received by the students in their Hungarian programmes, they also claimed these techniques rarely worked at all with students coming from educational traditions where focus was on receiving

input from the teacher only and where learner autonomy was apparently not an issue. Some of their students also appeared to have a very different understanding of the educational expectations they faced, and therefore they disregarded them. For example, they talked loudly with each other during lectures and seminars and refused to sit and work with each other for the sake of cooperative tasks.

Further cross-cultural challenges were identified in the way students interacted in learning environments, such as hospital wards, due to the different expectations imposed by their cultures. Teachers from the medical school in particular repeatedly came back to their struggles in making students behave in ways that were considered culturally appropriate in Hungarian classrooms and hospitals. A medical school teacher's narratives revealed students' disregard for rules of behaviour expected in Hungarian hospitals, for example in cases when students would sit down on patients' beds, claiming that this way the conversation with the patient felt more comfortable, or that they (i.e. the students) were also tired. The physician-teacher who was in charge of students' internship, and who was the narrator himself, felt equally uncomfortable in front of the patients, in front of the other students and in front of the students who disregarded the rules. He was also at a loss when it came to raising this issue to the student in question.

However, teaching across cultures and different educational traditions was also perceived by some of the teachers as opportunities for learning. A motivated and professionally very well prepared young participant pointed out that students' expectations were often based on what they had experienced as members of other educational cultures. In one of her narratives, this teacher recalled a critical event in her practice, which made her reflect and tailor her practice to students' needs and wants. She told the story of how on one occasion she finished her session earlier than it was scheduled. As she felt she had covered what she had planned for that session, and because the students did not indicate they had further questions, the teacher suggested that the session was over. For Hungarian students, this would have been a normal and accepted thing to do, yet, Scandinavian students were reluctant to leave even five minutes earlier. They apparently came from a different educational background, one which imposed a strict focus on keeping the schedule. Also, they may have felt that they had invested time and money in this programme, and they expected their teachers to act accordingly. The teacher who told this story perceived her encounters with students from other educational cultures as opportunities for reflection and self-development. She felt that teachers had to come up to the challenges of the programmes launched in English for students from other cultures not only in terms of professional preparation and English language competence but also in terms of cultural awareness: she believed that teachers need to grow aware of their students' educational backgrounds and to build on them.

The same teacher, who had also spent years as a secondary school student in Sweden, also showed her openness to accepting classroom communication patterns other than the ones that are traditionally accepted in Hungary. She felt

she could tolerate different behaviour, as well as a certain level of noise from students who had been socialised in a variety of ways of communication. The following interaction, which occurred between Anikó (Analytical Chemistry) and Marianna (Biology) reveals two distinct ways in which teachers relate to new challenges:

Anikó: You have to deal with them a little bit differently than you deal with Hungarian students, who sit down quietly.

Marianna: Do you get used to the fact that they talk during class?

Anikó: Yes.

The example is not meant to suggest that one way of dealing with the problem (in this case, allowing students to talk during class) is necessarily better than the other. It only shows that some teachers have less difficulty in tolerating different student behaviour and noise level than the ones they had been used to. The interaction sample above also suggest the role of raising issues and discussion in teacher development.

8.2 The benefits of CLIL for teacher development

When it came to the participant teachers' development, advantages of the CLIL course were identified in two interrelated areas: participants' methodology and their English language development. We will first look at methodological benefits: how the CLIL course inspired participants to experiment with new techniques and to develop more relevant materials for their students, and how it encouraged participants to reflect on their practice in an ongoing professional dialogue. Then we deal with the impact of the course on participants English language development.

8.2.1 Introducing change

The interviews reveal that the CLIL course encouraged participants to reflect on their practice and inspired them apply new theories and techniques in their own teaching context. One interviewee claims that the CLIL course "provided help not only for teaching [the courses] in English, but it activated my imagination for both [the English and the Hungarian] programmes." Observations, participants' feedback, and the semi-structured interviews reveal that participant teachers felt they gained useful methodological input for teaching their courses both in English and in Hungarian. This was emphasised by several interviewees, who suggested that the methodological training they had received as students was not relevant for their current practice. "I have been teaching for fifteen years, and although in theory we studied pedagogy and various methodological techniques ages ago, we... made the mistake of not developing over the years in terms of methodology. Somehow there was not time for this, and there were no ideas either" (Nóra, Pharmacognosy).

It is worth noting that the interviewee uses the phrase “in theory” (“although in theory we studied pedagogy”) to imply that what she had once learnt in this area was theoretical knowledge, not really applicable to the classroom context. We need to add here that quantitative and qualitative analysis of students’ feedback to their compulsory pedagogy courses which they have to take to complete their teaching degrees, and which are run in Hungarian, reflect that students tend to perceive these courses as outdated in their approach and not sufficiently practice-oriented (Lehmann, Lugossy & Nikolov, 2011).

Another interesting point that emerges from this interview is that the teacher felt that both she and her colleagues had been fossilised in their practice (“made the mistake of not developing over the years in terms of methodology”). The fact that “there were no ideas” suggests that they did not invest time and effort to think about the methodological aspects of their profession.

During the course, many of the participants indicated that they teamed up with other colleagues and developed new tasks while teaching their subjects. This was the case with the members from the Pharmacognosy Department, where the atmosphere was friendly and inspiring, and the staff liked working together on joint projects. Nóra claims: “We started developing new tasks with my colleague, and we will gradually try to use one or two in the class. We’ll see how the students will like them”. Participants from this department also involved their PhD students in developing materials as a result of the inspiration gained from the course. As the teachers of the CLIL course, we were impressed not only by participants’ willingness to experiment with new tasks and materials but mostly by the fact that many of them developed materials and experimented together with other colleagues working in the same area.

As for the techniques participants encountered on the CLIL course, some were not new to them. Several interviewees made the point that while they had occasionally used innovative techniques, understanding the theoretical background to these techniques made them more confident in using them on a systematic basis, and reinforced them that they were doing the right thing despite negative peer pressure coming from colleagues. This was the case of Marianna, who had been using pair and group discussions during her Biology seminars despite her colleagues’ negative comments implying that this technique would only lower the level of teaching.

Some of the participants also claimed that they became more aware of their own role in motivating students as a result of the course, and they found that by trying to create and maintain motivation in their classes, their own motivation also increased. Teachers articulated the need to be aware of students’ needs and to think about engaging ways to teach their subjects, claiming that “this makes our preparation [for the courses] more interesting” and “we are excited about the feedback we are going to get from students, as well as the possible results.” As it turned out from a later email received from one of the participants from the Pharmacognosy Department, feedback gained from students was often ambivalent, and sometimes it seemed that the teachers were more motivated by their innovations than the students. A good example for this is when the teachers developed new tasks for testing and assessing students’ knowledge. Unlike

traditional testing tasks applied until then, the new tasks focused less on what students remembered, and instead, required them to show their ability to synthesise and apply what they had learned in new contexts. The teachers also invited students to give feedback to the new test tasks and found that although students found the new tasks far more engaging than the previous ones, they preferred more traditional, memory-based tests simply because they were more familiar with them and because they were less complex. This shows that not only teachers' beliefs but students' beliefs are also hard to change.

8.2.2 Constructing knowledge in interaction: Methodology and foreign language development

An important outcome of our study is the role of social interaction in constructing knowledge. Participants spontaneously initiated discussions related to different aspects of teaching and learning. They also reflected on the tasks that we carried out during the sessions in terms of how they could be applied in their own contexts. It also occurred that although they found the tasks engaging, they questioned the applicability of these tasks in their own contexts. This was the case with a teacher teaching the theory of Statics, who complained of her students' low motivation and lack of interest in her subject, but who consistently turned down our suggestions and examples of how she could embed some of the course input in narrative contexts. Other course participants also offered suggestions in this sense, but the teacher remained undaunted in her belief that this was an impossible endeavour in her case, and others were probably lucky to be teaching interesting subjects. Hers was meant to be boring. Ironically, this teacher's presence in our group turned out to be inspiring, as other participants reacted to her ideas, and tried to convince her to dare to innovate her practice.

Interviews and informal feedback gained from emails also reveal that members of the group felt privileged to share their ideas, experiences and life stories: "It was great to listen to stories, to think together and it was great that you were interested in everything we said, and we could talk about ourselves, about experiences we have had. This meant a lot for us... we don't have much of this [kind of discourse] here." This quote emphasises the email writer's need to share her insights to "think together" with other members of the discourse community. It is interesting to note that the person who wrote this email works at the Pharmacognosy Department, along with young, open minded and supportive colleagues. She even indicates at the beginning of her letter that she is writing on behalf of all her colleagues with whom she participated in the course, and uses the first person plural all along. It seems that even in such supportive work environment teachers feel the urge to go beyond the borders of their immediate professional community, and identify themselves as members of a broader community of practitioners.

Finally, another aspect of creating knowledge in interaction referred to participants' foreign language development. Since the working language of the sessions was English, which means that not only the CLIL tasks performed

during sessions, but reflections on tasks and professional discussions were also in the target language. Most of the participants pointed out in their feedback provided to the course that the ongoing dialogue increased their confidence to use English in professional contexts.

The interviews also reveal that participants appreciated the opportunities to interact with each other in English. Nóra, writing on behalf of her colleagues and herself, writes: “what we liked most, we even talked about this with the others, was that beside the clear structure, every lesson was continuously interactive, so we could pluck up our courage a little in English too”. While using English was obviously not a problem for some of the participants, who made it quite clear at the beginning of the course that they “had not come here to practise their English,” the use of English was in interaction was some of the primary goals of some other teachers taking part in the course. The latter were insecure about their language use (e.g., “I am often afraid that I might not be understood, or that I will not understand them”) and felt that participation in the course increased their confidence and willingness to use English.

8.3 Constructing identity

It became apparent from the onset of the CLIL course that participants reflected on their career-related experiences to construct professional identities. Most of the tasks required them to connect to their contexts. The responses and in-class discussions were loaded with self-concepts based on job-related values, beliefs, attributes, fears, commitments as well as interests and characterized their professional roles as prestigious. As we followed up on these discourses, the interviews revealed the unique self-portraits of English-speaking academics shaped by multiple positions created by socialization, career opportunities, academic requirements, and family life. The extent to which participants invested in language learning as a career development opportunity expressed how much they understood the time and effort that such investment required as well as its benefits. Our observation and interview data show that participants have found investment pertinent to their professional knowledge and their investment included reading scholarly literature and understanding the target culture while being a part of the academic community. Moreover, we have identified three major areas in which the CLIL course has helped participants’ professional development: 1) development of knowledge in the field of methodology, 2) acquisition of a mode of thought, and 3) active participation in professional networks and relationships (Norton, 2013; Darwin & Norton, 2015).

Our goal was to help course participants boost their EFL speaker identities through their professional knowledge and success. Not only did we consciously use particular techniques and concrete ideas in our teaching, but we also introduced ways of thinking about learning and teaching. The CLIL materials and tasks were designed to enhance the autonomy of professionals as EFL learners while connecting language with their fields of research. The course helped most participants think in terms of another kind of classroom culture and

identify areas for development. In the interview, Marianna and Anikó talked about the necessity to understand their own students' needs through encouraging them to ask questions, which is often not easy.

Q: "Why do you think they never said anything, even when you asked them to come up with their concerns?"

Anikó summarized what is common among Hungarian students, that "they are scared to speak up in front of each other, and perhaps that they say something stupid." Marianna added, that "this is part of their education, to speak only if they know the perfect answer. If somebody says something that's not right would bring the world to an end. What would the others think of him?" Encouraging their students to speak about difficulties and challenges helped these CLIL course participants realize their skills and potentials to innovate successfully. Sharing these issues helped make already existing connections more meaningful and establish new relationships and network membership.

Because the course shifted the focus of English language classes from form to content, participants developed their identities as professionals using their knowledge in a foreign language –in a more flexible way: more focused on creating meaning and less concerned about potential mistakes. They were willing to individualise tasks and problematised issues related to their practice – made them feel less isolated in their struggles in teaching –strengthened their belonged to multiple professional communities and created further networking among participants.

9. Conclusion

The study gives insights into the daily challenges of eighteen Hungarian university teachers involved in both Hungarian and English language programmes launched by the different departments at the University of Pécs. While most of these teachers had an appropriate academic language proficiency needed to present and discuss course material related to their subjects in English, they mostly identified challenges other than using the foreign language in teaching. Data collected through qualitative processes reveal that they needed to develop primarily their methodological skills, no matter in what language they were teaching. They were willing to apply new theories and experiment with new techniques (e.g., using group work and debates in class, asking questions and teaching their students to ask questions) in their teaching, as well as to reflect on their practice in a critical way. As for some participants teaching students from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds appeared to be a critical context because of different cultural-educational traditions and communication patterns, the study also allowed insights into teachers' attempts to scaffold students' development in terms of content, language and educational culture.

Along with methodological and linguistic outcomes for teachers, findings also reveal the need for teachers' professional networking. Both during and after

sessions, participants were eager to discuss issues related to teaching and learning and to provide help and encouragement to each other. Admittedly, during the CLIL course they felt included in a discourse community which they often missed among their colleagues from their own departments, who were not so keen on understanding students' needs. Both during class discussions and the interviews, participants articulated the joy of meaning making in a supportive community of professionals.

Finally, despite their daily difficulties in teaching their subjects in English, teachers perceived implementing CLIL as an investment, since they felt they developed their foreign language skills and their confidence to use the language along with their methodological knowledge. They also felt that the CLIL courses in which they participated allowed them to develop new modes of thinking about teaching and learning as socio-culturally embedded processes and new ways of thinking about themselves as individuals willing to invest in their own development.

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Blending with *Edmodo*: The Application of Blended Learning in a Listening and Speaking Skills Development Course

Krisztián Simon and Kristína Kollárová
University of Pécs
skrisztian88@gmail.com; kollarkriszti89@gmail.com

The present study was motivated by the integration of technology in a language classroom carried out by adding a blended element to a face-to-face listening and speaking skills development seminar. Here blended meant that students were given an opportunity to improve their speaking and listening skills by providing them additional online tasks with the help of the online virtual learning environment called *Edmodo*.

1. Literature review

1.1 Defining e-learning

Learning with e-learning, blended learning and mobile technologies are rapidly developing areas. However, there are different interpretations in the research community of e-learning, mobile learning, blended learning and other terms related to IT. As a consequence, researchers often establish and explain their own understanding of the above mentioned terms and this discrepancy has led to a number of representations of the relationships between them.

Although ‘e-learning’ is often used as an umbrella term of the field, its place is not clearly defined. The most well-marked differences concern where one area may end and how it overlaps with others. Furthermore, differentiating the level of ICT and online involvement has led to the coining and reassessment of a number of terms including web-based instruction (WBI), computer assisted language learning (CALL), fully online, distance and blended learning, just to name a few. The areas addressed in this study are e-learning, distance learning web-based learning, mobile learning or m-learning and blended learning.

Khan’s exhaustive definition of e-learning provides valid scaffolding for e-learning initiatives, whether it is web-based, mobile or fully online:

(e)-learning can be viewed as an innovative approach for delivering well-designed, learner-centered, interactive, and facilitated learning environment to anyone, anytime by utilizing the attributes and resources of various digital technologies along with other forms of learning

materials suited for open, flexible, and distributed learning environment. (2005, p. 3)

He stresses not only that learning environments should be open and flexible but also the need for them to use digital technologies and alternative learning materials.

Tsai and Machado (2002) claim that a clear understanding of the concepts like e-learning, distance learning, online learning and web-based learning are indispensable in promoting effective language learning (pp. 1-2). In their paper they discuss e-learning as activities that simultaneously involve computers and interactive networks. As they explain, distance learning contains interaction at a distance between the learners and the instructor and they refer to online learning as a way of learning when students are provided with readily available learning materials on a computer. When learning materials are delivered in a web browser, it is called web-based learning.

Some researchers, like So (2010) see m-learning subordinated to e-learning, which is integrated in distance learning. Others, like Kambourakis, Kontoni and Sapounas see mobile learning as the “point at which mobile computing and e-Learning intersect to produce an anytime, anywhere learning experience” (2004, p. 1). In a more recent approach by Clark and Mayer (2011), the distinction between e-learning and m-learning grows less significant, as it also puts computers and mobiles on equal grounds. They describe e-learning as “instruction delivered on a digital device such as a computer or mobile device that is intended to support learning” (p. 8).

The discrepancy regarding e-learning is less present in the case of blended learning as it is seen as a setup where both face-to-face and online or computer-based elements are present. However, there is room for variance with this term as well. Driscoll (2002) concluded that there have been many changes in the meaning of the term blended learning and it had to be updated. She found that it refers to four different concepts and means a combination of “modes of web-based technology”, “various pedagogical approaches”, “any form of instructional technology with face-to-face instructor-led training” and “instructional technology with actual job tasks” (p. 1).

Oliver and Trigwell (2010, p. 17) came to a similar conclusion where they referred to the three main definitions of blended learning which Sharma (2010, p. 456) groups as “a combination of face-to-face and online teaching”, “a combination of technologies” and a “combination of methodologies”. He also calls attention to the first which is “arguably, the classic definition of the term” and describes the second being applicable to a distance learning course without face-to-face contact.

As the meanings of technical terms can be determined in many ways and they are constantly changing, in this paper we intend to use the definitions of e-learning and blended learning as follows: e-learning concerns learning situations where participants are connected via a network to which they all have access and where the construction of knowledge is supported by ICT technologies and the learning environments are either developed or adapted to

engage the learners in their own learning beyond the limits of face-to-face sessions. Blended learning is applicable to those cases where face-to-face lessons are supported by virtual or online sessions by using the same technology that is present in the course.

1.2 Web 2.0

Today's learners have access to virtually all disciplines through e-learning. They can learn about genetics, human behavior, history and so on, thanks to the large number of freely available e-courses and learning materials. All they need is a computer and an Internet connection. A number of advancements have aided this change and the underlying reason for it is the transition from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 and the overlaps of e-learning, m-learning and blended learning.

Dudeney and Hockly (2013) stress the importance of “the transition from Web 1.0 (a static, expert-produced resource) to Web 2.0 (a more creative, consumer-driven space)” (p. 538). According to them, this “ensures that online users with no programming or design skills could now produce resources, and this led to more creative approaches from teachers using technology” (p. 538). Thus, with Web 2.0 everyone can create content and make it available online. Moreover, it is accessible not only from computers but also mobile devices and tablets with the help of applications designed for a wide range of gadgets.

In other words, the Internet was shifting from being a medium, in which the information was consumed into a platform that provided an opportunity to create, share and pass along the content that allowed people not only to read books or watch TV but communicate through videos and images. Consequently, this enabled e-learning to reuse content according to students' personal needs and interest (Downes, 2005, p. 4).

Some researchers, like Fuchs, Hofkirchner, Schafrank, Raffl, Sandoval and Bichler (2010) argue that even a Web 3.0 is present, however, they use it only “for describing and characterizing the social dynamics and information processes that are part of the Internet” (p. 43). For the study at hand, Dudeney and Hockly's (2013) description of Web 2.0 applies.

1.3 Edmodo

The number of websites and mobile applications that aim to facilitate e-learning is growing by the minute. Given the popularity of massively open online courses (MOOC) at university level, one could arrive at the conclusion that this is the primary aim of such initiatives. Even though such e-courses might be most popular, it would be a mistake to assume that other educational levels are underrepresented. *Fishtree*, for example was developed with a specific target in mind; for providing e-solutions on a group, class or school level, covering the K12 spectrum of learners. Another example is *Edmodo*, which covers the same spectrum and learners of higher education, thus bridging the gap between various school levels.

Edmodo is designed to utilize the users' familiarity with *Facebook* and thus makes e-learning participation intuitive and next to second nature. Furthermore, it enables the creation of smaller groups and collaboration between them, similar to the aim of *Google+* circles. It does not allow for website customization like, for example, *Weebly*, but it makes up for that by offering many new features.

Three kinds of accounts can be registered at *Edmodo*: teacher, student and parent. Teachers can access all the features of the website and can give users further user rights, for example becoming co-teachers. They also create and manage classes and provide the students with the group code they need for joining classes. When creating a class, *Edmodo* generates a code and students can only join the lessons if they enter this code when signing in. This gives teachers control to limit who has access to their lessons. There are a number of features teachers can make use of, including: quizzes, assignments, polls, writing notes, sending alerts about what should be done, grading assignments and you can even award students with badges. Students receive a parent code when signing up for a course, which enables their parents to also keep track of what is happening online.

Edmodo's list of functions is lacking in one major department that would make the site the number one e-learning platform to turn to. At the time of writing this paper, live streaming or creating video lectures directly from the core website is not possible. However, there are ways to bypass this problem. A growing number of applications are available to be added to *Edmodo* groups from the site's app store. For example, *Blendspace* (Edmodo, 2015) assists the process with a number of search engine and cloud service shortcuts along with learning resources sites like *Gooru*, *Educreations*, *Khan Academy* and *OpenEd*. Video lessons from these sites, as well as *YouTube* can be used and even turned into interactive educational videos.

Overall, *Edmodo* has lots of potential for fully online e-learning as well as blended instruction approaches. It was chosen for further investigation in the research project of the present study for three main reasons: its interface, the large number of features available on the site and no additional access costs.

2. The study

2.1 The context of research

The context of the project was the Listening and Speaking Skills II course in the 2014/15 spring semester at the Institute of English Studies, University of Pécs. This is part of four skills development courses (2 reading & writing skills and 2 listening and speaking skills) that are mandatory for first year English majors and their goal is to prepare them for the proficiency exam at the end of their first year.

2.2 Research questions

The project had overall three research questions:

1. How can a blended approach scaffold students' development?
2. What kind of tasks did students find the most and least useful?
3. What are the implications for teaching part-time students?

2.3 Participants

Overall 16 students started the course, and one dropped out during the first month. From the 15 students, three were male and twelve female, with an average age of 19.6 years. Every participant was a first year English major. Two-thirds of the sample (10) were enrolled in the BA program whereas five students were in the first year of teacher training.

2.4 Data collection instruments

Integrating *Edmodo* into the course design started with a self-assessment questionnaire where students assessed their own abilities based on a five-point scale along these criteria: formal accuracy, oral accuracy, vocabulary, style, communicative effectiveness, discussion skills, argumentative skills and presentation skills. On the left, the students needed to indicate their presumed skill level and on the right what they wanted to reach by the end of the semester. This was followed up by a second round of self-assessment at the end of the semester. Overall 80% marked positive self-perceived development while only 20% point to not having developed the given skills. Due to space limitation, these are not discussed further in this paper.

Another questionnaire was also developed to address how applying a blended aspect to a course that the learners experienced as a traditional seminar in the fall semester of the 2014-15 academic year would be beneficial to their language development (Appendix A). The questionnaire comprised 51 four-point Likert-scale items ranging from “strongly disagree” (1), “somewhat disagree” (2), “somewhat agree” (3) to “strongly agree” (4), as well as 13 open ended questions.

Since this was an exploratory study, the inclusion of open ended items was important to get feedback on the blended approach. As Dörnyei (2007) explains, “the participant-sensitivity of qualitative research is very helpful in deciding what aspects of the data require special attention because it offers priority guidelines that are validated by the main actors themselves” (p. 39). Thus, it makes it possible for “the researcher to conduct the ‘further research’ straight away, thereby reaching a fuller understanding” (p. 40).

The instrument included the following sections: general information, questions about the in-class tasks, the online tasks, the feedback, *Edmodo* and the participants' overall impression of the course. Each of these will be dealt with separately in the findings section. The instructions to the questionnaire

made it clear that data is collected for statistical purposes only and filling it out does not include personally identifiable information.

2.5 Procedures

Turning the traditionally face-to-face Listening and Speaking Skills II seminar into a blended course was motivated by two factors: the decreasing scores on the proficiency exam suggesting that learners require further practice opportunities which are not possible in the classroom sessions due to time limitations and in order to explore how e-solutions can benefit the learners' progress.

The first step was searching for websites and online platforms that could be used in the project. Solutions that required a registration fee were omitted and the focus was exclusively on free tools. *Edmodo* was chosen as the platform for the online tasks. This was complemented by selected lessons from a self-study *Coursera* MOOC Introduction to Public Speaking (McGarrity, 2015). The reason behind choosing this specific course was to give students additional support for completing the required presentation tasks. Additionally, they were also required to watch a number of *TED* presentations. These focused on gadgets, presentation skills and the role of technology in storytelling. Furthermore, the students were provided with a speaking situations abstract, which was a collection of expressions they could use during the presentation and discussion tasks based on Kész and Törökné Tenk (2011, pp. 169-187).

Adding a blended element to this course did not mean moving certain classes online but rather providing the learners with additional practice and development opportunities online. The face-to-face sessions of the course followed what students experienced during Listening and Speaking Skills I, namely in-class listening, presentation, argument and discussion tasks. The syllabus explained the criteria along which the students' presentations were evaluated, including: formal accuracy, oral accuracy, vocabulary, style and communicative effectiveness (adapted from Szabó & Papp, 2013, p. 160).

The presentations included tasks that learners were familiar with from the previous semester: a presentation on a topic of their choice and a picture presentation where they received the image one week prior to the class via e-mail. An additional presentation exercise required participants to prepare pair presentations based on a video or podcast they pick. Subsequently, they needed to create an online quiz based on this presentation for their classmates. Each student was required to assess each other's presentation on a peer-review sheet (Appendix B) and they received feedback from two evaluators to simulate the proficiency exam conditions and ensure inter-rater reliability.

Due to the exploratory nature of the project, online exercises were included based on the result of a needs analysis and self-assessment questionnaire. As discussed in the data collection instruments section, beyond assessing their own levels on selected criteria on a five-point scale, the questionnaire also addressed learners' needs. This happened in three sections: skill development needs, ready to do for progress and task needs.

As Table 1 shows, learners mentioned a number of points. These were grouped into the four categories of vocabulary development, speaking, listening and other needs. Vocabulary development shows a similar picture in all three cases with the students' mainly aiming to extend their vocabulary. The speaking descriptions were most detailed about what kind of development the students would like to achieve including general skill improvement, becoming a better presenter and debater. Listening development was similarly prominent with focus on improvement, task number and specific task needs. In the "other" section the comments of the students were in line with the other three with specific focus on improving self-confidence as well, getting feedback, help with the proficiency exam, tasks in the classroom and at home. Based on these findings, the course's blended element and face-to-face sessions were adapted accordingly.

A number of overarching solutions were implemented in the course design. Reacting to learners' needs, they received a practice listening task every week on *Edmodo*. The texts were taken from the *NPR* website as it has a large number of audio recordings on up-to-date topics. Also, one of the two in-class listening tasks was moved to the online interface. In their final score, only the compulsory online listening tasks scores mattered, thus aiming to reduce the pressure of completing the home practice exercises and encouraging practice. *Edmodo* makes it possible to simulate classroom environments by adding a time limit to task completion.

Table 1. Findings of needs analysis at the beginning of the semester

Skill development needs			
Vocabulary development	Speaking	Listening	Other
Vocabulary extension (5)	General skill improvement (16) Becoming a better presenter (4) Becoming a better debater (2)	General skill improvement (9) Specific skill improvement (1)	Feedback (9) The course in general (8) Improving self-confidence (3) Proficiency exam (2) Development (1)
Ready to do for progress			
Vocabulary development	Speaking	Listening	Other
Vocabulary extension (3)	Preparation (4) Watching videos for improvement (1) Involvement in class work (1)	Home practice listening exercises (1) Many listening tasks (1)	Classroom work (6) Work at home (10) Watching movies and videos (6) Skill improvement (5) Proficiency exam (1)
Task needs			
Vocabulary development	Speaking	Listening	Other
Vocabulary extension (2)	Becoming a better debater (3) General skill development (2) Becoming a better presenter (2)	General skill improvement (3) Advice for skill improvement (1) Specific task need (1)	General task needs (6) Watching movies and videos (3) Encouragement (3) Self-confidence (2) Praise (2) Proficiency exam (2) Develop criticism of activity (1) Feedback (2) Online tasks (1)

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15/20
Total Points:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Question Total: 2 points

7. According to the speaker, what could have been better in the movie?

Action it isn't as good as the comics

Correct Answer

Correct

Incorrect

Partial Credit 2 /2

Figure 1. An online listening task on *Edmodo*

The second project implemented throughout the semester targeted students' argumentative and discussion skill development. In the beginning of the semester, students were engaged in a staged debate where each participant needed to add something to the topic and had to select the next person to add a point to the discussion. Later this was followed by group discussion sessions, where students worked in groups of four and had to argue for or against a certain topic. The final step of this skill development was engaging the students in pair discussion. Topics were taken from previous proficiency exam exercises as well as adapted from Tompos and Neville's (2012) book. Table 2 shows a sample exercise of this type.

Table 2. Sample exercise for argumentative and discussion skills development adapted from Tompos and Neville (2012, p. 12)

3A House swap during holidays

Swapping houses during holiday is a good idea because:

- a) you can find many houses to choose from
- b) there are no extra costs
- c) you may even stay somewhere for free
- d) more and more people are doing it all over the world
- e) anything else you find important

3B House swap during holidays

Swapping houses during holiday can be dangerous because:

- a) something can easily go wrong
- b) it is easy to damage the property if you are not familiar with it
- c) you have to organize your own journey
- d) you can only see once you get there whether you made a good swap
- e) anything else you find important

Two larger projects were also implemented for vocabulary development. Since there was no suitable mind map creation tool in the *Edmodo* application store,

an outside website was used. Criteria for the selection included an intuitive interface, pdf exportability and a possibility for online collaboration. February was used as the time period for learners to get used to *Edmodo* and the mind map project took place in March. The *MindMup* website was used and the task's initial collaborative goal was changed to individual completion since many participants had problems with using their *Google Drive*. The students received the intermediate and advanced level ECL language exam topics (adapted from Szabó & Collins, 2010, pp.154-7; 2011, pp. 208-10) in the form of a mind map scaffolding which they were required to extend with vocabulary items, expression and possibly videos, pictures and even websites connected to those topics. After task completion, students could view each other's mind maps.

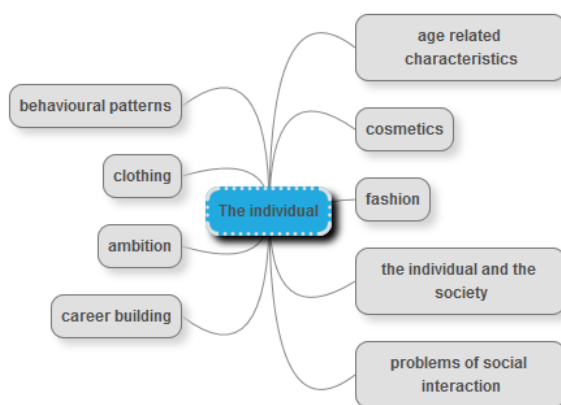


Figure 2. Example of a mind map scaffolding created on the *MindMup* website (adapted from Szabó & Collins., 2010, p. 154; 2011, p. 208)

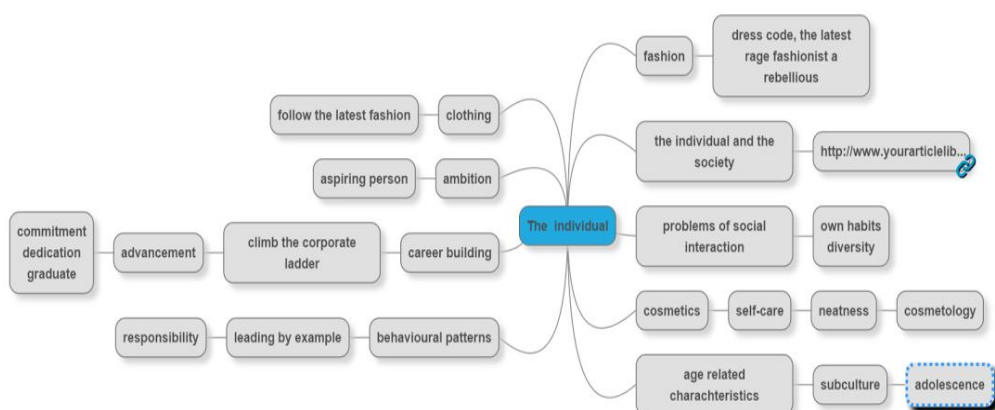


Figure 3. Example of a completed mind map on the *MindMup* website
The second month-long project took place in April and asked the students to search for a podcast of their choice and write a reflective essay on why they

picked it, what they learned from it and why would recommend it. They were also asked to include a word list of the expressions they found most useful and prepare a short listening exercise for their classmates. These were turned into online practice listening tasks. Overall students mostly picked the *6 Minute English Podcast* on *BBC*'s website and were able to reflect on it in a logical manner while creating meaningful exercises.

An accompanying subproject included measuring students' vocabulary levels with Nation and Beglar's (2007) diagnostic instrument. Following this step, Nation's (1990) vocabulary levels test and Martinez's (2011) phrase test were intended to be adapted on *Edmodo*. The problem here was that the site does not allow for matching tests where not every item has a pair. Thus, the tests were redesigned into five 25-item multiple choice tests (Figure 4.). Students received information on the level of the given vocabulary item and the test was delivered with the questions in a randomized order.

Overall, *Edmodo* proved to be a well-designed website for giving feedback to learners on the various listening tasks. From a teacher's standpoint, it gave information about the problematic items in the forms of pie charts, showed task completion times, made group and individual communication possible and provided an easy way of giving feedback. At the end of the semester the students completed a self-assessment and a reflective questionnaire reporting on their progress.

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24/25
Total Points:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 more

Question Total: 1 point

think about deeply (5000 level)

A extract

B gamble

C launch

D contemplate

Correct Answer

Figure 4. Online vocabulary test on *Edmodo*

2.6 Results and discussion

2.6.1 The findings of the blended experiment assessing questionnaire

The findings of the reflective questionnaire completed in the last session of the semester are presented in the following parts: in-class tasks, online tasks, feedback, *Edmodo* and overall impressions. The closed-ended items used four-point Likert scales and each task was addressed with at least two of these; one asking about how the participants felt the given task contributed to their language development and how level-appropriate it was in their regard.

2.6.2 The in-class tasks

Elements of the face-to-face course that were integrated in the blended listening and speaking skills course included in-class listening tasks (Q11-12), various discussion tasks (Q7-10), a presentation (Q1-2), where the students could choose their own topics and a picture presentation (Q3-4), where they received their pictures via e-mail. Additionally, they were required to prepare presentations where pairs of students worked around a topic of their choice based on a short video or podcast (Q5-6). The discussion tasks were organized to introduce participants into argumentation in a step-by-step manner. First, they happened as a staged debate in the classroom where each student had to add one point to the topic at hand, next, they worked in groups to solve a problem (Q7-8) and finally they argued in pairs (Q9-10). During the session, one listening task took place in class (Q11-12), while another took place online on *Edmodo* (discussed in subsequent sections).

The results displayed in Table 4 (Q1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11) suggest that the students found the various tasks detailed above to be highly beneficial for their language development with an overall 1 marking for “strongly disagree”, 12 for “somewhat disagree”, 48 for “somewhat agree” and 29 for “strongly agree”. The participants’ assessment of the tasks being level appropriate (Q2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12), show a similar pattern with 2 picks for “strongly disagree”, 9 for “somewhat disagree”, 38 for “somewhat agree”, and 42 for “strongly agree”. These answers indicate that the students found the level of the tasks to be more appropriate for the level required for this course than the tasks’ contribution to their language development.

Table 4. The results of the Likert-scale items of the in-class tasks section of the questionnaire

About the in-class tasks (mean)		1 (strongly disagree)	2 (somewhat disagree)	3 (somewhat agree)	4 (strongly agree)	Mean	SD
1.	The presentation task contributed to my language development.	0	0	9	6	3.4	.507
2.	I found the level of the presentation task appropriate.	0	1	7	7	3.4	.632
3.	The picture presentation task contributed to my language development.	1	1	8	5	3.13	.834
4.	I found the level of the picture presentation task appropriate.	1	0	6	8	3.4	.828
5.	The pair-presentation task contributed to my language development.	0	2	7	6	3.27	.704
6.	I found the level of the pair-presentation task appropriate.	0	1	8	6	3.33	.617
7.	The group discussion task contributed to my language development.	0	3	10	2	2.93	.594
8.	I found the level of the group discussion task appropriate.	0	3	6	6	3.2	.775

9.	The pair discussion task contributed to my language development.	0	2	10	3	3.07	.594
10.	I found the level of the pair discussion task appropriate.	0	2	8	5	3.2	.676
11.	The in-class listening tasks contributed to my language development.	0	4	4	7	3.2	.862
12.	I found the level of the in-class listening tasks appropriate.	0	2	3	10	3.53	.743

Questions 13 to 16 were open ended items gathering further information. Q13 inquired about how the in-class tasks contributed to the development of the participants. The answers revealed the following patterns: vocabulary development (7) with 3 references to the presentation task and 1 to the in-class listening exercises, speaking development (7) with 2 students highlighting the role of the presentations tasks, listening tasks (6), self-confidence building (3), pronunciation development (1) and the overall structure of the course being helpful (1).

Q14 asked about what other forms of development they would have welcomed. The answers indicated that participants required more vocabulary-related (4) and speaking (1) exercises. One participant indicated to be satisfied with the course.

Q15 was about any other comments the students might have wanted to add. There were 4 answers concerning feedback to the course: 2 commented on having too many exercises, 1 stressed not allowing reading presentations and 1 argued for having the discussion tasks without helping cards.

2.6.3 The online tasks

On the question concerning previous e-learning experience, only 2 students reported to have encountered e-learning previously; 9 had none and 4 were not sure. The second part of the questionnaire looked at the tasks that provided the e-learning frame to the course. These included exercises or files the students accessed on the accompanying site *Edmodo* (Q16-22), a selection of lesson from the Introduction to Public Speaking MOOC on *Coursera* (McGarrity, 2015) (Q23-25), a number of *TED* presentations (Q26-28), a mind map creation task with the help of the *MindMup* website (Q29-31), a reflective essay on a

podcast of the learners' choice and their own listening task based on it (Q32-34) and vocabulary tests adopted from the *Compleat Lexical Tutor* website (Nation, 1990; Nation & Beglar, 2007; Martinez, 2011) (Q35-37).

Edmodo's task creation tool was utilized in moving the second listening task of each lesson to this online space and also providing the students with an additional weekly exercise that they indicated in the needs analysis. Based on the answers, students found the compulsory online listening tasks highly beneficial for their development (Q17: somewhat disagree [1], somewhat agree [6], strongly agree [8]), and also level level-appropriate (Q16: somewhat disagree [1], somewhat agree [5], strongly agree [9]). The items inquiring about the home practice listening exercises show the same pattern with the tasks being level-appropriate (Q18: somewhat disagree [1], somewhat agree [7], strongly agree [7]), and the tasks were deemed to be mostly contributing to their language development (Q19: somewhat disagree [1], somewhat agree [10], strongly agree [4]). There were vocabulary lists put together based on the in-class, the compulsory online and the home practice online listening tasks. However, 60% of the students did not turn to these.

During the course, students were required to assess their classmates based on the same criteria they were scored as well: formal accuracy, oral accuracy, vocabulary, style and communicative effectiveness. These criteria were chosen and defined based on the advanced level ECL language exam requirements (Szabó & Collins, 2013, p. 160). The students were also asked to reflect on their own presentations but only a few did this during the semester. Q20 shows a varied picture about writing the peer-reviews for classmates (strongly disagree [2], somewhat disagree [3], somewhat agree [4], strongly agree [6]). However, there is still a two-third positive distribution about the peer-reviews being supportive to the development of classmates. There is a highly strong positive correlation about finding the received peer-review scores fair, covering 86.5% of the (somewhat disagree [2], somewhat agree [6], strongly agree [7]).

Giving students support in putting their presentations together was a primary aim of the course and why an online element was added to the face-to-face lessons. The *Coursera* MOOC Introduction to Public Speaking (McGarrity, 2015) is a prime candidate for this as it contains short video presentations about choosing your keywords, slide planning and so on. Furthermore, it is a self-study course, meaning there are not deadlines and the students can access each video lesson throughout the semester. Q25 revealed that *Coursera* was almost exclusively unknown to the participants. Q23 shows that only about 40% of the students (6) turned to the *Coursera* lectures which is in line with about 66.5% of the sample (10) not finding the MOOC useful at all for developing their presentations skills (Q24).

In addition to the video lectures, students were required to watch selected *TED* presentations each week. Responses to Q26 show nearly the same pattern of Q23 with 8 students leaning toward not watching the videos whereas 7 are more positively biased. Based on their answers to Q27 (somewhat disagree [4], somewhat agree [7], strongly agree [4]), the participants found these videos more useful for the development of their presentation skills. Contrary to

Coursera, overall 11 students were familiar with *TED* prior to taking the Listening and Speaking Skills II (Q28).

Three exercises targeted vocabulary development or vocabulary size measurement. The first of these was providing the learners with mind map scaffoldings based on the intermediate and advanced level ECL topic descriptions (Szabó & Collins, 2010, 2011). The students' task was to extend these with words, expressions and possibly with pictures, websites and videos, on the *MindMup* website. Q29 shows that completing the task happened without problems for 73% (10) of the sample, and it was indicated by the majority of the students (86.5% [13]) that it was beneficial for their language development. Even though viewing the mind maps of their classmates was seen as beneficial for their language development by two-thirds of the learners (10), it shows a more varied picture with 1 marking for "strongly disagree" and 4 for "somewhat disagree".

The second vocabulary development task required students to find a podcast of their choice, write a reflective essay about it, expressing its topic, what they learned from it and why they would recommend it. In the essay they were required to add a list of words and expressions they learned from the podcast as well as a short listening task with 5-10 questions. Q32 revealed that finding the subject of their podcast analysis was a challenge for 10 students, however 13 students found putting together the vocabulary list easy. Creating the listening task shows an overall positive distribution with 2 markings on "somewhat agree" and 8 on "strongly agree, yet there are also 2 answers with "strongly disagree" and 3 with "somewhat disagree" meaning that this task was a somewhat challenging for the students.

The final vocabulary exercise was a collection of online synonym tests. The first one was a diagnostic test (Martinez, 2011) determining the vocabulary level of the participants which they completed on the *Compleat Lexical Tutor* website. There were five matching tests taken from the site (Nation, 1990; Nation & Beglar, 2007; Martinez, 2011) which were reworked into multiple choice questions due to the limitation that Edmodo only allows to create matching tests if every item has a pair, which was not the case in the above tests. Items were taken from various levels, encompassing the 2,000-10,000 word levels. Q35-37 show a similar pattern and are discussed together. Participants found both the vocabulary size test and the vocabulary level tests useful and beneficial for their language development (strongly disagree [1], somewhat disagree [3], somewhat agree [24], strongly disagree [16]). The overall mean value of 3.07 shows that the online tasks were also found useful.

Q38 asked participants to describe the ways in which the online tasks helped the development of the participant. The most frequently mentioned category was vocabulary development (10) with one student stressing the *TED* presentations and the *MindMup* website. Listening skill development and tasks at home each were mentioned 4 times. Writing skill development was mentioned by 3 students and interestingly pronunciation development was also listed once.

Q39 collected data on what other forms of development the participants would have welcomed. Vocabulary was mentioned by two participants with comments about more vocabulary lists to listening tasks, fewer mind maps and vocabulary tests, as well as tests similar to the proficiency exam. Speaking, more *Coursera* tasks and more online tasks based on TV series or movies were all mentioned once.

The answers to Q40 revealed what aspects of the online tasks need improvement according to the participants. Overall, six points were mentioned: repetition in the vocabulary tasks and their limited usefulness, task completion time not being enough, short deadlines, disliking some of the tasks and hard to get used to the interface. Two students expressed their overall enjoyment of the online tasks, similarly there was a mention of the interface being easy to use, useful vocabulary tests and listening skill development.

2.6.4 Feedback

Students received feedback in numerous ways during the semester. First, they got immediate feedback in class after the presentation and discussion tasks. After this they got the results of the peer-reviews together with a detailed evaluation of their performance based on the same evaluation criteria used in the peer-reviews: formal accuracy, oral accuracy, vocabulary, style and communicative effectiveness. Starting from the third week, a two-evaluator approach was introduced to simulate the proficiency exam circumstances and to ensure inter-rater reliability. Furthermore, they received feedback concerning the grammar, syntax and spelling of their answers on *Edmodo*. Questions 41 to 45 show a similar pattern, revealing that the students found the feedback they received highly useful and constructive (summarized answers: somewhat disagree [4], somewhat agree [16], strongly agree [56]).

Q46 revealed further information about feedback, with one student mentioning the peer-reviews being helpful, one describing how reflection was useful for his developing as well as the feedback formulation in writing the peer-reviews. However, one student also mentioned how much the peer-reviews were contradictory.

2.6.5 Edmodo

The third section of the questionnaire focused on the participants' experiences about *Edmodo*. Based on the answers to Q47, the students found using *Edmodo* highly useful during the semester (somewhat disagree [1], somewhat agree [8], strongly agree [4]). The results to the site's interface (Q48) display a similar but less positive distribution (somewhat disagree [3], somewhat agree [4], strongly agree [7]). Q49 revealed that while 10 students found task completion easy, it came with some difficulties to 6 others. Overall, participants found accessing files on *Edmodo* mostly intuitive (somewhat disagree [3], somewhat agree [7], strongly agree [5]).

Questions 51 and 52 show very equal distributions with a total of 7-8 answers in each choice for these two items. This means that there were a rather large number of students, about 30% of the group that encountered errors that negatively affected their online achievement. There was, however, an opportunity to contact the tutor via e-mail if they had some errors that made finishing a task impossible. This usually included *Edmodo* not accepting some answers or simply freezing while task completion. There is an option on the teacher interface to delete students' solutions and this is what providing tech support usually meant in the later parts of the course besides the initial orientation in the first two weeks. Q53 shows that students were overall satisfied with online support they received.

Edmodo has the option to create custom badges that can be awarded to students besides the badges it makes available for each online course. There were overall 17 badges developed for the course based on a collection of royalty free clipart found on www.clicker.com which functioned as a sort of checklist of task completion (e.g., "the golden microphone": completed all presentation tasks). 86.5% of the participants (13) found these badges motivating for course completion (Q54). The near equal distribution of Q55 shows that students were either not convinced by the usefulness of an accompanying site or by the possible benefits adding a blended aspect to a face-to-face course. The answers to Q56 include two comments about the listening tasks, concerning problems with the links and the layout, and one remark for the interface being better than *CooSpace*, the online element being useful and the overall usefulness of feedback.

2.6.6 Overall impressions

The final section of the questionnaire focused on the overall impression of the participants during the course. Q57-58 revealed that the participants enjoyed the course as a whole (somewhat agree [8], strongly agree [7]) and report that they were able to develop their listening and speaking skills (somewhat disagree [1], somewhat agree [8], strongly agree [6]). Even though there were 2 markings for "strongly disagree" and 1 for "somewhat disagree", 12 students supported the idea for using *Edmodo* as a support site for Listening and Speaking Skills II. An overall mean value of 3.3 shows a positive picture for this experimental blended learning project.

Q60-64 collected additional data for the future iterations of a blended Listening and Speaking Skills course. Q61 revealed that there is a great demand for further speaking tasks. Four students listed generally that they required more speaking exercises; there were three answers for additional presentations, one for spontaneous speaking tasks and one student argued for more *TED* videos. More vocabulary tasks would have been welcomed by two participants, as well as more listening exercises (1) with easier texts (1). There were also three students who expressed their satisfaction with the course.

Q62 inquired about the tasks the participants would have liked to have less of. Listening and presentation tasks were both mentioned three times followed by *Edmodo* tasks (2) and peer-reviews (1). There were, however, a number of responses that include constructive advice about what kind of changes the students expect: fewer exercises (4), mainly referring to the online tasks and broadened deadlines (1). Making the listening tasks easier was also mentioned.

Additional data was provided by Q63 for Q62 as too much homework was mentioned here together with moving most of the listening tasks to the classroom environment. Otherwise, three answers included the students enjoying or liking the course, three finding it useful, two positive remarks about the structure, and one for the course being interesting, being beneficial for listening development and the overall atmosphere being pleasant.

Q63 collected data about what the students would recommend for future versions of the course by making it a direct question instead of an indirect inquiry that were questions 61 and 62. Fewer online tasks were listed by three participants, together with fewer presentations (2) and more speaking tasks (2) more listening exercises (1) and more picture presentations (1). A syllabus where each task is listed was mentioned by a student as well as longer deadlines. The reason for the former was the exploratory nature of the course, where a primary aim was to react to students' needs; hence only the online scaffolding was described there. One student mentioned she was satisfied and would not change anything and a second would recommend *Edmodo*.

The final question provided the most detailed insight into how the learners experienced their first blended course, as it asked for their overall impression. These were organized into categories and show a pattern where four points are most prominent: room for improvement, presentation listening exercises and online tasks. The first one included the following statements: three presentation tasks are too much (1), too many exercises (1), picture description left a negative feeling (1), seeing the listening scores left a negative feeling for the whole class (1), overwhelmed by homework (1), include all tasks in the syllabus (1), deadlines too short (1), and feeling others having a larger vocabulary (1).

The presentation tasks triggered the following answers: liked argumentative tasks (2), liked presentations (2), enjoyed presentations (2), able to choose own topics (1), presentations useful, helpful and interesting (1), improved proficiency (1) and interesting presentations (1).

About the listening tasks the students had the followings to say: liked listening tasks (2), listening tasks were difficult (2), more listening tasks than in the previous semester (1), online and in-class listening tasks (1), much better than Listening and Speaking Skills I (2), home practice tasks were useful (1), improved listening and speaking skills (1).

Online tasks were described as follows: useful home practice tasks (2), a new way of practicing listening and speaking (1), learning on the internet was new but useful (1), online version was good (1), *Edmodo* useful (1) and liked the online interface (1).

Further answers include enjoyment or liking (12), additional praise (5), useful (4), evaluation (2), mood (2), speaking development (2), liking the variety of tasks (1), raising interest (1), practice (1), vocabulary development (1), structure (1), funny (1), interesting (1), people (1) and teacher (1).

2.7 Summary of the findings

Based on the findings, the implementation of a blended approach was successful and provided the participants with a platform for additional tasks and activities. Students provided useful information for the further steps of the project and highlighted problematic areas that need further attention. The in-class tasks complemented the online tasks well and the platform was also seen as useful. Although the learners were not entirely convinced about turning to an external site, their overall development shows the beneficial nature of the project.

Returning to the research questions, it can be said that based on the analysis of the questionnaire responses, additional practice opportunities and skill development outside the classroom were the most significant results of applying a blended approach (RQ1). The students found the online listening tasks most useful and the *Coursera* video lectures the least useful (RQ2). The third research question points to the next step of the project, namely turning the correspondent skill development courses into e-learning courses. Based on the questionnaire results and students' answers, *Edmodo* is a perfectly suitable website for this change and e-learning conversion is possible (RQ3). However, there are points that need further investigation including security and copyright issues.

3. Further research plans

A possible future project continuing using *Edmodo* in blending would be making use of its application available free of charge in the site's app store. The goal of this project would be to immerse the students more into e-learning and provide them with a more varied selection of tasks and feedback. A second project would include a further MOOC into the course design, namely *Writing II: Rhetorical composing* on *Coursera* (Delagrangé, DeWitt, Halasek, McCorkle & Selfe, 2015). It would take a diary study approach with the following scaffolding questions:

1. Name three things you learned this week.
2. What would you like to know more of?
3. What did you like best?
4. What challenges did you face?
5. What would you have liked to change and how?
6. Describe ways in which you could use what you learned this week.

Dörnyei (2007) highlights that "in diary studies the participants inevitably become co-researchers as they keep records of their own feelings, thoughts or activities. Diary data is by definition an insider account" (p. 156). For this

reason it is important for participants to be aware that everything they write contributes to the advancement of the project. Since a MOOC with weekly video lectures would be integrated into the first-year skills development courses with the goal of supplementing weekly lessons, entries after each week would be preferable and could be inserted into the overall course design as required blog entries.

Conclusion

Our study discussed the findings of a semester-long exploratory blended learning project whose goal was to integrate an online element into a traditionally face-to-face listening and speaking skills development course. The follow-up questionnaire shed light on the strengths of the venture and the areas where further attention and development is needed. Overall, it was found that Web 2.0 solutions and the *Edmodo* website are possible to integrate as they provide a wide range of opportunities for differentiated skill development.

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Appendix A – The reflective questionnaire completed by the students in the last session of the course

Listening and speaking skills questionnaire									
Please mark the answers that are true for you (put an x in the box next to the statement). Data will be used for statistical purposes only; no personally identifiable information is collected.									
Gender	Male		Female		Age		Academic year		
I had previous experience with e-learning					Yes		No		Not sure
Programme		BA		Teacher training			Other:		
Respond to the statements by marking: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (somewhat disagree), 3 (mostly agree), 4 (absolutely agree)									
In the cases of yes/ no questions: 1 (strongly disagree), 4 (absolutely agree)									
About the in-class tasks									
							1	2	3 4
1.	The presentation task contributed to my language development.								
2.	I found the level of the presentation task appropriate.								
3.	The picture presentation task contributed to my language development.								
4.	I found the level of the picture presentation task appropriate.								
5.	The pair-presentation task contributed to my language development.								
6.	I found the level of the pair-presentation task appropriate.								
7.	The group discussion task contributed to my language development.								
8.	I found the level of the group discussion task appropriate.								
9.	The pair discussion task contributed to my language development.								
10.	I found the level of the pair discussion task appropriate.								
11.	The in-class listening tasks contributed to my language development.								
12.	I found the level of the in-class listening tasks appropriate.								
13.	Please write down the ways in which these tasks helped your development.								
14.	Please write down any other forms of development you would have welcomed.								
15.	Other comments and reflections regarding the in-class tasks:								
About the online tasks									
							1	2	3 4
16.	I found the level of the compulsory online listening tasks appropriate.								
17.	The compulsory online listening tasks contributed to my language development.								
18.	I found the level of the home practice listening tasks appropriate.								
19.	The home practice listening tasks contributed to my language development.								
20.	I used the vocabulary lists from the in-class and online listening tasks.								
21.	I found writing the peer-reviews useful for the development of my classmates.								
22.	I found the peer-review scores I received fair.								
23.	I watched every <i>Coursera</i> presentation either before or after the classes.								
24.	I found the <i>Coursera</i> course on public speaking useful for developing my presentation skills.								
25.	I was familiar with <i>Coursera</i> before the course.								
26.	I watched every <i>TED</i> presentation either before or after the classes.								
27.	I found the <i>TED</i> presentations useful for developing my presentation skills.								
28.	I was familiar with the <i>TED</i> before the course.								
29.	Completing the mind map task with the <i>MindMup</i> website was easy.								
30.	Completing the mind map task contributed to my language development.								
31.	I found the mind maps of my classmates useful for my language development.								
32.	Searching for a podcast to write a reflective essay about was not difficult.								
33.	I found putting together a list of words and expressions I learned from the podcast(s) easy.								
34.	I found creating a short listening task based on the podcasts easy.								
35.	I found the results of the vocabulary size test to be useful for my language development.								
36.	I found the level of the vocabulary practice tasks appropriate.								

37.	I found the vocabulary practice tests useful for my language development.				
38.	Please write down the ways in which these tasks helped your development.				
39.	Please write down any other forms of development you would have welcomed.				
40.	Other comments and reflections regarding the online tasks:				
About the feedback		1	2	3	4
41.	I found the comments and I received from my teacher in class constructive.				
42.	I found the comments I received from my teacher(s) in the written feedback constructive.				
43.	I found receiving scores from two evaluators useful.				
44.	I found the feedback I received on Edmodo (e.g. listening tasks) constructive.				
45.	I found reading the peer-review comments from my classmates useful.				
46.	Other comments and reflections regarding feedback:				
About Edmodo		1	2	3	4
47.	I found using <i>Edmodo</i> in this course useful.				
48.	I found the user interface of <i>Edmodo</i> to be intuitive.				
49.	I found task completion easy on <i>Edmodo</i> .				
50.	I found accessing files on <i>Edmodo</i> intuitive.				
51.	I did not encounter errors while using <i>Edmodo</i> .				
52.	The errors I encountered on <i>Edmodo</i> had a negative impact on my task completion.				
53.	I found the tech support I received during the course useful and satisfactory.				
54.	I found the <i>Edmodo</i> badges motivating.				
55.	I would like to use <i>Edmodo</i> in other courses as well.				
56.	Other comments and reflections regarding feedback:				
Overall		1	2	3	4
57.	I enjoyed the course overall.				
58.	I was able to develop my listening and speaking skills this semester.				
59.	I found working with <i>Edmodo</i> a good idea for this course.				
60.	What would you have liked to have more of in this course?				
61.	What would you have liked to have less of?				
62.	Other feedback and recommendations for the course:				
63.	What would you recommend for the next blended learning version of listening and speaking skills?				
64.	Please summarize your overall impression of the course in 200-300 words:				

Appendix B – The peer-review sheet used by students

Name:

Peer review

Presenter:

Date:

	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Formal accuracy</i>					
<i>Oral accuracy</i>					
<i>Vocabulary</i>					
<i>Style</i>					
<i>Communicative effectiveness</i>					

What I liked in the presentation:

-
-
-

What I would recommend:

-
-
-

What I would keep and what I would do different next time (if you are the presenter)

-
-
-

“Can we have a ... question?” The Dearth of Communication Breakdowns in a Group of Hungarian EFL Learners

Thomas A. Williams
University of Szeged, Szeged
thomas@lingo.u-szeged.hu

1. Introduction

How do learners develop their L2? Long (1981, 1983) has posited that L2 input and interaction are conducive to L2 development, for example, in performing speaking tasks in an ESL/EFL classroom. He has further hypothesized that negotiation for meaning, which occurs when learners attempt to achieve understanding during a communication breakdown, plays a key role in this development; he has supported his hypothesis through a meta-analysis of previous studies of native speaker (NS)–non-native speaker (NNS) interaction (Long, 1996). Examples of negotiation for meaning include comprehension checks and clarification requests.

Subsequent studies have demonstrated a range of findings with regard to the prevalence of negotiation for meaning among particular sets of learners (Foster, 1998; Gass, Mackey, & Ross-Feldman, 2005; Harris, 2005; Eckerth, 2009 and others). This paper reports on a classroom-based study of the speaking task performance of upper-intermediate learners of EFL at a Hungarian university. The learners engaged in two standard decision-making tasks in dyads and triads under normal classroom conditions. Their task was to argue their case until they arrived at a mutually agreeable choice.

The qualitative data in this study suggests that, with rare exceptions, these learners tend to eschew negotiation for meaning in favour of interactional strategies that are less confrontational, more face-saving, and co-constructive. The research explores the potential reasons behind this phenomenon. The findings may have implications for language learning, language teaching and teacher training.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the theoretical background to the study, specifically the paradigm of classroom-based research and the notion of negotiation for meaning. Past studies on negotiation moves and later research on constructivist processes (Samuda & Bygate, 2008) are also introduced. Section 3 covers the study itself: the research questions, participants, instruments and procedures. This is followed, in section 4, by a report on and discussion of the findings, illustrated with samples from many hours of transcribed data and, in section 5, by possible explanations for the

relative dearth of negotiation moves in the data. These potential explanations focus on learners generally and on these learners vis-a-vis their cultural milieu.

2. Background to the study

2.1 Classroom-based research

Unlike a great deal of research on tasks that takes place under controlled laboratory conditions, classroom-based research seeks to explore the possibilities of tasks in action in authentic classroom conditions. TBLT (Task-based Language Teaching) 2005, the first of a series of biennial international conferences devoted solely to TBLT, pointed out the importance – and dearth – of such research. Examples of such studies include Foster's (1998) exploration of negotiation for meaning in the classroom and Kumaravadivelu's (2007) examination of learners' perceptions of tasks.

Limited resources represent an important aspect of classroom conditions. For instance, time is crucial for adult learners who need to develop the language skills they require for their working lives. Materials and equipment form another concern. González-Lloret (2007) describes how she created CALL materials for her own Spanish language learners at the University of Hawai'i in her own free time and with no funding. Outside the relatively well-equipped and well-funded educational settings of affluent countries, the classroom conditions in developing countries in the periphery (Phillipson, 1992) and semiperiphery (Blagojević, 2004) – a term for the point in the social, political and economic development of a country or region, so called because it is thought to be situated halfway between the developing periphery and the developed core – are arguably much further removed from the laboratory conditions of the SLA classroom research studies mentioned above. The need for more research that explores how tasks are actually implemented in intact classrooms is huge. This need has been particularly strong for research on learners' spoken interaction and negotiation for meaning in particular, with scholars suggesting (e.g. Foster, 1998) that a classroom setting may well lead to different results than conventional laboratory conditions. But what are the theoretical underpinnings of negotiation for meaning? I will describe them next.

2.2 Long and negotiation for meaning

Negotiation for meaning (Long, 1981, 1996) has long been held to be at least conducive to classroom language learning. This is an effort on the part of two or more interlocutors to overcome a breakdown in their communication, e.g. through confirmation checks and clarification requests. An example of a clarification request would be as follows:

A: The door has hinges.

B: Hinges? I don't know what that means.

A: Like hinges hold it together

B: Uhuh
(Pica, 1993, p. 440)

The concept of negotiation for meaning is central to Long's Interaction Hypothesis (Long, 1981, 1996), which holds that learners acquire language forms as they attend to them in solving a communication problem. Long refers to such attendance to language form within a meaning-oriented activity as focus on form (Long, 1996). Relevant investigations of negotiation for meaning produced in talk involving learners include Long, 1981; Gass & Varonis, 1985; Pica & Doughty, 1985; and Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun, 1993.

2.3 Beyond negotiation for meaning

More recently, Samuda and Bygate (2008) have observed that classroom speaking produces a greater variety of moves than has been described before, such as prompting, eliciting, responding, questioning and elaborating. They use the term "constructivist processes" to cover "all those processes whereby individuals work together to develop and clarify their own and each other's understandings, whether of background knowledge, of previous and current situations or of their intentions" (Samuda & Bygate, 2008, p. 117). Studies have been conducted in this vein (Blake & Zyzik, 2003; Donato, 1994; Foster & Ohta, 2005; Swain & Lapkin, 2000, 2001), but more work is called for to gain a clearer grasp of these processes and their role in second language learning.

Unlike investigations into negotiation for meaning, which have proceeded from a cognitivist view of language learning that focuses on the mental processes involved and has favoured quantitative analyses of data, studies of constructivist processes tend to start from a sociocultural perspective that sees language development as a social process. As Foster and Ohta put it, "Language development can be studied by examining distributed cognition – how a learner makes use of the L2 in interaction with other people and artifacts" (2005, p. 403). This approach involves smaller data samples and thus endeavours "to preserve the human experience and to avoid reductionism" (*ibid.*).

Ohta (2001) refers to such processes as peer assistance, which includes directly requesting and receiving aid, continuing an utterance with which one's interlocutor has been having trouble, making suggestions, offering and accepting corrections, and waiting for a partner to complete an utterance. Foster and Ohta (2005, p. 414) point out that assistance offered and accepted "creates a discourse that is a joint performance, something that can be seen as an important precursor of individual production". The Vygotskian concept of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) is used among socioculturalists to understand how peer assistance is linked to language development. Ohta (2001, p. 9) adapts this notion for language learning as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by individual linguistic production and the level of potential development as determined through language produced collaboratively with a teacher or peer".

Finally, such processes differ markedly from negotiation for meaning in that, far from hinging on a breakdown or blockage in communication, they preserve the flow of the conversation and save face for learners. This promotes an atmosphere that is conducive to learning.

3. The study

The study is part of a larger project that seeks to investigate the implementation of a less teacher-fronted, more learner-centred task-based paradigm (Ellis, 2003) in a Hungarian EFL context. The larger study consists of two phases: a classroom phase involving speaking tasks and a questionnaire and interview phase. In this section, I will state the two research questions that guide the study and then describe the participants, the instruments used to collect their speaking data, and the procedures involved.

3.1 Research questions

As noted previously, the study seeks to better understand why these learners opt for co-constructive strategies in their interaction over confrontative ones. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following research questions:

- To what extent and why does learner interaction actually break down, as generally assumed, for meaning negotiation?
- To the extent that negotiation for meaning is uncommon in this context, what might explain this phenomenon?

3.2 Participants

The participants were upper-intermediate learners of English. They were 18 to 24 years old and in their first year of an English/American Studies BA programme at the University of Szeged in southern Hungary. They attended one of three speaking classes that I was teaching in autumn 2009. The classroom phase involved 56 participants.

3.3 Instruments and procedures

During the classroom phase, speaking data was collected on participants' own mobile phones as they engaged in decision-making tasks (Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun, 1993) in dyads or triads. The learners performed two engaging tasks, for example, "Lord Moulton's millions" (Ur, 1981), in which interactants work through the pros and cons of a short list of potential heirs to arrive at one – and only one – that is mutually agreeable to them. These tasks were implemented and the learners' performance recorded within a classroom-based paradigm, which is described above. Within a few hours, the audio files were transmitted (by Bluetooth or email) to the researcher–teacher for later transcription, marking and analysis.

In terms of the normal flow of the class, I endeavoured to minimize any potential disruptive effect of the speaking tasks. Indeed, as the learners were doing a number of similar tasks throughout the term as part of the regular syllabus, the only clear difference with these particular tasks from the learners' point of view was that their performance was being recorded for later analysis.

The transcripts from the learners' speaking task performance provided the raw data for a conversation analysis, which is a type of analysis appropriate to naturalistic, spoken data (Nunan & Bailey, 2009, p. 423). Certain of the qualitative findings from the analysis are discussed below. These consist of interactional phenomena that occur in task performance, including Samuda and Bygate's "constructivist processes" (2008, p. 117) and Long's negotiation for meaning (1981, 1996).

4. Results and discussion

The following samples have been gathered from hours of transcribed data of dyads and triads working toward a mutually agreeable decision in performing a speaking task. The first sample illustrates self-correction; the second sample demonstrates both self-correction and a continuer.

Sample 1

Árpád: ... it would be a highlight for her life but I don't know if she **use** it well ... **uses** it well.

Sample 2

Árpád: Erm in my view she doesn't deserve that possibility because **he** had er **she** had a mental breakdown and [János: *Yeah, she's not so...*] she's not able to [János: *Yeah.*] do this task.

Self-correction was very common in the data, perhaps more than other-correction, a fact that seems to reflect Foster and Ohta's (2005) observation that learners prefer to modify their own utterances. As for János's encouraging continuers in Sample 2, Foster and Ohta contend that such peer assistance creates "a supportive environment which encourages L2 production" (2005, p. 421).

A great deal more data illustrative of the constructivist processes described above is discussed in detail in an earlier study (Williams, 2013). The many instances of such moves include collaborating, providing mutual assistance, creating playfully, using humour, constructing knowledge together and engaging in a host of other dynamics that facilitate language development. Importantly, they also demonstrate a general tendency among these particular learners to eschew negotiation for meaning.

The few examples of negotiation for meaning among the data were rather unique. Sample 3 involves uncertainty about the gender of a particular character in the task:

Sample 3

Matyi (reading): Da-Daphne ... Braun ... 21 ... single ... and her family ... or his? Is that a boy or a girl? (he laughs) Daphne Braun?

Anna (laughing): I think he's a – she's girl.

Matyi (asking teacher): **Can we have a ... question?**

Anna: **Daphne is a ...** (Teacher: girl) girl.

Matyi: A girl. Cool. (Anna laughs.) Good to know. Erm.

Anna (reading): ... the daughter...

Matyi: Yeah, the daughter (laughs).

Here Matyi requests clarification from his interlocutor, Anna. Given the uncertainty of her (otherwise correct) answer, they then both turn to the teacher to repeat the clarification request. This breaking out of the bounds of the learner interaction to check with the teacher as knowledgeable agent is unusual in data I have seen elsewhere and, indeed, in this data set as well. Certainly, the teacher as ultimate authority is a role with which Hungarian learners would be particularly familiar in the largely classical humanist education system in which they have been socialized (see the discussion on educational value systems below). Toward the end of the exchange, as Anna reads on to find that the answer to their question has been right in front of them all along, their laughter is certainly one of slight embarrassment, but it is shared laughter, nonetheless. A camaraderie has emerged that suggests the sort of encouraging environment conducive to learning noted above. (The question of whether familiarity with a cultural element like a personal name is an essential part of language learning or not is debatable, but certainly these learners felt this was something they needed to understand better to complete this speaking task.)

In sample 4, when he has a question about lexis, the speaker, Márk, immediately bypasses his interlocutor, Zoli, and turns to the teacher.

Sample 4

Márk: (reading) generous, good friend. That means that er she can know his er ... not assistants, but er ... I don't know what is er er ... (to teacher) **Can I have a ... question?**

Teacher: Yes.

Márk: **What is the *ügyfél* in English?**

Teacher: Er client.

Márk: Client. (back to interlocutor) So – so she can know er her clients to be more – more er better and no not more better to be better and better, you see?

Zoli: Yes yes.

Márk: She can find things that can help them...

In addition to this clarification check with the teacher, it bears mentioning that, while Márk's message might still not be entirely clear to Zoli (despite his clear efforts to make it so), Zoli offers an encouraging continuer in "Yes yes" instead of asking for clarification. Zoli appears to want the conversation to continue

toward its goal in the hope that all will be sufficiently clear by the end (see the explanations offered by Foster and Eckerth below).

Finally, in sample 5, as Áron and Kálmán engage in the shared work of determining the pros and cons of the various candidates on the task sheet, Áron suddenly realises that he is at a loss for a lexical item, and, instead of using a different word or asking the teacher (as in the samples above), he asks his interlocutor, Kálmán – but he does so in an unexpected manner:

Sample 5

Áron: ... According to this small article, he's not really talented person, so... er ...

Kálmán: Why do you say that?

Áron: Because er the article mentions that he's not – not of outstanding natural ability.

Kálmán: Uh-huh.

Áron: So maybe he's not that kind of intellectual person who ... can er finish, or who will, law school.

Kálmán: But if he's hard-working, he can learn all these ...

Áron (interrupting): ...he can – he can learn all these things. He must have worked to ... (whispers) *Hogy mondjuk azt, hogy eltartani?* [How do you say “provide for”?]

Kálmán: Erm ... ahem.

Áron: ...to make an appropriate living for his family. And he's a taxi driver. And er taxi drivers should work in er – also in the morning and in the evening, so er I wonder how can he do this.

One might call Áron's question about a word a clarification request. However, the fact that he has whispered it and asked his question in the L1 he shares with his interlocutor suggests a certain “under-the-radar” quality. This is just meant to be between the two of them. Even here where there appears to be evidence of a negotiation move, an interactant seems to be taking great pains to avoid a clear and obvious interruption of the conversational flow – though, certainly, they knew the teacher–researcher would be listening.

Thus, it becomes clear that the few negotiation moves these learners may use are far outweighed by the range of constructivist processes they tend to prefer instead. This stands in stark contrast to the data in so many other studies. So now *Can I have [ask] a question?* Why is there so little sign of negotiation for meaning in this learner data?

5. Insights into the dearth of negotiation for meaning

This section explores a range of potential explanations as to why learners would avoid breakdowns in communication in task-based interaction. First, insights will be offered into learners generally, followed by a review of factors affecting these learners in particular.

5.1 Learners generally

In her groundbreaking study, Foster (1998) reports that learners interacting in both dyads and small groups produced far less negotiation for meaning that led to modified output than earlier studies had found and less than had been assumed by SLA researchers and theorists.

Foster (1998) offers compelling explanations as to why her findings have run counter to those of other researchers. Her first point is one of context. She observes that a great deal of the negotiation for meaning research is conducted in an ESL context at US universities under laboratory conditions with volunteer participants who have been loaned out by their teachers for the purpose of the experiment. She questions whether those findings can be extrapolated (a) for ESL environments outside the United States, (b) for EFL settings elsewhere in the world or (c) for normal classroom conditions.

With regard to the classroom conditions in her study, Foster (1998) suggests that both the relative informality of the setting and the lack of a strict requirement to complete the task prompted participants not to attend to form very much. In Foster's view, this would explain unanswered signals of incomprehension. For example,

A: "the sports field, swimming pool and equipment may be used free of charge."

B: Free of charge? What is that?

C: (laughs) Yes.

A: sports day

(Foster, 1998, p. 15)

A: There is this one, this one, and after to camping site near Oldfield.

B: Oldfield?

C: Anyway, the best thing I think is er camping.

(Foster, 1998, p. 16)

Out of the 918 c-units analysed in Foster's study, there were only 87 negotiation moves (*ibid.*, p. 15). Of these, modified responses were only made 20 times – and 13 of those were concentrated within three particular dyads (*ibid.*, p. 15). The examples above are typical of the negotiation moves in Foster's study that fell by the wayside during interaction, mostly in small groups, but also in dyads.

Another point raised by Foster is the differing effects of NS–NNS dyads vs. NNS–NNS dyads with regard to communication breakdowns. She cites Pica *et al.* (1989) as observing that in the former type, NNS partners might experience an unequal status in terms of the language. Thus, they might feel that they were to blame for any communication problem that has stood in the way of task completion and that they are therefore responsible for making any repairs and for making language more comprehensible. According to Foster (1998), however, no such tendency was in evidence in her study. Indeed, I would suggest that in such a scenario, the NNS partner might feel motivated to

downplay the relative shortcomings between themselves and their NS interlocutor, not highlight them by making repairs.

With regard to NNS–NNS dyads, Foster (1998) cites Gass and Varonis (1985) as observing that they have a mutual responsibility for communication breakdowns because both speaker and interlocutor(s) are mutually incompetent in the language and thus would both/all feel prompted to negotiate meaning. However, according to Foster (1998), in such a situation, NNSs might rather feel discouraged from the challenging and possibly frustrating job of modifying their lexis, morphology or syntax to render it more comprehensible. Similarly, Foster (1998) points out, a NNS speaker who has concluded that their NNS interlocutor is responsible for a communication breakdown might not feel the need to hazard a repair. Similar to my comment above, I would add that an NNS who had come to see their NNS interlocutor as more proficient would be *more* likely to press on instead of stressing their relative weaknesses vis-à-vis their more proficient interlocutor. Furthermore, a momentary lapse in total comprehensibility might be glossed over by both NNSs in the interests of keeping the conversation moving along and thus saving face for one or the other – or both of them, in what I call a “conspiracy of cooperation” among learners – particularly in the shadow of the teacher – researcher hovering nearby.

Foster (1998) also suggests that holding up an interaction whenever there is a problem utterance and going to great lengths to repair it simply make the task frustratingly slow. Likewise, according to Foster (1998), making it clear to others that you have not managed to understand them tends to make one feel and look incompetent. Foster (1998) cites Aston (1986) as observing that speaking tasks designed to prompt a great deal of negotiation for meaning could well de-motivate and discourage learners in that it makes them feel unsuccessful and incompetent. Further, Foster (1998) cites Pica (1994) as admitting that one too many clarification requests can be “downright annoying” (Foster, 1998, p. 18).

In contrast, Foster (1998) suggests, learners may use a different communicative strategy when they encounter a gap in understanding: “pretend to understand and hope a future utterance will cast light on your darkness” (p. 18). This way, Foster (1998) points out, a learner will continue to feel they are playing a part in the interaction even if their knowledge is not complete and their contribution is limited; they will continue to experience a sense of accomplishment. Foster explains her findings in part as the outcome of certain learners’ adapting a strategy that “could reduce some information exchange tasks to a format whereby the side holding the information need only answer yes or no to the informed guesses of the other side” (p. 11). From my own experience, the interlocutors of such speakers appear to be quick to pick up on such strategies and enable their partners accordingly. Thus, with only 87 out of 918 c-units representing signals of problems in understanding in Foster’s study (1998), it seems clear that some learners prefer the “pretend and hope” rather than the “check and clarify” strategy (p. 19). As Foster (1998) puts it, “learners appear to choose not to negotiate for meaning” (p. 20), and, citing Willis (1996)

and Aston (1986), she concludes that we teachers/researchers should not attempt to make them do so.

In a study replicating Foster's research (1998), Eckerth (2009) added a stimulated recall protocol to the original design to record learners' accounts of their own performance. His findings confirm many of Foster's (1998) assumptions about why many learners eschew negotiation for meaning, for example, that "learners will put up with partial understanding in order to keep the task interaction moving forward" (Foster's comments to Eckert, 2009, p. 130) and "how learners will smooth over the bumps rather than make explicit their lack of complete understanding" (*ibid.*). Eckerth (2009) also observes many of the same results, for example, interactants' use of the adaptation strategies noted above.

Eckerth (2009) points out that a relative lack of negotiation moves may be a product of the multifaceted nature of task-based learner-learner interaction. According to Eckerth (*ibid.*), such an interaction seems to be more than merely a cognitive language learning activity; it is "a communicative event and a social process that is mediated by socio-affective variables" (Eckerth, 2009, p. 122). It is possible, he goes on to say, that interactants sometimes "react to social motives at the expense of their own pedagogical achievement, to preserve their social relationships" (Slimani-Rolls, 2005, p. 208 as cited in Eckerth, 2009, p. 122).

Furthermore, citing Ellis (1994, p. 92), Eckerth (2009) explains that comprehension can take place with relatively little input processing. He also cites research that points to a range of strategies that aid learners in understanding their interlocutors' utterances: top-down processing of existing linguistic knowledge (Ellis, 1994; Faerch & Kasper, 1986); guessing from linguistic context (Frantzen, 2003); guessing on the basis of what is socially appropriate (Hymes, 1972); and feigning comprehension and trusting that further clues will be forthcoming in the ensuing conversation (Firth, 1996; Hawkins, 1985). Further, Eckerth (2009) refers to previous studies as suggesting that, far from pursuing a "the more, the merrier" principle (Allwright & Bailey, 1991, p. 145; Aston, 1986), learners tend to make only moderate use of requests for clarification and confirmation or comprehension checks in an apparent reflection of the social nature of what Seedhouse (2004) has termed the "interactional architecture" of the L2 classroom.

These insights into the collaborative tendencies in learners engaged in spoken interaction generally may well apply to these particular learners in Hungary. But are there characteristics specific to Hungarian learners that may also be germane here?

5.2 Learners in Hungary

At the heart of the educational context in which Hungarian students find themselves is the value system with which it is imbued. This may well explain some of the assumptions and reflexes that many students in this context share. But how can this ideological system be characterised? White (1988) describes

three distinct value systems on which education systems are built: progressivism, reconstructionism and classical humanism (cf. also Csapó's (2004, 2010, 2012) comparable goals of learning and organisation of knowledge). The first is characterised as "problem-posing education," which "extracts a concern for the real-life situation of the learners as well as a perception of the student as decision-maker" (Crawford-Lang, 1982, p. 88 as cited in White, 1988, p. 25). Central to progressivism are the two pedagogical notions of *praxis* and *dialogue*, praxis being a matter of reflection and action on the world in an effort to transform it (Freire, 1973, 1976 as cited in White, 1988) and dialogue being "the educational context, the place where praxis occurs", the purpose of which is "to stimulate new ideas, opinions and perceptions rather than simply to exchange them" (Crawford-Lange, 1982, p. 89 as cited in White, 1988, p. 25). With its focus placed firmly on the growth and self-realization of the individual, progressivism is associated with J. J. Rousseau, J. H. Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel.

Reconstructionism is tied to a systems-behavioural approach to learning based on Skinner's (1968) application to education of the ideas of operant conditioning, where the stress is on incremental and mastery learning, in which each step is founded on the previous one and "it is assumed that, given appropriate learning activities, all students can achieve mastery if they have enough time" (Crawford-Lange, 1982, p. 88 as cited in White, 1988, p. 25). With its emphasis on education as an instrument of social change, reconstructionism is associated with the work of John Dewey.

Finally, classical humanism stresses the "transmission of an esteemed cultural heritage" (White, 1988, p. 24) and is tied to the work of T. S. Eliot and Matthew Arnold. It regards learning as an analytical, rule-oriented, scholarly undertaking and knowledge as encyclopaedic. It is therefore often accompanied by the rote learning of large quantities of material, and a high value is assigned to complete and precise mastery of such material.

Generally speaking, it is this last value system that dominates in Hungarian education. Little wonder. As Csapó (2010) points out, this approach to learning enjoys a particularly strong tradition in Europe with at least half a century's head start over the other two systems in terms of tradition and infrastructure. It is thus common, due to the importance assigned to a declarative mastery of predetermined knowledge, for teachers to engage in rigorous, tightly controlled classroom practices in this context. Duff (1995) found that history teachers in a dual-language secondary school in Hungary commonly engaged in initiation-reply-evaluation sequences with students in class and also regularly had their learners recite the material from the previous class meeting, a practice designed to produce fluency, academic register and content mastery – though it typically represented a stressful and authoritarian experience for students. While Duff made these observations in content classes over two decades ago, these pedagogic practices persist in this context and the teacher-fronted exactitude and emphasis on regular displays of incrementally and flawlessly learned material are very much present in FL classes as well.

Csapó (2012) has also found that Hungarian schools concentrate on the promotion of expert-like knowledge in each discipline and focus less on applying knowledge outside the strict confines of the discipline. In this context, “teachers themselves point out clearly that, in their opinion, ‘our schools train “little scientists”’ – i.e., their aim (conscious or unconscious) is to groom future members of their own field (Csapó, 2004, p. 41).

According to the PISA 2000 survey, Hungarian learners viewed the reproduction of teaching material as the primary aim of learning and memorization as one of the primary learning strategies (OECD, 2003). Indeed, Németh and Habók (2006) found that learners actually prefer reproductive learning strategies in the earlier stages of schooling as well – certainly a product of socially constructed motives. They likewise demonstrated a prevalence of rote learning in Hungarian education (Németh & Habók, 2006). In a study of Hungarian students’ writing, Godó (2008) has pointed to this educational and intellectual tradition that prevails in Hungary as essential to understanding the rhetorical structure of their argumentative writing and how it differs from that of North Americans. (She has also noted that the same tradition can be found in other systems in the region, e.g. the Czech and Polish contexts.)

Perfectionism among students (discussed below) is common in this system; as Furka (2011, p. 71) has observed, “In Hungarian cultural practice, trying and not succeeding is generally considered a failure”. Competitiveness (also discussed below) prevails among students as well. On the other hand, so do collaboration and peer assistance – both in terms of students’ academic work and their spoken interaction. Another aspect to this is a highly pragmatic, goal-oriented approach (Irén Annus, personal communication): just as, say, thirty pages of a history text must be committed to memory for next Tuesday, so too do students feel oriented to move briskly ahead to the completion of a speaking task without questions, corrections or negotiations to hamper their progress.

Pragmatics may offer some insights into tendencies among these particular learners. For Małgorzata Suszczyńska, the key for certain learners in the classroom is to keep communication flowing even at the cost of partial misunderstanding; for these learners, communication breakdowns may be too costly in this context and cause more harm than benefit in what pragmatists call the “cost-benefit dimension” (personal communication). In Suszczyńska’s experience, Hungarian students often opt not to ask questions in class, even when encouraged to do so because they may see it as face-threatening or fear that they might be positioning themselves as arrogant, unduly bold, lacking modesty or not sufficiently humble.

In a comparative, small-scale study on pragmatic moves among Americans, Poles and Hungarians, Suszczyńska (1999) cites Wierzbicka (1985b, 1991) as pointing out that speech acts (e.g. apologies) are “not language-independent ‘natural kinds,’ but culture-specific communicative routines” (p. 1058) and that conversational moves represent culture-specific attitudes and ways of social interaction that characterise a particular culture (Wierzbicka, 1985a). Thus, a Hungarian or Polish L1 speaker of L2 English may well draw on their L1 culture in engaging in certain communicative routines in the L2 and this is likely to

stand in contrast to what many L1 English speakers in Britain or the US might expect. Suszczyńska (1999) provides the example of English-language films in which serious offences seem to be resolved with a light apology, which typically strikes Poles and Hungarians as somehow insufficient (“they just say, I’m sorry!” (p. 1059)); thus, from the point of view of their culture, this formula proves relatively weak given the gravity of the offending action.

Instead, as Suszczyńska points out, Poles and Hungarians would tend to use more emotionally involved expressions, for example, a request for their interlocutor to withhold anger (“*Ne haragudj!*” in Hungarian, which is approximately “Don’t be annoyed/angry”). These express greater deference and indebtedness, but do not distance interactants from one another or threaten face. Similarly, there is a tendency for the offending party in these cultures to speak of themselves in an unfavourable way, e.g. “*Szörnyen ügyetlen vagyok*” (“I’m terribly clumsy”) and “*Borzasztóan figyelmetlen voltam*” (“I was terribly careless”) (Suszczyńska, 1999, p. 1061). Suszczyńska observes that “It is precisely this humbling of self that seems to reveal a culturally important attitude” (ibid.). Thus, it seems that these tendencies in Hungarian interactants to wish to save face for themselves and their interlocutors and in each interlocutor to retain an unassuming humility may explain why they would not wish to stand out negatively, to cause their interlocutor to do the same, or to slow or halt the flow of the interaction.

In their qualitative study on the motivational factors behind Hungarian university students’ use of English, Nagy and Nikolov (2007) found a great deal of evidence of reticence to communicate in English. This certainly has a bearing both on the one-sided classroom interactions in my data, where one or more learners remained relatively silent, and on the disinclination of interactants to disrupt the conversation with questions.

Of 64 English majors at the University of Pécs in southern Hungary in Nagy and Nikolov’s study (2007), most (54) described contexts beyond the classroom where they were most willing to communicate in English, while four were most willing both inside and outside the classroom. Thus, despite a keen interest in English, the number of respondents who wanted to speak in the classroom was relatively low. This reluctance to communicate among these Hungarian English majors is familiar to me in my context at the University of Szeged as well. In Nagy and Nikolov’s study (2007), the formal teaching context at university tended to be tied to negative feelings for many of the students. According to one respondent, “I am very disappointed and sorry to say, but I felt least willing to speak English first in my life at university” (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 157). Many of the students felt inhibited, perceiving that others in their classes had more proficiency and experience in English, perhaps because they had had the opportunity to live abroad. As one respondent put it, “I noticed that many of my peers are better than me. Some of them seem to be quite proficient, self-assured. This makes me feel inferior, so average” (ibid., p. 158). As another student described it, “So I’m afraid of saying anything during classroom activities, especially when I see that others have much better English” (ibid., p. 159). In fact, their relatively fluent, more self-confident peers seem to intimidate them

in seminars and thus throw up hurdles to smooth group dynamics in the classroom (ibid., p. 159).

According to Nagy and Nikolov (2007), another reason for learners' reluctance to speak was the extremely high anxiety they felt with regard to English. They were ever at pains to be seen as perfect in front of their peers and teachers in class (ibid.). A number of them described concerns that they would make errors in speaking which their fellows might notice – and, indeed, for which they might mock them (ibid.). According to one student, “I was afraid, that when I speak, they will laugh at me” (ibid., p. 160).

Tóth (2007) has pointed to similar phenomena among English majors at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba. Tóth (2007) attributes their strongly negative feelings to speaking in English seminars to their transitions from secondary school to university seminars with the more intensive and challenging learning context and higher academic requirement they now had to face. Nagy and Nikolov (2007) point out that the constant competitive comparison that these English majors make with others, this “desire to excel in comparison to others” (Bailey, 1983, p. 96 as cited in Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 162), is common in second language learning research and has been tied to language anxiety (Bailey, 1983; Gregersen & Horwitz, 2002).

Similarly, in her mixed-method study of a similar population of university students, Dombi (2013) found that foreign language anxiety lay behind certain participants' intercultural performance. She characterised it as *debilitating* as opposed to *facilitating* anxiety, noting nervousness, apprehension, fear and even panic. As one participant even recalled, “I hate speaking English in front of those better than me” (Dombi, 2013, p. 168). Dombi's research (2013) demonstrated communicative apprehension, though generally less than that found in Nagy and Nikolov (2007) and Tóth (2007).

Both Nagy and Nikolov (2007) and Dombi (2013) highlight the role of learner confidence in communication behaviour. Dombi (2013, p. 225) specifies that perceived communicative competence probably has a greater effect on learner communication than linguistic self-confidence. She also notes that both perceived communicative competence and perceived L2 proficiency aid students in feeling more secure in their interactions (Dombi, 2013, p. 226). Indeed, Dombi (2013) points out, the more learners believe they can communicate, the more likely they are to engage in interactions in English (p. 228). Finally – in a very telling distinction for this context – she observes that “there are students who believe they are good at English, but fewer of them believe they are good at *communication* in English” (Dombi, 2013, p. 226, emphasis added).

Finally, Nagy and Nikolov (2007) also saw perfectionism as a common personality trait among their learners, one also related to language anxiety (Gregersen & Horwitz, 2009). Nagy and Nikolov suggest such characteristics seem to be common for FL learners in Hungary – but not necessarily for FL learners elsewhere. Interestingly however, this competitiveness and perfectionism were manifested primarily in interactions with other Hungarians – but participants reported not being averse to talking in front of non-

Hungarians. Nagy and Nikolov (2007) cite Kang (2005) and MacDonald, Clément and MacIntyre (2003) as reporting similar findings with their varied learner populations. In Nagy and Nikolov's (2007) view, "In foreign language education in Hungary (and most likely in other subject areas in compulsory education) it is continuously stressed how important it is to make no mistakes and to be perfect in every sense" (p. 163). They go on to say, "It is a widely held myth that the best and most talented students never make mistakes and thus get the highest grades" (ibid.).

6. Conclusion

This paper has reported on a study of constructivist processes in learner–learner classroom interaction. It has also discussed samples in the same dataset involving negotiation for meaning and collected possible explanations as to why such negotiation moves would have occurred so seldom in the data. Ultimately, the apparent clash between (a) cognitivists, who focus on the primacy of communicative breakdowns in learner interaction and the learning they generate, and (b) socioculturalists, who prefer to explore more collaborative speaking – and thus learning – processes among learners, may well be lost on the experienced ELT practitioner. Indeed, she might rightly ask, "If we've got the learners engaged, talking, asking questions, helping each other, stretching their resources, getting creative with the language, both trying out new lexicogrammatical items to express their intended meaning and re-activating old ones, and generally losing themselves in completing the speaking task, then where on earth is the problem?" Indeed, perhaps a more inclusive principle that places pedagogic value on a wider range of interactional processes would be called for.

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Student Teachers' Research Within the Frame of Teaching Practice in TEFL

Stefka Barócsi
Kispesti Deák Ferenc Grammar School, Budapest
flower174@gmail.com

I am sure it could be enjoyed.

1. Introduction

This paper builds on a case study conducted with a pre-service teacher in the course of teaching practice in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). The aspect explored was the process of compiling a Master of Arts (MA) in English Language Teaching thesis as an additional dimension to the period of teaching and learning in a school environment. The quotation above was taken from the interviews to give an insight into what was one of the aims of the study, namely to find ways of making student teachers experience the merits of research rather than the anxiety about it. The overall aim was to address the beginner teacher's own perceptions of the involvement in carrying out research. In line with the qualitative approach, data were collected mainly through audio-recorded semi-structured interviews. In a further initiative, as hypotheses were not formulated prior to the study, an inductive approach to data analysis was used.

Beyond the positive sides of the research experience, the findings revealed that the teacher trainee encountered numerous challenges and needed substantial assistance over the time. The participant attributed constraints to selecting the field of investigations and designing methods. Additionally, concerns were raised about the actual reporting of results. In general terms, the reflections were combined towards comments and suggestions on how to increase the extent of effectiveness of student teachers' research in the context of teaching practice. Conclusions also implied that individuals, who could conduct successful research during teaching practice, could develop knowledge and enthusiasm with regard to future work in this field. The findings of the study can have practical implications for teacher trainers and pre-service teachers involved in school-based teaching practice. Furthermore, the main outcomes can be used by educators to improve the academic programs in their institutions.

2. Theoretical background

There is no doubt that over the past years, pre-service education in TEFL has been of great importance. As foreign language teacher education is not a simple,

straightforward system, an increasing number of different aspects has been taken into consideration in the research literature. The broad merit of earlier initiatives (Freeman, 1989; Freeman & Johnson, 1998; Wallace, 1991) and recent studies (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Richards, Conway, Roskvist, & Harvey, 2013) has been to highlight the ways in which student teachers gain knowledge of the teaching profession. While researchers agree in principle with the need for the theory-practice approach in TEFL, particular attention is drawn to learning by experience in the classroom (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Coffey & Lavery, 2015; Richards, Conway, Roskvist, & Harvey, 2013). The aim is to emphasize the importance for student teachers to learn and teach in particular contexts on the basis of their background knowledge (Freeman & Johnson, 1998; Gebhard & Oprandy, 1999).

A deeper understanding of teacher preparation is expressed by Trent (2010) who regards teaching practice as a central component of educational programs and further explores its impact on teacher identity. The author (Trent, 2010) claims that the period of teaching practice plays a vital role in shaping pre-service teachers' identities. The explanations revolve around four major dimensions: interpersonal relationships with supporting teachers, educational discourses, tasks completion and established norms of the institutions concerned, namely universities and local schools. The latter dimension is viewed to involve a wide range of discrepancies in terms of norms and individuals. Discussions (Trent, 2010) address concerns about the lack of cooperation in the system. The main point to consider is the attempt in foreign language teacher education to bring the theoretical and practical aspects closer (Akyel, 2015; Barócsi, 2008; Trent, 2010).

Crucial to the above is the search on approaches which can consolidate the global links between theory and practice in education, and can develop new ideas to foster learning, teaching and developing of beginner teachers. In this respect, engagement of pre-service teachers in research seems to be a beneficial approach to professional education. This view is supported by Akyel (2015) who also claims that interest in the topic of pre-service teachers' research is increasing. The research on the topic is seen to embrace two areas: teacher education and foreign language teacher education. It might be plausible and useful to dwell on the differences between teacher education and foreign language teacher education; however, with reference to the literature, the distinction between the two domains becomes difficult to sustain. It is also important to note that despite the fact that the present study relates mainly to foreign language education, references are equally made to both teacher education and foreign language teacher education. This is mainly due to the conclusion that numerous parallels can be drawn between the two areas. It has been found that most empirical studies (Medwell, & Wray, 2014; Shaw, Holbrook, Scevak, & Bourke, 2008; Tosun, 2014; Tuncer & Ozeren, 2012) are associated with teacher education and little, although useful work has been done in the particular area of foreign language teacher education (Akyel, 2015). In all cases, research engagement of pre-service teachers is associated with various educational programs and is definitely regarded as a prerequisite for obtaining

professional qualifications. There is discernable agreement among the authors that student teachers are supposed to gain knowledge and skills which enable them to carry out a research project on a small scale. Commonly, around the world, educational institutions offer programs which differ as how their content and structures are organized. This explains why participants take diverse research courses. Typically, student teachers are exposed to research learning environments prior to training and involvement in research (Shaw et al., 2008; Tosun, 2014; Tuncer & Ozeren, 2012). As an alternative, Akyel (2015) describes a study in which the program provides circumstances for a research course simultaneously with the practicum and engagement in research.

An examination of the literature on the topic of research engagement of pre-service teachers confirms that the aim of the programs is to enhance the professional development of student teachers. Wide-ranging insights into the benefits of the process are provided by Akyel (2015), Price (2001) and Tuncer & Ozeren (2012). It is found that the experience strengthens reflection upon learning, teaching and carrying out research. Involvement in research also allows pre-service teachers to become more-self-reflective and self confident (Odhiambo, 2010). With regard to self-reflection, it appears that research engagement enables student teachers to obtain more profound understanding of educational practices and shapes their professional identities. Researchers (Shaw et al., 2008; Tosun, 2014; Tuncer & Ozeren, 2012) have also found that research engagement can increase self-efficacy and research efficacy levels. There is strong evidence in support of the view that participants' later involvement in research is obviously motivated by their successful investigations and the benefits they gain. Further useful effects of research engagement are perceived (Akyel, 2015; Tosun, 2014; Tuncer & Ozeren, 2012) in improvement in the quality of pre-service teachers' enquiry-based teaching. In this respect, the acquired research skills are considered to be essential for the progress beginner teachers make (Price, 2001) towards the professional goals in their future careers (Akyel, 2015; Tosun, 2014; Tuncer & Ozeren, 2012).

On the negative side, there are significant implications that when pre-service teachers take research initiatives, besides the benefits, they can experience high level of fear and anxiety. There is much evidence (Akyel, 2015; Shaw et al., 2008; Tosun, 2014) that most beginner teachers need to cope with increased responsibilities and requirements. The lack of support and training are articulated (Shaw et al., 2008) as further major concerns. Additionally, special attention is drawn to the possible negative impact of anxiety, frustration and pressure on beginner teachers' research undertakings in the future.

As far as foreign language teacher education in Hungary is concerned, to my knowledge, undergraduate students acquire understanding of research on courses related to academic writing or applied linguistics, whereas research method courses are offered only to postgraduate students. At Hungarian teacher training institutions, according to the requirements for a degree, pre-service teachers are obliged to design and do research for their thesis. The Hungarian traditions remain beyond the scope of this study; nevertheless, this area needs special attention and further investigation.

3. Rationale for the study

My involvement in teacher training commenced in 1993 when I attended a mentoring course at the Centre for English Teacher Training (CETT) in Budapest. I took privilege of working with 84 student teachers from Eötvös Loránd University in the capital city of Hungary, which generated vast experience in mentoring. The majority of the student teachers participated in a period of teaching practice for a whole academic year or a semester. I have been hugely encouraged by the success of the trainees' teaching experience and I have been impressed by their enthusiasm and commitment to the process.

The teaching practice is the time for beginner teachers to learn how to teach in a school environment and gain real experience. The underlying assumption is that it is important to set the participants on the road to success in their chosen teaching career. My perception is that as a mentor I have the responsibility for successful operation of the teaching practice; therefore, I have many roles to perform. For instance, I have always made an attempt to behave as a guide, a facilitator, a counsellor and an adviser rather than a supervisor or a model. My main aim is to provide adequate support and ensure professional assistance in many different aspects in the entire period of teaching practice.

In this respect, in my work with trainees it is essential to identify areas in which pre-service teachers have difficulties and need help. My experience over the years has indicated that one particular area in which teacher trainees face difficulties is that of carrying out research during their teaching practice in the school circumstances. This shaped the topic of the study described in this paper.

In line with my work and interest, I felt that in order to get a better understanding of the research aspect of the period of teaching practice, it was necessary to carry out a longitudinal study on the topic and collect data over several years. However, I considered it necessary to find out whether a study on a larger scale was feasible. This led to the current pilot study for which data were collected in the fall semester of 2014/2015 when I had the duty to work with a beginner teacher who was involved in a long teaching practice while working on an MA thesis related to her English major at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest.

4. Methodological orientations

4.1 Research questions and method

The University's MA in English Language Teaching programme (ELTE-DELP MA in ELT thesis information, 2015) requires students to complete various courses. Besides the core studies, the programme includes two different teaching practice periods: the first for about 2-3 weeks and the second for the most of a semester. Participants in the program are expected to work and learn in many different areas of the field and are consequently demanded to conduct research for their theses. As part of the university degree, student teachers have to submit either a theoretical thesis paper or an empirical research paper, using

a qualitative or a quantitative approach. The rules and regulations give students further freedom. Student teachers are allowed to extend their earlier research for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) in English Language Teaching degree or commence a completely new path of investigations. A sequence of arrangements enables important decisions about the choice of major, approach, supervisor, topic and title, however, there are formal requirements concerning the content and structure of the thesis.

Clearly, the scheme is designed to allow pre-service teachers to gain valuable professional experience and additionally learn about how research operates. In fact, engagement in investigations throughout the university studies in general and the teaching practice in particular mean preparation for future exploration when suitable research circumstances arise. In this particular situation, along with mentoring pre-service teachers, as I took a keen interest in promoting them through the work on their thesis, I decided to find out information and facts about the area of engagement of pre-service teachers in research. The research questions were formulated as follows:

What difficulties do pre-service teachers encounter in the process of carrying out research?

What is needed for successful pre-service teachers' research?

Why is it essential to be efficient during the whole process?

In a similar way to my previous studies (Barócsi 2007; 2008; 2010; 2013a; 2013b), in order to collect data and consequently analyse data for the research, a qualitative approach was adopted. The choice of method was determined by a number of considerations: (a) the complex nature of the circumstances of teaching practice, (b) the low number of participants, (c) an interest in the participant's detailed experiences and personal impressions about teaching practice, and (d) the main aim to achieve in-depth investigation and profound understanding of the main issues addressed.

4.2 Participants

The core of data was gained from one pre-service teacher from Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. The participant was a female trainee at the age of 28, a double major student (German as a track next in order of importance) in her second and final year of an MA in English Language Teaching programme as a result of the Bologna process. Beyond this, the participant mentioned completion of a BA in English Language Teaching diploma at the same institution. The trainee reported unfinished studies related to three majors, English, German and music, at universities abroad.

The student teacher was involved in her long teaching practice of 17 weeks. Over a span of one term the participant taught four classes per week; however, the bulk of work was related to lesson planning and pre-and-post lessons and observation. The trainee teacher was supposed to be more comfortable with and confident of classroom instruction as this was her second teaching practice. The

period reinforced the trainee's previous experience and allowed her to develop at a different level and to devote time and attention to her thesis based on her own research within the frame of teaching practice. The participant was bound and determined to submit a thesis demonstrating an empirical approach. She entirely relied on the teaching practice component which provided a meaningful research environment. With regard to this area, the pre-service teacher had received some experience during her work on the BA paper.

The study included data from 19 students as the pre-service teacher taught one group of students who were at pre-intermediate level of English. In fact, the students' opinion was expressed in their written feedback given to the pre-service teacher at the end of the teaching practice. The students were considered necessary but not focal participants. Including students' perspective was seen important; however, it was beyond the scope of the present study to consider this different aspect of the process in detail.

4.3 Data collection

Data were collected through two oral audio-recorded semi-structured interviews. The research method developed from Mc Cracken's four-step model for carrying out a long qualitative interview. In order to support the research findings triangulation (Bachman, 2004; Crookes, 1992; Davis, 1995; Holliday, 2004; Lazaraton, 2003; McGroarty & Zhu, 1997; Seliger & Shohamy, 1989), particularly data triangulation was used. The transcripts of the interviews were triangulated with other sources of data: (a) the student teacher's diary, (b) observational field notes taken during classroom observation, and (c) 19 students' feedback given to the pre-service teacher.

4.4 Data analysis

As an inductive approach to data analysis was applied, hypotheses were not formulated prior to data analysis. The data were analysed using the constant comparative method described by Maykut & Morehouse (1994). The raw data were transferred into readable form: the audio-taped interviews were transcribed. The transcripts were used as primary source of data. This phase was followed by coding, refinement of categories, relationships and patterns across categories, integration of data and consequently writing up the research. In addition, qualitative analysis and thematic analysis of the text were also considered appropriate and applied (Cumming, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

5. Findings

Research question 1: What difficulties do pre-service teachers encounter in the process of carrying out research?

The findings of the study revealed that the teacher trainee encountered many difficulties. The challenges of the process were related to five major points: (a) finding the nature and the field of research, (b), choosing the title of the study, (c) working hard along various commitments, and (d) involving the group of students in the study. Next, these key points will be addressed.

The participant reported that she had become engaged in the process of taking a decision about her research at the end of the previous academic year. It appeared that difficulty of the first importance had derived from the decision about what research approach to use. At that stage, hardships were associated with the lack of assistance and time to proceed thoughtfully. As a result, the pre-service teacher had opted for a theoretical paper; however, she had been more interested in an empirical one. The student teacher had encountered further confusion over finding the field of research and would have appreciated suitable guidance and support. Another hardship was related to the fact that the participant had been expected to determine the scope of investigations without any specific information concerning the teaching practice. The pre-service teacher claimed that she had had no knowledge of the particular school, the course materials and the participants. Under the circumstances, she had to choose a broad area of research, which needed consequent modifications. This was considered difficult. For instance, the majority of reflections were similar to the following:

There is a list about possible topics and which topic belongs to which supervisor but that is all.

I tried to find a title that was broad enough to let me make it a bit more reduced when I find my real topic, the real field that I am interested in because at the beginning I only had the feeling that I am interested in the topic but I didn't know how to start dealing with it, how to handle it.

The problem is that we have to hand in the whole title and the short summary of the topic half a year before we start our teaching practice and we don't even know where we will be and with what age group and with what level of students we will work with. We know nothing about the practice at that time.

When I decided about what kind of thesis I was going to write, I was not sure in which kind of school I will have the possibility to do my teaching practice and I didn't want to be dependent on the circumstances so that is why I decided to write a theoretical thesis... but my teaching practice could be very supportive to my thesis.

In light of these difficulties, the interviews supported the conclusion that there was a need for making more appropriate connections between engagement in research and the actual teaching practice. This is to suggest that when pre-service teachers are engaged in research as part of their teacher education program, it becomes essential to provide them with knowledge of the particular environment of teaching practice. This can support pre-service teachers in conducting classroom research to a great extent.

Constraints of time and workload were recognized as major reasons for struggling to work successfully. The beginner teacher reported that it had been extremely difficult for her to cope simultaneously with her research project and the daily commitments related to the two majors and the two teaching practices, particularly during the initial period of teaching. Regarding the amount of work and time to take responsibilities, the participant's reflections pointed at a high level of anxiety and stress. The following quotations from the interviews were selected as instances which the findings were based on:

Yes, difficulties... there will be a lot of them and I am sure that I will have time problems because I will have a very busy half a year... and, well, I don't think there will be very big problems but I am sure that I will learn a lot from the problems, too.

During the half-year practice it takes a lot of time to get to know the students, to get used to the surroundings, what to do, how to do it and one has really short time for dealing with the actual research. During the teaching practice the focus is on being with students and teaching our two subjects and that takes a lot of effort and a lot of time. But we are supposed to carry out the research during our teaching period and then work with the results of our research and make it into a thesis...and that is impossible during such a short time.

Moreover, the findings revealed that the difficulties of the situation could be connected to the students' interest, tolerance and motivation. The pre-service teacher felt that it had been extremely hard to select and adapt literary texts to suit the students' needs and attract their attention. The trainee stated that it had been difficult to achieve effective classroom instruction and satisfactory students' performance in an environment of low interest. Extensive evidence in support of this argument was also drawn from the student teacher's diary, my classroom observation field notes and students' feedback and reflections. Finally, it should be mentioned that the participant's perceptions implied that the process of writing materials and reflections to compile the thesis had been a demanding task to complete. For example, the trainee noted:

To raise students' interest and keep it. That was difficult. The students were motivated and didn't have objections but sometimes they did have, for example, when I brought some poems.

Working with the students was much more difficult because as we know, you can plan everything but if they are not in the mood or they are not interested in the topic, then they just won't do what you would like them to do. So, that was the most difficult part. And also writing reflections took a lot of effort and patience and yes, that was a difficult part again.

Crucial to the discussion above was the focus on how the participant had obtained her research knowledge and skills. First, the pre-service teacher explained that experience had been gained in the BA program, particularly in the process of writing her thesis for the degree. As for the MA program, knowledge and skills about research had been developed only in several lessons as part of the applied linguistics course in the first year of the program. Additionally, the trainee teacher mentioned involvement in a small scale project alongside review of the research literature. In the main, again, reflections appeared to include signs of anxiety. The following account illustrates these points:

They think that it is our own responsibility. Unfortunately, we didn't have many lessons about how to carry out a good research, how to plan it, how to make it really useful and meaningful... so, for nearly all of us it is like something new that we have never done before and now we should do something professional but it is just very difficult to do it this way.

Evidently, the teacher education program had offered opportunities for learning about research. However, regarding learning, reflections expressed concerns that it had been insufficient. In this respect, a summary of the participant's views suggested that problematic situations might be due to the level of basic research knowledge and skills gained in the university studies. The interpretations seemed to suggest that if student teachers had better understanding of the research process, they would be able to overcome the obstacles that had been placed on their path.

Research question 2: What is needed for successful pre-service teachers' research?

First, the findings pointed at the importance of initial work and profound preparation during the academic year and the immediate time prior the period of teaching practice. Second, the assumption underlined in this study was that hard work and enormous effort were a prerequisite for success. Third, according to the participant's experience, endurance and patience were equally crucial for achieving rewarding results. Fourth, data grounded in the student teacher's diary gave reasonable proof that assistance had been essential during the whole period. It was claimed that support and advice from others were indispensable for working on the research project. A number of people were considered as

sources of invaluable help: mentors, university tutors, supervisors, students and colleagues. Fifth, the same people were reported to have provided various opportunities for communicating ideas, giving suggestions and thoughts. The pre-service teacher stressed that such opportunities for exchanging viewpoints, opinions and impressions had been used on a regular basis and had been extremely beneficial. For example, beginner teacher discussed successful research in the following terms:

Theories can help but my practice as well.
It takes great effort and patience but it is worth it, absolutely.
It is very, very good if there are some people around with whom
one can communicate about her ideas.

Finally, the study revealed that one of the most important conditions for success was that student teachers were conscious that time was needed to cope with the workload between teaching practice and research. This was to suggest that pre-service teachers should possess readiness and willingness to spend more time and put more effort in their work.

It just needs a lot of work and a lot of time and one must keep on
even when there are off times.

Research question 3: Why is it essential to be efficient during the whole process?

Analyses of the data revealed an answer to the third research question. The significance of efficiency rested with the conclusion that attaining deeper research knowledge and better research skills could decrease anxiety and increase self-confidence in carrying out research. The content of the interviews also illustrated that the participant developed enthusiasm for the research field. The reflections provided evidence for the pre-service teacher's eventual positive attitude toward the process and expressed her genuine interest and willingness to participate in research projects in the future. The following quotes from the interviews explain the conclusions:

First of all, I would like to complete my degree and for that I have to carry out my research but I still feel that there are many areas that I am interested in. If I had some more time and some more experience, I think I would like to join in some research or do some research on my own because I feel there are useful and interesting topics.

It would be really nice to do research with the class that one teaches, not only for half a year but longer, or for longer years because during the half-year practice it takes a lot of time to get to know the students, to get used to the surroundings, what to do, how

to do it and one has really short time for dealing with the actual research.

I am sure it could be enjoyed. It is something interesting. It must be something useful, something that others could use or it must have an aim. It is not just for having it for the degree and that is all.

6. Conclusion

The current pilot study dealt with the experience of one pre-service teacher engaged in conducting research as part of her teacher education program. This was a small qualitative study; however, it was found to be extremely useful and meaningful from several perspectives: (a) the initially established aims were successfully accomplished; (b) the findings offered thoughtful insights into student teachers' research; (c) the outcomes drew attention to important issues in teaching practice.

With regard to research training, the reflections and interpretations provided some feedback to the MA program and pointed at what possible changes might be considered to implement. In this regard, it became evident that there was a demand for participation in research courses as part of the academic studies. Such courses seemed necessary to ensure circumstances in which pre-service teachers could receive more profound professional assistance and guidance prior involvement in their research projects.

There was evidence that the difficulties around conducting student teachers' research might be due to agreeing on the actual field of research earlier than the period of teaching practice. With the purpose of avoiding difficulties, two ways of reducing anxiety were recognized: (a) it was found useful to make it possible for pre-service teachers to select and submit the topic and title of research on the commencement of their teaching practice, when the school environment was established; (b) it was considered essential to provide pre-service teachers with specific information about the actual environment of teaching practice prior involvement in the process of research. In this respect, the suggestion for teacher education programs was to make stronger connections between research and practice.

It emerged that the ability to work on a research project efficiently could give beginner teachers confidence and could relieve their anxiety. The findings illustrated that progress was possible with hard work and effort. It appeared that a successful research process could formulate a motivating factor for student teachers and shape a positive attitude towards future research. Successful work on thesis could have a huge impact on pre-service teachers' future undertakings and could lead to research-oriented teaching. It is just as important that the study raised the importance of research as a driving force in education.

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