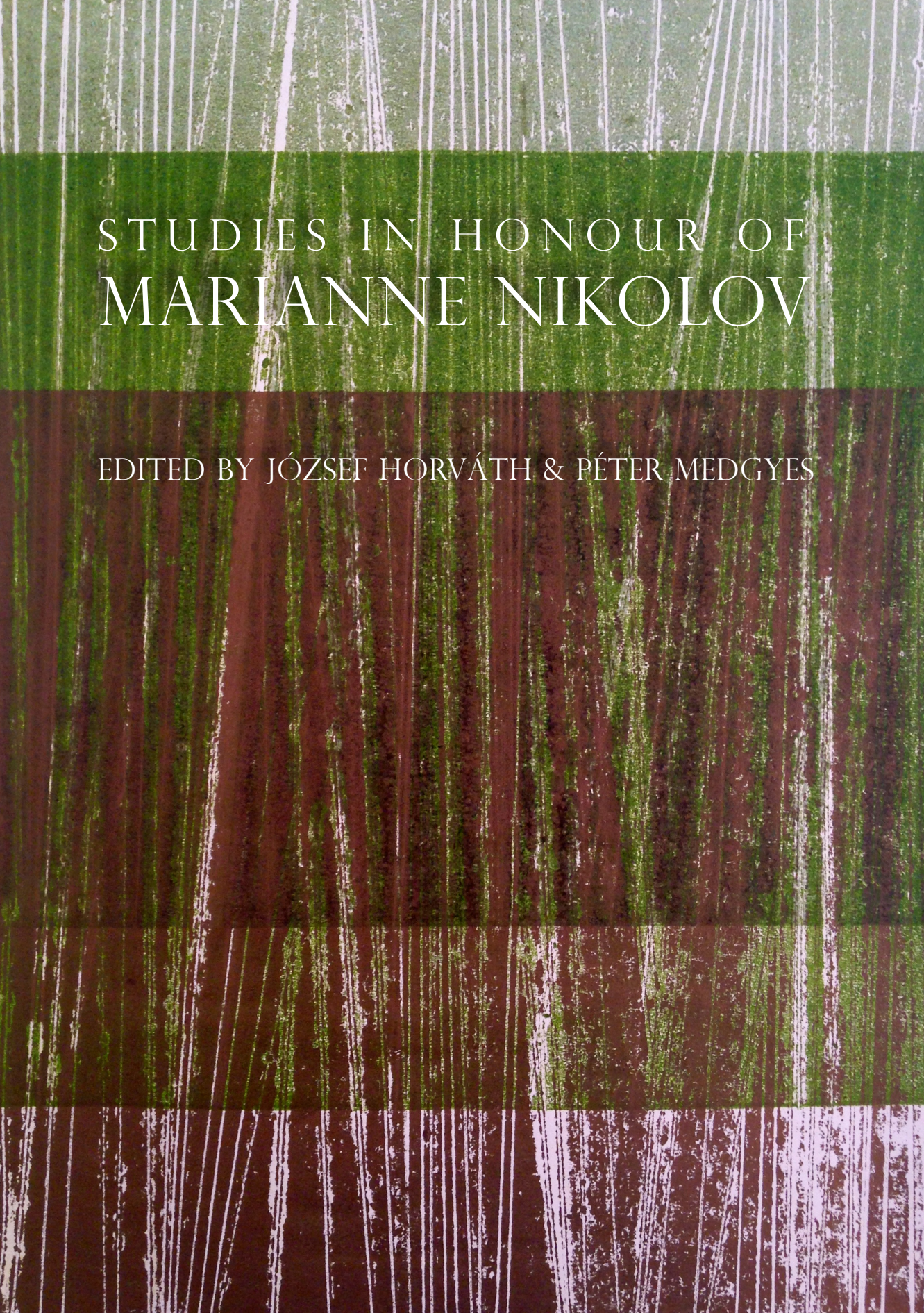
STUDIES IN HONOUR OF
MARIANNE NIKOLOV
EDITED BY JÓZSEF HORVÁTH & PÉTER MEDGYES

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"WHY DO YOU LIKE MARIANNE NIKOLOV?" A SMALL-SCALE RESEARCH PROJECT

Péter Medgyes & József Horváth

This volume is a collection of papers celebrating Marianne Nikolov: her professional achievements in the Hungarian and international applied linguistics arena. But does she deserve this honour? "Of course she does!" we hear you cry. "Who could set a better model than a primary teacher-turned-researcher of global repute? 35 papers by 38 authors to salute her contribution to the profession – isn't that enough?"

It may well be for other folks. However, we applied linguists are a strange lot. For us, seeing is *not* believing. We like to prove even the trivial – as testified by hosts of research projects and their products in our field. We won't take Professor Nikolov for granted until her worth is proven; nothing less will suffice. Hence this study, in which we sought answers to three questions, which are all related to Professor Nikolov.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although we hypothesised that the answers would produce overwhelmingly positive results, we wished to supply conclusive evidence to corroborate our hunches. We adopted a mixed-method approach in the belief that they would yield the most reliable and objective data. More specifically, we employed two widely applied corpus linguistic techniques: *keyword* and *frequency* analysis.

Keyword analysis, according to Cobb (2014), is a technique whereby a text is compared with a general reference corpus, aimed at identifying the units of the an-

alysed text, which reveal its special character on the lexical level. That is to say, this technique provides us with evidence not only of raw frequency data but also with information that can be submitted to interpretative investigations of the specificity of the text. In our case, the reference was the British National Corpus. As for the frequency analysis, it testifies, unsurprisingly, to the most frequently listed items in the corpus.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To generate the text for our investigations, we invited the contributors to this volume to participate in the study through convenience sampling. Originally, we intended to borrow Professor Nikolov's famous question-and-answer technique: "Why do you learn English?" "Because the teacher is short" (Nikolov, 1999), by reformulating this simple question like this: "Why do you like Marianne Nikolov?", expecting the respondents to begin their answers with "Because she is…", followed by an adjective for justification.

During the piloting stage, however, we scrapped this item type for two reasons. Firstly, we came to realise that it might appear to be somewhat biased: What leads us to believe that she is at all liked? What if she isn't? Secondly, our attention was drawn to the fact that a query that resembles, however remotely, the above-cited question might smack of plagiarism (Horváth, 2014, this volume) – a sin to be avoided at all costs.

The original question thus obliterated, we worked day and night to identify replacements that would be suitable for the analysis – the only possibility, especially given the limited time available for this endeavour. By serendipity, our expertise and experience gave us the much needed inspiration: three questions, quite literally, sprang up in our minds. A moment of epiphany! In finalising the items, we made sure that they were worded in a way that the respondents, a mix of native and non-native teachers of English (Medgyes, 2014, this volume), would find irresistible.

Ultimately, the research questions were as follows (see the instrument in the Appendix):

1. What motivated you to accept our invitation to contribute? Please answer in one sentence.
2. What adjective do you think would best describe Marianne's PROFESSIONAL character?
3. What adjective do you think would best describe Marianne's PERSONAL character?

PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

In January 2014, we sent an email to all the contributors during the proofreading phase of the editing process. They were asked to click the link of a secure Google Form page, where the survey lived. We hesitated whether we, the editors, should participate in the data collection procedure, and eventually decided against it so as to preserve our objective stance throughout.

Out of the 38 contributors, 34 responded, the answers forming three mini corpora, the database of our study. Responses to the first question were submitted to keyword analysis, whereas the second and third questions to frequency analysis. In the following, these three corpora will be presented and analysed, waiting to be supplemented with our interpretative commentary.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Of the 34 respondents, 32 answered all three questions, one respondent the first, whereas one other the second and third questions only.

Corpus 1

The answers to Question 1 run at a whopping 707 tokens. The ten most significant keywords appear in Table 1.

Table 1. The rank order of the most significant keywords of the first corpus
(1) admire
(2) academic
(3) honour
(4) professional
(5) volume
(6) respect
(7) appreciate
(8) contribute
(9) research
(10) invite

We assumed that notions of admiration, honour and respect would show up in the responses. However, were it not for our sophisticated research apparatus we would not be in a position now to pay tribute to the person under investigation. With the purpose of displaying the positive emotional charge of the lexical items, both at the level of denotation and connotation, let us quote just three respondents who ex-

press perhaps most forcefully (each in their own ways) the appreciative general attitude towards Profession Nikolov:

> Respondent X: What motivated me was an image of Marianne eagerly reading it, and I wanted to be part of that.
>
> Respondent Y: I wanted to say thank you, after all she believed in me more than I myself did and I'm very grateful for this.
>
> Respondent Z: A personal affection toward and admiration of Marianne, the pleasantest square peg in a round hole I have ever encountered.

Corpus 2

In describing Professor Nikolov's professional ethos (Question 2), we were able to document a wide range of adjectives that respondents used to indicate the various forms whereby she had impacted fellow teachers and researchers. It was *inspiring* that turned out to be the most frequently used adjective with five occurrences, albeit each time featuring in slightly different forms (cf. *inspiring, inspirational* and *inspired*). *Committed, knowledgeable, motivating* and *scholarly* are the runners-up with two occurrences each; note that *knowledgeable* in one instance is used in a superlative of sorts as *über-knowledgeable*, displaying the respondent's plurilingual competence, as well as evidencing the high esteem in which she holds Professor Nikolov's expertise. Although the rest of the adjectives are *hapax legomena*, that is, words with a single occurrence each, quite a few are in fact synonyms for one another. Note also that two respondents chose to supply nouns for adjectives (*perfectionist* and *team-player*) for reasons unknown to us. However, our favourite adjective is *terrierlike*, because it aptly reflects Professor Nikolov's dogged persistence in her multifarious forms of work.

The full list, in alphabetical order, is as follows:

> brilliant, committed, critical, efficient, encouraging, erudite, exemplary, hard-working, helpful, highly professional, impartial, inspirational, inspired, inspiring, knowledgeable, meticulous, motivating, original, passionate, perfectionist, pragmatic, pro-active, prolific, scholarly, systematic, team-player, terrierlike, über-knowledgeable, world-class

Corpus 3

The third mini corpus concerns her personal character through the respondents' prism (Question 3). For the record, *inspiring* is the winner with four occurrences, closely followed by *supportive* and *energetic* (three times each), although the latter

appears once in a somewhat altered form and with an arguably different meaning (*energising*). *Caring* and *dynamic* feature twice each, but again semantic similarities may be observed between several adjectives (e.g., *amusing* and *humorous*, or *giving* and *kind-hearted*). Even though the name is not exactly an adjective, the editors' favourite in this list is *Aunt Harriet*, an apparent reference to a character in a 1960s Batman TV series, who was known for her community-building spirit.

The items respondents shared with us to describe Professor Nikolov's personal character are:

> amusing, Aunt-Harriet, balanced, caring, considerate, devoted, dynamic, energetic, energizing, exceptional, fair, friendly, giving, humorous, inspiring, kind-hearted, motivational, patient, persistent, reliable and helpful, strict, supportive, trustworthy, vivacious, wise

CONCLUSION

Having brought together the three separate lines of inquiry presented in this study, and the results thereof, what is left for us is to objectively assert what we have subjectively surmised, known and felt all along: Professor Nikolov is a bloody good researcher, teacher, mentor, colleague and friend.

Happy birthday, Marianne!

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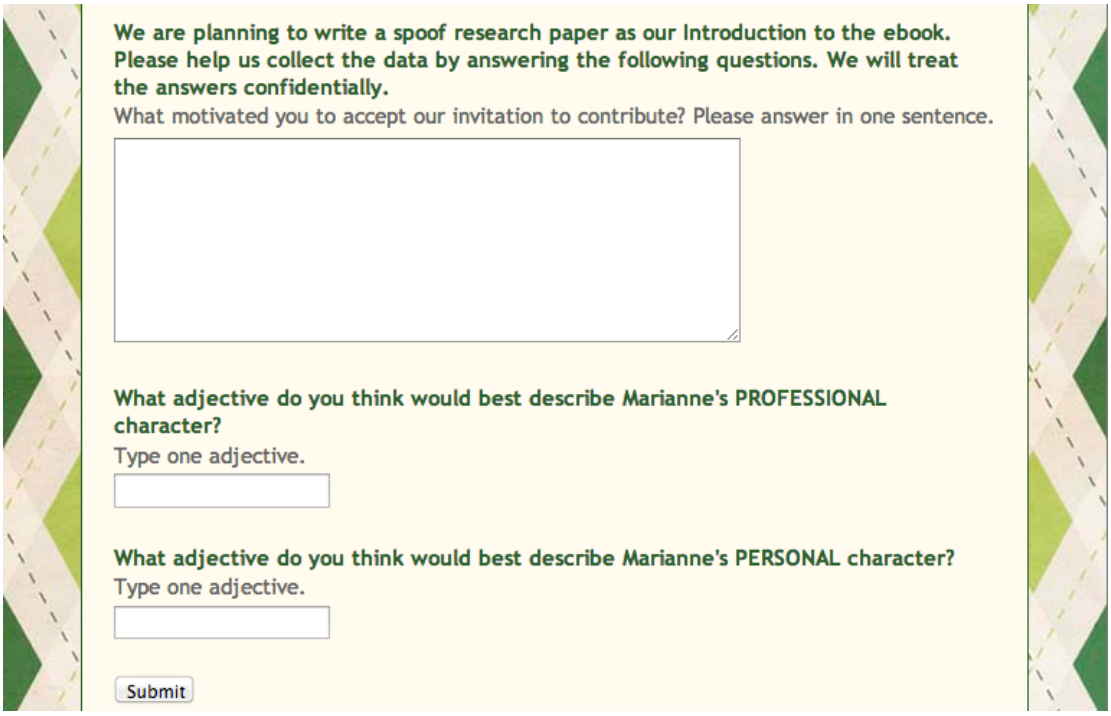
APPENDIX: THE QUESTIONNAIRE



We are planning to write a spoof research paper as our Introduction to the ebook. Please help us collect the data by answering the following questions. We will treat the answers confidentially.

What motivated you to accept our invitation to contribute? Please answer in one sentence.

What adjective do you think would best describe Marianne's PROFESSIONAL character?

Type one adjective.

What adjective do you think would best describe Marianne's PERSONAL character?

Type one adjective.

Submit

MOTIVATION

LONGITUDINAL CHANGES IN THE INTERACTION OF MOTIVATION AND INTERCULTURAL CONTACT IN A STUDY-ABROAD CONTEXT

Judit Kormos & Kata Csizér

INTRODUCTION

Contact with speakers of other languages plays an important role in second language acquisition for several reasons. First of all, one of the main aims of learning second and foreign languages (L2) is to be able to communicate with members of other cultures who do not speak one's mother tongue. Second, interaction with speakers of other languages creates opportunities for developing L2 learners' language competence (see, e.g., Swain, 1985, for the output hypothesis). Third, learners' experience of these encounters might influence both their disposition toward the target language and their attitude to L2 speakers and L2 culture. Therefore, intercultural contact can also be assumed to affect L2 learners' motivated behavior, that is, the energy and effort they are willing to put into L2 learning.

Intercultural contact is particularly important in study-abroad contexts, as one of the main aims of the study-abroad experience is for learners to interact with the host country members and thus gain a deeper understanding of their culture. Study-abroad programs are set up and sponsored in the hope that students will engage in contact situations, their intercultural sensitivity and knowledge of and familiarity with the target language culture will be enhanced, and they will improve

their second language competence. Nevertheless, very few research projects have been carried out to investigate how students' contact experiences, language learning attitudes and motivation interact during study-abroad programs and what role contact plays in shaping attitudinal and motivational variables in this context. Our study aims to fill this gap; it explores the link between direct and indirect contact and language learning attitudes and motivated behavior in a study-abroad context. Our data come from a survey of 70 international learners of English, who participated in an international foundation program before commencing their university studies in the United Kingdom (UK). Our investigation is unique in its longitudinal design as we administered the same questionnaire with the aim of assessing learners' direct and indirect contact with English language speakers and media products, the importance the students attribute to contact opportunities as well as motivational variables at three different time points during one academic year. This allowed us to conduct regression analyses on the variables at three distinct points in time and investigate how the internal structure of language learning motivation changed and how factors that predicted the frequency of contact vary with the progression of time spent abroad.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Our investigation is rooted in the social psychological study of inter-cultural contact. The most important subfield of the investigation of the contact-attitude relation within social psychology is called the *Contact Hypothesis* (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), in which it is argued that contact changes the attitudes and behavior of groups and individuals toward one another and, in turn, these changes influence further contact between groups and people. In his seminal work, Allport (1954) posited that certain conditions, such as equal status, common goals, co-operation and institutional support, are necessary for inter-group contact and this will lead to favorable changes in the attitudinal dispositions of individuals. Based on a comprehensive review of the research into interethnic contact conducted in the subsequent forty years, Pettigrew (1998) confirmed that these conditions were indeed necessary for optimal contact. In a more recent meta-analysis of 515 studies of inter-group contact, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) proposed that the key to the contact-attitude relation was the general psychological observation that familiarity leads to an increase in liking (Bornstein, 1989), through reductions in uncertainty and anxiety (Lee, 2001). Therefore Pettigrew and Tropp hypothesized that the main mediating variable between contact and attitudes is inter-group anxiety. In recent research it was also found that it was not only direct contact with members of other ethnic or cultural groups that might bring about changes in attitudes, but also indirect contact and the importance at-

tributed to contact might influence attitudes to the out-group (Van Dick et al., 2004).

The role of intercultural and interethnic contact in promoting attitude change was not only studied in multiethnic and multicultural settings, but also in study-abroad contexts. The overall findings of research into study-abroad experiences suggest that students tend to have overly positive expectations about the host country members at the beginning of their stay but, during their sojourn, their attitudes become more negative (e.g., Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Stangor et al., 1996). The results of studies in this field also indicate that the study-abroad experience itself might be insufficient to enhance intercultural growth and sensitivity (for a review see Pedersen, 2010). There is evidence, however, that frequent contact with host-country members is instrumental in bringing about positive attitudinal change (Stangor et al., 1996).

As for the field of second language acquisition, contact first appeared in Clément's (1980) model as a key constituent of motivation. Clément & Kruidinier (1983) showed that frequent and pleasant contact experience resulted in increased linguistic self-confidence in L2 learners which, in turn, affected motivated learning behavior in a positive way. In another study, Clément, Noels & Deneault (2001) concluded that more frequent positive contact experiences not only led to more confident language use but also influenced the identification profiles of language learners.

Although the role of contact in affecting motivational variables was investigated in foreign language settings, to our knowledge, no research on how contact experiences might shape motivation has been conducted in study-abroad contexts. Furthermore, most research into intercultural contact in the L2 field has relied on data collected at one specific point in time and has not explored changes in contact experiences and attitudes over a prolonged period. Therefore, in our longitudinal study, we were interested in how the variables that predict motivated behavior and the frequency of contact vary at different time points of the study (for the results of the study on the longitudinal changes in motivational variables and a follow-up qualitative analysis see Kormos, Csizér & Iwaniec, in press).

In our research we differentiated between direct contact with target language speakers and indirect contact, which involved contact with the L2 through the use of media products. Within direct contact we considered both spoken and written contact, and we enquired about language use with host-country members as well as with other international students. Finally, we also investigated students' perceptions about the importance of contact and the benefits gained from contact experiences. The study addressed the following research questions:

1. How does the internal structure of language learning motivation change over a period of one academic year in a British study-abroad context?
2. How do variables that are related to the frequency of direct spoken contact vary over a period of one academic year in a British study-abroad context?

METHOD

Participants

The survey was conducted on international students participating in a foundation program in a university town in the UK. The aim of the program was to prepare students for entry to a British university. The students received 15 hours of English language instruction per week for 9 months, and they also took content courses in their selected field of study. The language component of the program provided instruction in academic skills and aimed to develop students' ability to produce and understand written and spoken academic texts. At the end of the academic year, the students took an exam in both English and the relevant subject they intended to study. The international foundation program we investigated can be regarded as a typical example of preparatory courses for university entry offered in the UK, both in terms of its curriculum and the characteristics of the student sample.

The participants of the survey were 70 international students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, with the majority being Chinese (73%). 8% of the students were Arabic L1 speakers, and the others came from countries such as Kazakhstan, Vietnam, India, Pakistan, Russia, Mexico and the Ukraine. The participants' level of proficiency was between 4.5 to 7.5 in the IELTS exam, with the most frequent marks being in the 5-6 range. In other words, the level of L2 competence of the students varied from lower-intermediate to high upper-intermediate. 41% of the participants were male and 59% female, and their ages ranged between 17 and 24.

Instrument

The questionnaire, which consisted of 59 items, aimed to elicit students' views on contact experiences; consequently it assessed four aspects of contact that were identified as relevant constructs based on the review of literature and our previous research (Kormos & Csizér, 2007, 2008; Csizér & Kormos, 2009): direct spoken and written contact, media contact and the perceived importance of contact. Our questionnaire also intended to measure motivated behavior, language learning attitudes, self-efficacy beliefs and three language learning goals: instrumental, knowledge and international orientations.

Apart from the seven open-ended items at the end of the questionnaire asking about students' biographical details, all items used 5-point Likert scales. The items of the questionnaire were adapted from Csizér & Kormos' (2009) previous study, which investigated the role of intercultural contact in motivation in a foreign language learning environment; they were slightly revised to suit the study-abroad context. The questions on motivational variables were based on a previous survey instrument by Kormos, Kiddle & Csizér (2011). Finally, the items that aimed to describe self-efficacy beliefs were specifically written for the current study. The

questionnaire was written in English, and piloting on five students from the sample population using concurrent verbal reports was carried out to ensure that the participants understood the wording of the questions. The main variable groups were as follows:

Direct spoken contact (5 items): Frequency of direct spoken contact in English with native and non-native speakers of English. Example: I often speak English with people in town.

Direct written contact (5 items): Frequency of written contact by means of traditional mail, e-mail and chatting on the Internet. Example: I often chat on the Internet in English.

Media contact (5 items)*:* Frequency of contact with the target language by means of watching L2 TV programs, films, reading magazines, using the Internet. Example: I often watch TV in English.

Perceived importance of contact (6 items): Learners' perceptions of the importance of intercultural contact with L2 speakers as a valuable tool for improving their language skills, getting to know the target language culture, and decreasing their language use anxiety. Example: I think it is useful to talk to English people because I can get to know them better.

Instrumental orientation (8 items): The utilitarian benefits learners associate with mastery of the language, such as a better education or a better job. Example: Studying English is important because it will help me to get a good job.

International orientation (6 items): Students' attitudes to English as an international language. Example: Studying English helps me understand people from all over the world.

Attitudes towards learning the L2 (5 items): Learners' enjoyment derived from the language learning process. Example: I really like learning English.

Motivated learning behavior (7 items): Students' effort and persistence in learning English. Example: I am willing to work hard at learning English.

Self-efficacy beliefs (7 items): Learners' belief that they will be able to acquire English successfully for their own purposes. Example: I am sure that I will learn English well enough for my further studies at university.

Procedures

The research site was first contacted to gain permission to conduct the study. After we obtained access, we administered the questionnaire with the help of language instructors during different sessions, such as the orientation meetings before each term and as part of the course summary and feedback sessions. Data collection took place on three occasions during the academic year, at approximately equal intervals: immediately after the students joined the program, in the middle of the year, and at the end of the program. Answering the questions took the students approximately 15-20 minutes on average. Participation in the research was voluntary.

Analyses

All the questionnaires were computer-coded and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences 18.0 was used to analyze the data. The answers to the questionnaire were first subjected to factor analysis and multidimensional scaling (conducting separate analyses for each data collection occasion). The statistical characteristics of the various components were identical for the three waves of data collection. Next, based on the outcome of the principal component analysis, the items were divided into several multi-item scales, and Cronbach alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients were computed. Based on the Cronbach alpha values, we could conclude that the questionnaire items provided an adequate measure of the various latent components in this study (for details on reliability and the descriptive statistics see Kormos, Csizér & Iwaniec, in press).

As a next step, multiple regression analyses were carried out to investigate which variables contribute to variations in motivated behavior at the three different points in time. The level of significance for this study was set at $p < .05$.

RESULTS

In order to investigate which motivational and contact scales acted as predictor variables of students' motivated learning behavior, we carried out multiple regression analyses. We assessed the impact of the scales on motivated learning behavior at each specific point in time. The results of these analyses are summarized in Tables 1-3.

Table 1. Results of the regression analysis of the motivational and contact variables with motivated learning behavior as the criterion variable at Time 1

	Final model		
Variable	B	SE B	β
Importance of contact T1	.44	.10	.41**
International orientation T1	.19	.08	.19*
Language learning attitudes T1	.16	.07	.21*
R^2	.41		
F for change in R^2	22.56**		

* p <.05; ** p <.001

Table 2. Results of the regression analysis of the motivational and contact variables with motivated learning behavior as the criterion variable at Time 2

	Final model		
Variable	B	SE B	β
Importance of contact	.61	.105	.54**
International orientation	.43	.106	.37**
Self-efficacy beliefs	.28	.103	.29**
Language learning attitude	.18	.089	.19*
R^2	.49		
F for change in R^2	19.12**		

* p <.05; ** p <.001

Table 3. Results of the regression analysis of the motivational and contact variables with motivated learning behavior as the criterion variable at Time 3

	Final model		
Variable	B	SE B	β
Self-efficacy beliefs	.60	.106	.54**
Importance of contact	.40	.131	.33**
R^2	.37		
F for change in R^2	22.49**		

* p <.05; ** p <.001

At Time 1 the most important predictor variable of motivated behavior was perceived importance of contact, and international orientation and language learning attitudes were also found to be related to the criterion measure. At Time 2 importance of contact remained the best predictor variable while international orientation and language learning attitudes continued to be important factors. At this point, however, self-efficacy beliefs emerged as a new component of the model. At the end of the study only two variables were found to predict variation in motivated behavior: self-efficacy beliefs, which became the most important component in the model, and importance of contact, which was a factor present in all the models.

We also carried out multiple regression analyses to investigate which motivational and contact scales act as predictor variables of direct spoken contact (see Tables 4-6). At Time 1 two scales were related to how frequently students engaged in spoken interaction with target language speakers: the importance of contact and self-efficacy beliefs. At Time 2, however, only self-efficacy beliefs predicted the frequency of direct spoken contact. On the last data collection occasion, importance of contact again became an important predictor variable and motivated behavior was also found to play a role in seeking out contact opportunities.

Table 4. Results of the regression analysis of the motivational and contact variables with direct spoken contact as the criterion variable at Time 1

	Final model		
Variable	B	SE B	β
Importance of contact	.77	.12	.52**
Self-efficacy beliefs	.32	.10	.29**
R^2	.34		
F for change in R^2	24.79**		

** p <.001

Table 5. Results of the regression analysis of the motivational and contact variables with direct spoken contact as the criterion variable at Time 2

	Final model		
Variable	B	SE B	β
Self-efficacy beliefs	.53	.091	.53**
R^2	.29		
F for change in R^2	34.46**		

** p <.001

Table 6. Results of the regression analysis of the motivational and contact variables with direct spoken contact as the criterion variable at Time 3

	Final model		
Variable	B	SE B	β
Importance of contact	.73	.104	.63**
Motivated behavior	.22	.100	.22*
R^2	.43		
F for change in R^2	28.73**		

* p <.05; ** p <.001

DISCUSSION

The regression analyses conducted with motivated behavior being the criterion variable lend support to our previous findings that the perceived importance of contact plays an important role in L2 learning motivation in a foreign language context, where students have limited opportunities for contact (Csizér & Kormos, 2009). The current study shows that perceived importance of contact is also a significant factor in settings where students acquire the language in a target language environment. Furthermore, our research reveals that even though the structure of motivation changes over time, perceived importance of contact remains a predictor variable of motivated behavior at different stages of the study-abroad experience. Unfortunately, regression analyses do not allow us to make assumptions about the direction of the relationship between perceived importance of contact and motivated behavior. Therefore, it is both possible that the students who attribute high importance to contact invest considerable effort in language learning, but also that the more motivated students are, the more important they regard contact opportunities. In our previous research conducted in a foreign language context we used structural equation modeling, which allowed for testing the directionality of relationships (Csizér & Kormos, 2009). Our findings suggested that perceived importance of contact contributes to motivated behavior. The results of our previous interview study also indicate that positive contact experiences increased learners' awareness of the importance of contact and trigger changes in motivation. This finding is also in line with Clément et al.'s (2001) conclusion that frequent positive contact experiences lead to changes in the motivation and identification profiles of language learners in L2 contexts. Consequently, it might be hypothesized that high perceived importance of contact leads to enhanced motivated behavior.

This suggests that the internal structure of motivation undergoes several changes in the course of the study-abroad experience. In addition to the perceived importance of contact, language learning attitudes and international orientation were found to predict motivated behavior at the onset of the program. The model of motivated behavior at Time 1 seems to be similar to most models of L2 motivation that posit that goals and attitudes play an important role in influencing motivated action (e.g., Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Gardner, 1985, 2006; Gardner & Lambert, 1959; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). However, previous research into motivation, especially in the field of educational psychology (Bandura, 1986, 1997), suggests that self-related beliefs also play an important role in affecting the effort invested in learning. In our research, self-efficacy beliefs only appear in the models at Times 2 and 3, which might be explained by the fact that, at the beginning of the program, students might not yet have well-formed and stable beliefs about their potential to succeed in achieving their language learning goals.

The model of motivation at Time 3 is particularly interesting as, at this point of the study, students are about to finish their formal language learning careers. Con-

sequently, the model may give information about which variables predict the motivation to continue learning the language autonomously. In line with findings in educational psychology and recent research on L2 motivation, self-efficacy beliefs are highly important in affecting motivation at this potentially autonomous learning stage (see, e.g., Mills, Pajares & Heron, 2007). Furthermore, the importance learners attribute to contact also plays a highly significant role in this model. This may indicate that motivated students in this L2 context realize that an important learning opportunity is provided by contact experiences. This assumption is supported by the regression analysis of the variables that predict the frequency of direct contact at Time 3. This model also suggests that students who engage in frequent contact at this point are those who attribute an important role to contact and are highly motivated.

The variables related to the frequency of spoken contact were also found to change in the course of the study-abroad program. The results of the study reveal that shortly after the arrival in the country, the students who experience frequent contact are those who are aware of its importance and who have high appreciation of their own language learning potential. The important role of self-efficacy beliefs in engaging in contact is also acknowledged in models of willingness to communicate with L2 speakers (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei & Noels, 1998) and has been supported by a number of empirical studies (e.g., MacIntyre & Charos, 1996; Yashima, 2002). In the middle of the international foundation year, however, self-efficacy beliefs became the only predictors of frequency contact. This indicates that whereas at the beginning of the study-abroad experience perceived importance is necessary for contact to take place, with the progression of time spent abroad, the importance of contact is taken for granted by the students and only positive self-beliefs are necessary for the initiation of contact. At the end of the foundation year students were found to engage in considerably less contact with target language speakers due to the exams taking place in this period. Therefore, in this situation only those students who were highly motivated in language learning and recognized the importance of contact for the further development of their language competence were found to seek interaction opportunities.

CONCLUSION

The study reported in this paper explored the link between direct and indirect cross-cultural contact and language learning attitudes and motivated behavior in a study-abroad context. The study confirmed the results of our previous research in a foreign language setting (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos & Csizér, 2008) that indicated that the perceived importance of contact plays an important role in L2 learning motivation. In our previous research (Kormos & Csizér, 2008; Kormos et al., 2011) we have shown that the internal structure of motivation changes, depending on the age of the language learners. This study revealed that variables contributing to language learning effort also vary at different points in the academic year. This suggests that the internal structure of motivation undergoes dynamic changes in the language learning process and, depending on the instructional setting, the momentary influences of the social context, as well as the given mid- and short-term goals, a complex interplay of different factors influences effort and persistence in language learning.

In our research we surveyed 70 students in a particular UK context, but just as factors that affect motivation at different points in time change, so the internal structure of motivation also varies in different social and instructional contexts. Therefore, further large-scale longitudinal quantitative research in other settings and with languages other than English would also be necessary to explore the changing nature of motivation. Applying the research methods of dynamic systems theory (Verspoor, de Bot & Lowie, 2011), such as small-scale case studies with questionnaires and interviews at frequent intervals (see, e.g., MacIntyre & Legato, 2011), could also elucidate the dynamic interplay of motivational factors.

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THE FLUCTUATION OF MOTIVATION: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF SECONDARY SCHOOL LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

Judit Heitzmann

INTRODUCTION

The article reports on a research project I carried out for my PhD dissertation. My aim was to get an insight into the fluctuation of motivation to learn a foreign language (L2) in an institutional setting and to contribute to a better understanding of the various motivational influences by approaching this hotly debated question from the perspective of the participants of the learning process. The purpose of the study was (a) to identify the most important classroom-related motivational features and examine their interaction, (b) to explore the evolution of students' motivational thinking over the years, and (c) to define the teacher's role in the motivational process. To address these issues, I conducted a longitudinal participant research project involving a group of 16 secondary-school students. My intention was to examine the relevance of theory in the classroom context, that is, to explore how different affective factors that are emphasised in the literature relate to everyday teaching practices. Another goal was to consider how I, as a researcher teacher, could utilise the findings in the classroom for the sake of the students' progress.

My investigations were guided by the following research questions: (1) How do students see themselves as language learners? (2) What impact do the content and form of teaching have on their motivation? (3) How does the atmosphere of the

classroom shape students' motivation? (4) How does motivation change over time?

The findings of the study contributed to a better understanding of current issues in L2 learning motivation research, such as the interaction between various motivational characteristics and the temporal changes in students' motives. A model of L2 learning motivation emerged, which carries important implications for practising teachers and teacher educators.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The question of what triggers motivated behaviour has been in the centre of attention for decades. There is growing interest in the literature in the role that affective variables occupy in second and/or foreign language (L2) learning, and students' attitudes and motivation have become focal points in the study of this field. Researchers appear to agree that motivation is indeed a complex phenomenon, since their investigations have resulted in various definitions of the construct (see, for example, Dörnyei, 1998; Gardner, 1985; Reeve, 1992; Williams & Burden, 1997). Massive research has been carried out with the aim of getting better insights into the L2 learning processes by examining them from the student's point of view, and major attributes, such as language aptitude, motivation, anxiety, self-confidence, learning strategies and learning styles seem to be prevalent in every study (e.g., Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; Oxford & Ehrman, 1993; Skehan, 1991). Other authors (e.g., Horwitz, 1987; White, 1999; Williams & Burden, 1999), however, highlight the causal relationships between learners' beliefs and expectations, on the one hand, and the actual strategies they use while learning the foreign language, on the other.

In the 1990s attention turned towards investigating the learning of an L2, most importantly English, in institutional settings. As learning was seen as a fundamentally social activity, the classroom milieu got into the limelight. Consequently, attention was directed towards attitudes and motivation concerning the learning environment, more specifically the course, and the role that peers and teachers play (see, for example, Burnett, 2002; Nikolov, 2000, 2001; Noels, Clément & Pelletier, 1999). In order to apply the existing static models, it was a must to take a process-oriented view and investigate the ways in which the different mental processes that affect language learning and achievement operate (Dörnyei, 1998; Pintrich & Schunk, 1996).

Following Heckhausen & Kuhl's (1985) action control theory, Dörnyei & Ottó (1998) have drawn up a comprehensive model of L2 motivation, synthesising the numerous approaches to understanding motivational influences. The framework, which has been further elaborated by Dörnyei (2000, 2001a), distinguishes three phases of the motivational process as seen from a temporal aspect: the preactional stage, the actional stage, and the postactional stage, each of which has a functional dimension based on motivational influences. The first dimension in each phase, motivational functions, exhibits motivated behaviour. In the preactional stage, choice

motivation determines goal setting and intention formation as well as the initiation of action. In the actional stage, executive motivation is responsible for maintaining motivation while the actual learning is in progress. The third, post-actional stage is concerned with individuals' retrospective evaluation of the learning process and its outcomes. The second dimension in each phase refers to those motivational influences (energy sources) that trigger the above behavioural processes. In the first stage, they include factors such as the evaluation of the goal and the learning process, attitudes towards the target language and the L2 community, the expectancy of success, students' beliefs about language learning, and environmental effects. Executive motivational influences involve appraisals of the immediate learning environment, the feeling of autonomy, and the use of self-regulatory strategies. The third group, affecting post-actional evaluation, is concerned with self-concept beliefs and the impact of feedback.

Owing to the above ideas, motivation is now viewed as a dynamic concept, in which time is considered to be a determining factor (Dörnyei, 2000, 2002; Ushioda, 1996; Volet, 2001). While Volet (2001) conceptualises the dynamic nature of motivation as the interaction of classroom practices with students' beliefs and behaviour, Ushioda (1996) points out that, rather than being a stable construct, motivation fluctuates between the ups and downs of effort and commitment throughout the learning experience. These opinions are supported by Dörnyei (2005), who also highlights the time dimension, arguing that, apart from evolving gradually, motivation is characteristically influenced by various internal and external factors, especially in the case of language acquisition, which may extend over the years.

As can be seen from the articles cited above, most studies on L2 motivation are rather large-scale and follow a quantitative research design. The authors either aim at elaborating theoretical frameworks or at investigating particular aspects of the concept. It is no wonder that the need for a more holistic approach has been expressed by several authors (Dörnyei, 2001b; McGroarty, 2001; Ushioda, 2001). The research I have carried out is one of the few qualitative studies. Its novelty lies in investigating one group of learners for an extended period of time and, at the same time, in examining how I, as a researcher teacher, can incorporate the outcome into my everyday teaching practice. By collecting data from various sources, I was able to tap different variables simultaneously and assess their interaction. Thus, although the scale of the study does not allow for broad generalisations, I believe that I have arrived at a better understanding of individual differences between students and the factors underlying their motivation and behaviour in the EFL class.

METHOD

Research design

The study followed the qualitative research tradition. Its unique feature is that it was a longitudinal investigation lasting for four years, thus making it possible for the researcher to trace the continuous ebb and flow of students' motivation. The majority of information was provided by self-report verbal data, which allowed the examination of the investigated issue from an emic perspective. However, in order to enhance the trustworthiness of the research, I used multiple sources of information and the qualitative methods were supplemented by a questionnaire on student beliefs, a test on their language learning aptitude, and language proficiency measures. Each phase of the data collection procedure was guided by specific themes. In Phase 1 I focused on students' self-conceptions as language learners, on their language aptitude, as well as on their beliefs and expectations. In Phase 2 I concentrated on actual classroom practices, on the climate and the teacher's role, while in Phase 3 I examined the changes in students' orientation. Finally, in Phase 4 I assessed their EFL development and their persistence in learning the language.

Since in this study the teacher and the researcher were the same person, it was inevitable to involve external observers in order to counterbalance possible researcher bias and meet the requirements of triangulation. These included the English teacher of a parallel class, two staff members visiting my lessons, a trained examiner, and a fellow researcher, all of whom were involved at different stages.

Setting and participants

The research participants were 16 secondary school students who took part in the school's six-year educational programme. At the beginning of the data collection procedure they were in year 9 (ages 14-15), in the middle of their secondary education. They had gained a great deal of experience as language learners and proved to be open and mature enough to express their ideas. Compared to the average Hungarian secondary-school student, their general academic motivation could be described as fairly high. They all came to the school with the aim of continuing their studies in tertiary education and were working hard towards that goal: six of them attended special classes in mathematics and another six opted for communication and media studies, leaving only four students with no electives at all.

Analyses

All the verbal data was analysed using the constant comparative method, as described by Maykut and Morehouse (1994), to find emerging patterns. This involved a thorough analysis of the information gathered from the different data

sources, during which I first determined initial categories, then modified these groupings and constructed new categories. As regards the questionnaire, given the small number of participants (n=16), complex statistical analyses were not considered. Instead, I made frequency calculations in order to distinguish salient responses.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Students' self-perceptions as language learners

The aim of the first research question was (1) to analyse students' conceptualisations of success in learning English, (2) to show how their beliefs about L2 learning influenced their motivation, and (3) to find out how pervasive foreign language anxiety was in the group. The research was inspired by a study conducted by Williams and Burden (1999), and the findings modified their categorisation of success in learning an L2. Rather than highlighting performance at school and the importance of good exam results, my students defined success as the ability to communicate effectively in real-life situations. They tended to attribute internal reasons such as effort, attitude, and motivation for their successes and failures, and they assessed their development on the basis of feedback from the teacher as well as by their self-perception of competence. Several students proved to have developed an internal measure of success and compared their performance to their own abilities. Success emerged as an influential motive, a finding which was also confirmed in later phases of the research. As they explained (excerpts from students' self-report data are given in my translation and students are cited under pseudonyms.):

Excerpt 1 (Focus group interview)

> When learning a foreign language, I think it is important for everybody to experience a feeling of success. Because if, for example, a tourist stops us in the street and asks where the Penny Market or whatever is, and we can explain, then we go home and open the English book [laughter].

Furthermore, it was found that students had a positive self-concept and were generally optimistic and confident about their development. It is an important finding of the study that they were aware of the differences between learning an L2 and other subjects at school. On the one hand, there appeared to be differences between the instructional strategies that their teachers employed. While in certain classes the students were expected to absorb declarative knowledge, in L2 classes the main emphasis was on procedural knowledge and skills development. In their own words:

Excerpt 2 (Sára)

> The English lesson is different from the others because in this lesson we learn a language and not data. I think we are studying and playing at the same time.

Excerpt 3 (Emese)

> We don't have to swot formulae. It is true that we have to learn the words, but since we practise them, we can remember a lot.

On the other hand, there were differences between learners' goal setting. In the case of most subjects, only part of the students wished to acquire higher levels of knowledge, whereas in L2 classes everybody pursued the same goal: to develop communicative competence including social skills. Considering English, this goal was expressed more explicitly, in all probability because of its privileged status as a global language.

As regards foreign language anxiety, although the findings unveiled occasional feelings of apprehension, in most cases this could be defined as facilitating anxiety, given the fact that it acted as a motivational factor, a driving force to achieve better results. It should be mentioned that one student was found to suffer from debilitating anxiety; however, in her case it turned out to be a character trait. On the whole, it is apparent from the results that anxiety was not pervasive amongst the students. Even the most anxiety provoking situation – writing tests – was put in a favourable light. This was partly because the tasks were considered manageable, thus posing the right level of challenge, and partly because these tests measured procedural knowledge allowing students to keep track of their own progress.

The motivational influence of the teaching material

The second research question examined the motivational influence of the teaching material through an analysis of students' perceptions of various task types and working modes. Although the students adopted a favourable attitude towards a wide range of classroom activities, the findings brought certain individual differences to the surface, as students assessed the tasks in light of the goals that they were pursuing. Performance-oriented students appreciated the utility of classroom activities that gave them opportunities to practice their skills, while their peers with predominantly learning goals were motivated by appropriate cognitive challenges. They preferred the discovery approach to the tasks, which allowed them to work out solutions and make use of their creativity. Apparently, successful completion of the task enhanced their intrinsic motivation, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 4 (Kitti)

> [The reading task] was rather tough for me. I understood it with great difficulty, but it worked that we read it twice and the second time I was better at it. … I think we need tasks like this, they are a real challenge, at least for me. And it feels good when I manage to understand it in the end. It was difficult but useful at the same time.

It is an interesting finding that authentic material which was not prescribed by the curriculum aroused students' interest and triggered engagement in the given activity. Viewed from the students' perspective, such materials represented real English, where the L2 was a vehicle of conveying specific content knowledge. As they put it:

Excerpt 5 (Focus group interview)

> It was good when we disregarded the curriculum, or there was surely some connection, but the key word was English, and we did not consider it as shirking because we were not doing the course book but enjoyed the English in it. It gave us a feeling of success that we could understand things that were definitely taken from the real world.

Excerpt 6 (Klára)

> Apart from being interesting, [these stories] were very useful. A lot of new words came up, expressions that are so 'English' and perhaps cannot be found in course books. They also gave me a feeling of success, because I felt that – Well, there is this nice long English story and I can understand it! I do not really know how to put it, but I think what made me feel successful was the fact that it was good to understand a complete story not included in the textbook.

As for students' perceptions of different working modes, co-operative techniques were found to be more motivating for several reasons. Firstly, students were involved in the learning process and everybody was expected to contribute to the outcome to the best of their knowledge, which fostered team spirit. Secondly, collaboration in pairs or in small groups reduced stress and alleviated feelings of anxiety; and thirdly, such techniques developed students' socio-linguistic competence as well.

The influence of the classroom climate on students' motivation

The third research question focussed on the climate of the classroom, and my aim was to identify various teacher-related and group specific motivational characteristics and examine their interaction by looking into actual classroom practices. My investigations found that the students had a clear understanding of the learning process and effective classroom management. As their attitudes towards different school subjects were greatly influenced by their goals, they expected the learning environment to help them achieve those goals. They needed a supportive atmosphere which was characterised by consistent work, well-paced lessons, discipline, and also peer co-operation. Consistent with the findings to the second research question, students' mastery motive proved to enhance their cognitive engagement and the development of highly regulated learning strategies.

It is a particularly important finding of the study that students appeared to be capable of assessing and exercising control over their learning. A basic conflict was unveiled, caused by the difference between students' and teachers' conceptualisations of knowledge and the learning process. It was found that students considered understanding as the key to development and, consequently, they failed to see the purpose of rote learning and declarative knowledge, as evidenced by Excerpt 7:

Excerpt 7 (Focus group interview)

> I lost the thread at some point and since then I haven't been interested. … My problem with physics and with other subjects, chemistry, for example, is that I don't understand the 'why' of many things. … The way these subjects are taught, I mean that we are not supposed to understand the rules, only know them. … And I don't like things that I don't understand. Rote learning is no use.

On the other hand, foreign language classes surfaced as a positive example, where procedural knowledge was given priority and where students' expectations were met. The fact that their goals, the classroom tasks, and their progress were in harmony apparently fostered their motivation. All these findings suggest that the participants became autonomous learners who took responsibility for their own development.

The effect of time on motivation

The fourth research question addressed a current issue in L2 learning research, as it dealt with the temporal dimension of motivation by examining what influence students' developing proficiency and the changes in their goal setting exerted on their motivation. The findings revealed an interaction between students' proficiency level, their motivating experiences, and the goals that they pursued at various

stages of the L2 learning process. The changes in their motivational behaviour indicated a discernible trend roughly corresponding to annual cycles. It was found that at an early stage they were mostly inspired by positive L2-related experiences and instrumental motives. Over the years, however, these were complemented by mastery motives, as students set themselves various short-term goals. By attaining these sub-goals they became aware of their progress, which strengthened their mastery goal. This in turn enhanced their intrinsic motivation and had a positive effect on the learning outcome. Consequently, students achieved the original goal of passing a high-stakes language exam, which had lost its importance by that time, as their attention was transferred to mastery development. These findings give support to the views in the literature that motivation is a dynamic concept and students' motivational thinking evolves over time (see, for example, Ushioda, 2008; Ryan & Dörnyei, 2013).

Most importantly, the study modified Dörnyei's (1994) concept of motivation as a static construct. It was found that the temporal dimension was apparent on the learning situation level affecting course-specific motivational variables. Furthermore, the investigations revealed that the process model of L2 motivation proposed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) can be applied to an institutionalised setting, where the different phases of the motivational process described in the model correspond to the various stages of the learning process.

An emergent model of L2 learning motivation

A thorough analysis of the data yielded a rather unexpected result as a model of L2 learner motivational behaviour seemed to emerge in the formal school context. The findings revealed the following key components: (1) teacher-related motivational factors including classroom management, the teacher's instructional strategies, and her choice of specific tasks and materials; (2) group-related factors comprising learners' cognitive engagement, group cohesion and group norms; and (3) the school timetable. Figure 1 shows a schematic representation of my proposed model. As can be seen in the model, students' motivation is profoundly influenced by the goals that they pursue at different stages of the learning process. At the outset, they set themselves a long-term goal, which is first based on their beliefs about L2 learning, and later on motivating experiences connected to L2 use. As they acquire higher levels of knowledge, their motivation is also determined by their experiences of success or failure and by perceptions of their own development, and, as a result, they gradually formulate more ambitious sub-goals. In the formal school context such stages roughly correspond to annual cycles, during which students' behaviour is under the impact of actual classroom processes.

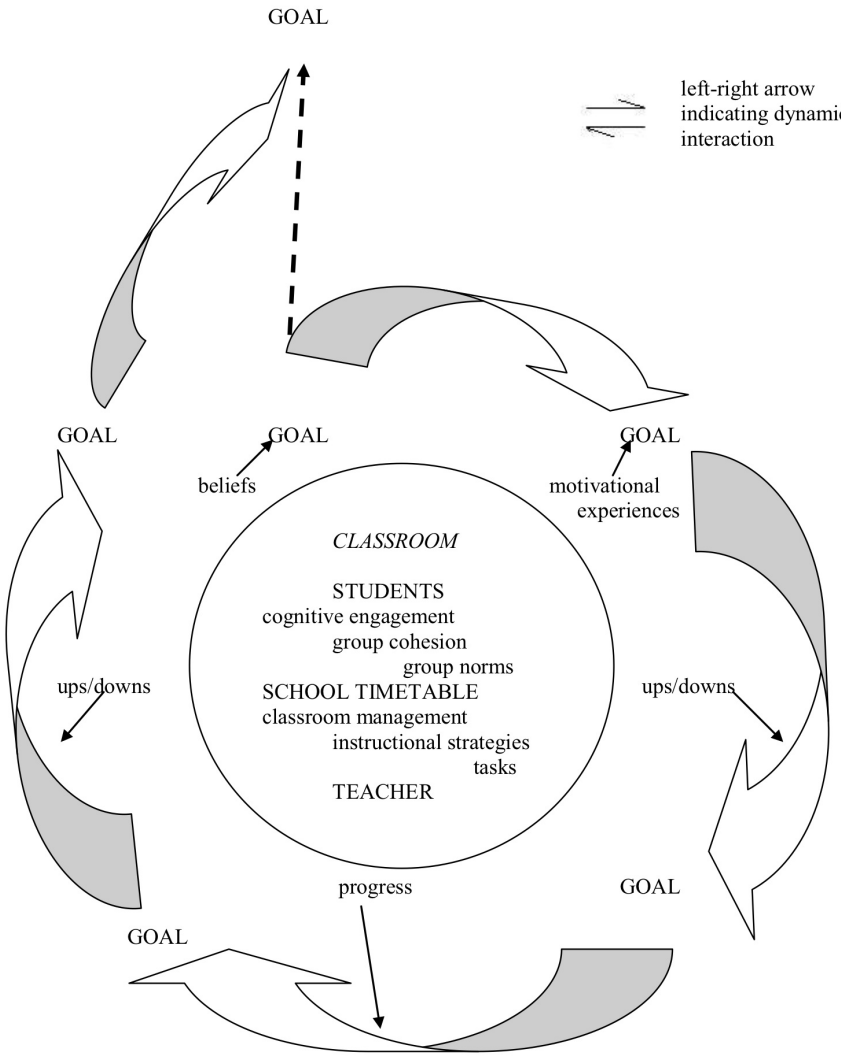

Figure 1. Dynamic model of L2 learner motivational behaviour

The model also suggests that the atmosphere of the learning environment is within the control of the key figures (students and teacher), and the factors underlying students' motivational behaviour act as mediators between these two actors in constant interaction with one another. Classroom management and teaching style have their impact on students' cognitive engagement in the learning process, which in turn leads to their development and helps them achieve their goals. A similar influence may be exerted by the cohesive ties and norms within the group itself. Another element influencing learners' behaviour in the L2 class – the school timetable – is an external factor. Although it is beyond the control of the actors, it affects both parties. A left and right arrow used in science (Páncsics, personal communica-

tion) could be drawn between each pair of factors to indicate a dynamic interaction.

If we imagine this model in three dimensions, we can see that it has a spiral shape and the various goals appear at different levels of time. At the macro level there are long-term goals such as obtaining high end-of-term grades or taking a language exam, while at the micro level we find everyday incentives like completing specific tasks or learning from one class to the other. The arrows pointing to the different goals are not straight lines, but sometimes go in loops depending on the fluctuation of motivation. Metaphorically speaking, motivation is more like a gyre, which can sweep you forward but at times also pulls you in. Around the spiral there is a grey field comprising further motivational influences, e.g., parents or the wider social context. However, not much is known about this field because it was not part of my investigations.

The model is in line with the dynamic systems theory emphasised in most recent literature (Ushioda, 2008; Ryan & Dörnyei, 2013), as it shows how the goals that learners set for themselves change throughout the learning experience. Moreover, the findings give empirical support to Dörnyei's (1994) three-level model and also to Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) process-oriented framework.

It should be noted, however, that the participants of my study had a positive self-perception and their general academic motivation was also relatively strong. The test of the proposed model could be to see whether it applies to different contexts, i.e., whether it explains students' successes and possible failures in a vocational school where they have weaker self-perceptions and their teachers are less motivated.

CONCLUSION

Despite the limitations of the study, its findings carry important pedagogical implications for practising L2 teachers and teacher educators alike. The most important message is that teachers indeed play a pivotal role in shaping their students' motivational thinking over the years and it is their responsibility to create a learning environment which is sensitive to learners' needs. This study has shown that secondary-school students place particular emphasis on goal achievement and thus their behaviour in the classroom is primarily directed by their immediate incentives. Moreover, their self-reports gave evidence that success is a salient motive. Therefore, it is necessary to give students opportunities for satisfaction by assigning manageable tasks that bear appropriate levels of challenge and by engaging them in activities that foster the development of their linguistic as well as cognitive and social skills.

Students' opinions indicate that they have a clear understanding of the learning process and are rather critical of outdated classroom procedures. Teachers' ineffective methods and insufficient rapport with learners are mentioned among the neg-

ative influences that might lead to demotivation in the long run. To avoid such a situation, teachers can employ motivating instructional strategies and use inspiring teaching materials. Furthermore, it is desirable to strike a sensible balance between declarative and procedural knowledge and to improve students' reasoning skills by involving them in the learning process. Consequently, teachers can shift the emphasis from demonstrating knowledge to learning, thus creating a supportive atmosphere in the L2 class. Effective classroom management enhances students' motivation, which ultimately has a positive impact on the learning outcome.

Progress is best achieved in a co-operative learning environment where students' needs and expectations are taken into consideration. In such circumstances, students are likely to become intrinsically motivated, they set for themselves learning goals and, rather than being passive recipients of knowledge, they actively participate in the learning process.

Besides addressing practising L2 teachers, the study also conveys useful messages for teacher educators. It implies that it is necessary to put special emphasis on teachers' educational philosophy and their instructional choices. Therefore, when designing teacher development courses, teacher educators may want to include practical guidance. In other words, they may want to advise novice teachers on what pedagogical practices to follow so that they can arouse and maintain their students' motivation and scaffold the learning process.

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DEVELOPING NEW SCALES FOR ASSESSING ENGLISH AND GERMAN LANGUAGE MASTERY MOTIVATION

Krisztián Józsa

INTRODUCTION

This paper is dedicated to Marianne Nikolov on the occasion of her birthday. Some years ago we had a joint project focused on language achievements in English and German (Józsa & Nikolov 2005; Nikolov & Józsa, 2006). I really enjoyed that collaboration with Marianne and learned a lot.

In her study published ten years ago, she wrote that studies on foreign language learning motivation had a renaissance (Nikolov, 2003). This statement still holds true today. Moreover, we can even say that research on motivation has become more intense in the past decades. In her study mentioned above, Nikolov compared foreign language learning motivation of learners of English and German. This paper attempts to carry out a similar analysis, focusing on language learning motivation in English and German.

The aim of my research was to explore mastery motivation among Hungarian learners of English and German. A new scale was developed to assess language mastery motivation. The first piloting of the questionnaire took place in September 2013. Participants of the cross-sectional study were students from grades 4, 6, 8, and 10; a total of 775 school children. The present paper summarizes the main findings of this study.

LANGUAGE PREFERENCES IN HUNGARY

After the political change, from the beginning of the 1990s, foreign language preferences in the Hungarian educational system have gradually transformed: in schools the Russian language was replaced by German and English. During the first half of the 2000s approximately 50 percent of the secondary school students learned English, and almost 40 percent learned German. The ratio of those learning a foreign language other than these two did not even reach 10 percent. In the 1990s both English and German were very popular among students; however, now the dominance of English has become evident (Nikolov & Józsa, 2006; Nikolov & Vígh, 2012). English is the language of IT, tourism and business, which significantly contributed to the fact that it gained prominence over German. Also, the possibility to study or work abroad can be a further language learning related motivational factor among students.

LANGUAGE LEARNING MOTIVATION

One of the pioneers of research on language learning motivation is Robert Gardner, whose name marks the so-called socio-psychologic era that remained influential in terms of language learning motivation from the end of the 1950s until the 1990s. Before Gardner the general belief was that the most crucial factors of language learning are intelligence and proper verbal skills; attitudes and motivation were not regarded as important (Gardner, 2001). In Gardner's theory, however, the phenomenon of integrative motivation, learning motivation is closely related to positive attitudes towards the native speakers of the target language, to contacts with them. The concept of instrumental motivation, on the other hand, refers to the individual's desire to master a foreign language, for instance, to get a higher salary or a promotion (Dörnyei et al., 2006).

Research in the past decades has even gone further: motivation is described in a dynamic model, in which an important role is attributed to the teacher, the parents and the group, in other words, to the broader context of learning (Nikolov, 2003).

One of the recent studies pointed out that self-choice activities in English (e.g., watching movies, listening to music, surfing the internet) are closely connected with language motivation (Józsa & Imre, 2013). Classroom processes also play a crucial role in the development of language motivation. However, these were not the focus of research until the middle of the 1990s (Nikolov, 1995). Some research aims at the investigation of the role of intrinsic motivation in language learning (Nikolov, 2003). Intrinsic motivation refers to the desire to participate in an activity, merely for the pleasure derived from the activity itself and can have a significant effect on proficiency (Nikolov, 2007).

MASTERY MOTIVATION

The concept of mastery motivation is clearly related to the concept of intrinsic motivation, but research in the two fields has developed separately, in part because studies of intrinsic motivation have focused on older children and teens, while mastery motivation research has, until recently, focused on infants and preschool children. Although mastery motivation has usually been assumed to be initially intrinsic in young infants, the definition and focus of mastery motivation research have been on a child's persistent attempts at mastering challenging tasks, whether the reward comes from within or extrinsic rewards are offered (Józsa & Morgan, in press; McCall, 1995).

Mastery motivation forces us to train and master a certain skill or ability. Under adequate conditions, mastery motivation operates as long as the challenge persists and as long as acquisition is not complete; i.e., until mastery has been reached. Mastery motivation is understood as a "psychological force that stimulates an individual to attempt independently, in a focused and persistent manner, to solve a problem or master a skill or a task which is at least moderately challenging for him or her" (Morgan et al. 1990, p. 319). Mastery motivation is conceptualized by Barrett and Morgan as a complex psychic structure consisting of two main dimensions: 1) an instrumental component and 2) an expressive or affective component. Further domains of the instrumental component are behavioral manifestations of persistence, which was understood as the principle measure of mastery motivation in previous studies. These manifestations include a) cognitive persistence, b) social persistence and c) gross motor persistence. Experiencing mastery pleasure provides the necessary feedback and reinforcement in relation to mastery motives (Barrett & Morgan, 1995).

Mastery motivation functions as the basis of learning in infants, but such motivation can also be active and can be activated in preschool and school-aged children, as well as in adults. This fact is well exemplified by children who find great pleasure in learning to count and read, or adults who pursue their profession with expertise. However, the school and the family both play an important role in the development and functioning of mastery motivation in these skills (Józsa, 2007). Mastery motivation has a fundamental impact on cognitive, social, and psychomotoric development (Wang & Barrett, 2013). Some studies indicate that mastery motivation may be a better predictor of cognitive development than intelligence, hence playing a crucial role in school achievement (Józsa & Molnár, 2013; Yarrow et al., 1975). Shonkoff and Philips (2000) maintain that mastery motivation is a key factor in personality development. They highlight the importance of research in this field, stating that assessment of mastery motivation should be an important part of the evaluation of childhood development.

DOMAIN-SPECIFIC APPROACH TO MASTERY MOTIVATION

Research on school motivation has highlighted that motivation to learn may strongly depend on context. A student could be motivated in the field of mathematics, but this might not apply to language learning. Research on self-concept has revealed that students' self-concepts are differentiated according to subject domains; e.g., self-concept in mathematics is different from self-concept in reading (Marsh, 1990; Zanobini & Usai, 2002). Similar results have been produced in the field of academic intrinsic motivation (Gottfried et al. 2001; Steinmayr & Spinath, 2009).

Hence, it can be assumed that mastery motivation and cognitive persistence can vary across school contexts, skills, and subjects. However, no instruments are yet available to investigate the school subject-specific aspects of mastery motivation (Józsa & Molnár, 2013).

AIM OF THIS STUDY

The study was part of a larger project concerned with the development of new scales to measure domain-specific dimensions of mastery motivation. Likert-items were developed for the following domains: reading, mathematics, science, English and German as foreign languages, music and art.

This paper aims at an analysis of English and German language mastery motivation. Psychometric indices were calculated for these scales, and age-related changes in foreign language mastery motivation were analyzed between grades 4 and 10. The relationships of mastery motivation and school achievement were also explored, as well as the effects of parents' level of education. The study also sought to determine if there are gender differences in foreign language mastery motivation.

METHODS

Instrument

New scales to assess domain-specific dimensions of mastery motivation were established. For each domain (scale) 9-12 Likert items were formulated. Items were developed on the basis of the definition of mastery motivation (Barrett & Morgan, 1995; Busch-Rossnagel & Morgan, 2013), the DMQ (Dimensions of Mastery Questionnaire) scales by Morgan (1997) and his colleagues as well as their Hungarian adaptation (Józsa, 2007). Those items were regarded as models for our items. It was my intention that the items of the seven scales of the new instrument should be as similar to each other as possible. The two scales analyzed in this study can be regarded as completely equivalent, the only difference between the two be-

ing the name of the foreign language. Both the English and the German language mastery motivation scales were comprised of 10 Likert-type items.

The domain-specific mastery motivation scales were reviewed by fellow-researchers and in-service teachers. The piloting of the instrument was administered to 60 participants at the beginning of September 2013. The results of the pilot study indicated a need to delete one item per scale.

Data were collected within the framework of a school lesson during the last week of September 2013. The questionnaire was supplemented with questions on school achievement (school grades) and demographic data. Students were given 45 minutes to fill in the online questionnaire for which the EDIA software developed by *Center for Research on Learning and Instruction at University of Szeged* was used. During the data collection procedure, students were able to read the Likert items on the screen and simultaneously listen to them using headphones. At the beginning of the data collection procedure, students watched a short video explaining how to fill in the online questionnaire. Data on parents' level of education was collected on a six-point scale (1 = did not finish primary school, 2 = primary school, 3 = vocational school, 4 = secondary grammar school, 5 = BA degree, 6 = MA degree). The data indicated that the parents of English learners proved to have a higher level of education (mother M = 4.85, father M = 4.67) than those of the German learners (mother M = 3.51, father M = 3.73); the difference is significant (mother t = 7.09, $p < .001$; father t = 4.86, $p < .001$). This finding is similar to an earlier one which also found that the parents of English learners have higher levels of education (Józsa & Nikolov, 2005).

Sample

A total of 775 students participated in the study from grades 4, 6, 8, and 10. 47% of the participants were boys. When comparing the different grade levels, no significant differences were found in mother's and father's highest levels of education.

Each student filled in the questionnaire in the foreign language they have been studying for the longest time. 75% of the students fell into the learners of English as a foreign language subsample, while 23% of them were in the German as a foreign language subsample. No significant differences were found between the grade levels concerning the ratio of learners of English and German. Only 2% of the students claimed that they were not learning either English or German; they were excluded from further analyses.

RESULTS

Reliability and basic statistics of the scales

The Cronbach's alpha index of the English mastery motivation scale was high, 0.90, for the total sample. Similarly high alpha indices were found in the subsamples of the different grade levels: 0.89 – 0.90. The corrected item-total correlations were also high, 0.41 – 0.79, their median being 0.69. Both the item-total correlations and the alpha if item deleted indices are indicative of a good fit for each Likert-item (Table 1).

Table 1. Likert items in English language mastery motivation (EMM) scale

#	Item	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's alpha if item deleted
E1	If I do not understand an English sentence, I read it again.	.646	.891
E2	If I cannot spell something in English, I practice until I learn it well.	.677	.889
E3	I do my best to be good at English.	.790	.882
E4	I practice English to get better at it.	.741	.884
E5	I practice English words until I know them well.	.756	.884
E6	I want to master English.	.694	.889
E7	I do my best to be a better and better speaker of English.	.740	.885
E8	I am pleased when I can think in English.	.411	.903
E9R	I do not care if I have poor English.	.524	.900
E10R	If I do not understand something in English, I give up.	.598	.895

Note: *R* refers to negative items.

The reliability of the German language mastery motivation scale is also high, 0.84; in the subsamples of the different grades the indices are all above 0.8. This degree of reliability is somewhat lower than that of the English language mastery motivation scale, but still suggests a high reliability of the scale. The corrected item-total

correlations are acceptable, ranging between 0.27 and 0.74, their median being 0.61 (Table 2).

Both scales included two reversed items. Comprehension of reversed items turned out to be more demanding for respondents. These items often lower the degree of reliability of Likert-scales (Józsa & Morgan, 2012). This negative effect was not observed for these two scales. In this study the reversed items of the English language mastery motivation scales show an appropriate fit. However, it must be noted that the omission of these items would not result in a lower degree of reliability. Items E8 and G8 assess mastery pleasure. Mastery pleasure comprises a distinct scale of the DMQ (Morgan, 1997). Accordingly, these items show a looser fit for the language mastery motivation scales.

Table 2. Likert items in German language mastery motivation (GMM) scale

#	Item	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's alpha if item deleted
G1	If I do not understand a German sentence, I read it again.	.607	.820
G2	If I cannot spell something in German, I practice until I learn it well.	.661	.813
G3	I do my best to be good at German.	.708	.812
G4	I practice German to get better at it.	.741	.803
G5	I practice German words until I know them well.	.595	.820
G6	I want to master German.	.619	.823
G7	I do my best to be a better and better speaker of German.	.686	.814
G8	I am pleased when I can think in German.	.272	.845
G9R	I do not care if I have poor German.	.275	.862
G10R	If I do not understand something in German, I give up.	.462	.839

Note: *R* refers to negative items.

Item means are presented in Table 3, most of them being above 4. Considering that the means were derived from responses on a five-point scale, these values are considered high. Nonetheless, the items displayed an acceptable discriminatory strength with standard deviations ranging between 0.6 and 1.0.

The means of most English language items show a significant decline between grades 4 and 10 (Table 3). However, no such decline was observed for items E6 („I want to master English.") and E8 ("I am pleased when I can think in English."). The means of these items were very high, above 4.5, on each grade level. Similarly, no age-related difference was found in the E9 reversed item.

The means for the German language items exhibited a more significant decline with age. In this case half of the item means of grade 10 students were below 4. One exception to this tendency is item G8 ("I am pleased when I can think in German."), the mean of which does not change with age, but remains high on all grade levels.

After scale means were calculated for each participant, linear transformations were conducted on the means, using the formula (x-1)*25. This way, the scale would range between 0 and 100, called percentage points (%p). Correspondences between the 1-5 values of the scale and the percentage points are as follows: 1 = 0%p, 2 = 25%p, 3 = 50%p, 4 = 75%p, 5 = 100%p.

Table 3. Means of the Likert items

Item	English				German			
	4	6	8	10	4	6	8	10
1	4.59	4.27	4.46	4.44	4.67	4.40	4.13	4.20
2	4.49	3.87	4.08	3.94	4.67	4.56	4.18	3.30
3	4.63	4.23	4.28	4.23	4.80	4.60	4.16	3.73
4	4.55	3.94	4.11	4.14	4.72	4.40	3.84	3.20
5	4.59	4.15	4.31	4.25	4.78	4.73	4.08	3.77
6	4.76	4.58	4.60	4.80	4.88	4.81	4.49	4.38
7	4.65	4.28	4.22	4.30	4.85	4.62	4.08	3.63
8	4.76	4.67	4.81	4.72	4.92	4.92	4.87	4.77
9R	4.39	4.36	4.35	4.48	4.33	3.08	4.08	4.10
10R	4.52	4.26	4.25	4.23	4.21	3.62	3.58	3.70

Note: *R* refers to negative items.

Age-related changes in language mastery motivation are shown by Figure 1. While English language mastery motivation significantly declined between grade 4 and 6, no significant differences were observed in EMM between grades 6, 8 and 10 (Grade comparison 4 > 6, 8, 10; ANOVA F = 4.49, p = .004). German language

mastery motivation, on the other hand, showed a steady decline between grades 4 and 10 (Grade comparison 4 > 6 > 8 > 10; ANOVA F = 11.32, p < .001).

When looking at the whole sample for all ages combined, no significant difference was found between English (M = 85, SD = 18) and German (M = 83, SD = 17) language mastery motivation (t = 1.07, p = .286). When comparisons were made by grade level, no significant difference was found between grade 4, 6 and 8. However, in grade 10 learners of English (M = 84) reported significantly higher mastery motivation (t = 3.51, p = .001) than their German learner peers (M = 72).

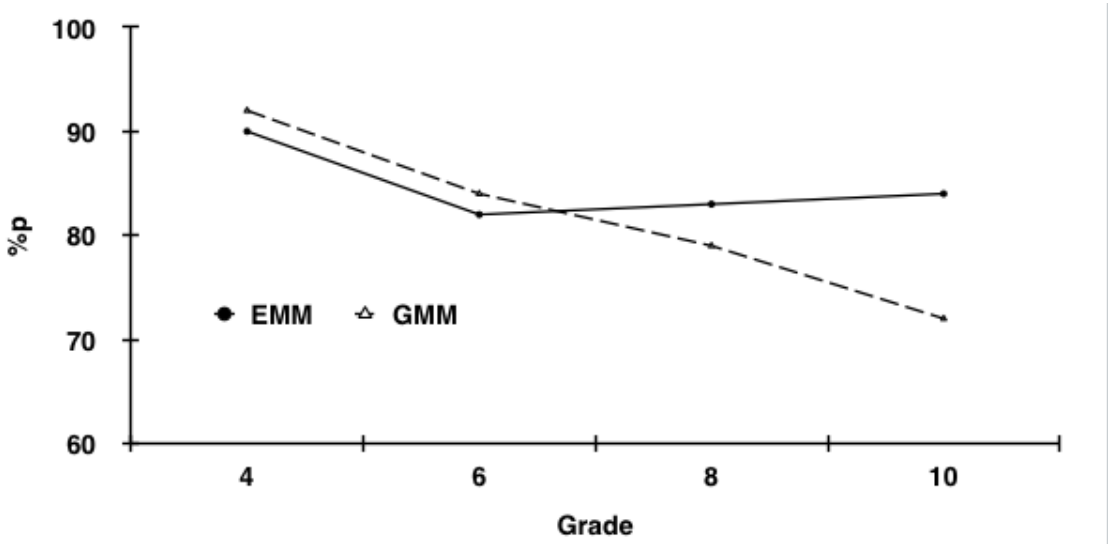

Figure 1. Age changes in English (EMM) and German (GMM) language mastery motivation

Two background variables: Gender and parents' education

The English language mastery motivation of girls (M = 88, SD = 15) is higher than that of boys (M = 81, SD = 21). Although the difference is significant (t = 4.02, p < .001), the effect size is small (eta^2 = .03). In contrast to English, no significant gender differences were found in German language mastery motivation (t = .012, p = .991).

In the demographic part of the questionnaire, students were asked about their parents' highest education level. About one third of the students supplied no information about this question, who were then excluded from this analysis. A composite index was created for parents' education level by calculating the means of the two variables. Parents' education was correlated with English and German mastery motivation at each grade level (Table 4). Out of the eight correlations, five indicated a significant relationship between the parents' level of education and language

mastery motivation. For English, the median of correlations is .25, for German it is .20. These results suggest that parents' education is weakly related to language mastery motivation.

Table 4. Correlations between language mastery motivation and parents' education

Language	Grade			
	4	6	8	10
EMM	.36**	.04	.30**	.19*
GMM	.03	.45*	.02	.37*

Note: EMM = English language mastery motivation; GMM = German language mastery motivation.

Relationships between language mastery motivation and school achievement

We explored relationships between language mastery motivation and school grades on the different grade levels. Correlation analyses were carried out between English language mastery motivation and English grades, as well as between German language mastery motivation and German grades. These resulted in a total of eight correlation coefficients (Table 5). Every correlation coefficient was found significant ($p < 0.01$). The median of the four correlation coefficients of EMM and English grades is 0.49, while that of GMM and German grades is 0.51. Thus the relationship between language mastery motivation and grades received in the given foreign language are of equal strength for both English and German. It can be concluded that mastery motivation is related to L2 achievement at school both for English and German. According to Vaske, Gliner and Morgan (2002), the effect sizes of these correlations are larger than typical.

Table 5. Correlations between language mastery motivation and school grades in English and German

Language	School grades in English or German			
	4	6	8	10
EMM	.54	.35	.54	.44
GMM	.75	.51	.51	.37

Note: EMM = English language mastery motivation; GMM = German language mastery motivation. All correlations are significant at $p < 0.01$.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study I started out from the assumption that there are skill-specific and school subject-specific dimensions of mastery motivation. From among these, the present study focused on language learning. It introduced a new Likert-type instrument to measure English and German language mastery motivation and presented the results of the first data collection procedure with this instrument among grade 4–10 students.

For the assessment of English and German language mastery motivation two Likert-scales were developed, consisting of ten items each. The scales proved to be of high internal consistency reliability, the Cronbach's alpha being .90 for the English and .84 for the German scale. These values are somewhat higher than those of the scales of DMQ. The scales of English and German mastery motivation are specific versions related to the *cognitive persistence* scale of DMQ. The reliability of the DMQ cognitive persistence scale is .74 for Hungarian (Józsa, 2007), .78 for American and .75 for Chinese students (Morgan et al., 2013). The reliability of the scales of language mastery motivation might be higher, because items in these scales have more items and have a narrower scope; therefore, their internal consistency could be higher than that of the DMQ cognitive persistence scale. It can be assumed that high reliabilities confirm that school-subject-specific aspects of mastery motivation can be measured.

Previous studies have pointed out that dimensions of mastery motivation decline with age. This decline is evident in the case of Hungarian, American and Chinese students alike (Józsa & Molnár, 2013; Wang et al., 2012). In line with the results of these studies, German language mastery motivation also decreases with age. However, English mastery motivation drops significantly only between grades 4 and 6, but no further decline was found in later ages in the overall scale score. Most of the English items do show a decline, but several of them, including the negatively worded items and mastery pleasure item, do not. No difference was observed between English and German mastery motivation among grade 4, 6 and 8 students. In grade 10, however, English mastery motivation was significantly higher than German mastery motivation.

No significant gender differences were found in language mastery motivation. Mastery motivation for both English and German shows a weak correlation with the parents' level of education ($r \sim 0.2$). These results are consistent with previous findings on gender differences and the role of parental background in mastery motivation (Józsa, 2007; Józsa & Molnár, 2013; Józsa & Morgan, in press).

There is a moderate correlation between English and German in terms of language mastery motivation and school grades ($r \sim 0.5$). This result suggests that mastery motivation plays an important role in foreign language learning at school. This, incidentally, is in accordance with previous research which found that DMQ cognitive persistence was moderately related to school grades (Józsa & Molnár, 2013).

To my knowledge this paper was the first to explore school-related, subject-specific mastery motivation. The results indicate that the newly developed scales are appropriate measures to be used in further studies as well. It also seems to be necessary to conduct further research on schoolchildren's subject-specific mastery motivation. It can be assumed that subject-specific mastery motivation may be more closely related to successful acquisition in the given domain, subject or skill, than mastery motivation in general.

Further research is necessary to explore the relationship between language mastery motivation and other subject-specific mastery motivation dimensions (reading, maths, etc.). Similarly, it is yet to be answered how subject-specific mastery motivation is related to other dimensions of mastery motivation measured by the DMQ. Finally, the most important question may be the one that concerns the role of these different dimensions of mastery motivation in successful school-based learning.

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YOUNG LEARNERS

DEVELOPMENTAL AND INTERACTIONAL ASPECTS OF YOUNG EFL LEARNERS' SELF-CONCEPT

Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović

INTRODUCTION

Most experts would agree with Schumann's (1994) claim that cognition and affect are distinct but inseparable elements of the foreign language (FL) learning process. Some (e.g., Arnold, 2007) point out that during FL learning affect may interfere with the learner's cognitive processing. Horwitz (2007) warns about the language learner's emotional vulnerability, and Arnold (2007) stresses that learners "must both *be* competent and *feel* competent" (p. 18). The important role of affective learner factors has been recognised for some time now, and this has contributed to important new insights in the *individual differences* subfield of second language acquisition (SLA) research. Extensive research of some characteristics (e.g., attitudes and motivation) to date has even come to be integrated into FL teaching approaches. It is relevant to stress in the context of this chapter that research of individual learner factors, affective characteristics included, has mostly focused on more mature rather than young language learners.

Self-concept is one of the affective learner factors that is a rather new topic in SLA. Broadly, self-concept can be defined as everything an individual thinks and feels about themselves (Mercer, 2011a), or as the image we form of ourselves (Arnold, 2007). Increasing interest in this important learner characteristic has been connected with new developments in language learning motivation theory and the

introduction of the L2 motivational self system (Dörnyei, 2005). While the ideal self, the central concept in the theory, refers to an individual's hopes and aspirations that can possibly be realized in the future, self-concept is based on past experiences (Dörnyei, 2009). However, as McCroskey, Daly, Richmond and Falcione (1977) stress, self-perception can impact an individual's current and future attitudes and behaviours, as well as cognition, to a significant level.

Focusing on a learner's FL learning self-concept Mercer (2011b) defines it as "an individual's self-description of competence and evaluative feelings about themselves as a Foreign Language (FL) learner" (p. 14). This implies that it is a domain-specific psychological concept. Recent models of the FL learner's self-concept have been derived from one developed by Marsh and Shavelson (1985), who insisted that self-concept is a complex, multifaceted and hierarchical construct. Yeung and Wong (2004) found that there were separate and distinct self-concepts which multilingual individuals develop for each language they learn and use, showing thus that the earlier conceptualisation of a single verbal self-concept is inadequate. Lau, Yeung, Ying and Low (1999) demonstrated the existence of an English as a foreign language (EFL) self-concept as a distinct phenomenon. Although this is a considerable refinement from the original broader ideas of self-concept relevant to language learning, Mercer (2011b) claims that even this may be too broad a conceptualisation which cannot capture all the aspects of an individual's perception of their learning of EFL. It is assumed that at higher levels of learning an EFL learner would potentially develop distinct self-concepts pertaining to different subcomponents of EFL learning, such as a self-concept as an EFL speaker or a self-concept as an EFL writer.

Insights into language learners' self-concept are potentially highly important and revealing. Apart from being relevant in its own right, self-concept has been found to be one of the best predictors of learning motivation. Research has also pointed to interactions of self-concept with other individual learner factors as well as some contextual factors.

There have been few studies on the young language learner's self-concept. Some suggest that this is so because it did not seem too relevant in light of the common belief that young learners have a positive self-perception as if by default. According to some authors (e.g., Harter, 2006), young learners develop overly positive self-descriptions because they cannot distinguish between their actual, possible and ideal self. Pinter (2011) reports that young learners become "linguistic optimists" when asked to rate their abilities. It is only with increasing maturity that young learners' self-knowledge complexifies and broadens (Damon & Hart, 1988). Others believe that children are either unaware of their perception of inner processes, or are unable to report on them. There are, however, still others who claim the opposite. Thus, Kolb (2007) maintains that young learners in fact possess high awareness of the language learning processes, and can develop quite complex language learning beliefs based on their learning experiences as well as personal knowledge. A number of researchers (e.g., Kolb, 2007; Mihaljević Djigunović & Lopriore, 2011; Wenden, 1999) have found evidence that young learners can en-

gage in reflective activities and provide relevant data about their language learning process, adding a new perspective for research in this area.

Following Mercer's (2011b) observation that there may be inter- and intra-learner variability in the FL learner self-concept and that it is context-sensitive, Mihaljević Djigunović and Lopriore (2011) found that young FL learners do differ in their perception of themselves as FL learners, and that this self-perception is not stable but changes over time. Their conclusion, based on young FL learners from seven different contexts, corroborate Wittrock's (1986) claim that children's self-concept turns more realistic with time. In her comparison of the development of young learners' EFL self-concept Mihaljević Djigunović (submitted) found that younger (starting EFL learning at age 6) and older beginners (starting at 9) followed different trajectories in their self-concept development, with ups and downs happening at different points during EFL learning.

A STUDY OF EFL SELF-CONCEPT IN CROATIAN YOUNG LEARNERS

Context of the study

Croatian primary education consists of eight grades. Children start school at the age of 6-7. Since 2003 the FL has been a compulsory school subject for all learners from grade one. Most Croatian children start with English but some begin with German, Italian or French. They have two 45-minute lessons per week from grade one to grade four, and continue with three weekly lessons from grade five to grade eight. To qualify for teaching a FL in Croatia teachers need a university teaching degree in the FL language, and can be either a specialist FL teacher, or a class teacher with a minor in the FL. There is a central national curriculum that all schools follow. It stipulates that teaching a FL in the first four grades should be learner-centred and multi-sensory, and should focus on developing positive attitudes and motivation for FL learning in young learners. Generally speaking the motivation for FL learning is high, especially in case of English.

Aim of the study

In our study we addressed the following five research questions:

1. Is young language learners' self-concept a stable characteristic?
2. Do young language learners with a different self-concept differ in their attitudes and motivation for learning the FL by the end of grade four?
3. Do young language learners with a different self-concept differ in their out-of-school behaviour by the end of grade four?

4. Is there a relationship between the young learners' self-concept and their socio-economic status by the end of grade four?
5. Is there a relationship between the young learners' self-concept and their language achievement at the end of grade four?

Sample

The participants in this study are a subsample of the Croatian cohort that took part in the Early Language Learning in Europe (ELLiE) project (for details, see Enever, 2011 and the project website: www.ellieresearch.eu). This subsample included 42 young EFL learners (aged 6-7 at the start of the study and 9-10 at the end) drawn from seven primary schools in Croatia (two metropolitan schools, two small town schools and three village schools). The participants were selected so that they represented two high-ability, two average-ability and two low-ability learners in each of the included classes (in each of the seven schools one class was a project class). The measure of language learning ability was based on the English teachers' reports. Each ability pair of learners included one male and one female learner so that the total subsample was balanced in terms of gender.

Instruments and procedure

Data were collected by means of individual learner interviews, learner and parent questionnaires, and listening, reading and oral tasks.

To elicit information on the young learners' self-concept, at the end of each school-year the learners were asked the following two questions: 1. Do you think you are better, the same, or less good at English than your classmates? 2. How do you know that?

In grade four the young participants were presented with four pictures, each depicting a different classroom arrangement. One presented a traditional teacher-fronted classroom, in which the teacher was looking at the pupils and pointing to something written on the board, while the pupils were sitting at three rows of desks and attentively listening to what the teacher was saying. The second picture showed a classroom in which group work was going on: the pupils were consulting each other while working on a task together and the teacher was standing on the side and overlooking the groups. In the third picture, the pupils and the teacher were all sitting on the carpet and doing an activity using flashcards. The last picture displayed a disorderly classroom in which the pupils were playing and throwing things around, while the teacher stood helplessly watching her pupils. In the oral interview each participant was first asked to look at the four pictures and select one classroom in which they thought they could learn English best, and to explain their choice. Their replies provided us with the data that offered insights into the children's attitudes to learning English.

The participants motivation was measured by an item in a smiley questionnaire administered towards the end of grade four. They were required to circle the right smiley in replying to the following question: How do you feel about learning English this year? There were five sets of smileys with a caption below each (dislike a lot, dislike, neither like nor dislike, like, and like a lot).

Information about the young learners' out-of-class behaviour was collected through a parent questionnaire. Each participant's parent (or guardian) was asked whether the child talked about the English lessons in school, showed classroom work (English notebooks or workbooks in which they wrote stuff during English lessons) to family members, whether they asked family members for help with English, whether they found learning English difficult, whether they were keen to learn English, took pride in learning it, felt secure about using English, and whether they enjoyed speaking English.

Data on the socio-economic status of the participants were collected by means of the oral learner interview and through the parent questionnaire. The participants were asked if they had English books such as children's picture books or dictionaries at home, and whether they ever used them. The parents were asked if their child had access to the Internet at home, and whether the child used the Internet less than an hour, an hour or more than an hour a day. They were also asked to give information about both parents' education level.

The participants' English language achievement was measured by listening, reading and oral tasks designed by the ELLiE team (for details see Szpotowicz & Lindgren, 2011 as well as the ELLiE website). Listening comprehension was measured by two listening tasks. The first one was a multiple-choice task in which the participants listened to recordings of sentences describing sets of three pictures, each containing two distractors and one picture that was described in the heard sentence. The second task included a complex picture of a sitting-room in which family members were doing different things: the participants were listening to short exchanges referring to who was doing what.

The reading comprehension task consisted of a cartoon with several sentences missing in the bubbles: the missing parts were offered as part of multiple-choice items below the respective cartoon pictured.

The oral production task involved a guessing game in which the young learner had to ask questions about a person that the interviewer selected in a picture full of children doing different things. The language produced by the participants was analysed in terms of syntactic complexity and lexical diversity.

Descriptive statistical analyses were carried out with the quantitative data, while the qualitative data were subjected to content analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Developmental aspects

As presented in Figure 1, the participants' self-concept changed over the four years. The main trends include a decreasing number of young learners who reported being better at English than their classmates, and an increasing number of those who assessed themselves as good as others in class. This was of course expected if we take into account that in the four years during which they were followed they matured cognitively and gathered more evidence about their performance in English. All this probably helped them to develop more realistic self-perceptions from grade to grade. This corroborates claims made by Pinter (2011) and Wittrock (1986).

It should be noted, however, that quite a number of the young learners in this study felt unsuccessful already at the beginning, and that in each grade about 20 per cent of them felt they were lagging behind their peers. This is an unfortunate development: it has often been pointed out by both teachers and researchers (e.g., Nikolov, 2001; Rijavec, 1993) that positive feelings during initial phases of early language learning may be crucial. Unpleasant feelings connected with FL learning at the beginning become the past experiences that self-concept is based on when learners are young as well as when they turn adults. With some learners the initial negative EFL self-concept may spread to other FLs that the learner may take up later in life.

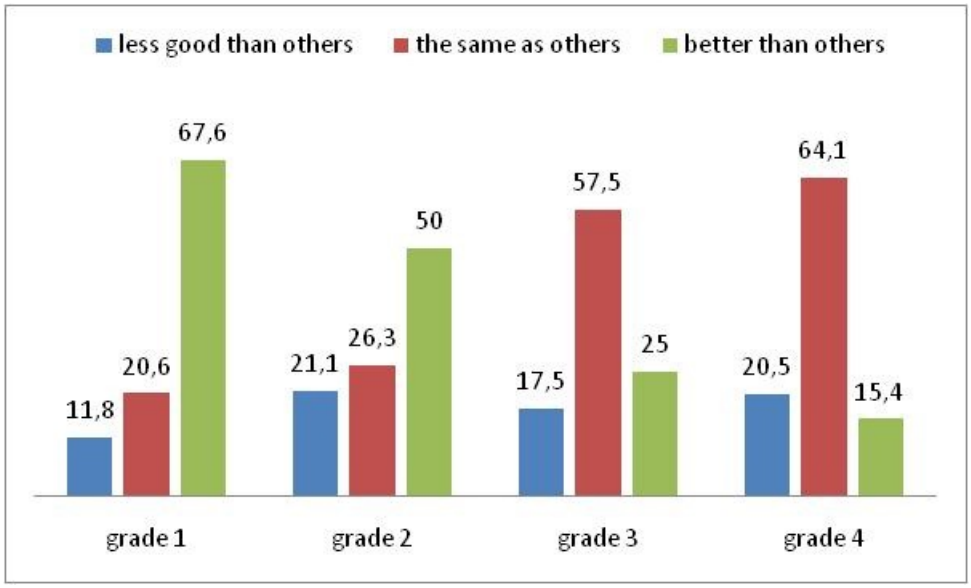

Figure 1. Scores on the self-concept scale (%)

It was interesting to see how the participants explained their self-evaluations. The information they offered confirmed Kolb's (2007) claims that children are able to

develop language learning beliefs about themselves and report on them. Some explanations were common throughout the four grades. Thus, the participants compared themselves to other learners and their performance in class (e.g., *I understand more than others*; *Some don't know the words I do*; *When we read a text, I see that I'm neither ahead nor behind the others*; *I can do what others can*; *I'm always the last to finish*), referred to concrete language aspects (e.g., *I already know Participles and Past Continuous*), or relied on teacher-assigned grades as well as the teacher's feedback (*I keep getting bad grades on tests*; *I have an A in English*; *My teacher praises me*). It was only in later grades that the young participants based their evaluations on comparing their own previous performance to the current one (e.g., *I learn faster this year than in grade 2*) or to their learning behaviour (e.g., *I don't really like to study*; *I don't practise at home*; *I go to extra English classes*). There were some participants who could not make a comparison with others; their number decreased with each grade. Most young learners were very brief in their explanations, but some were quite elaborate, as the following explanation by one young learner illustrates: *I at least try to do things and it makes me better than some pupils…and I think that I am not really worse than some others, I can be as good as the best pupils if I try*.

Interaction of the young learner's self-concept with motivation and attitudes to learning English

The correlation of the participants' self-concept with motivation to learn English was not significant (r= .081, p= .627). Thus, no significant differences in motivation for learning English in school were found among the young learners with different self-perception. This suggests that at age 10 young EFL learners can separate their self-perception from the value of knowing English and from what goes on in the English classroom.

The young learners' attitudes to learning English were found to differ depending on how positive or negative their self-perception as language learners was. Although the traditional classroom was the most frequent choice for all groups of learners, it is clear that those with a more positive self-concept opted less frequently for such a classroom arrangement as the best for learning English (see Figure 2).

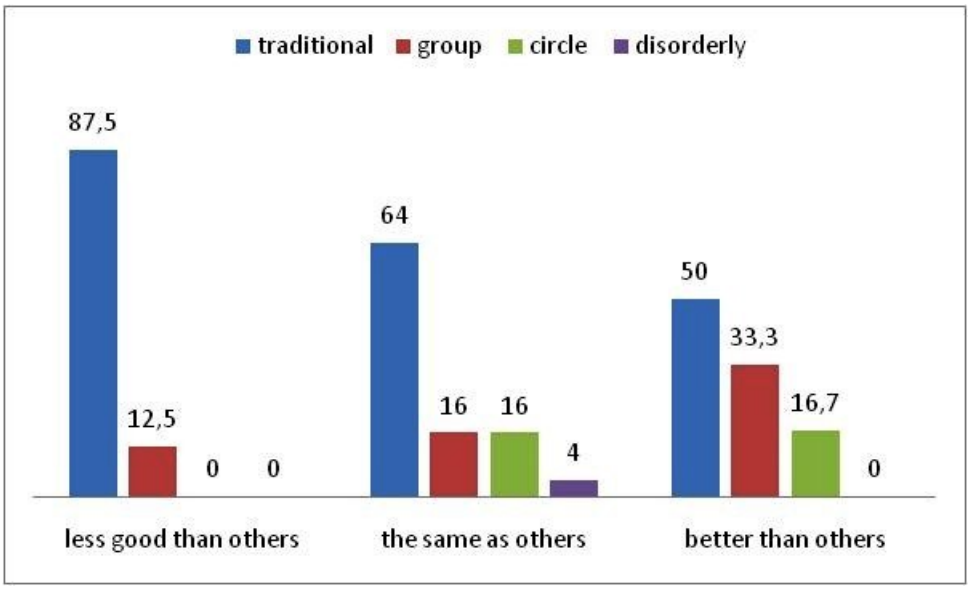

Figure 2. Interaction of self-concept with attitudes to learning English (%)

The opposite trend could be observed with the group-work classroom arrangement as the preferred option. It was most frequently chosen by the participants with a more positive self-perception. Interestingly, the circle arrangement was not selected by any of the young learners who thought they were less good at English than their peers.

Analyses of the young learners' reports on why they thought they would learn English best in a particular classroom type were very insightful. They showed that most participants connected effective learning in class with peace and quiet, order and structure. For illustration, here are typical explanations for choosing the traditional classroom, the most frequent choice among our young participants:

> This classroom has everything that is necessary, the teacher is paying attention to all the children, the pupils are quiet and listening.
> There is no mess.
> Everyone is in their seats, they are not playing.
> Their desks are separated, they're not copying from each other, and they are quiet.

These explanations, most frequently given by those participants whose self-concept was not very positive, offer evidence that at age 10 young language learners need to have eye contact with their teacher, they need to be able to see and hear well, to be led through the learning process. They also suggest that such learners perceive learning as a serious activity that excludes playing.

Explanations for choosing the group-work arrangement included references to learners helping each other, to learning together, as well as to the fact that there

seemed to be no mess in the classroom. Learning together with other learners was also pointed out by those who preferred the circle arrangement but playing was included too (e.g., *We sit together, we can learn and play*). Some participants reported that it may be interesting and useful to learn with pictures.

These findings suggest that young learners with a less positive self-image need a more structured environment to manage their language learning. This has been pointed out even about more mature learners, and it certainly is an important issue with child language learners. Rubin and Thompson (1982) warn of consequences that feeling uncomfortable in unstructured classroom environments may cause: such learners miss the opportunities to practise the FL and end up with lower learner autonomy than learners who function well in unstructured learning environments.

Interaction of the young learners' self-concept and feelings about English, learning and using English

According to the parents' reports about their children, the participants with a less positive self-concept perceived English as more difficult than those with a positive self-concept (see Figure 3). This is an expected result. It is of course not possible in a study like this one to conclude about the cause-effect relationship, but it is very likely that experiencing difficulties in learning English at such an early stage may have contributed to developing a less positive self-concept.

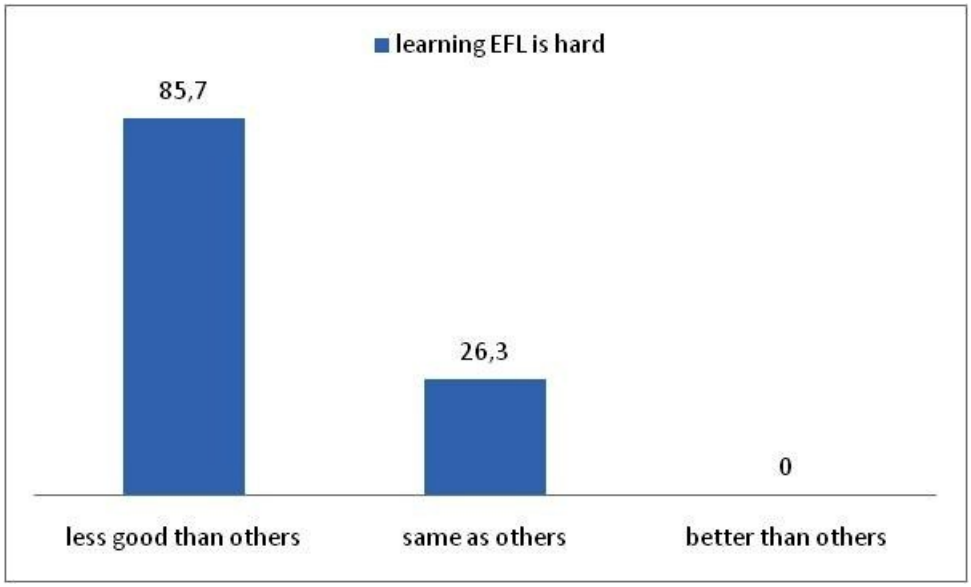

Figure 3. Differences regarding the participants' perception of difficulty of learning English (%)

According to the parents' reports, the most motivated children were those with the most positive self-concept (Figure 4). Still, one-third of the participants who felt they were lagging behind their classmates were nevertheless keen to learn English. This supports the claims that self-concept is a multi-faceted phenomenon which enters into complex relationships with other variables relevant in early foreign language learning.

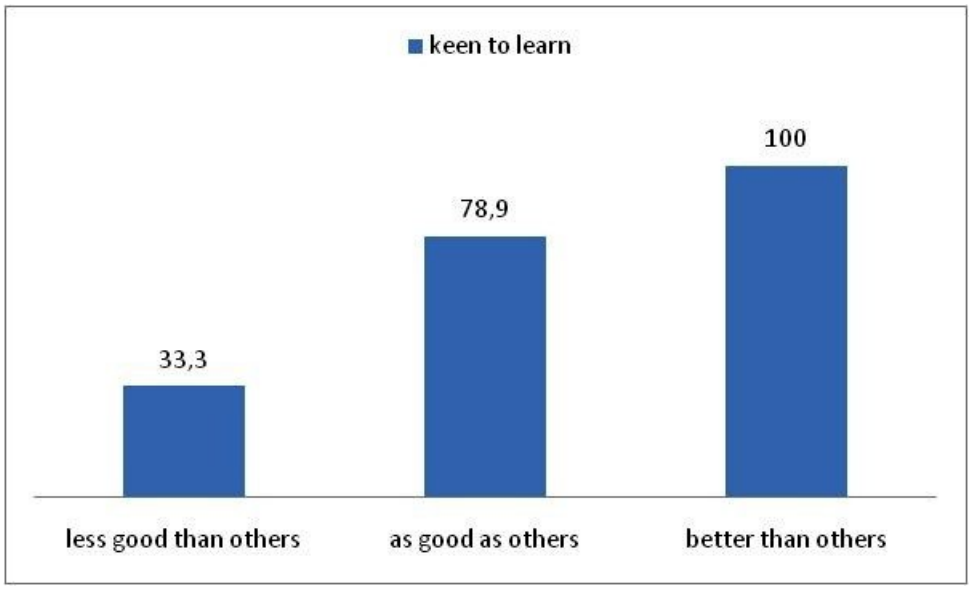

Figure 4. Differences regarding how keen participants were to learn English

As presented in Figure 5, a similar trend was observed regarding the pride the young learners were observed to take in learning English.

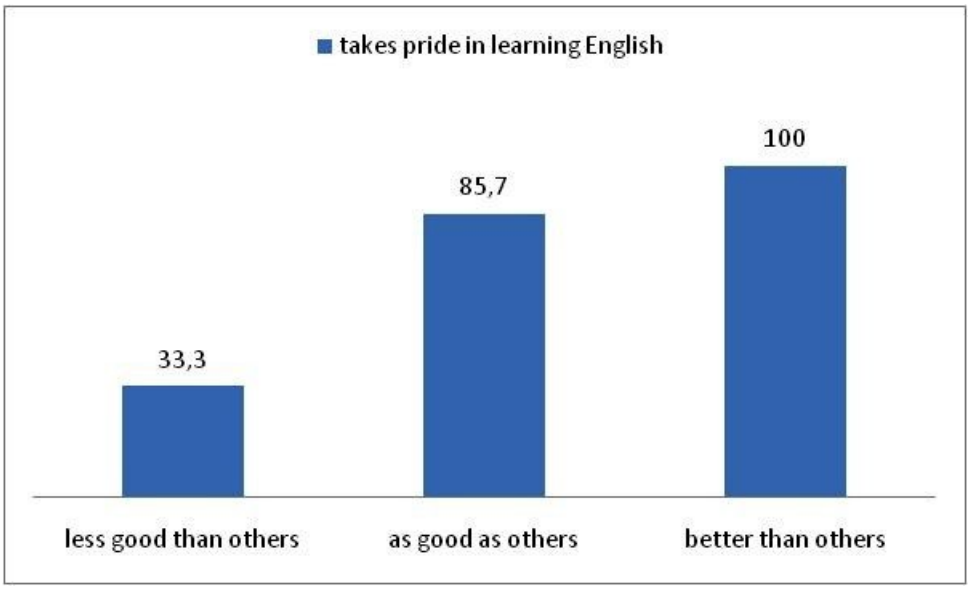

Figure 5. Differences regarding the feeling proud about learning English (%)

More participants with a negative self-concept were perceived by their parents as feeling insecure about using English than those whose self-concept was positive (Figure 6). Unsurprisingly, quite the opposite was found about enjoying speaking English (Figure 7).

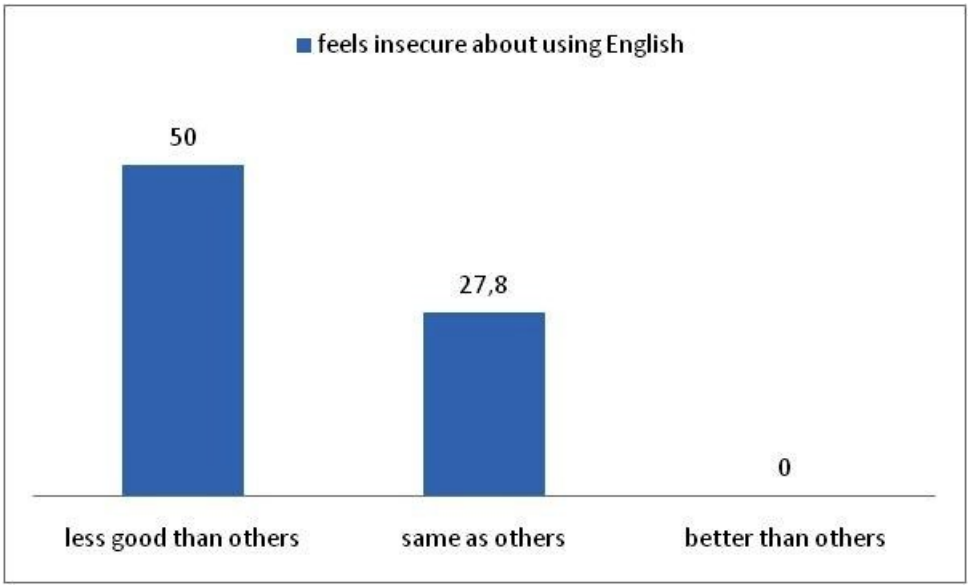

Figure 6. Differences in feeling secure when using English (%)

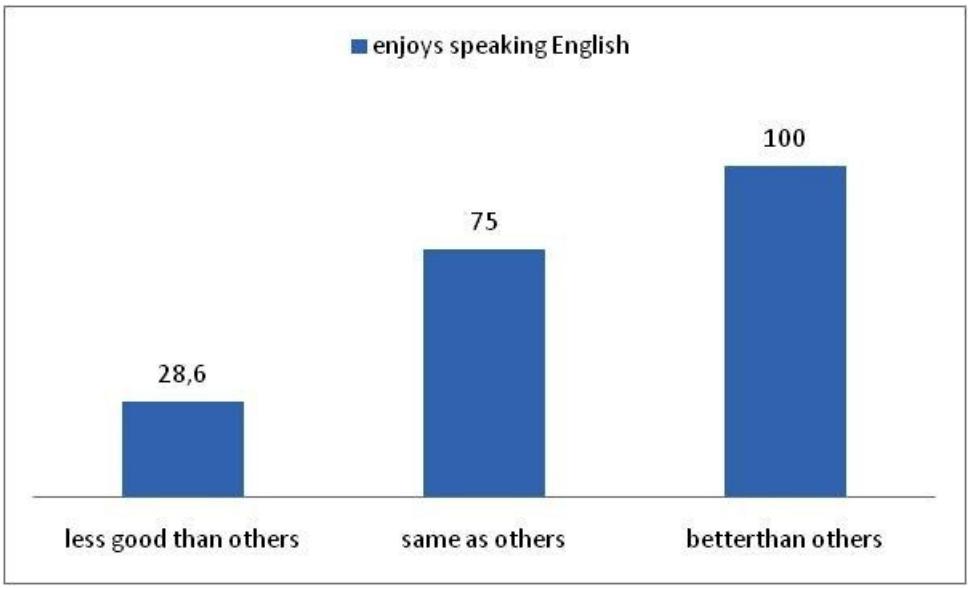

Figure 7. Differences in enjoying speaking English (%)

These trends have important implications for young learners' self-concept. Since a positive self-image is connected with feeling secure and enjoying using English, both teachers and parents could contribute to the development of a positive self-concept. Arnold (2007) stresses that teachers, for example, should not insist on models of perfection that are unrealistic for young learners as this may lead to the learners developing self-consciousness and a feeling of inadequacy. From the practising teacher's perspective, Rijavec (1993) suggests that it is better for a young learner to have an illusion of success at the very beginning of FL learning than to experience failure that early.

Interaction of the young learner's self-concept and home environment

While, according to parents' reports (Figure 8), all the participants with a positive or a very positive self-concept regularly discussed their English classes with their parents or other members of the family, a quarter of those with a negative self-image did not. It is possible that they avoided discussing something that was perhaps connected with unpleasant feelings.

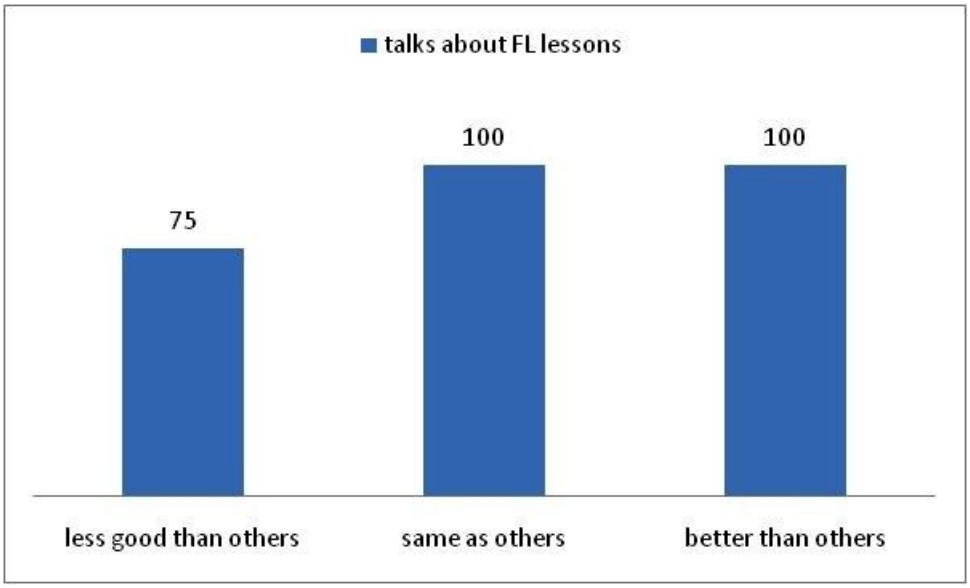

Figure 8. Differences in whether young learners discuss English classes with family (%)

However, the situation was different where evidence from English lessons were concerned (see Figure 9). In this case all the participants with the negative self-concept showed what they did in class to their family. It is likely that parents demanded to see what went on in English classes and the children had no choice. Over 10 per cent of the participants who thought they were as good at English as their peers did not share evidence of what went on in class. It is possible that, knowing that their children were doing fine, the parents did not feel they needed to check the children's notebooks to see how they progressed. In the case of participants who felt they were better than their classmates, all were reported to show their classwork to their parents. Since in elementary classes teachers give feedback on learners' task performance by putting a tick or a smiley in learners' notebooks, the participants with a very positive self-perception were probably motivated to show such evidence of their success to their family.

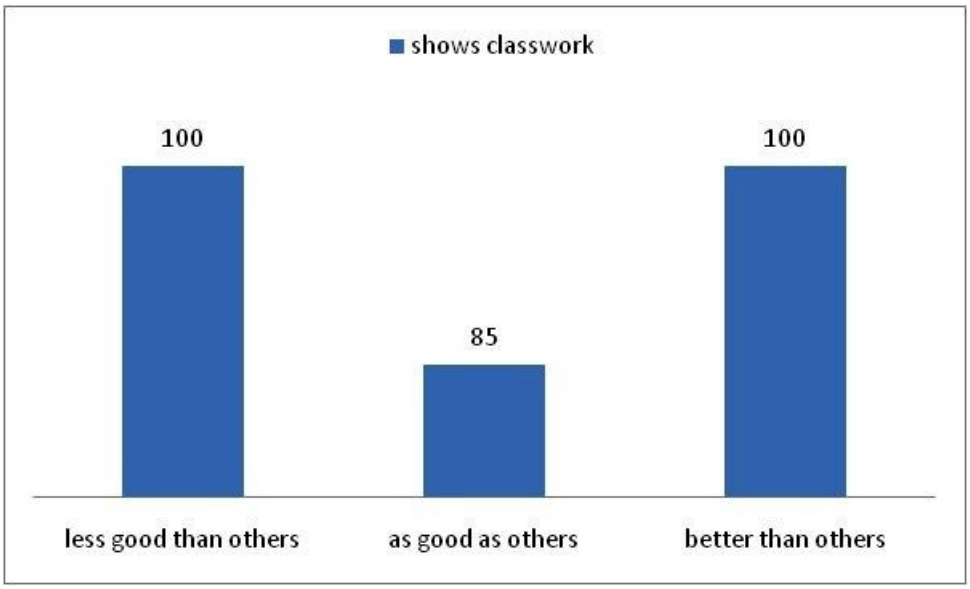

Figure 9. Differences regarding showing classwork to parents (%)

As displayed in Figure 10, the more positive the self-concept the less often the participants asked family members for help with learning English. This is expected if we take into account that the participants' self-concept generally correlated with their achievement in English (see Table 1 below at the end of this section).

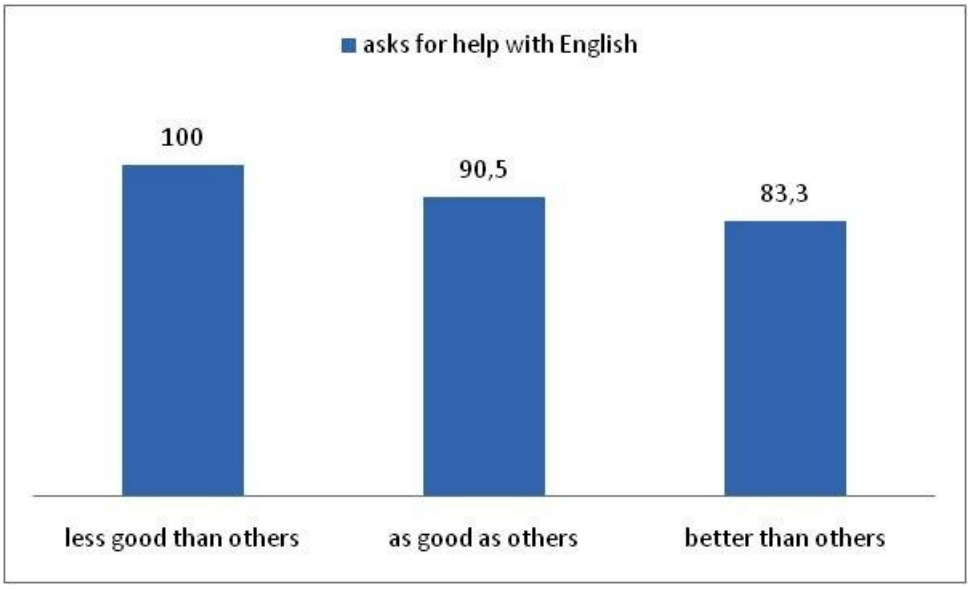

Figure 10. Differences regarding asking family members for help with English (%)

Early school years are considered to be a critical time for the development of self-concept (Rubio, 2007). The family plays a crucial role, especially during the first few years. Clark and Barber (1994), for example, point to a correlation between low self-concept and parents' indifference or long absences. As young learners progress through the grades the school becomes increasingly more important in the development of self-concept. Gardner (1985, 2010) claims that parents can play an active role (e.g., by encouraging the child to do well in the FL) or a passive role (e.g., expressing negative attitudes towards the FL in the child's presence). Both the active and the passive roles are important.

Interesting differences were also found with respect to the socio-economic status of the participants.

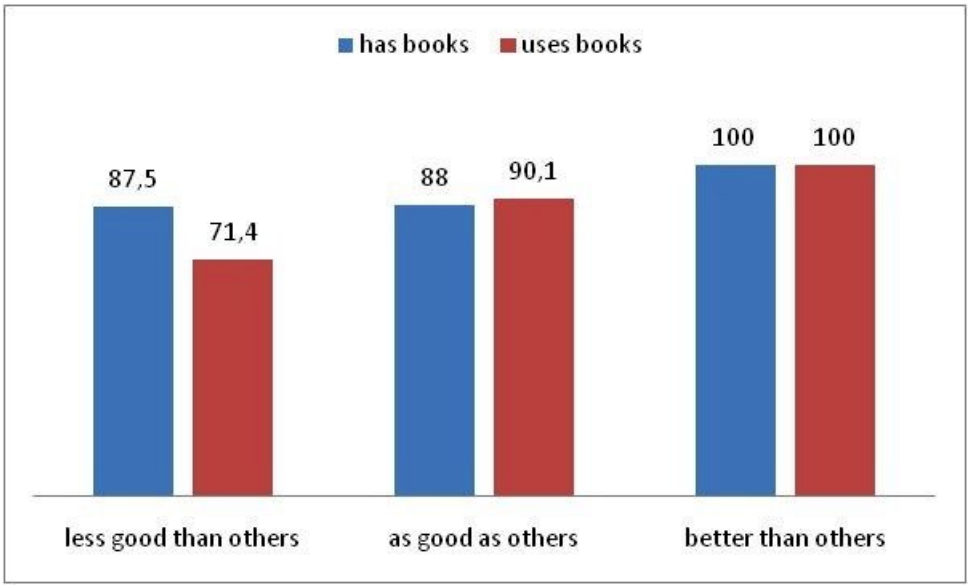

Figure 11. Differences concerning having English books at home and using them (%)

The trends observed in Figure 11 suggest that, except in case of children with a very positive self-concept, not all young learners used the English resources which were available to them. One reason may of course have been that the books they had were not linguistically appropriate to the children.

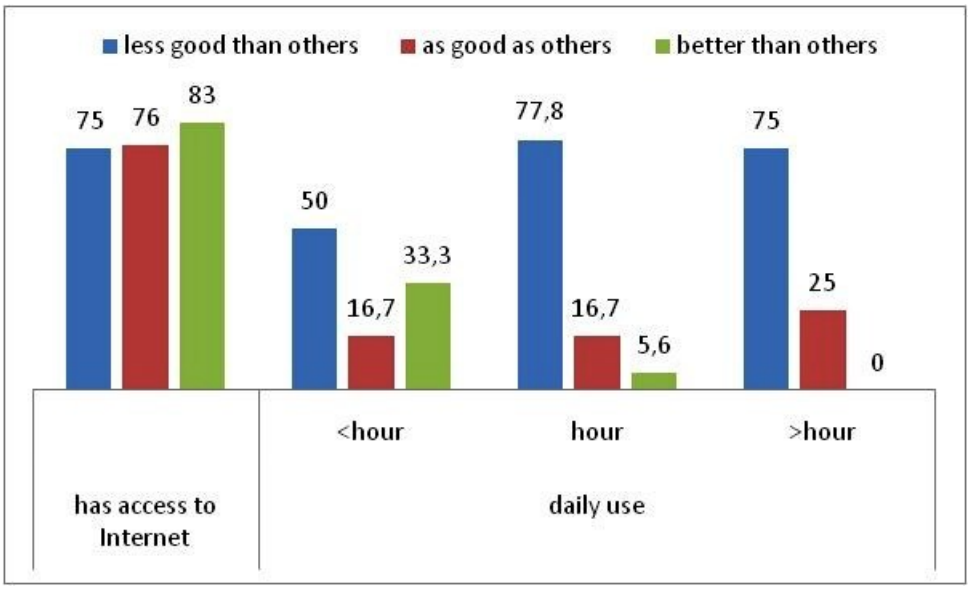

Figure 12. Differences in having access to the Internet and the amount of time spent per day on the Internet (%)

As far as parents' education is concerned, correlational analyses showed that only the father's educational level correlated significantly with the participants' self-concept (r= .36, p= .038).

Self-concept and language achievement

As is clear from Table 1, the participants' self-concept was found to correlate significantly with listening comprehension and oral production, but not with reading comprehension. Oracy is the focus of early EFL teaching, and it is possible that self-concept was more associated with these language skills because the participants had more experience with them than with reading, which was introduced later in the teaching cycle. Since self-concept is formed on the basis of past experiences, the lack of interaction with reading is perhaps logical.

Table 1. Correlations of self-concept with English achievement

	Listening comprehension	Oral production	Reading comprehension
Self-concept	.576** (p< .001)	.584** (p< .001)	.283 (p= .085)

CONCLUSION

The results of this study offer interesting insights into young EFL learners self-concept. According to our findings, young learners' self-concept is not a stable learner factor. Its dynamic and complex nature is reflected in its inter- as well as intra-learner variability and in different interactions with other learner characteristics and contextual factors. Learners with different self-concepts seem to differ in their attitudes to EFL learning: those with less-positive self-perception are inclined to prefer a more structured learning environment. Young EFL learners with a more positive self-image seem to be more likely to take pride in learning English, feel keen to learn it, enjoy speaking it, and are less likely to feel insecure when using English. At home, young learners with a less positive self-concept are less likely to talk about their English classes, but regularly show evidence of their classwork to the family and ask for help. They are also more likely to find learning English difficult. They seem to spend more time on the Internet but use books in English less frequently than their peers with a more positive self-concept. Our findings also suggest that a positive EFL self-concept is associated with a higher level of the father's education, as well as higher achievements in listening comprehension and oral production. Our study also confirms that young FL learners are able to reflect on their FL learning, and most are also able to report on their reflections.

Future research in this area might benefit if a larger sample was included and if young learners of other FLs participated. It might also be useful to collect information about young learners' self-concepts in other curricular areas.

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ASSESSING YOUNG LANGUAGE LEARNERS' DEVELOPMENT: HUNGARIAN TEACHERS' VIEWS ON ASSESSMENT TASKS AND PRACTICES

Gabriella Hild

INTRODUCTION

This paper gives an account of the first phase of a large-scale project whose overall aim was to develop, pilot and calibrate diagnostic tests that could be used in the EFL classrooms of the first six grades of primary school. This first phase gives insights into what tasks EFL teachers applied to assess their learners' progress in the classroom in grades 1 to 6. The study was carried out as an exploratory inquiry into Hungarian teachers' practices and views on what tasks best tap into young language learners' development in English.

The relevance of the topic lies in the increasing popularity of starting to learn English as a foreign language at an early age (Nikolov & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2006, 2011). Lower-primary students' language development is slower than that of their older peers; therefore, maintaining their motivation is essential (Nikolov, 2011). At this age experiencing progress and success in the classroom is a major driving force (Nikolov, 1999). Hence, teachers should collect information on their students' progress, and adjust the syllabus accordingly. Regular feedback on what students are good at and in what areas they need to improve is also essential. Therefore, in the assessment of young language learners two trends have emerged: diagnostic and dynamic assessment. In diagnostic testing the aim is to identify students' strengths and weaknesses (Alderson, 2005, p. 11). Dynamic assessment in-

tegrates teaching and assessment (McNamara, 2001). According to this approach, when the teacher observes the learner solving a problem alone, she only sheds light on the matured abilities, i.e., the past-development (Poehner, 2008, p. 5). By scaffolding, i.e., providing support, such as leading questions, hints or explanations, during assessment, the teacher can also reveal the abilities that are still developing. Several publications have reported on how dynamic (Lantolf & Poehner, 2006; Poehner, 2008; Sternberg & Grigorenko, 2002) and diagnostic testing (Alderson, 2005; Nikolov & Szabó, 2011; Teasdale & Leung 2000) may contribute to learning potential.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The first analysis of the results has already been published (Hild & Nikolov, 2011). In this paper the research questions were the following:

1. What tests do EFL teachers use to assess their learners' progress?
2. How do teachers assess their learners' progress in English?

PARTICIPANTS

A convenience sample of 26 teachers of English agreed to participate in the study at various primary schools in Hungary; the majority had been involved in previous projects. Finally, twelve teachers returned the tasks.

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

The teachers were asked to choose and characterize ten tasks they had used successfully with their students for testing their knowledge of English as a foreign language. They were invited to scan or photocopy printed tasks and to attach listening tasks as files, tapes or CDs. They were given a form and asked to complete it for each task they chose. The questions were written in English; however, the participants were free to choose between English and Hungarian while answering them. The form inquired about the following data: 1) title of the task, 2) source of the task, 3) what the teacher needed to prepare and what students needed to use, 4) what students were expected to do with what and in what format, 5) difficulty level of the task, 6) what skills and 7) subskills they wanted to develop with the task, 8) how learners were assessed on the task (the teachers were asked to describe how they gave feedback, to indicate what a top, an adequate and an inadequate achiever could do, and explain how they scored or graded students' performance), 9) how the students succeeded on the task, 10) how their best learners could perform on

the task, 11) how popular the task was with their students on a 1 to 4 scale (1: unpopular, 4: extremely popular). In the following I will present the results of the questions that have not been dealt with in the previous publication (Hild & Nikolov, 2011).

PROCEDURES

First, several email messages were sent to all teachers on the contact list of the Pedagogical Institute of Baranya County in early February 2010. Altogether, 26 teachers volunteered to participate. However, after getting the detailed description of their task, only 12 sent back all the required data in April despite the fact that participants were paid for their contributions. A total of 138 tasks were returned in electronic format or in printed form and on tapes and CDs. Out of these, we analyzed 119 (some tasks were unclear and thus excluded). The dataset was analyzed according to content and frequencies of emerging patterns. The Hungarian answers of the teachers are translated into English and printed in uppercase letters.

RESULTS

Teaching and learning tools

The second question was what the students and the teacher needed for the task. Since in five cases the teacher sent in a photocopy of the tasks without any further details, and in the case of two additional tasks no response was given to this question, a total of 112 answers were analysed. Many of these responses contained more than one reference to what was necessary to do the task. As Figure 1 shows, 13 categories were identified. In most cases, various handouts, such as task sheets, photocopies of tasks, lists of words, were needed. Coursebooks (28) and visual support (28), such as flashcards or pictures, were the second most often mentioned items in the answers. In the case of 23 tasks, the students needed pencils, papers, crayons or other stationeries. Ten tasks required the pre-teaching (8) or revision (2) of a particular grammar point or vocabulary, such as the future tense, the names of animals, fruits and furniture. A reference to the use of audio teaching materials was only found in ten answers. The most obvious teaching equipment in any classroom, the white board, was needed only in nine tasks. Objects children also use in everyday life, such as cards or board games (7) or various realia (6), were rarely mentioned. In some cases (see Figure 1), the teacher and the students used authentic texts (3) or a dictionary (2) during the task. The students had to apply specific background knowledge (e.g., how to apply for a job, who is Chaplin) in three out of the 112 tasks. Five tasks did not require any specific tools or preparation (see Figure 1).

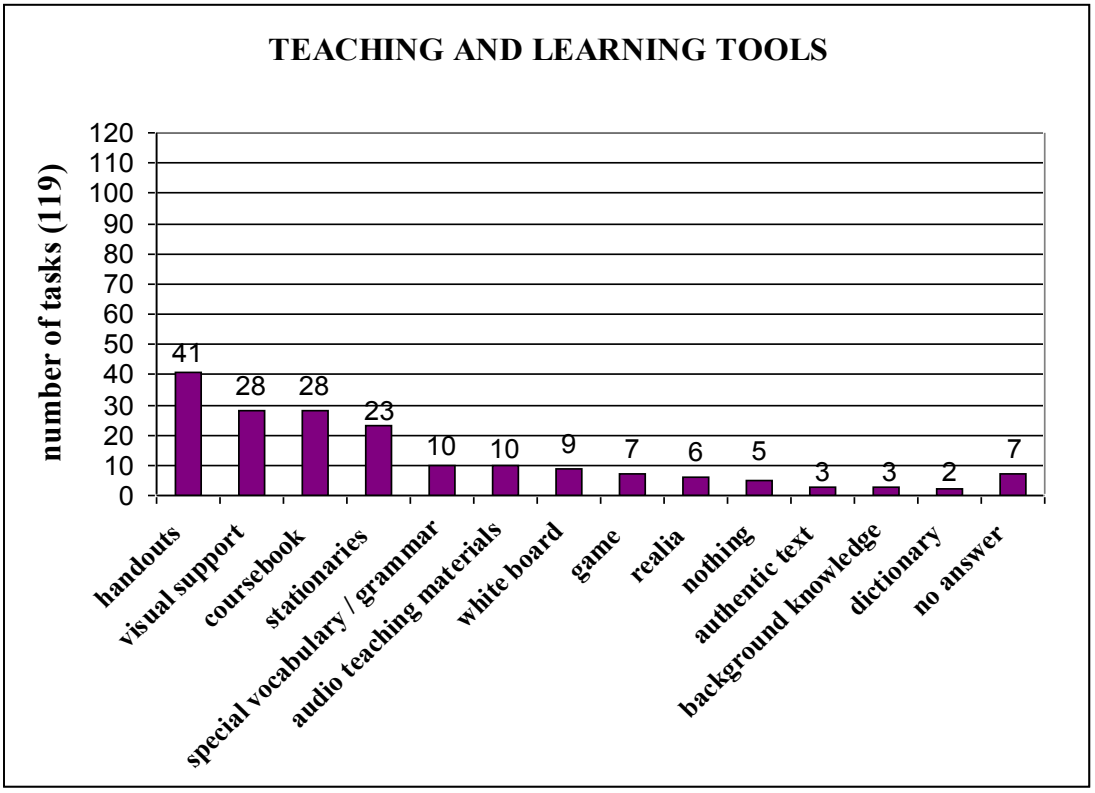

Figure 1. What the teachers thought the tasks required

Work mode

In the fourth question, I inquired about what students were expected to do and in what format, individually, in pairs or groups or whole class, while solving the tasks. Out of the 119 tasks, no response was given to six. However, on the basis of the photocopy of the tasks the teachers sent in and the answers they gave to the other questions I could establish which category they belonged to. Besides the four work modes that were provided as options on the form, I identified three additional categories in the responses (see Figure 2). More than one possible work mode was indicated in some tasks. As Figure 2 presents, in order to test students' language knowledge the participating teachers preferred by far the most using tasks (61) that require individual work. Only half as many pair-work tasks (32) were submitted. Students worked in whole classes in 24 tasks, and in groups in 21 tasks. The teachers sent in 15 tasks in which one group or student won, i. e., competitions, for example, "THE WINNER CAN CHOOSE A PICTURE IN THE NEXT ROUND". Only three tasks involved physical activity.

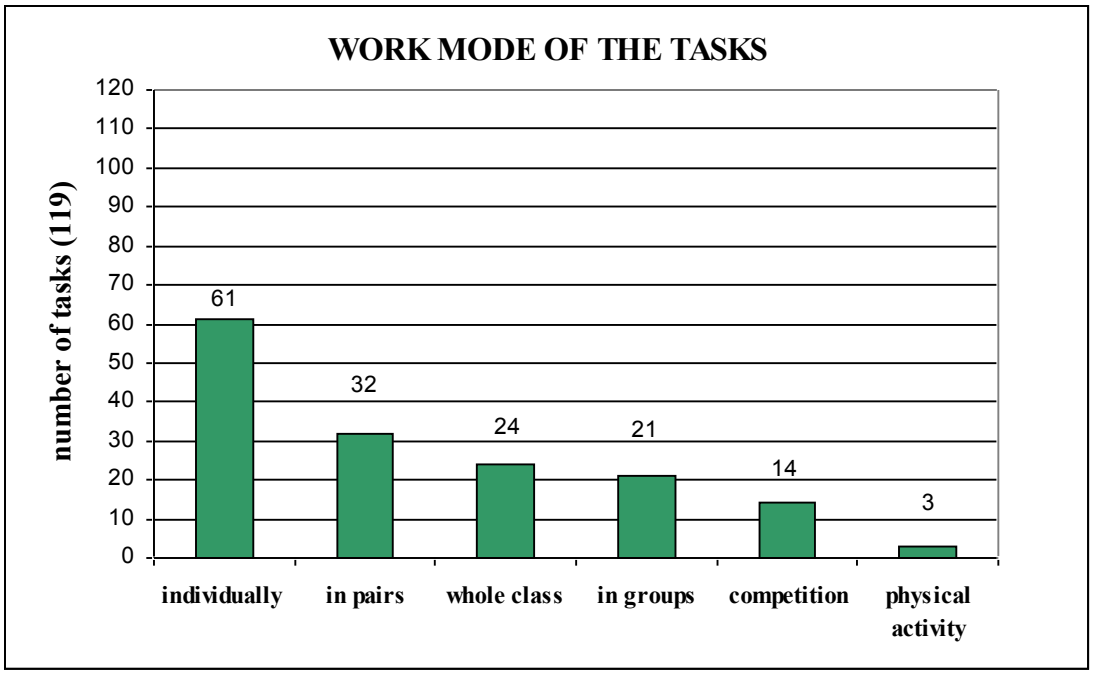

Figure 2. Distribution of work modes of the tasks

Top, adequate and inadequate performance

Respondents were also asked to indicate what a top achiever could do, what they accepted as adequate, and what they considered inadequate performance. Excluding the five tasks for which no questionnaire was completed, out of 114 tasks, the teachers described the performance of top achievers in only 40 cases. The categories established for the responses are shown in Table 1. The most frequent category concerned top achievers' mistakes. According to these answers, they could do the task without mistakes (7), with a few mistakes (4), or correctly (6). The second most frequently mentioned pattern was that top achievers could perform beyond what the task required (see Table 1). They were either creative (4), for example, they could "use the information in text freely and creatively, paraphrase it, or add humor", or "draw easy to guess flashcards"; or they could help others (2), do an extra task (2), or simply enjoyed the task (1). In eight answers, the teachers specified what elements of the task top achievers could accomplish, and, hence, applied criteria in their descriptions; for example, "TA can retell the story and come up with new things", "TA can understand and reply all my questions in full sentences". In six cases, top performance meant that the task was completed "quickly" or "easily". In four cases, respondents indicated the results top performers achieved. In four answers, students who did not need any help were considered top achievers.

Table 1. Top achievers' performance

Primary categories	Secondary categories	Frequencies of categories
reference to mistakes		**17**
	a) without mistakes	*7*
	b) with few mistakes	*4*
	c) correctly	6
perform beyond task		**9**
	a) creative	*4*
	b) also help others	2
	c) carry out an extra task	2
	d) intrinsically motivated	1
reference to some criteria		**8**
reference to aptitude (easily/quickly)		**6**
quantification of the results		**5**
reference to no need for scaffolding		**4**

The characteristics of adequate achievers were specified in 23 tasks out of 114. After analysing the responses seven categories were established (see Table 2). The most frequent category comprised reference to some criteria (*7*) by indicating what elements of the tasks adequate achievers could do. In six cases, adequate performance meant that the student needed help. Mistakes were also mentioned, but only in four answers. Students who were willing to participate in the task were considered adequate achievers in four answers. One respondent quantified the result of adequate performance in the case of three tasks. In one description, adequate achievers did their best, and in another they were slower than the others.

The performance of inadequate achievers was described in the case of 30 tasks. The categories identified in the answers are visualized in Table 3. In more than half (16) of the descriptions, the respondents detailed what elements of the task inadequate achievers could and could not carry out. In the next category, the respondents described inadequate achievers as those "not willing to participate" in the task (see Table 3). In five answers, the performance of those students who (1) carried out the tasks with lots of mistakes, or (2) with a specific number of mistakes, or (3) had no correct solutions, was considered inadequate. The quantification of the results of inadequate achievers also occurred in five cases. Reference to how much help these students needed was only present in one answer.

Table 2. Adequate achievers' performance

Primary categories	Frequencies of categories
reference to some criteria	7
reference to scaffolding (with help)	6
reference to mistakes	4
reference to participation	3
quantification of the results	3
reference to students 'effort	1
reference to aptitude (slower)	1

Table 3. Inadequate achievers' performance

Primary categories	Secondary categories	Frequencies of categories
reference to some criteria		**16**
reference to lack of participation		**5**
reference to mistakes		**5**
	a) with lots of mistakes	1
	b) specific number of mistakes	1
	c) no correct solutions	2
quantification of the results		**5**
reference to scaffolding (with lots of help)		**1**

Students' performance on tasks

The following question inquired how students succeeded on the task. As has been mentioned, out of the 119 tasks, in five cases, the respondent only provided us with a copy of the tasks with no additional details. In the case of 32 of the remaining 114 tasks, the teachers did not answer this question. After analyzing the answers I specified 11 categories (see Table 4). When it comes to describing students' performance, the teachers addressed the issue the most often from the perspective of the task (see Table 4). In 26 answers, they referred to the difficult, less difficult or easy parts of the tasks; for example, "listening was the easiest part, the most diffi-

cult one was to act out their version", "this is one of the hardest parts of grammar". In eight cases, they mentioned certain instructions or rules of a game or task, or that the students could or failed to follow them; for example, "when they understand the rule they can manage easily", "3 shouts are allowed and that is sufficient enough". There were two tasks the teachers had problems with (e.g., "20 MINUTES IS NOT ENOUGH FOR THEM TO GUESS WHAT THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS ABOUT").

The second category (27) comprised references to how much the students enjoyed, liked or found the task interesting: how intrinsically motivating it was. For example, the students "enjoyed the game because they could use English language freely", "all enjoyed the task and wanted to share their ideas". The following categories fell behind considerably in terms of occurrence (see Table 4). In seven answers, the teachers quantified students' performance by mentioning the best, the worst or average score or percentage or by indicating the number of top, adequate and inadequate achievers. Similarly, in seven cases, they formulated specific criteria which the students could or could not fulfil; for example, "most could choose and copy the correct forms and explain the differences".

The advantages and disadvantages of various work modes (6), such as individual, pair or group work, were also referred to in some answers; for example, "in pair work sometimes they use their mother tongue", "Some do not like to work in pairs ", or "Students like pair work, and help each other so the success is guaranteed". The following four categories (see Table 4) included references to students' creativity (5); for example "all took part and was creative" and the students "made nice and interesting posters", their need for scaffolding (4); for example "the younger ones needed more help", their use of English or the mother tongue (3); for example, "they can use English language, and it is always fascinating for them", and that all students participated in the task (1).

The teachers were also asked to add samples of students' performances, which they did in the case of 14 tasks. Four of the answers did not respond to the actual question; for example, "the group with the most correct sentences wins".

Table 4. Students' performance on tasks

Primary categories	Secondary categories	Frequencies of categories
reference to the task		36
	a) level of difficulty of elements of the task	26
	b) rubrics	8
	c) problem with the task itself	2
reference to students' intrinsic motivation		27
reference to quantifying students' performance		7
	a) best / worst/ average score / %	5
	b) number of TA, AA, IA	2
reference to some criteria		7
reference to work mode		6
reference to creativity		5
reference to scaffolding		4
reference to the use of English / Hungarian		3
reference to Ss' participation during the task		1
giving sample performance		14
no answer		32
irrelevant answer		4

Popularity of tasks among students

The final question elicited information on the popularity of the tasks among the students. The teachers were to indicate how much the students liked the tasks on a 1 to 4 scale, where 1 meant unpopular and 4 extremely popular. Since in the case of five tasks, the questionnaire was not completed, only photocopies of the tasks were received; a total of 114 answers were analysed (see Figure 3). The majority of the tasks were either extremely popular (59) or popular (33) among the students. However, as is visualised in Figure 3, 15 tasks were rated 2.5, 2 or 1 on the scale. In nine cases, the respondents were hesitant and specified an in-between number,

2.5 or 3.5. Although the highest rank on the scale was 4, one of the teachers rated the popularity of four tasks with 5.

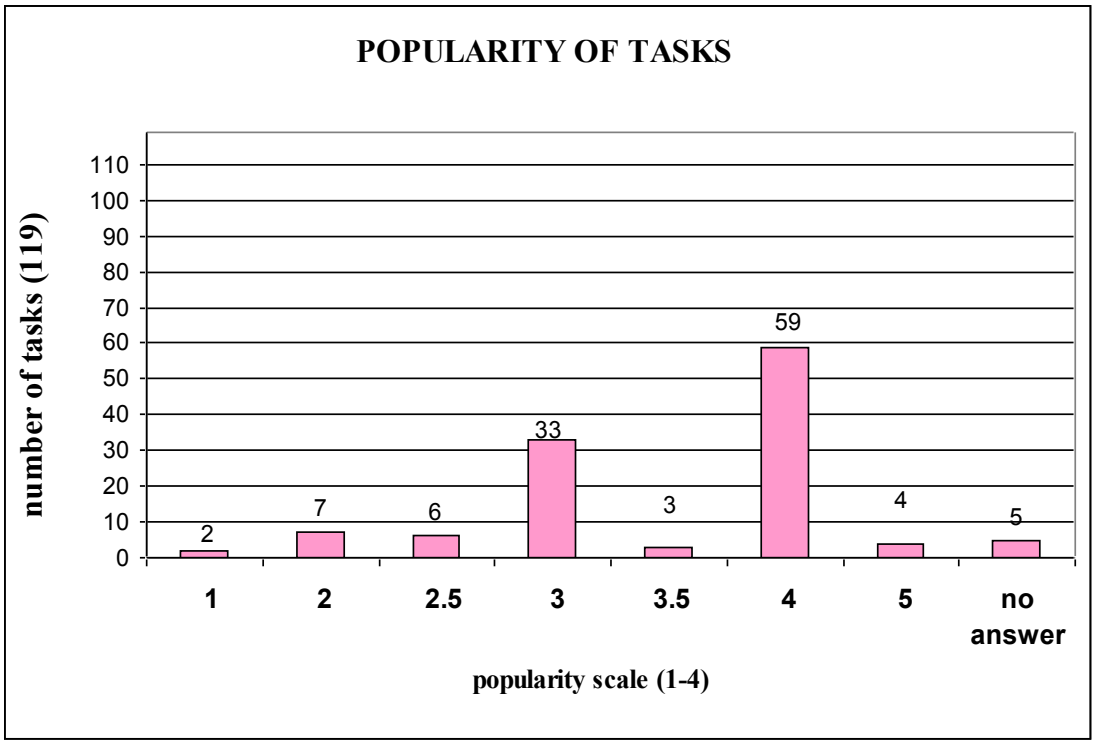

Figure 3. Popularity of tasks

DISCUSSION

Teaching and learning tools

The literature on early language learning indicates that the focus should be on oral skills, learning should mainly take place through direct experience, and topics should be familiar and reflect students' experience of the world (McKay, 2006, pp. 6-13). These factors are all important to allow young learners to show their best while being assessed, and ensure that they do not lose interest, and their motivation is maintained. The results of this study, however, are not in accordance with these suggestions. In more than half of the tasks the respondents sent in, teaching materials that are usually used for reading and writing, for example, handouts, stationeries or course books, were required. In contrast, visual and, especially, audio materials were used only in a few cases. This indicates that the teachers put the emphasis on literacy rather than oral skills during assessment. Various cards and board games, realia, such as puppets, toy animals, and authentic texts, which can bridge the gap between real-life language use and classroom language learning, and

ensure fun and play-time, that is, increase motivation (Curtain & Dahlberg, 2004, p. 29), were mentioned even less frequently. Eight tasks required the pre-teaching of a particular grammar point or vocabulary — for example, the names of furniture, farm animals, food, which were appropriate for this age-group. In these cases, teaching and assessment were integrated, which is one of the main principles of dynamic assessment (Lantolf & Poehner, 2006, p. 6). Two tasks, however, required age-inappropriate background knowledge, such as job application procedure and knowledge of Chaplin, that is, they contained elements the students were unfamiliar with. New elements in tests can increase young learners' anxiety, or prove to be too challenging, which can both affect their performance negatively.

Work mode

Most of the answers the respondents gave here contradicted what the literature suggests about the work mode most appropriate for young language learners. More than half of the tasks the participant teachers reported to have successfully used to assess and develop their students' language knowledge required the students to work individually or in whole classes. In contrast, theoretical and empirical studies (Curtain & Dahlberg, 2004, p. 32, pp. 98-99; McKay, 2006, pp. 8-9; Nikolov, 2011) suggest that the emphasis should be on pair and group work, where young learners can feel less intimidated by their peers' presence, and the more able students can help the weaker ones to show their best. The respondents also sent in 15 competitions, which are not suitable for the assessment and development of this age group, since only one team or student can win and experience the feeling of success, whereas all the others lose, i.e., receive negative or no feedback. Although young learners enjoy and need physical activities, only three tasks contained such elements.

Top, adequate and inadequate performance

Looking at the results where the respondents were asked to indicate what top, adequate and inadequate achievers could do, the most apparent finding is how few teachers gave an answer. Top achievers' performance was specified most often; inadequate achievers were described in 30 tasks; whereas the description of the in-between, adequate performance (23), which requires the teacher the most to formulate concrete requirements to be able to differentiate it from the best and the worst performance, was only found in almost half as many cases as in the descriptions of top performances. These results indicate that the teachers often found the tasks of defining the various levels of performance and setting assessment criteria challenging, which then raises the question what they based their judgements on while assessing their students.

A closer look at the categories identified in these answers reveals that those who did undertake to describe what they required from the top, adequate and inadequate achievers had deficiencies in age-appropriate methodology and establishing assessment criteria. Mistakes and correct answers were referred to in several answers. In these answers, the teachers tended to focus on the wrong rather than the correct solutions, which, however, should be the other way around to ensure a supporting and anxious-free classroom environment. The quantification of the results should always be part of the assessment procedure. The respondents rarely provided such data. According to the principles of dynamic assessment (Poehner, 2008, p. 80), the amount and the type of help students need while carrying out a task tells a lot about at which developmental stage their language knowledge is and what areas need further improvement. Such references, however, were rarely found in the answers. In the second most often identified categories, top achievers were referred to as those who could perform beyond the task, such as helping others, carrying out an extra task or simply being creative. These answers imply that top achievers were quicker, because they had extra time on their hands, which, however, does not reveal these students' strengths and weaknesses, and why exactly they were better than all the others. In other words, this information has little diagnostic value. An encouraging finding is that both adequate and inadequate achievers were most often specified in terms of some kind of criteria. In these answers, the elements of the tasks that these students could or could not complete were identified.

Students' performance on tasks

The respondents did not provide an answer to the question of how their students succeeded on the tasks in 32 cases; and in an additional four cases they did not answer the actual question asked. These findings suggest that the teachers had problems with capturing their students' performance. The largest category of answers addressed the question from the perspective of the task, and described what caused students no, little or much difficulty, which gives valuable information as to what their strengths and weaknesses were, and where they needed help (scaffolding), to be able to complete the task and reach the next developmental stage. However, this latter point of view was explicitly communicated only in four cases. The respondents indicated the second most frequently how much the students liked the task or elements of the task, that is, how intrinsically motivating it was, which has a decisive influence in the early language learning classroom (Nikolov, 1995). If young learners enjoy the task, they are more willing to participate, and do their best, which is a good starting point during the assessment and development of language knowledge. However, it reveals little about student performance or which language domain needs further practising. The students' results were quantified in only seven answers, despite the fact that it is essential information during assessment. Identifying which elements of the task students

could or could not do, i.e., whether they could fulfil a specific set of criteria, displays diagnostic behaviour. However, it was only mentioned in seven cases. Finding out the disadvantages of various work modes, and if students can or like to work in pairs, groups or individually, are important issues, but, again, these facts have little bearing on students' performance.

Creativity was a recurring pattern in the answers given to several questions, and the respondents seemed to think that it was a kind of "language skill" in which students needed to perform well. Here, while reporting on how the students succeeded, the teachers considered creative solutions worth mentioning in five tasks.

Popularity of tasks

As McKay (2006, p. 41) also formulated, one of the four most important conditions for optimal early language learning was "interesting and engaging input". This is partly so, because children's attention span is limited and they can easily get diverted, which can happen if they do not enjoy the activity (McKay, 2006, p. 11). A task that students do not like, because, for example, it is boring or too difficult, can cause students to lose motivation to participate or perform well, i.e., to show their best and, consequently, have a sense of success. The same principles should also apply to assessment (McKay, 2006, p. 47). Out of 114 tasks the teachers submitted 99 were extremely popular (4) or popular (3) among their students. Therefore, in this respect they were appropriate to successfully test young learners' language knowledge. However, in 15 cases the students rated the popularity of the tests lower than 3 on a 1 to 4 scale. The question, here, is why the teachers thought that they could diagnose students' strengths and weaknesses with tasks the students did not like.

CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to find out what tasks teachers of EFL use to assess their students, how they carry out diagnostic assessment and how they apply them in the first six grades of primary school. Since only twelve teachers took part in the project, this is an exploratory study whose aim was to reveal what the main issues and challenges are in young learners' diagnostic assessment. Therefore, the findings cannot be generalized.

In terms of the submitted tasks the findings of my study coincided with the results of the literature on the Hungarian teaching and learning situation (Morvai, Öveges & Ottó, 2009; Nikolov, 2008), and indicated that many participants had deficiencies in age-appropriate teaching methodology. The materials the tasks required suggested that the teachers put the emphasis on the reading and writing skills while testing students' progress, although the focus should be on the oral

skills in early language learning. McKay emphasized (2006, p. 47) that "Children show their language ability through the kinds of tasks… that are most likely to promote their interest and motivation to use the language." Accordingly, the majority of the tasks the teachers sent in and thus considered appropriate for testing young learners' language development were popular among students. However, there were a few tasks that students disliked. The other fallacy the findings shed light on was that the majority of the tests were frontal or individual, preventing students from experiencing the reassurance of peer help and the sense of safety team and pair work can offer.

In terms of assessment procedures, similarly to international studies (Edelenbos & Kubanek-German, 2004; Rea-Dickins & Gardner, 2000), the findings revealed a lack of systematicity in assessment practices. While describing the different levels of learner performance, instead of clear criteria the respondents often applied loose and fuzzy terms, which had no or little diagnostic value. There was only little evidence of the application of a scoring method, which should always be part of assessment. The teachers were focused on errors and accuracy rather than fluency. Providing students with continuous support, i.e., scaffolding, is an essential element of dynamic assessment, because it can guarantee learning and a sense of success during assessment, and it reveals prospective development. The results, however, indicated that the respondents attributed little importance to its use.

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ASSESSMENT OF YOUNG LEARNERS' ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE VOCABULARY KNOWLEDGE: RESULTS OF A DIAGNOSTIC TEST WITH THE RASCH MODEL

István Thékes

INTRODUCTION

In foreign language teaching, the focus on form and accuracy was the prevailing classroom material to be taught and learned for many decades. Words, these mere strings of letters, were in a nearly neglected state and when they were given focus, they were taught for accuracy. They were only a supplement and an accessory to the classroom material with the help of which grammar rules could be practiced. It is only recently that language syllabi have considered lexis a significant element in teaching. With the discovery of lexis (Lewis, 1993) in English as a foreign language (EFL) teaching, researchers in parallel began to study vocabulary acquisition and articles in the field have mushroomed ever since.

Lexical development is a never-ending process both in L1 and L2. Singleton (1999) emphasizes the fact that people's vocabulary develops constantly in a variety of contexts. Even though L1 and L2 lexical development shows similar features it needs to be pointed out that there are major differences existing between the two processes. Doró (2007) states that L2 vocabulary is acquired on the basis of L1 vocabulary knowledge, also listing three channels which L2 lexis comes through.

They are teacher talk, textbook and peer interlanguage. Thus it is clear that L2 vocabulary knowledge mainly derives from institutional settings.

It is uncontroversial that natives learn most of their vocabulary in context while they are repeatedly exposed to both oral and written input. Nearly all of the vocabulary that native speakers acquire results from both constant exposure to L1 and the instrumental need to communicate. According to Laufer's (2005) Default hypothesis of L1 vocabulary acquisition our vocabulary is too vast to be learnt from direct instruction only. This means that almost all of the vocabulary that we have acquired in our L1 comes from incidental learning. This hypothesis has been supported by L2 researchers as well. As for Krashen's (1989) Input Hypothesis comprehensible input results in greater competence in L2 vocabulary compared to information that is incomprehensible for learners. It is widely accepted that in order for the students to master a second language, learning a large amount of vocabulary is crucial. However, the best way to learn words is still unclear. It is also recognized that learning vocabulary is dependent on a great many factors (de Groot, 2006). According to Schmitt (2008), obtaining an adequate vocabulary size is a reasonable goal to start out. Previously, it was posited (Laufer, 1989) that a 95% coverage is sufficient for a learner to understand a text. More recently Hu and Nation (2000) have argued that 98% coverage is necessary for a reader or a listener to have acceptable comprehension of a text.

Those young learners who have ever attempted to learn a second language know that the amount of engagement with a new word determines how successful they are in learning the new word. It is also a common sense notion that the more a learner is exposed to a word, the more likely they are to learn it (Hulstijn & Laufer, 2001).

ASSESSING VOCABULARY

The selection of words in every validated vocabulary test is grounded on corpora. Corpus linguistics is a fast developing field of applied linguistics in the world. Its application is a major help for vocabulary learning and teaching researchers and not only for them but for teachers as well (Lehmann, 2009). A large amount of corpora are being developed all over the world for a range of languages as well as for jargons. For example, one can see corpora of car mechanics jargon and spoken Scottish English jargon. The major general corpora available around the word are the LOB Corpus, CANCODE, the British National Corpus, Main COBUILD. Horváth (2001) claims that a corpus can provide a lot of information in terms of frequency of words, collocations, lexical and syntactic patterns. These are the necessary pieces of information in the selection process of vocabulary in the creation of vocabulary tests. All the major vocabulary tests have a corpus-based aspect and the different levels of difficulty of the various vocabulary tests are determined with regard to frequency lists.

Frequency is the most basic concept that is examined in corpus linguistics. The most elementary thing that can be deduced from studying the language in a corpus is how many times a particular word occurs. The earliest corpora gave the frequency of a word as the first piece of information to the researchers. At the dawn of corpus linguistics it took scholars a long time to count the frequencies of the words, but nowadays it is a matter of a second by using a computer program. (In this section, I am referring to Schmitt's division of insights into frequencies.)

As Schmitt (2008) points out, there is no commonly accepted standardized test of English vocabulary available. What researchers accept as a commonly valid test was devised by Nation (2001). It bears the name *Vocabulary Levels Test (VLT)*. Instead of an estimate of vocabulary size, words at four frequency levels are measured: 2,000, 3,000, 5,000 and 10,000. Schmitt et. al (2001) also claim that different versions have been used in both assessment and research, but in spite of its widespread use this test has never been properly validated. Students must match three words on the left side with three on the right. Three words are distractors. The following test format cited in Schmitt (2008, p. 176) as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Vocabulary levels test

1	bitter	
2	independent	A. small
3	lovely	B. beautiful
4	merry	C. liked by many people
5	popular	
6	slight	

Since the test gives estimates of vocabulary size at five levels, it can be applied for placement purposes and for a diagnosis of vocabulary gaps. Another vocabulary measure that can serve the purpose of self-assessment is the widely spreading Vocabulary Knowledge Scale (VKS) (Paribakht & Wechse, 1993). Schmitt (2008) praises this type of vocabulary measurement, saying that it emphasizes what students know, rather than what they do not know. By allowing them to show their partial knowledge of a word, it may be more motivating than other types of tests (p. 175). The format of this test is indicated in Table 2.

Table 2. Vocabulary knowledge scale

1 I don't remember having seen this word before.
2 I have seen this word before, but I don't know what it means.
3 I have seen this word before and I think it means……..
4 I know this word. It means……..
5 I can use this word in a sentence:……..

Besides Nation's (2001) Vocabulary Levels Test and Paribakht and Wechse's (1999) VKS, checklist tests also need to be mentioned. These are simple tests in that students only need to check the item to indicate whether they know it. The evident problem is that most students overestimate their knowledge and might check many more words than what they do know. In order to compensate for this, non-words that look like real words are put in the test and if they are chosen as known, students are penalized. Meara is acknowledged for developing a test called EFL Vocabulary Tests (Meara, 1992), and a commercialized computerized version is called the Eurocentres Vocabulary Size Test (EVST) (Meara & Jones, 1990). As far as productive knowledge of vocabulary is concerned, Laufer and Nation (1995) developed an instrument that measures productive word knowledge. In this test students see sentences. In each sentence only the initial letters of one word are given. Students are expected to write the missing part of the word. This test is called Productive Vocabulary Levels Test, a part of which is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Productive vocabulary levels test

He likes walking in the fo…… because the trees are beautiful there.
He takes cr.....and sugar in his coffee.
The actor took the st…… to perform in the long-awaited play.

THE STUDY

The purpose of this research was to create a diagnostic assessment tool that measures students' vocabulary of EFL. The testing principles of Cameron (2004), Bachman and Palmer (2010), McKay (2006) and Alderson, Clapham and Wall (1995) were taken into consideration. My goals were twofold: (1) to choose words based on the National Core Curriculum (2012), Nikolov's (2011) recommendations, CEFR (2001) and (2) to determine the list of words from which the items will be selected to be assessed. I have chosen the words on the basis of English

Profile (englishprofile.org). The frequency of words was determined on the basis of British National Corpus (BNC) (Kilgarriff, 1996).

The levels of the words were settled on the grounds of the English Vocabulary Profile. Words up to the first 2,000 frequency rank were selected on the basis of the BNC. The reason for this decision was that researchers (Laufer et. al, 2004; Nation, 1999; Schmitt, 2003) suggested that the most important thing for a language learner is to acquire the first 200 words.

Besides taking corpus-based data into account, suggestions by the Hungarian National Core Curriculum and Nikolov (2011), were also considered in terms of grouping words based on topics and involving them in my list. Nikolov (2011) suggests 14 broader topics to be considered by elementary school teachers for classroom practice, and she also presumes that the lexis included in these topics might be interesting for young language learners. Consequently, I added the most relevant vocabulary of these topics to my list of 2,000 words, irrespective of word frequency rank. Nagy (2004) also supports the view of teaching those words to students they are interested in. As a result, my list of words to be assessed was completed by the addition of another 2,000 word families amounting to 4,000 words. Nation and Waring (1995) found that the knowledge of the 4000 most frequent words is the most critical aspect of communicating in a language.

For my measurement tool I selected five topics suggested by Nikolov (2011): food and eating, home and furniture, shops and shopping, travelling and transport, and jobs and working. There were two reasons for this decision: not all the 14 topics can be incorporated in the test, and these topics include the most frequent vocabulary of all fourteen. The lexical items were assessed through three major linguistic skills out of four. Listening to words as well as reading and writing them were involved in the pilot; I excluded speaking because I found problems of feasibility. Table 4 shows the description of the tasks of the vocabulary test.

Selection of words

First of all, words up to the first 2,000 frequency rank were selected on the basis of the British National Corpus (BNC). The reason for this decision was based on what researchers such as Laufer et al. (2004) Nation (1999) and Schmitt (2008) have suggested. However, concerning young learners, it might be the case that they know infrequent words better than frequent ones. This can occur as a result of learning age-appropriate topics in school and out-of-school exposure to words of interest to them originating from television programmes, watching videos online and books written in English. Sixth-graders might also encounter less frequent vocabulary because they are simply more interested in learning them.

Table 4. Tasks of the vocabulary test

	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3	Task 4
Instruction	Listen to 5 words and match them one by one with a picture from the list (A-E). There is an extra picture you don't need. See the example.	Listen to definitions and match them with words	Match the written words with the pictures	Write word next to picture
Description	Students listen to words and match them with pictures	Students hear 5 definitions. They must find what they mean in the list of words (A - E).	Students can see six words and three pictures in each box. They must match the words with the correct pictures.	Students see 5 pictures. They must write the correct word next to the picture.
Evaluation	Each correct answer is worth 1 point	Each correct answer is worth 1 point	Each correct answer is worth 1 point	Each correct answer is worth 1 point

The final step of determining the list of selected words

On creating the four tasks in the diagnostic battery, I needed to consider two factors. There are frequent words that students do not know, simply because they belong to lexis used by adults; however, there are words, for example, those of animals and jobs, that are rather infrequent, but students know them. The recommended topics calibrated for this age group contain infrequent words. I decided to establish three word categories grounded on the BNC list. The necessity of creating categories is underlined by the fact that major vocabulary tests (Laufer & Nation, 1995; Nation, 1990; Paribakht & Wechse, 1999) include items selected on the basis of a layered word list. In every task, all of the categories were represented with Category 1 words being the most frequent (see Table 5).

Table 5. The basis of the categorization of the words

Word frequencies	Category
1-2,000	1
2,000-4,000	2
4,000-more	3

Research questions

The following research questions were phrased:

1. How wide is the EFL vocabulary of Hungarian 6th graders?
2. In which modality (listening, reading or writing) is it easier for students to solve the different items?

Participants and procedures

In the study 57 twelve-year-old 6th graders participated from four primary schools in south-eastern Hungary: two in Szeged and two in Kecskemét. They had been learning English for two and a half years. In the spring semester of the 2012/13 school year the participating students had three or four English classes a week. Data were gathered on the first week of May 2013. The test was administered as a paper-and-pencil test during class time. The researcher procured access to the sample with the help of teachers of EFL working in the schools. Two weeks before the students took the test, the teachers and the classes had been informed that they would be exposed to a thirty-minutes diagnostic vocabulary test. The researcher had observed all the four classes in person one time each before gathering the data. Class observation was implemented so that some insight would be gained into the extent to which vocabulary is taught to young Hungarian learners of English. The majority of the class time in each session was spent on grammar drills and practice, and hardly any meaning-focused instruction took place. The conclusion drawn from this fact is that students are not exposed to sufficient meaning-focused vocabulary input and are not given enough opportunity to develop fluency in free oral practice. Table 6 shows the distribution of the sample.

As far as the components of the diagnostic EFL vocabulary test battery/booklet are concerned, it is diagnostic in the sense that it is intended to determine the breadth of EFL vocabulary of 6th graders and to map the lexical competence of these students with regard to different topics. The outcome will be an indicator of the size and limitations of the students' vocabulary at this stage of their learning process.

Table 6. The distribution of the students

School	N	Male	Female
1	18	10	8
2	14	7	7
3	14	8	6
4	11	4	7
All	57	29	28

I looked into the means of modern test analysis in order to determine the easiest words learnt by the students and the ranking among the modalities of assessment. As three different modalities (listening, reading and writing) were investigated, the multidimensional Rasch model was used. Each item belonged to a distinct latent dimension, so between-item model was accomplished.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The EAP/PV reliability of the measurement tool was the highest for the first subtest (0.812), 0.708 for the second and 0.540 for the third. The descriptive statistics of the three modalities are shown in Table 7. The children performed best on the first subtest, and the most difficult subtest was the last one. Regarding the standard deviation of the result, it was the highest in the first modality. In the other two subtests it was similar.

Table 7. The descriptive statistics for the three modalities

Modalities	Mean	Standard deviation
1 (listening)	0.692	0.217
2 (reading)	0.325	0.133
3 (writing)	0.295	0.154

These 6th graders were found to have an average knowledge of the most important lexical items. The mean score indicates a minimally higher level than average. It means that almost half of the 12-year-old population falls short of the knowledge of the 2,000 most frequent English words. This also has significant pedagogical implications. Teachers should enable students to acquire the minimal amount of necessary vocabulary in English in the fastest possible way. Regarding the different modalities, the best result was acquired in the area of listening, and the writing dimension performed the worst.

Table 8 shows the correlation among the three modalities. There is a high correlation between the listening and reading skills, and a weaker link is observable between reading and writing. The weakest connection can be observed between listening and writing. This indicates that the most difficult modality, writing, requires a totally different competence than listening. Producing a written word form is a cognitively more demanding task than recognizing or recalling heard words.

Table 8. The correlations and covariances of the three dimensions

Dimension	1	2	3
Dimension 1		1.297	0.791
Dimension 2	0.789		0.775
Dimension 3	0.416	0.666	

Figure 1 illustrates the map of the latent ability distributions of the item difficulty estimates. The left panel indicates the first dimension (listening), the middle panel the second dimension (reading) and the third panel the third dimension (writing). The majority of the items were located around the zero point of the ability scale. For this multidimensional case, each item is assigned to a single dimension. As far as the item distribution among the dimensions is concerned, items 1-10 belonged to the first dimension, 11-15 to the second and 16-20 to the third one. The most difficult item was number 10, its difficulty index was 1.355. The easiest item was item 18; its difficulty index was -2.408.

The items are plotted as a student with a latent ability estimate that corresponded to the level at which the item was plotted would have a 50% chance of success on that item. A student whose latent ability estimate on that dimension is equal to the difficulty estimate for the item would have a 50% chance of success on that item. The students' abilities differed the most on the listening dimension, with the writing section being the most difficult. The distribution of item difficulty was narrower than of the ability scale: for the listening modality more difficult, whereas in writing, some easier items are necessary.

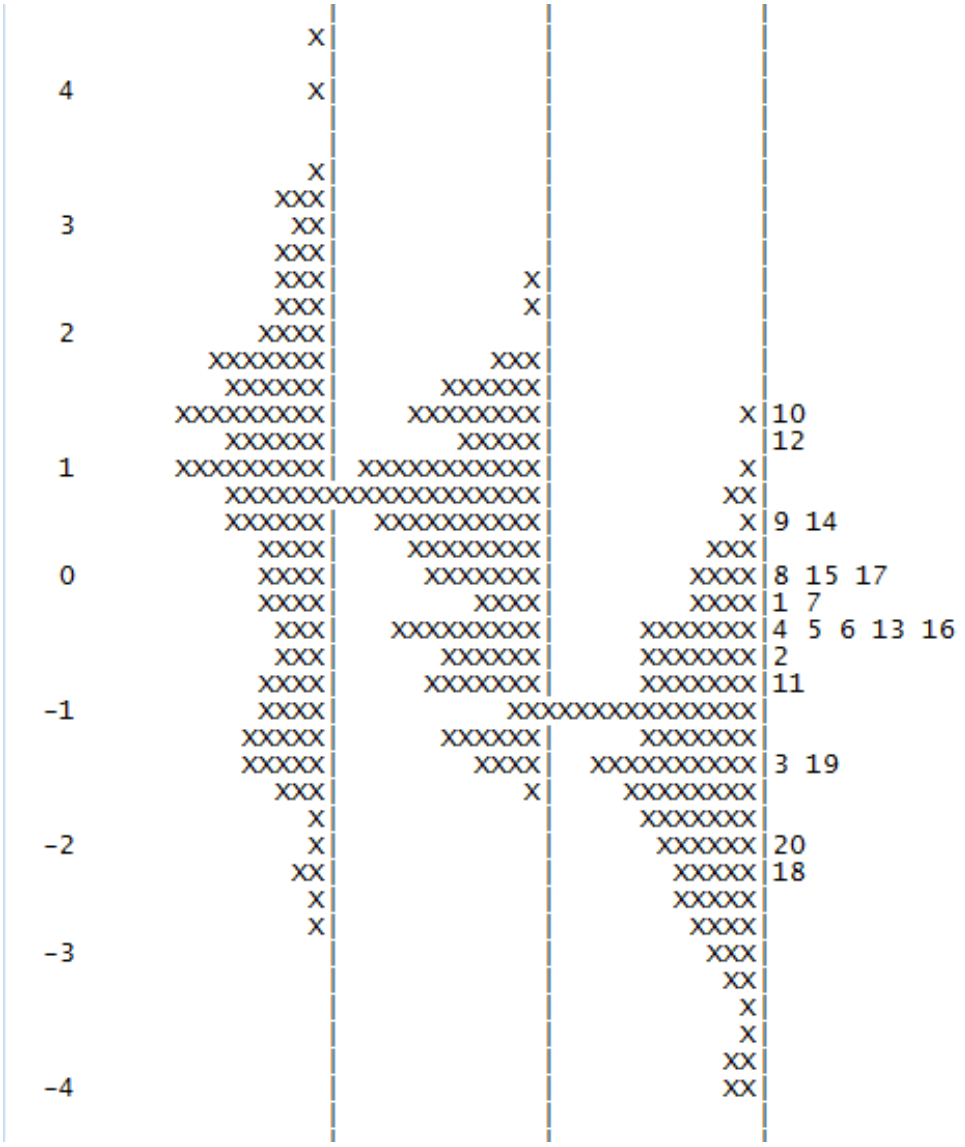

Figure 1. The item/person map of the four-dimensional model at the vocabulary test (each *x* represents 1 case)

The model fit was also investigated. (See Table 8 for estimate results.) Regarding the weighted MNSQ indexes, items 1, 2 and 12 have a relatively large value.

Table 8. Model fit estimates

VARIABLES				UNWEIGHTED FIT			WEIGHTED FIT		
	item	ESTIMATE	ERROR^	MNSQ	CI	T	MNSQ	CI	T
1	1	-0.138	0.132	1.99	(0.63, 1.37)	4.2	1.69	(0.60, 1.40)	2.9
2	2	-0.522	0.141	3.51	(0.63, 1.37)	8.4	1.98	(0.55, 1.45)	3.4
3	3	-1.366	0.252	0.69	(0.63, 1.37)	-1.8	0.97	(0.59, 1.41)	-0.1
4	4	-0.404	0.239	0.30	(0.63, 1.37)	-5.2	0.43	(0.62, 1.38)	-3.7
5	5	-0.282	0.237	0.39	(0.63, 1.37)	-4.2	0.50	(0.62, 1.38)	-3.1
6	6	-0.404	0.239	0.44	(0.63, 1.37)	-3.8	0.57	(0.62, 1.38)	-2.5
7	7	-0.047	0.235	0.56	(0.63, 1.37)	-2.7	0.66	(0.63, 1.37)	-2.0
8	8	0.179	0.233	0.61	(0.63, 1.37)	-2.4	0.77	(0.65, 1.35)	-1.3
9	9	0.507	0.231	1.71	(0.63, 1.37)	3.2	1.28	(0.68, 1.32)	1.6
10	10	1.355	0.231	1.64	(0.63, 1.37)	2.9	1.17	(0.72, 1.28)	1.2
11	11	-0.788	0.243	2.70	(0.63, 1.37)	6.3	1.42	(0.61, 1.39)	1.9
12	12	1.249*	0.713	1.31	(0.63, 1.37)	1.6	1.36	(0.72, 1.28)	2.3
13	13	-0.344	0.224	0.84	(0.63, 1.37)	-0.8	0.94	(0.75, 1.25)	-0.4
14	14	0.439	0.219	0.84	(0.63, 1.37)	-0.8	0.87	(0.79, 1.21)	-1.2
15	15	0.085	0.236	1.27	(0.58, 1.42)	1.2	1.11	(0.75, 1.25)	0.9
16	16	-0.376	0.240	0.76	(0.58, 1.42)	-1.2	0.83	(0.70, 1.30)	-1.2
17	17	0.196*	0.460	0.62	(0.58, 1.42)	-2.0	0.71	(0.76, 1.24)	-2.6
18	18	-2.408	0.369	1.34	(0.58, 1.42)	1.5	0.95	(0.65, 1.35)	-0.2
19	19	-1.542	0.341	0.79	(0.58, 1.42)	-1.0	0.86	(0.73, 1.27)	-1.1
20	20	-2.020	0.352	0.76	(0.58, 1.42)	-1.2	0.83	(0.70, 1.30)	-1.1

CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS

Knowing a word is a complex issue: different aspects of knowing the word must be considered. Breadth of vocabulary knowledge means how many words a person knows while depth refers to the knowledge of dimensions, such as synonyms, antonyms, and contexts. Knowing a word means knowing its frequency and collocation, limitations of its use, its syntax, its basic forms and derivations, its associations with other words, its semantic value, as well as the different meanings associated with it. However, I did not examine a number of aspects of word knowledge, because I was only curious to find data relating to the size of EFL vocabulary of Hungarian 6th graders. It is evident that from 57 participants in a small area of Hungary, hardly any generalizable conclusions can be drawn, but the predictive validity of the test is high, so I gained relevant data in this pilot test. Another limitation of the study is that word knowledge was assessed in only three modalities: neither spoken word knowledge nor depth of word knowledge was tested. In the future, the instrument tool needs to involve more modalities of assessment, and further research will extend the test to more elements. It will be not only receptive but also productive word knowledge that will be assessed. I am planning to add one task in which students will write the words based on a visual cue, and one in which they will be expected to say the words on the basis of pictures prompts. The final part of my test will cover the depth aspect of vocabulary. A task similar to the VKS (Paribakht & Wechse, 1999) will be created to assess the extent to which students know particular words.

Even though the final data gathering instrument is still being developed, the test presented in this study has shown that assessment of word knowledge in different types of modalities is necessary because there are considerable differences among these different types of word knowledge. The fact that students have the lowest

score on the writing test suggests that written productive word competence needs to be given a bigger emphasis in the classrooms. Another pedagogical implication of the results is that words successfully recalled by learners are not necessarily produced actively in writing. Teachers might have to consider eliciting word knowledge in production to a greater extent. It might be pedagogically more effective to teach the same word in different modalities so that students will be able to both recall and produce lexis. The pedagogical importance of the test used in this study also lies in diagnosing learners whose productive ability is further behind other students with a similar vocabulary size. The test allows teachers to recognize which students need to gain practice to remedy this lack. Generally, such integrated tests can play a significant role in providing practical guidance for both teachers and learners.

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RESEARCH INTO EARLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ITALY: LOOKING BACK, LOOKING FORWARD

Lucilla Lopriore

INTRODUCTION

Since the experimental introduction of foreign language (FL) learning at primary level in many countries all over the world, several research studies and reports have been investigating its implementation in different contexts besides Europe (Butler & Lee, 2006; Drew & Hasselgren, 2008; Garton et al., 2011; Moon & Nikolov, 2000; Nikolov et al., 2007; Rixon, 1999), its impact on young learners' acquisition (Hasselgren, 2000; Nikolov, 2009a, 2009b), on their motivation (Lopriore & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2011), on the training of young learners' teachers (Butler, 2004; Butler, 2009) and on the time allotted to the FL in the national curriculum (Enever, 2011; Nikolov & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2011; Rixon, 2013).

While some studies have investigated the rate and order of children's second language acquisition and the effects of early language learning on children's cognitive development(Cenoz, 2003), fewer projects have monitored young learners' FL achievement at specific transition levels or in time through longitudinal studies (Benevenuto & Lopriore, 2000; Enever, 2011; Hill, 2010; Johnstone, 2000; Lopriore, 2001; Roessing & Helgie, 2009;) or types of FL classroom activities and of assessment used at primary level (Johnstone, 2000; McKay, 2005, 2006; Rea-Dickins, 2000, 2004; Rea-Dickins & Rixon, 1999; Rixon, 1999).

The primary classroom is a unique environment where learning is organised holistically through individual and collective experiences, where children develop literacy knowledge and skills in their first language while they start learning a second language. FL learning in the primary school is closely linked to that of other subject areas that are part of the primary school curriculum. FL assessment is often embedded within the flow of everyday classroom activities, but it is not always thoroughly planned, designed and used by teachers as a reliable source of information about learners' progression. Assessing young learners' FL learning at primary level requires specific understanding of the complex cognitive and affective processes underlying second language learning during that age period (Butler, 2009). It is in this perspective that classroom based assessment (CBA) (Hill, 2010) is specific to the primary school where teachers' beliefs about children's learning as well as about what would constitute appropriate forms of assessment at that age level, emerge more clearly than at other school levels. Teachers often use forms of continuous formative assessment, rather than forms of summative assessment, but both forms of assessment are needed for formative as well as for summative purposes, also in order to collect accurate and reliable information in research studies on learners' achievement in time, because they would allow validation of research findings.

This contribution is aimed at presenting, discussing and comparing the findings of two different research studies carried out in Italian primary schools at approximately ten year distance one from the other. While the first study (Benvenuto & Lopriore, 2000; Lopriore, 2001) was built up to ascertain the results and measure the impact of the first national introduction of FL at primary level in the Italian school system, the second research study – ELLiE – (Enever, 2011), is part of a European longitudinal project investigating what learners could realistically achieve in a FL within the primary school system in each of the seven participant European countries. Italy was one of those countries and its cohort was the object of further research studies (Lopriore, 2012; Lopriore & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2011a; Lopriore & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2011b). Although the two studies had different goals, they were carried out in different contexts and in two different time periods, both investigating FL primary classrooms, young learners' achievement, their motivation, their self-perception as well as primary teachers, their attitudes to FL teaching, their teaching and their forms of classroom assessment and evaluation. Both research studies were carried out with specific, yet different, investigation tools, but their comparison may prove useful to better understand how FL teaching and learning has changed in time, how teachers perceive their roles and enact their teaching, how learners' achievement and attitudes to FL learning can be best ascertained and described. Since the ELLiE study has been recently the object of numerous publications, this contribution is focussed on the earliest Italian study, the 1999 one.

THE ITALIAN CONTEXT

FLs in the Italian education system

FL teaching in Italy has always been characterized by innovations introduced by the Italian Ministry of Education (MIUR, *Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca*) subsequently leading to major curriculum renewals in the last 25 years. In order to fully understand the overall development of the FL curricula, it is necessary to take into consideration a wide variety of societal conditions, such as the recent history of Italian as a national language, the role and the influence of dialects on first and second language learning, the different historic and socio-economic conditions of the northern and of the southern regions, the latest large immigration flow, the role of the new media, the widespread diffusion of information technology, the demands of the work market in terms of FL competencies, the teacher recruitment system, the teacher status and consideration in the Italian society and the role of professional associations as well as that of Foreign Cultural Institutions as, for example, in the case of English, the British Council and the USIS (Lopriore, 2003, 2006).

The languages most commonly taught in schools are English, which is now compulsory at all levels, French, German and Spanish. German is widely spoken in some areas, e.g., in tourist areas or in the northern bilingual region of Trentino Alto-Adige. Arabic is being taught in some areas of the south (Sicily) and bilingual education is carried out in the two bilingual regions of Trentino Alto Adige (German, Ladino, Italian) and Valle d'Aosta (French, Italian) and encouraged in Friuli Venezia Giulia (Slovenian, Italian). Italian as a national language reached the highest percentage of the population during the 1960s and the use of dialect within the family context has played and still plays an important role (Benvenuto & Lopriore, 2000; Lopriore, 2006).

FLs at primary level

FLs were first officially introduced in 1991 (Italian Ministry of Education) in the primary school as a direct implementation of the 1985 primary school reform.The major training problem that the Italian Ministry of Education had to face at the beginning was primary teachers' FL competence, which was either non-existent or very low. This required a change in both the initial primary teacher education with the introduction of specific FL components, and in the in-service training that comprised both a methodology and a FL component. The teachers selected as FL teachers were primary teachers who had either attended special training courses or qualified in FL teaching. Since 1991 there have been two types of primary FL teachers in Italy: one, called *specializzato* (specialized), who would teach the FL as well as another subject area (e.g., mathematics) in two classes, the other one, called

specialista (specialist), who would only teach the FL in approximately six classes. There has recently been a move to have specialized teachers only in order to cover all the national needs. Primary school lasts five years, children start at the age of six and complete it at the age of 11. These reforms have created the need to adjust to a new type of organization in which the national curriculum policy is outlined by the ministry but it is autonomously implemented at regional level.

Even though the first official introduction of FL learning at primary level in Italy was being gradually implemented since 1991, within the last thirteen years (2000-2013) FL teaching has undergone major changes that has involved bringing the starting grade to the first grade, the gradual covering at national level of FL teaching, the shift from centralised in-service training to regional training, the implementation of 4-year university degrees for primary teachers, and the development of national curriculum guidelines (MPI, 2007) with specific descriptors for FL teaching. It is within this changing context that the two research studies took place, one in 1999 and one between 2006 and 2010.

The Italian national survey of young learners' FL achievement (1999-2000)

The survey was carried out by the Department of Education of Rome University "La Sapienza" between 1999 and 2000 on behalf of the Primary School Department of the Italian Ministry of Education, eight years after the introduction of FL teaching in the primary schools. At that time FLs were taught for three years only, from the third to the fifth grade, three hours per week, and not all over the country.

The survey was aimed at collecting data about the achievement in the FL of a representative sample of the primary school population in order the evaluate the success of the innovation. The specific objectives of the survey were to measure the relationship between learners' FL competence and classroom practice, the influence of FL learning on learners' L1 competence, as well as the learners' awareness and understanding of other cultures.

The sample was selected statistically, using the same criteria of both the IEA-SAL and the OCSE-PISA research, covering five geographical areas and town populations, selecting classes that had been studying a FL for three years and were completing the fifth grade in 1999. The final total sample the English test was administered to comprised 2,500 students, while for French the sample comprised 440 students.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design included the development of

- FL tests aimed at measuring young learners' FL achievement;
- students' questionnaires to gather learners' background information and investigate their attitudes to the FL, their self-concept and their exposure to the FL;
- teachers' questionnaires about their professional background, their FL teaching experience and their perception of learners' FL competences.

A test on learners' meta-linguistic competences in their first language (Italian), TAM2 (Pinto, 1985; Pinto & Titone, 1989), was administered to a much smaller sample in order to ascertain the influence of FL learning on learners' L1 competence. All research instruments, except for both the learners' and teachers' questionnaires and the metalinguistic awareness tests, were piloted five months before the test administration in May 1999, on a sample of approximately 150 students in order to validate the instruments and create their final version.

The language tests

The construct of the language tests was based upon the notion of communicative competence and the descriptors of the FL objectives of the last grade of the primary school. The FL syllabi traditionally used by teachers, the mostly adopted course-books and materials in the Italian primary FL classrooms as well as the most widely used FL activities, were adopted by the working team for the English and French test development. The FL tests were organised into three main FL competence areas: aural comprehension, lexical competence and reading comprehension to be administered to the whole sample, while an oral interaction test was administered during the pilot phase to a smaller sample. Almost all tasks were either multiple-choice or matching tasks. There were minor differences between the English and the French version, the piloting of the tests helped the working team adjust each version to the two FLs.

The listening test was administered first and, after a 15 minute break, the lexical and reading tests followed. The listening test was a booklet composed by 6 tasks, for 51 items. All tasks provided pictures children could refer to. The texts were recorded by two native speakers, with long English teaching experience. The recording of each task was repeated twice, lasting less than 10 minutes. In the first listening task, *Words and pictures* (Figure 1), the children had to note down the order in which the words were said.

A.
Words and pictures

Ascolta la registrazione e scrivi sopra ogni figura il numero che indica in quale ordine le parole vengono dette.
Per aiutarti, i primi due numeri sono stati già scritti.

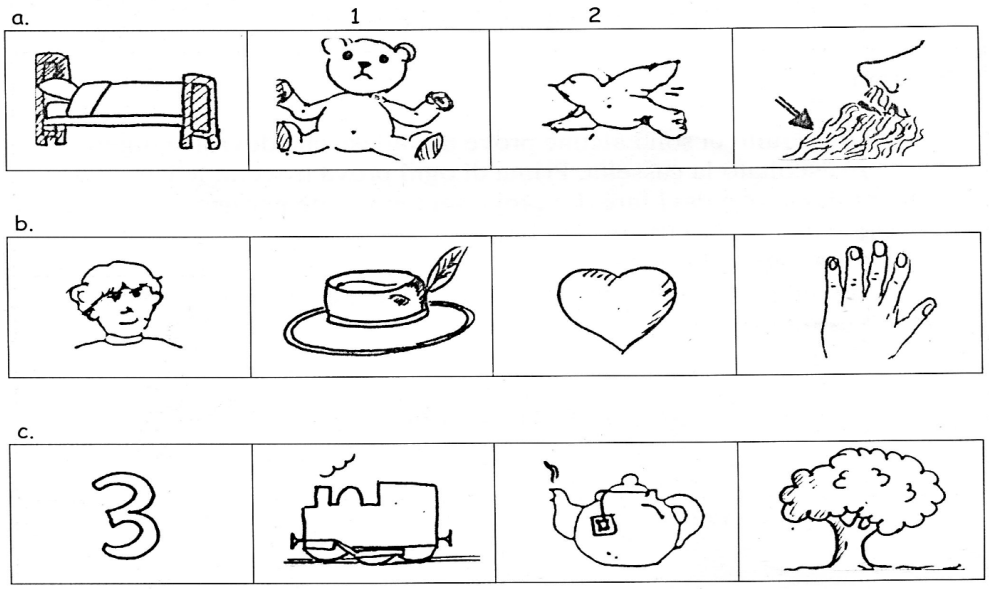


Figure 1. Words and pictures

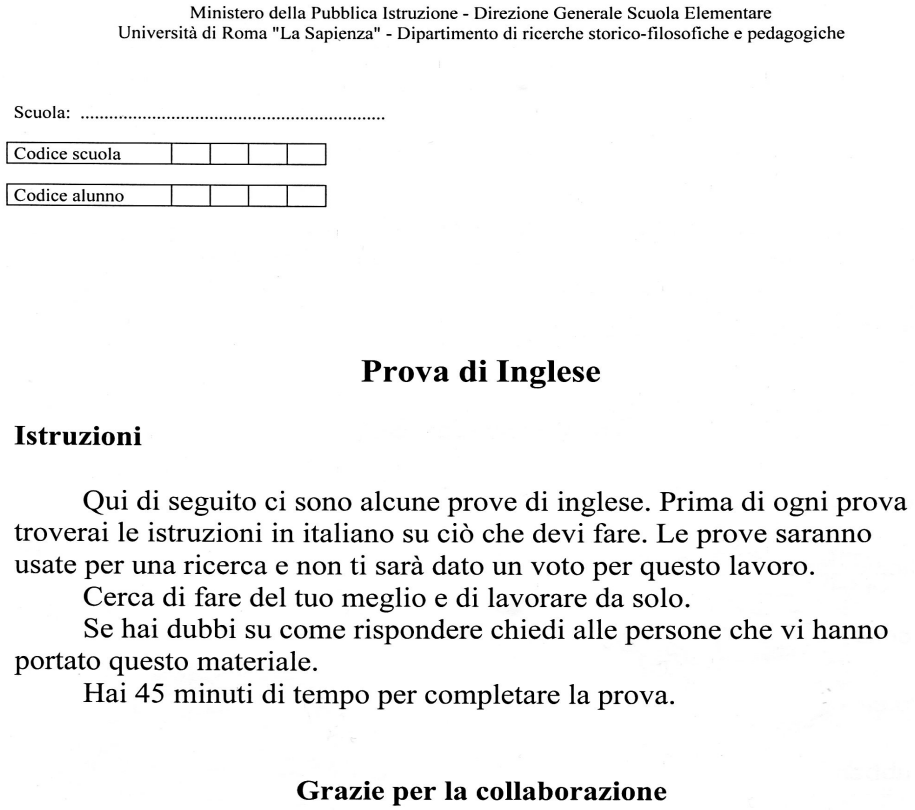
The lexical and the reading items were in the same booklet. The former (6 tasks with 25 items) came first, while the reading items (41) were subdivided into six tasks. Children had instructions in Italian on the front page of the booklet (Figure 2) and a time limit of 45 minutes was given for the completion of the 12 tasks.

The lexical tasks, based upon the areas usually covered in primary schools, were meant to elicit children's ability to identify words belonging to different semantic fields, while the reading tasks were based upon those text-types most commonly used in the FL primary classroom, and upon familiar topics (e.g., children's typical days, tales or games). The task types included multiple-choice, matching and re-ordering. (See Appendix for one of the lexical tasks where children were asked to identify the appropriate items to be inserted in a school-bag).

The questionnaires

Two questionnaires were developed, one for the students and one for the class teachers, both administered after the tests. The students' questionnaire comprised questions concerning learners' biodata, their socio-cultural family background, their attitude towards FL learning and their perception of classroom activities and materials and their self-perception of how they and their school-mates performed in

the FL. The teachers' questionnaire investigated their professional background with a specific focus on their FL level, their perception of their lessons, their learners' achievement and their use of materials and course-books, with a focus on their familiarity with and use of information technologies (IT).



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Scuola: .....

Codice scuola					

Codice alunno					

Prova di Inglese

Istruzioni

Qui di seguito ci sono alcune prove di inglese. Prima di ogni prova troverai le istruzioni in italiano su ciò che devi fare. Le prove saranno usate per una ricerca e non ti sarà dato un voto per questo lavoro.

Cerca di fare del tuo meglio e di lavorare da solo.

Se hai dubbi su come rispondere chiedi alle persone che vi hanno portato questo materiale.

Hai 45 minuti di tempo per completare la prova.

Grazie per la collaborazione

Figure 2. Lexical & Reading booklet, front cover

FINDINGS

The statistical analyses provided a detailed description of all the variables. The results of both the reading and the listening tests showed relevant differences across the geographical areas (see Table 1).

Table 1. National and geographical FL test results

Total	Lexical & Reading Tests			Listening Tests		
ENGLISH	No. stud.	Means	Stand. dev.	No. stud.	Means	Stand. dev.
North-west	539	57.40	16.99	535	42.84	11.82
North-east	511	49.51	17.67	508	39.04	12.09
Centre	474	54.65	17.96	477	39.33	12.77
South	552	43.38	15.91	550	28.31	9.98
South & Islands	368	51	19.19	366	37.82	13.17
Total (national)	2,444	51.09	18.13	2436	37.33	12.96

The listening and the comprehension tasks highly correlated (Table 2), as well as the metalinguistic awareness tests (0.5), with 0.0 statistical significance.

Table 2. Listening and reading test correlation

		English Listening	French Listening
Reading comprehension	Pearson		.519
	Sig. (2-code)	.000	.000
	N	2,431	471

** Statistical significance 0.01 (2-code)

Most variables of students' questionnaires, correlated with the FL test results, proved statistically significant and the results provided significant information and very useful insights about the learners' linguistic profile.

Learners' use of dialects or another language at home

One of the questions was about learners' home use of a dialect or of another FL besides Italian. This was meant to check whether this had a positive effect on FL learning. In the English sample, 989 children answered that they spoke either a dialect or another language at home; their results in the FL tests were significantly higher than those of other students.

Learners' attitude to FL learning

The questionnaire was also meant to explore children's attitude to studying a FL. The answers to the question (Q7) about how much they liked studying English or French highlighted a very positive attitude of students to FL study (Table 3).

Table 3. Students' questionnaire, Q7: Attitudes towards FL study

Do you like studying	English? (%)	French? (%)
Yes, a lot.	47.1	46.5
Yes.	39.1	39.0
Somehow.	9.5	8.7
Not at all.	3.7	5.3
N/A	0.5	0.4

Learners' perception of their classmates' FL preferences

The students were also asked whether they thought their classmates liked studying the FL (Q8). The answers provided showed they had a clear perception and understanding of their friends' preferences (Table 4).

Table 4. Students' questionnaire, Q8: Learners' perception of their classmates' FL preferences

Do your classmates like studying	English? (%)	French (%)
Yes, they all like it.	20.1	19.2
Yes, most of them like it.	56.8	57.4
Yes, but only a few like it.	19.9	16.2
No, nobody likes it.	1.9	4.1
N/A	1.3	3.2

Learners' perception of FL usefulness and degree of difficulty

Learners were asked about the degree of usefulness of the FL. 92.8% of English learners and 87.8% of French learners stated that they found it useful. As for their perception of the degree of difficulty of the FL, 23% of English and 19% of French

learners declared that they found FL learning difficult, but 56.2% of the English learners found it easy while 63.5% of the French learners found French easy. Most probably the higher percentage of students who found French easy might be explained with the fact that Italian and French are both Romance languages.

Learners' self-perception

Learners were asked how well they thought they were doing in their first language and in the FL. These data were then related to the results in the language tests. 44.1% of English learners and 44.6% of French learners declared they performed quite well in the FL, 27.9% of the English learners and 25.4 % of the French learners thought they were performing "more or less" like their classmates. The first group, the one that had declared they were doing quite well, had high results in the language tests getting an average score in the language test of respectively 55.6 (English) and 51.3 (French), while those who had said they were not doing well, scored significantly lower than the rest of the groups, the average score being 39.9 (English) and 39.3 (French).

FL lessons and use of information technologies

Many questions about classroom activities were similar for both students and teachers. Most answers were also quite similar, particularly the ones related to the use of the FL during the lesson. 46% of the English learners and 43.9% of the French learners said that their teachers very often used the FL when teaching. This was confirmed by the teachers' answers: 51.4 % of the English teachers and 48% of the French teachers answered that they often used the FL during their lessons. Over 40% of the learners stated that their teachers used course-books during their lessons and teachers reported that they often prepared self-made materials besides using the course-book.

Having children work in small groups during the FL lesson is mostly used in the English classes (81.9%), less so in the French classes (60%). When asked whether they promoted any sort of reflective activity during the FL lesson, teachers answered that they did, highlighting learners' reflection upon the differences between English and Italian (English teachers, 89,6%; French teachers, 84%). The majority of reflections were elicited on differences in the language word order (English 54,2%, French 32%) and on phonetic differences between Italian and the FL (English, 32,6%, French 56%).

As for the use of IT in the FL classroom, CDs or audio-recorders were used by most teachers and the data show that their learners had far better results in the language tests than those who did not use them. However, the use of computers was very limited in 1999.

Teachers' professional background

The teachers' questionnaires were administered to 169 teachers (144 English and 25 French). Over 55% of the English teachers and 72% of the French teachers had been teaching the class under investigation for the last three years. It would be reasonable to say that, as data show a highly positive correlation between teachers' teaching continuity and learners' results, the presence of the same teacher for three years accounted for the students' positive results. Another significant relationship among the learners' positive results in the FL tests, the teaching methodology and the language improvement in-service courses attended by their teachers emerged in the data. Teachers explicitly stated that both methodology and language improvement courses they had attended in two years had facilitated their professional development.

When asked about their self-perception of their FL competence, 30.6% said that they were at advanced level, 57.6% at intermediate level and 2.1% at basic level. Assessment and evaluation of young learners' FL competences were among the weaker areas. Most teachers declared they used formative assessment but without a clear framing of this information in building up learners' FL profiles, they used their assessment to complement the evaluation of young learners' general school profile.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

One of the most positive outcomes of the survey was the enormous amount of data about FL teaching and learning in the Italian primary school. The validity of the instruments allowed researchers to correlate FL quantitative elements, such as test results, with qualitative aspects emerging from the questionnaires, they helped me gain a unique perspective on FL primary teacher education, learners' self-concept, relevance of bilingualism in FL development, teaching approaches used in the classrooms, the role of out-of-school exposure and the family. The study triggered the need to use longitudinal studies to investigate young learners' FL development as well as their attitudes to and understanding of FLs and cultures. Longitudinal studies are needed because they help monitor changes that "unfold gradually (but not linearly) over time and that are long-lasting" (Lourdes Ortega- Iberri-Shea, 2005, p. 9).

A drawback was that the findings and the recommendations of the National Survey, once submitted to the Italian Ministry of Education at the end of 1999, were left unanswered and did not seem to be taken into consideration in terms of language policies, curriculum renewal and teacher education programs. One step might be that of developing measures to provide official feedback to schools, teachers and learners' families in order to have schools take direct responsibility for fostering the implementation of changes in their schools.

THE EARLY LANGUAGE LEARNING IN EUROPE (ELLIE) STUDY: THE ITALIAN COHORT

The ELLiE Project, groundbreaking in its innovative nature and scope, is a longitudinal trans-national project that involved seven European countries, and Italy was one of them. The study was innovative because of its longitudinal and mixed-method approach. It aimed to investigate the development of young FL learners, as well as to gain insights into the factors that influence both learners' perceptions of language learning and their responses in school contexts, where a limited amount of time for FL study is available (Enever, 2011).

In Italy the ELLiE study was carried out between 2006 and 2010 in a region, Latium, located in central Italy, in eight primary classes and on a cohort of 186 Italian young learners (aged 6-10) with a specific focus on the sample of 49 learners drawn from each class. In the first year, six learners had been selected from each class on the basis of the classroom teachers' indication of their level of competence: two low, two average and two high achievers. Teachers were interviewed every year and observed during lessons at least three times during the school year (Lopriore, 2012).

The research tools were presented to the Italian teachers and the year-by-year results were compared with teachers' evaluation of individual children. Children's progress in the FL and their outcomes in the FL tasks were discussed with the Italian class teachers. The exchanges the researcher regularly had with the teachers were particularly useful as they triggered the teachers' views about children's achievement in the FL and in other subject matters, providing opportunities to learn more about teachers' classroom assessment practice. Overall, the study offered a follow-up to the previous national research survey, since it allowed to further investigate areas that had not been fully explored in 1999 as, for example, children's attitudes and self-perception, children's out-of-school exposure, teachers' implementation of the national curriculum, the use of IT, particularly of computers and of interactive whiteboards almost not existent in the schools during the previous study. It did so by using questionnaires for children's attitudes, classroom observation, parents' questionnaires and principals' interviews; spoken interactive tasks were used in the last two years of the study.

The main difference between the 1999 survey and the ELLiE Italian study obviously lay in the figures of the sample (186 vs. 2,444 students), in the absence of the French classes, in the localised versus the national context, in the length of the study, and in the number, variety and refinement of the research instruments.

Between 1999 and 2007, the national education scenario changed rapidly: FLs were introduced in the primary school from the first grade, English became the only language taught in the whole territory, and new FL guidelines were produced for both primary and middle schools (2007). Social networks became widely spread among teachers and new technologies offered more sophisticated opportuni-

ties to primary teachers in their FL. Still, it is interesting to observe the thin *fil rouge* that emerges in the findings of both research studies and connects them.

Learners' self-assessment offers an insight into young learners' awareness of their learning and gives their teachers an opportunity to complete their evaluation. Self-assessment has received more and more attention in FL instruction. "In Vygotskyan terms, *self-regulated learners* are seen as exercising more control and autonomy over the process and outcome of their own learning when compared with *other-regulated learners"* (Cameron, 2001 in Butler & Lee, 2006) and self-assessment is seen as beneficial for both formative and summative purposes (Oskarson, 1989).

Both studies provided room for investigating whether learners were capable of assessing their own (and their classmates') competence in the FL. The information gathered was a unique opportunity to explore learners' perspectives and to open up to further research. In the 1999 survey, children were only asked to express their perception of their own and their mates' competence; in the ELLiE project, another aspect was added, as children were asked to provide examples of specific indicators of their competence. Children were able to report accurate information about their own and their mates' performance indicators.

One aspect researched in both studies was young learners' attitudes towards FL study. In 1999 almost all children stated that they liked it, whereas in the ELLiE study children were interviewed every year and the answers of the Italian cohort showed how their positive attitude was stronger at the beginning – 1st and 2nd grade – but started fading in the last year, probably due to the introduction of new subject matters (history, maths) that engaged children more than English. In some cases they responded saying that they still liked studying English but they would have liked to change the approach since they found some of the activities "childish". Children have a clear perception of how they are cognitively developing and they demand teachers to account for this (Lopriore & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2011).

CONCLUSION

Both studies have proved invaluable magnifying glasses to discover the reality of innovations, otherwise invisible to stakeholders, but also extraordinary tools to collect data about early language learning processes. The first study was more of a snapshot of what the situation was like in Italy after the official introduction of FL teaching in the primary school curriculum, it framed a context and portrayed advantages and limits of the innovation. In contrast, the second study grew out of its own design; it had the advantage of a timeline where researchers could not only observe changes in learning, but where researchers can look back on previous years in order to plan.

These types of research studies can be the starting point for innovations in curriculum development and in teacher education, since they offer different ways to

discuss and set future plans. All of this, however, is not much use in countries whose institutions in charge of the innovations simply ignore research results and proceed implementing innovations without resorting to research recommendations. One way for research to achieve its goals is to reach out to teachers, the principals and the families involved, and to set up communities of practice locally to spread research results, and trigger and implement effective changes.

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APPENDIX: LEXICAL TASK "IN MY SCHOOL-BAG"

Scopri gli intrusi

Mark ha preparato una lista di cose da mettere nella cartella per andare a scuola, ma ci ha messo qualcosa di troppo.... . Leggi attentamente l'elenco di oggetti scritti qui sotto e scopri i due oggetti che non possono entrare nella cartella di Mark, segnandoli con una crocetta.

"In My School-Bag"

a) Pencil-case

b) Blackboard

c) Books

d) Ruler

e) Rubber

f) Scissors

g) Pens

h) Chair

i) Glue

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

EXPLORING ENGLISH MAJORS' PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR DEVELOPMENT IN AN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COURSE

Zsófia Menyhei

INTRODUCTION

This study examines students' views about their own development in an *Introduction to Intercultural Communication* seminar offered in an English studies program at a Hungarian university. The aim of the seminar was to develop the participating English majors' intercultural communicative competence (ICC) as defined by Byram (1997). Based on the findings of a previous, exploratory study (Menyhei, 2011), and also given that ICC is a highly complex ability construct, the educational approach that was considered most appropriate for this endeavour was that grounded in social constructivist learning theory. This meant, among others, that the seminar aimed to relate students' in-school learning to their out-of-school experiences, and encouraged learner dialogue, learner autonomy, investigating and critical thinking. As part of a larger study exploring the appropriateness of the course design on the one hand and students' ICC development paths in the semester on the other, the study offers insights into what students think happened during this time in terms of their development.

INTERCULTURALITY IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Since the intercultural communication (IC) seminar was designed as part of a BA in English studies curriculum, it was greatly influenced by current trends in applied linguistics and foreign language (FL) education in Europe. Firstly, the discipline of applied linguistics has come to include interculturality as an area of study due to worldwide changes that are best expressed in the words *globalization* and *internationalization* (Byram & Feng, 2005), while it has witnessed a shift in its focus to real-world language problems (Grabe, 2010). This means that greater emphasis is now laid on social, cultural and political aspects of language (Duff, 2010, p. 53). Secondly, the field of FL education has been marked by a focus on *communicative competence* since its adoption of the term originally introduced by Hymes (1972). This is clearly demonstrated in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (*CEFR*), which defines learners' FL abilities in terms of general and communicative language competences, where the latter comprises linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic competences (Council of Europe, 2001, pp. 101-130).

At the same time, there is a recognition that FL knowledge has an intercultural dimension as well, as also evidenced by the *CEFR*, which lists intercultural awareness and intercultural skills and know-how under the general competences to be attained by learners (Council of Europe, 2001, pp. 103-105). This appears to be a necessary addition to the concept of communicative competence, as there is an understanding that in the global era the negotiation of meaning can be an extremely complex process: learners are now likely to encounter not only people with a set of beliefs, values, ideologies and behaviours very different from their own, but also multilingual-multicultural individuals, who may hold a variety of beliefs, values and ideologies (Kramsch, 2006). In such situations, being merely communicatively competent in the FL, as in knowing how to get one's message across accurately and appropriately, would mean being ill-equipped for fruitful cooperation. It is also necessary to possess the means of analysing a range of social and cultural processes and to have a critical understanding of our own, as well as other cultures and societies (Byram, 1997). This is how we arrive at Byram's (1997) conceptualization of ICC, which served as the basis for the aims of the examined IC seminar.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

In using the term *intercultural communicative competence* (ICC) for his model, Byram (1997, p. 3) "deliberately maintains a link with recent traditions in foreign language teaching, but expands the concept of 'communicative competence' in significant ways". In this framework the ideal of the native speaker for FL learners is replaced

with that of the intercultural speaker, who is communicatively competent and at the same time has certain attitudes, knowledge, skills and critical cultural awareness, all of which contribute to him or her being a critically reflective citizen of the world, competent in any situation involving intercultural contact. Figure 1 offers an outline of these dimensions of the ICC model, together with what they represent.

In what ways can such a complex construct be developed in a formal educational setting? We can distinguish three broadly defined approaches, namely (1) the facts-oriented approach, (2) the critical approach and (3) the ethnographic approach (Byram & Feng, 2005). According to Byram and Feng (2005, p. 917), in what critics call the facts-oriented approach to ICC development "culture is basically viewed as civilization, the "big C" culture, as well as everyday lives, the "small c" culture. In my understanding, what sets this perspective apart from others is that its main aim is to provide specific information about the customs, attitudes, values and communicative behaviour of people in a given country, thus arriving at a comparative view of nation-states based on cultural differences. The critical approach, on the other hand, "attempts to deal explicitly and critically with the social, political, and ideological aspects in language" and, for our purposes, intercultural contact (Byram & Feng, 2005, p. 916). It is in line with Byram's (1997, p. 33) concept of ICC: this is clearly integrated in a philosophy of political education, which is most relevant in relation to the critical cultural awareness dimension of the model. Finally, the ethnographic perspective lays emphasis on the development of such skills as observing, interviewing, analysing, interpreting, and reporting (Byram & Feng, 2005), which are undoubtedly central to the framework.

Byram and Feng (2005) point out that the facts-oriented approach has been vastly criticized for its reductionist perspective, which is seen as leading to the reinforcement of stereotypes. We may argue, however, that the knowledge of cultural facts is an important starting point from which a critical non-essentialist view can subsequently be attained, especially in contexts where learners do not have as many opportunities to be exposed to otherness. The conclusion can therefore be drawn that an IC course taking Byram's (1997) framework as its basis should strive to systematically incorporate all three approaches in its design, as they all have something different to offer in terms of developing students' ICC. The examined *Introduction to Intercultural Communication* seminar aimed to do exactly that by drawing on social constructivist learning theory, which was seen as corresponding greatly to the three approaches. The seminar was therefore characterised by the following: (1) learner dialogue and collaboration (2) learner autonomy, (3) in-school learning linked to out-of-school experiences, (4) critical thinking, reflection, questioning and investigating. The study aims to reveal students' perspectives on the outcomes of these classroom practices.

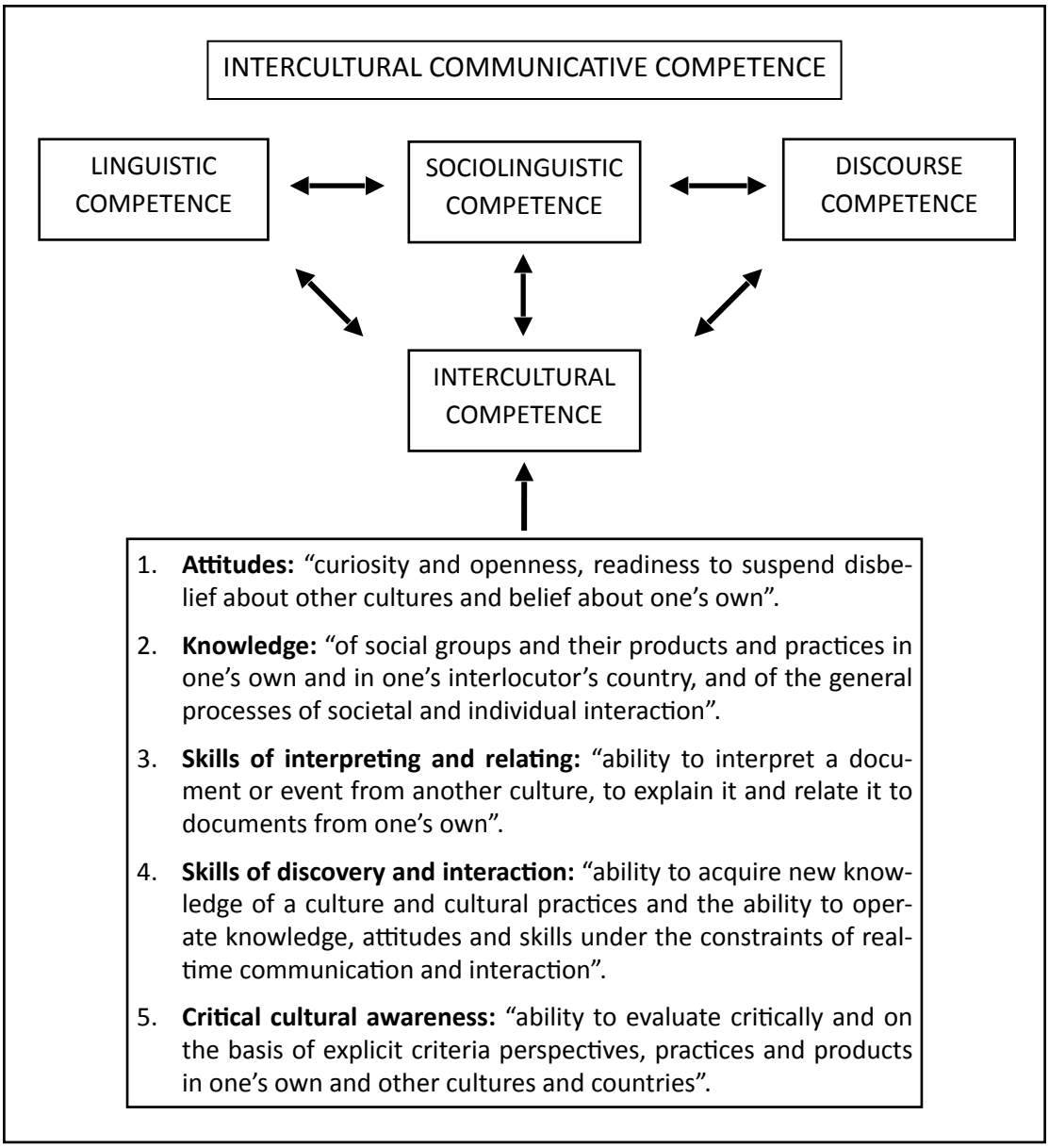

Figure 1. Byram's ICC model. Adapted from *Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence* (pp. 50-53, p. 73), by M. S. Byram, 1997, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. Copyright 1997 Michael Byram. Adapted with permission.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The study is part of the second phase of the larger study. Whereas in the first phase I explored how IC is taught in the BA in English Studies programme at this Hungarian university and enquired into teachers' and students' attitude toward the IC courses, in the second phase I carried out research in my own classroom. Here I was interested in finding out (1) the ways in which students' ICC developed during the semester-long IC seminar, as well as (2) the ways in which the social constructivist approach was appropriate in this context. In collecting data in the second phase I used multiple sources, such as a background questionnaire, students' portfolios, an end-of-term questionnaire and a follow-up focus-group interview with four students. The findings offered here have been drawn from these two latter data sources, and this study is, in a way, an attempt at exploring students' own answers to the first research question in Phase Two of the larger study. For an overview of the phases of the research, together with the data sources and methods of analysis for each research question, see Table 1.

Table 1. Phases of the larger study

	Research questions	Data sources	Methods of analysis
PHASE 1 Exploratory study (2010/2011) 3 teacher participants 16 student participants	(RQ1) How is IC taught in the BA in English Studies programme at this Hungarian university? (What topics, materials, activities and forms of assessment are used?)	Semi-structured interview with each of the three teachers	Qualitative content analysis
	(RQ2) What is teachers' attitude like toward the IC courses? What benefits and difficulties do they perceive in relation to the courses?	Questionnaire filled in by students	Qualitative content analysis, Descriptive statistics
	(RQ3) What is students' attitude like toward the IC courses? What benefits and difficulties do they perceive in relation to the courses?		
	(RQ4) Which topics and activities do students enjoy the most and the least?		

PHASE 2 Classroom study (2011/2012) 16 student participants	(RQ1) In what ways did the students' ICC develop during the semester-long IC seminar?	Background questionnaire, Students' portfolios	Qualitative content analysis
	(RQ2) In what ways is a social constructivist approach to developing students' ICC appropriate in the students' view in the context of the BA in English Studies programme at this Hungarian university?	Questionnaire on students' views about their development and the seminar, Follow-up focus-group interview with 4 students	Qualitative content analysis, Descriptive statistics

THE STUDY

The research question

I expected to find answers to the following research question: According to the students, in what ways did their ICC develop during the semester-long IC seminar?

Participants

Sixteen BA students of English Studies participated in the study (twelve female, four male students), all of whom were enrolled on the seminar. Of the sixteen participants eleven were Hungarian and five were Erasmus students from Latvia, Poland and Spain. Four students also volunteered to participate in the focus-group interview (two Hungarian, two Latvian – three female, one male).

Most students claimed they spoke two or three FLs, with German being the runner-up after English among the FLs spoken by the participants. They typically started learning English before the age of 10, and in a classroom environment, although 6 students learnt it in both a classroom and a natural environment. On a scale of 1-5, with 1 being the lowest and 5 the highest, the majority rated their English proficiency at 4, others at 3 or above. Also, whereas the majority indicated that the longest time they had spent abroad was two weeks or less, there were four students in the group who had spent three months or more in other countries.

Data collection methods

The data for this phase of the larger study were collected with the help of a questionnaire and a follow-up focus-group interview. The questionnaire was filled in by all sixteen students in the final lesson of the term and was anonymous. The questionnaire was administered in the lesson for reasons of feasibility, yet this may raise

ethical concerns as to whether the students felt their participation was obligatory. This issue was addressed by (1) informing them about the aims of the investigation, and (2) ensuring that the students were fully aware that participation was voluntary and that it was their basic right to withdraw with no penalty. The follow-up interview was then conducted a month later via Skype with four volunteering participants from the group.

The aim of the questionnaire was to discover students' perspectives on two matters that are central to the larger study, namely their development and the course design. The three open-ended items therefore asked participants to write about the reasons why they liked and disliked the course, and to determine which in-class activity or home assignment was most useful for them and why. The three closed-ended items on the other hand were included to gather information, with the help of a 4-point Likert-type scale, on the extent to which students enjoyed the activities, assignments and topics in the course. As a follow-up, the focus group interview was conducted so as to gain a deeper insight into some of the most important themes that were discerned during the analysis of the questionnaire data. The interview questions can be found in the Appendix. Please note, however, that as the focus of this paper does not include the investigation of the course itself, only the data from students' responses to the open-ended items are considered here. (For a discussion of students' attitude toward the course in general and its social constructivist approach in particular, see Menyhei, 2013.)

FINDINGS

Since the aim of the IC course was to develop students' ICC as defined by Byram (1997), with special attention paid to the intercultural element of the construct, their comments given in the end-of-term questionnaire and the focus-group interview were also analysed with this model in mind. In this section I therefore present the findings in a way that I set students' comments against the descriptors of the intercultural dimensions offered in the framework, namely those related to (1) *attitudes*, (2) *knowledge*, (3) *skills of interpreting and relating* (considered here together with *critical cultural awareness*, for reasons outlined in the Discussion section below) and (4) *skills of discovery and interaction*. In addition to changes in the intercultural dimension of the construct, some of the participants' self-evaluative reflections point to some kind of a shift in the *communicative aspects* of their ICC, which is included as a fifth point of discussion. Please note that the comments representing either a lack of development in students' view or a change in their ICC that does not correspond to the objectives proposed by Byram (1997) are shown in blue.

As the questionnaire was filled in anonymously, the data gained with the help of this instrument were numbered and are presented as quotations from student one (S1), student two (S2), and so on. Comments from the focus-group interview participants on the other hand are discussed with the use of pseudonyms.

Attitudes

Let us first consider the dimension of Attitudes. In setting the objectives for the intercultural speaker in relation to this dimension, Byram (1997, pp. 57-58) includes the following:

- willingness to seek out or take up opportunities to engage with otherness in a relationship of equality, distinct from seeking out the exotic or the profitable;
- interest in discovering other perspectives on interpretation of familiar and unfamiliar phenomena both in one's own and in other cultures and cultural practices;
- willingness to question the values and presuppositions in cultural practices and products in one's own environment.

Evidence in students' development toward these objectives can be found in some of their comments:

> S6: It made me more carefully in looking at cultures, people from other cultures. And I felt that it can really harm somebody, if you know and believe in one single story.
> S9: I could use everything that I have learned in my personal stories, by my personal experiences. […] And I could analysed my stories and think about them in an other way […] I liked the homeworks because they made me rethink many things.
> S11: I think there are several useful thoughts and information in this video and I often think about it, when I have only a 'single story' about somebody/something.
> David: It made me change my attitude a bit, so after gaining some knowledge of how stereotypes work and how people should relate to each other I realized that in my own way, without even knowing, I was stereotyping some people and acting like a stereotype myself. So it broadened my mind a bit. So I'm a bit more, I don't know, diplomatic, or a bit more tolerant.

Knowledge

The general description of objectives in this dimension in Byram (1997, p. 58) is: "Knowledge: of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction."

Students' comments showing change in this respect are:

S7: I found out a lots of information about other countries.
S8: The interview was really useful. I might not find a lot of differences but I really find interesting differences. It was also intercultural communication to understand the other culture.
S13: We have learnt a lot from it not just about her and her country but also about ourselves and how much more we need to learn about Intercultural Communication.
S15: I got to know a lot about the interviewee's culture and habits.
David: […] when we have to choose a country and its culture and look it up on a site […] and I was like… I knew Japan, so I'm going to choose Japan, they can't throw anything new to me, and I was surprised that I just knew a moderate knowledge of Japanese culture. So that topic, I think it was a real big header for me. I think most students would get a bit surprised that they know so little when they think they know so much.

Skills of interpreting and relating/critical cultural awareness

Two of the objectives in the 'skills of interpreting and relating' dimension in Byram (1997, p. 61) are defined as:

- ability to identify ethnocentric perspectives in a document or event and explain their origins: The intercultural speaker: can "read" a document or event, analysing its origins/sources – e.g., in the media, in political speech or historical writing – and the meanings and values which arise from a national or ethnocentric perspective;
- ability to identify areas of misunderstanding and dysfunction in an interaction and explain them in terms of each of the cultural systems present

At the same time, two of the objectives for the intercultural speaker in the critical cultural awareness dimension in Byram (1997, pp. 63-64) are:

- ability to identify and interpret explicit or implicit values in documents and events in one's own and other cultures: The intercultural speaker: can use a range of analytical approaches to place a document or event in context […] and to demonstrate the ideology involved.
- ability to make an evaluative analysis of the documents and events which refers to an explicit perspective and criteria: The intercultural speaker is aware of their own ideological perspectives and values (human rights; socialist, liberal, Moslem, Christian, etc.) and evaluates documents or events with explicit reference to them.

The following comments are indicative of a shift in either one, or both of these dimensions:

S2: I realized I should view happenings in the world from an own perspective instead of just reading the news.
S13: This way we really could see the conflict and it was easier to decide what were the problems.
S14: It is a very sensitive topic in Hungary, and some people were saying some things that were not really true. In class, we went deeper and we proved why those things were not true. What is useful here is that people now (me included) will think before talking. Just to think it's a good achievement.
Linda: This sheet teach us to be more conscious and reflect on ourselves, and it's a good part.

Skills of discovery and interaction

The general description of objectives in this dimension in Byram (1997, p. 61) is: "ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction." Students' comments signalling change (or lack thereof) in this dimension are:

S3: The audio assignment where we had to talk with each other and the interview with a foreigner because these improved our skills.
S8: For me it's important to know how to behave or how to understand other people, from different cultures. This class gave me opportunity to learn more about it.
S12: It was good to learn about […] how to approach a future encounter with someone from a different culture.
Anna: *When I interviewed that Iran guy there was a lot of things which was hard to understand for me – but I should make that kind of attitude that it's OK for me, or: okay, I'm interested, I'm listening, and I don't say any bad thing about what he is doing, or… with his wife or something. That I should improve this communication with foreigners…*
David: *It's true that we could see what is the problem, and we could easily decide what could be solved like that, but in that situation we would be still dead dumb I think […] I would make the same mistakes I think.*

Communicative aspects

In reformulating van Ek's (1986) concepts found in his framework for comprehensive FL learning objectives, Byram (1997, p. 48) defines the communicative part of his model as including three competences: linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competence. Although we cannot be absolutely sure which of these are referred to

in students' comments below, it is nonetheless important to see that a shift in this aspect of the participants' ICC was also mentioned by some:

> S5: In this course I could really improve my English language skills (of course, in the beginning it was quite hard for me, but now it's better).
> S13: We had the opportunity to talk and improve our talking skills.
> Anna: First thing is English skills… for me first it was quite hard to understand, but afterwards in the endings I think it was really good and I felt that I get better, and one part of it was this course which helped me.
> Eva: For me it was useful because my communication skills are now better than before.

DISCUSSION

The findings reveal several interesting patterns that are worthy of discussion. Firstly, it is clear that, according to the majority of the participants, there has indeed been some kind of development in their ICC during the semester as a result of the seminar. Of course, based on these comments alone we cannot draw definitive conclusions about the extent to which the course has reached its aims; neither do we have a profound understanding of the ICC development paths of individual students – these issues will be explored in a future study.

The lack of deeper insight into students' individual ICC trajectories at this stage of the larger study leads us to the second point: two dimensions of the intercultural aspect of ICC, the skills of interpreting and relating and critical cultural awareness, were considered together. This too is due to the fact that based on the participants' comments alone we cannot determine whether students searching for their "own perspective" (S2), going "deeper" (S14), or learning how to "be more conscious and reflect on ourselves" (Linda) is indicative of one, the other, or both of the dimensions in question.

What is certainly apparent, however, is that some form of intercultural learning has taken place. For some students, like S13 and David, this has meant simply realizing how much more there is to explore about ourselves and others:

> S13: We have learnt a lot from it not just about her and her country but also about ourselves and how much more we need to learn about Intercultural Communication.
> David: […] I was surprised that I just knew a moderate knowledge of Japanese culture. So that topic, I think it was a real big header for me. I think most students would get a bit surprised that they know so little when they think they know so much.

For others, like S9, S11 and S14, intercultural learning has occurred in the form of a deeper, perhaps critical reflection, which will continue to have an enduring effect, as made explicit in some cases:

> S9: […] they made me rethink many things.
> S11: […] I often think about it, when I have only a "single story" about somebody/something.
> S14: […] What is useful here is that people now (me included) will think before talking.

At the same time, as has been pointed out earlier, some of the findings indicate a lack of development in certain dimensions of students' ICC, or illustrate a shift that is not necessarily in line with the objectives outlined by Byram (1997). Interestingly, and again, based solely on the data gathered in this phase of the larger study, this "lack of development" surfaces in relation to one of the dimensions in particular: the skills of discovery and interaction. Consider the italicised comments from the Findings section once more:

> Anna: *When I interviewed that Iran guy there was a lot of things which was hard to understand for me – but I should make that kind of attitude that it's OK for me, or: okay, I'm interested, I'm listening, and I don't say any bad thing about what he is doing, or… with his wife or something. That I should improve this communication with foreigners…*
> David: *It's true that we could see what is the problem, and we could easily decide what could be solved like that, but in that situation we would be still dead dumb I think […] I would make the same mistakes I think.*

We can see that Anna expresses uncertainty about the ways of discovering new knowledge in relation to aspects of the other culture that are "hard to understand", whereas David feels he lacks the tools to act and communicate appropriately in an intercultural situation that involves a misunderstanding or conflict. These two comments therefore clearly reveal the need for further development in terms of the students' skills of discovery and interaction, that is, in Anna's case, her "ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices", and in David's case, his "ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction" (Byram, 1997, p. 61).

CONCLUSION

The study aimed to discover students' perspectives about their own ICC development in a semester-long *Introduction to Intercultural Communication* seminar. As we have seen, most participants talk about their intercultural learning positively; whereas some mention becoming more tolerant, self-reflective or conscious by having experienced surprise or certain realizations during the term, others refer to the abundance of cultural facts they have learnt, and still others express they have become more competent communicators in the FL. However, there is also evidence that some aspects of ICC did not develop as much as others, which is perhaps unsurprising, given the fact that the construct is highly complex while the time frame for its development was relatively short.

It is undoubtedly true that insider perspective can offer great insight into any learning process, yet it is also clear that there is a need for further research in order to get a better grasp of the participants' individual ICC development paths and the appropriateness of the course design. These are subject matters for an upcoming study which will involve the analysis of students' portfolios compiled for the same seminar.

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APPENDIX

1. In our final lesson I asked all students to fill out a feedback sheet about the seminar. On the feedback sheet some students said that they liked that the course is useful.
   Is this true of you? Why/why not?
2. Some students said that they didn't like learning about the theories and models.
   Is this true of you? Why/why not?
3. Some students said that they liked the home assignments, whereas others had problems with them.
   Which is true of you and why?
4. One student said that the most useful home assignment for him/her was: *"the audio assignment where we had to talk with each other and the interview with a foreigner because these improved our skills"*.
   Do you agree with this student? Why/why not?
5. Another student said that the most useful home assignment for him/her was: *"my intercultural encounters because I could use everything that I have learned in my personal stories […] And I could analysed my stories and think about them in an other way"*.
   Do you agree with this student? Why/why not?
6. Do you think that topics that are more concrete and can be connected to personal experience are more enjoyable? Why/why not? Can you give an example?
7. One student said that the most useful in-class activity for him/her was: *"the videos we have watched about the weddings because this way we really could see the conflict and it was easier to decide what were the problems"*.
   Do you agree with this student? Why/why not?
8. Another student said that the most useful in-class activity for him/her was: *"the day we talk about gypsys in Hungary […] What is useful here is that people now (me included) will think before talking."*
   Do you agree with this student? Why/why not?
9. Apart from the issues we have already discussed, what other topics do you find important?

CULTURAL DIMENSIONS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Dorottya Holló

CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

The main aim of learning foreign languages is to develop the necessary skills for successful communication with people from different language and cultural backgrounds. This means the acquisition of communicative competence in the target language. However, good language proficiency in itself does not ensure good communicative competence or successful communication. Misunderstandings in intercultural communication often occur despite the best intentions of the participants and may cause difficulties in maintaining communication. No wonder Damen (1987) views cultural competence as the fifth skill that must be accorded its rightful place in teaching beside the four traditional skills, i.e., listening, speaking, reading and writing, and thus she refers to culture as the "fifth dimension in the language class". Describing culture and cultural dimensions in the context of intercultural communication, this paper concludes that these should be included as content in foreign language education.

To start with, *culture* needs to be defined in relation to intercultural communication. Summarizing key concepts from earlier definitions of a wider scope (e.g., Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; Damen, 1987; Banks & McGee-Banks, 1989; Hofstede, 1994; Spencer-Oatey, 2000; CARLA, n.d.), culture in the context of intercultural communication can be understood as the shared values and patterns of behaviour and interactions, as well as cognitive and affective concepts that are learned in the process of socialization generation after generation. Because of the

way they are learnt, these shared values and patterns create cohesion among the members of a particular community, and may also be responsible for differences between groups. The groups may represent different levels of culture: national, ethnic, regional, professional, organisational, social, age- or gender related.

Misunderstandings in intercultural communication often occur due to cultural differences, which can be very hard to capture. This may be the result of the lack of cultural and language awareness, factual knowledge or the capacity to adjust to new situations on the part of the participants of the communication event. On the other hand, culture is a collection of highly evasive elements: although times change and culture changes with them, different elements of culture change at different rates. Hence it can be difficult to identify cultural differences based on (possibly outdated) earlier knowledge. Also, culture is similar to an iceberg (Brembeck, 1977) in that only a small portion of it is visible and most of it is hidden. This means that a good understanding of the general cultural background is necessary. Finally, while culture creates cohesion between the members of a community, meaning that they share characteristics of their culture, individual differences occur frequently and not every member displays the characteristics to the same extent. This then requires communicators to be able to differentiate between individual and group behaviours.

CULTURAL DIMENSIONS – THE BACKGROUND

Cultural dimensions are facets of culture that can be used to capture the similarities and differences between common values and practices in different cultures. These dimensions reflect "typical" behaviour in certain situations or "typical" value judgments in a given community. The term is usually associated with Hofstede whose questionnaire research between 1967 and 1973 in 72 countries, reaching 117 thousand respondents from branches of IBM was groundbreaking in mapping what he terms as national patterns of basic values and situational attitudes (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004). Statistical analyses that the data was subjected to resulted in numerical scores for each country in each dimension. These are described in the next section. Trompenaars (1995) also used quantifiable questionnaires in over 100 countries, as did the GLOBE project (House et al., 2004), the World Values Survey (Inglehart, 2008) and a number of other projects. Hofstede et al. (2010) claim that the findings of these surveys correlate and thus reinforce the existence of most cultural dimensions identified in the studies.

No research is perfect, and the surveys, particularly the work of Hofstede, attracted much disapproval. Among others, McSweeney (2002), Fougère & Moulettes (2006), Javidan et al. (2006), Jones (2007) and Macfadyen (2011) criticised the methods of data collection and analysis, the limited scope of the questionnaires and their insufficient construct validity, as well as the social homogeneity of the participants. Disagreement has also been expressed because the studies

make national culture appear as a static entity that does not respond to the changes of time or socio-economic tendencies. However, not much is said about the dangers of describing nations in terms of numerical scores for each dimension. Despite the authors' intentions, the scores can act as labels, and can easily lead to forming stereotypes, attribution and thus prejudices (Allport 1954; Aronson 1972). Novice researchers may (and sometimes do) interpret the numerical scores as absolute values. People wanting to use these numerical values to help them understand the everyday or business disposition in different countries can also fall into the trap of attributing meanings to the scores. Thus these scores may be responsible for disrupting intercultural communication. That is why studies that use a qualitative and interpretative methodology (e.g., Hall 1966, 1976; Triandis 1994) describing cultural dimensions verbally in a reflective manner can be used more accurately both by the general public and researchers. Hofstede (n.d.) himself underlines the relative nature of the scores on his website:

> Dimension scores are relative
> The country scores on these dimensions are relative – societies are compared to other societies. These relative scores have been proven to be quite stable over decades. The forces that cause cultures to shift tend to be global or continent-wide – they affect many countries at the same time, so that if their cultures shift, they shift together, and their relative positions remain the same.
> (http://geerthofstede.com/dimensions-of-national-cultures)

He adds that

> Dimensions cannot tell what will happen
> […] Applying [the dimensions] to make sense of what happens in the world always has to take into account other factors as well as culture – notably national wealth, history, personalities, and coincidences. There is no quick fix to understand social life after taking a dose of Hofstede. But the dimensions, when well understood, do allow to predict a little better what is likely to happen.
> (http://www.geerthofstede.com/research--vsm)

Yet, these warnings are not enough to prevent the misinterpretations of the scores, which are easy to misuse. Detailed verbal descriptions would definitely be necessary to complement them.

Despite the criticisms expressed in connection with the above studies, it must be emphasised that Hofestede's findings have stood the test of time, and have served the purpose of intercultural understanding. The concept of cultural dimensions should therefore be part of both general and more particularly foreign language education. In the following sections some cultural dimensions are described to illustrate their importance.

CULTURAL DIMENSIONS – AN OVERVIEW

Cultural dimensions characterise how people behave or think in various social situations. As behaviour and thinking are closely related to value judgments, people from different cultural backgrounds may easily be judgmental about one another, which can lead to misunderstandings and even conflicts between the participants of a communication event. Becoming aware of and learning to understand cultural dimensions are therefore important processes in promoting intercultural understanding and acceptance.

Not all the items discussed below were conceived as cultural dimensions, but they describe different types of thinking, behaviour and value judgments, and therefore suit the criteria of cultural dimensions. The descriptions are followed by examples of countries cited in the original research as characterised by the various dimensions. It is immensely important to remember that these examples only indicate tendencies, as the extent to which national cultures differ from each other along the dimensions is relative and the differences only make sense in comparison. For instance, France is often thought of as a country with large power distance (i.e., a country with strict social hierarchy). It was awarded a score of 68 by Hofstede (n.d.), yet this score means nothing in itself. A comparison with Sweden, with a score of 31, confirms the stereotypical image of France as a country with large power distance and Sweden as one with small power distance. However, in comparison with Russia (scoring 93) or Malaysia (scoring 104) France comes out as a country with much lower power distance, much more relaxed social hierarchy. Comparisons can go two ways, which underlines the relative nature of cultural dimensions. Individual differences of people and organisations must also be noted. For example, two companies of approximately the same size, located in the same region, dealing with the same type of business might adopt completely different attitudes.

Pooling the findings of earlier research into thematic categories can help gain an insight into the complexities of cultural dimensions. The following categories seem to be practical:

- Dimensions relating to oneself and other people
- Dimensions relating to general disposition and situations
- Dimensions relating to time
- Dimensions relating to communication

Dimensions relating to oneself and other people

- Small power distance – Large power distance (Hofstede, 1994)

Power distance refers to the degree of hierarchy and dependence in a society. In *small power distance cultures* people resolve problems by consultation and discussion, and life is generally more democratic. In *large power distance countries* many aspects of life are based on dependence, respect and deference, and problems are not discussed but orders are given to solve them. These societies, groups or institutions are generally more paternalistic and autocratic.

Small power distance cultures: Scandinavia, New Zealand, Australia, Ireland, Switzerland
Large power distance cultures: South America, France, Singapore, Hong Kong

- Individualist – Collectivist (Hofstede, 1994)

In *individualist cultures* the interests of the individuals are asserted above those of a group. Personal achievement is encouraged. Individual autonomy, privacy and competition are emphasised. These cultures have been referred to as "I" cultures. In *collectivist cultures*, sometimes referred to as "we" cultures, the members consider the group's interest above their own. The harmony of the group and personal relationships are of primary importance as are co-operation, interdependence, a sense of belonging and sharing.

Individualist cultures: English-speaking countries, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, The Netherlands, Hungary
Collectivist cultures: Venezuela, Colombia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Peru, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand, Chile, China

This dimension illustrates well how relative these characteristics are: depending on the context the exact opposite attitudes can be found within one culture. For example, people in the US are individualists when it comes to achievements, but they are collectivists in times of need.

- Masculine – Feminine (Hofstede, 1994)

In *masculine cultures* gender roles are kept apart: Men must be strong, ambitious, competitive, assertive, and strive for material success. Women are supposed to be compassionate, considerate, modest and good carers. Men and women fill distinctively different positions at work; there are considerably fewer women than men in technical and leading jobs, and they have a very clearly defined function at home, too. In masculine cultures masculine values are desired over feminine ones. In *fem-*

inine cultures gender roles overlap. Men and women are supposed to show both "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics. The division of labour between men and women in the workplace and at home is less predetermined. Feminine cultures value the quality of life, interpersonal relationships, and show compassion and concern for the needy.

Masculine cultures: Japan, Austria, Venezuela, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland, Great Britain, The USA, Germany, Hungary
Feminine cultures: Scandinavia, The Netherlands, Chile, Portugal, Thailand, Spain, Israel

- Specific – Diffuse (Trompenaars, 1995)

In *specific cultures* people keep their professional and public life separate from their private life. This is reflected in their attitudes at work, where they only deal with their specific tasks, keep to the point and do not invoke personal factors. People in specific cultures compartmentalize life, and do one thing at a time. Communication is more direct. In *diffuse cultures* the whole person is involved in one's professional life. Personal relationships are very important at work or in business. People tend to be more complex in their attitudes, and they do several things at the same time. They may feel threatened by direct questions or criticism.

Specific cultures: most of Europe, North America and Australia
Diffuse cultures: South America, Asia and Africa

- Achievement oriented – Ascription oriented (Trompenaars, 1995)

In *achievement oriented cultures* status is accorded to people on the basis of what they have done or what they have achieved. In *ascription oriented cultures* status depends on who one is, i.e., what their social or family background is and what values people attribute to them. Ascription may be different in different situations. It can reflect one's age, gender, social or family connections, financial situation, education, profession, etc. For example, in ascription oriented cultures senior positions are usually filled by people of a certain age and many leaders come from "good" families, while in achievement oriented cultures good qualifications and ability are of the highest order in the selection process.

Achievement oriented cultures: English-speaking countries, Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, The Netherlands
Ascription oriented countries: France, Japan, Spain, Greece, Singapore, India, Indonesia

Dimensions relating to general disposition and situations

- Universalist – Particularist (Trompenaars, 1995)

In *universalist cultures* people define right and wrong along generally accepted standards. These are abstract ethical standards, and the rules and codes always apply to everybody. In *particularist cultures* people attribute more importance to personal obligations and particular circumstances. Exceptions to general rules apply. The degree to which a country is universalist or particularist varies depending on the context of the issue. In a strongly universalist country private matters may still be approached in a more particularist way than legal or business matters.

Universalist cultures: English-speaking countries, Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, The Netherlands
Particularist cultures: France, Japan, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Singapore, India, Indonesia, Thailand

- Tight – Loose (Triandis, 1994, 2004)

Related to the dimension of uncertainty avoidance (see below), this dyad refers to the way norms regulate life and the way people relate to them. In *tight cultures* there are many rules, norms and standards for correct behaviour, even for trivialities, such as clothing or daily routines. When people break a norm they are likely to be criticized or punished. Tightness requires agreement about norms. This is more likely in isolated and homogeneous communities not influenced by other cultures. Tightness helps smooth interaction particularly in places with high population density. In these cultures people appreciate a framework for expected behaviour and get frustrated when seeing others behave "improperly". The predictability of events is highly valued. In *loose cultures* there are fewer rules, deviation from norms is tolerated and people are generally more relaxed and easy going. Such tolerance is found in relatively heterogeneous societies, where several normative systems coexist. In these – usually less densely populated – cultures people do not depend on each other so much.

Tight cultures: Japan, Turkey, The Taliban in Afghanistan, India
Loose cultures: Thailand, The USA, the Lapps

- Uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1994)

Uncertainty avoidance deals with a society's tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity. It indicates how comfortable people feel in unstructured, new, unusual or surprising situations. *Uncertainty avoiding cultures* try to minimize the possibility of such situations by strict laws and rules, safety and security measures. Predictability is of

prime importance. People in these countries are also more emotional and motivated by inner nervous energy. The opposite type, i.e., *uncertainty accepting cultures* are more tolerant of opinions different from what they are used to; they try to have as few rules as possible. People in these cultures are (or are seen to be) more phlegmatic and contemplative, and are not expected by their environment to express emotions.

Uncertainty avoiding cultures: Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Japan, France, Spain, Mexico, Israel, Austria, Hungary
Uncertainty accepting cultures: Singapore, Scandinavia, English-speaking countries, Malaysia, The Netherlands, Germany.

It may happen that people in a culture are uncertainty avoiding when schedules, procedures or regulations are concerned, but accept uncertainty and are very open to innovations, new ideas, accepting difference and diversity, which usually represent the "unknown".

- Long-term orientation – Short-term orientation (Hofstede et al., 2010)

This dimension differentiates between forward looking and past/present orientation and virtues related to these perspectives. *Long-term oriented cultures* focus on future rewards, in particular saving and persistence, and adapt to changing circumstances. *Short-term oriented cultures* centre on the past and present, and allocate a significant role to national pride, respect for tradition, preservation of "face" and fulfilling social obligations. They tend to regulate life more.

Long-term oriented cultures: South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Germany, Switzerland
Short-term oriented cultures: Puerto Rico, Nigeria, Egypt, Argentina, Australia

- Neutral – Affective (Trompenaars, 1995)

Cultures also differ in showing emotions. While this differs greatly in personal and professional communication, it can be generalised that people in *neutral cultures* control and hide their emotions, while those in *affective cultures* show how they feel. *Affective people* use body language more actively, touch others to show affection or to emphasise a point, and their personal space is usually smaller than that of *neutral people*. Apart form facial expressions, body language, voice quality, volume and actual language, emotions can be released in ways that are particularly important for language learners to be aware of: humour – which is often difficult for a foreigner to deal with – or irony are often used, such as understatement or puns. Even turn-taking in a conversation can show if the participants are from a neutral or affective culture as there are likely to be many more interruptions in an affective culture. One does not always appreciate an approach different from their own, and there-

fore in a cross-cultural situation a foreign language user must make a conscious decision whether to speak in the foreign language and behave according to their own culture or to adopt new behaviour patterns.

Neutral cultures: Japan, The USA, Canada, North-Western Europe
Affective cultures: Southern Europe, South American countries, Middle Eastern countries

- Personal space (Hall, 1966)

Although this perspective was not described as a cultural dimension, it is an important indicator of behaviour. It refers to the differences in proxemic ranges and the use of space, touching and voice. Hall identified four types. His examples relate to the American middle class:

Intimate distance – physical contact, intimate and (in our culture) mostly used among family members, lovers or very close friends. Otherwise only in exceptional situations, e.g., for sharing great joy or consoling someone.

Personal distance – can usually be observed between friends or family members (45-120 cms).

Social distance – general distance for communication at work, in schools, among strangers (120-360 cms).

Public distance – distance observed in one way public communication, e.g., a speaker talking to an audience (over 360 cms).

People's comfort zone regarding their personal space varies from culture to culture.

Cultures needing and protecting their own delimited space and privacy: Germany, the Swiss, the English
Cultures where more intrusion into one's personal space is allowed: The USA, Arabic countries, France

Intrusion may take the form of physical contact, loudness or eye contact.

- Inner directed – Outer directed (Trompenaars, 1995)

The difference in this dimension of culture can be traced back to people's attitude to nature and the environment. In *inner directed cultures* people dominate and form the environment; they use it to their advantage. Incentives and motivation originate in the person. In *outer directed cultures* the environment is considered more powerful than humans, providing motivation and drive. The inner or outer directedness of an individual can be seen as they deal with particular issues or conversations. One example is wearing a face mask: in Japan (outer directed) people who have a cold wear a mask so as not to infect others. In America or Europe (inner directed) many

cyclists or joggers wear one to protect themselves from the fumes of the environment. Inner directed people feel more empowered and are more assertive or direct. These patterns can be observed in language use as well.

Inner directed cultures: The USA, Switzerland, Pakistan, Canada, Germany, Argentina, Australia, Spain, France, Norway
Outer directed cultures: Japan, Egypt, China, Turkey, Singapore, Greece, Nigeria, Portugal

Dimensions relating to time

- Monochronic – Polychronic (Hall & Hall, 1990)

People in *monochronic cultures* concentrate on one thing at a time. Monochronic time is linear, it is divided up and scheduled. The schedule takes priority over everything else. Time has special values attached to it: "Time is money". Monochronic people – concentrating on one thing – do not like to be interrupted. They take time and job commitments seriously, are low context (see below), adhere to plans, are concerned about not disturbing others, respect privacy and private property, seldom borrow or lend, emphasize promptness and are accustomed to short term relationships. In *polychronic cultures* several things can happen simultaneously. Personal relationships are more important than sticking to schedules or plans. Polychronic people do many things at once, are distractible, subject to interruptions, are committed to people and human relationships and aim to respect time commitments. They tend to build long-term relationships, and are more relaxed. Monochronic and polychronic people usually find it difficult to work together efficiently.

Monochronic cultures: Northern and Western Europe, North America
Polychronic cultures: Southern Europe and South America

Discussing this dyad, the authors point out that many dimensions are related. Thus monochronic people are often inner directed, specific, low context, achievement oriented, neutral, individualist and uncertainty avoiding, while polychronic people tend to be just the opposite.

- Sequential – Synchronic (Trompenaars, 1995)

This division is similar to Hall and Hall's Monochronic – Polychronic dyad. *Sequential cultures* focus more on the future, things are organized in a linear manner – one thing after another –, people concentrate on one thing at a time, and punctuality is a pressing demand, so people follow tight schedules and are more impatient. People in *synchronic cultures* are capable of doing several things at the same time (multi-

tasking), like talking on the phone, filling in a form and talking to someone in person. They can also organize their work efficiently in a way that allows them to deal with several things in a given period of time. Since this culture is rooted in its simultaneous contact with several aspects of time, i.e., past, present and future, people do not necessarily plan things chronologically but follow a different logic. They are more patient and also accept looser time frameworks.

Sequential cultures: The USA, The UK, Scandinavia, The Netherlands, Venezuela, Belgium
Synchronic cultures: Mediterranean, South American and African countries, Singapore, China

Dimensions relating to communication

- High context – Low context (Hall, 1976)

Context is the information and background that surrounds an event or an act of communication. In *high context communication* much information is known and shared by the people. This information is implicit, is part of the social conventions and contains important points of reference and background knowledge. In high context cultures people attribute great importance to human relationships. The flow of information among people is fast and dense. Communication is fast, since much of the information is mutually known and does not have to be put into words. The background, the situation and non-verbal communication are very important. Oral agreements can be just as valid as written ones, but before getting down to business the partners get to know one another. In *low context cultures* people compartmentalize their lives more, keeping business and family apart. They tend to get down to business straight away. The flow of implicit information is more limited and thus much more has to be expressed explicitly. Verbal communication is taken at face value. Important agreements have to be put in writing to be respected. In communication between these two types of cultures, high context people may feel irritated by low context people whereas low context people feel underinformed by high context people. Triandis (1995) observed that individualistic cultures are low context while collectivist ones are high context.

High context cultures: Japan, Mediterranean and South American countries
Low context cultures: The USA, The UK, Scandinavia, Germany, Switzerland

- Directness – Indirectness

What sets this dimension apart from the others is that it has several facets, the awareness of which is crucial in establishing efficient and satisfactory communication. Below directness and indirectness are discussed related to discourse structure and the pragmatic use of syntax and vocabulary:

Discourse structure (Kaplan, 1966)

Texts created by foreign language speakers often seem incomprehensible or disorganised to native readers/listeners even if the grammar and vocabulary are used correctly. Discourse structures are culturally determined, and the rhetorical conventions of foreign language speakers' L1 may interfere with their foreign language discourse. Kaplan (1966) identified five typical discourse structures in academic writing:

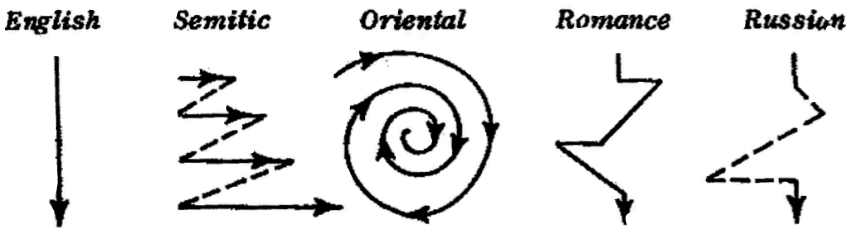

Figure 1. Cross-cultural differences in paragraph organisation patterns. Reprinted from "Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education," by R. B. Kaplan, 1966, *Language Learning, 16*, 1-20. Copyright © 1966 by John Wiley and Sons. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 1 shows how English is linear and direct, whereas the other four groups – in their different ways – are indirect. Not many language users are aware of the thought organisation structure of their own mother tongue or that of the target language, and changing one's way of expression is just as difficult as changing one's behaviour. Yet it is clear that discourse level proficiency – which is often beyond the scope of language classes – is necessary in order to make oneself understood properly.

The pragmatic use of syntax and vocabulary (Goddard & Wierzbicka,1998; Ogiermann, 2009)

Indirect language use – at sentence and vocabulary level – is often a sign of politeness but other social conventions also trigger indirect expression. Some of these are: expected deference or modesty, suppression of feelings, keeping details to oneself, avoiding confrontation, blurring the situation to save face or to hide hierarchical relationships. Some examples are as follows:

Direct communication	Indirect communication
"I have found that…"	"Our research shows…"
"Where did you put the notes?"	"I can't find the notes."
"You should have finished the report by now."	"The report should have been done by now."
"This article goes overboard."	"This article tends to exaggerate."
"This is impossible."	"This is a good idea but there seem to be a lot of obstacles."
"Give me the certificate."	"Could you give me the certificate, please?"

As the other dimensions, the level of directness at sentence and vocabulary level varies from culture to culture. Interestingly, a language that is direct in its structure is not necessarily direct in the use of vocabulary. English, which is a very linear and direct language in its structure, is much less direct in its syntax and vocabulary use. Goddard and Wierzbicka (1998) observe that, in comparison of English and Japanese, English speech patterns are direct while Japanese speech patterns are indirect, but when contrasted to Hebrew, English is more indirect. Although there is no proof yet, Hungarian seems to be indirect in text structure and relatively direct at sentence and vocabulary level. Setting the directness of a speech act at the wrong level may result in serious misunderstandings and even a breakdown of communication.

CULTURAL DIMENSIONS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

As many failures in intercultural communication are caused by not understanding the nature of cultural differences, the aim of foreign language teaching needs to be broadened for the students to acquire intercultural communicative competence, as described by Byram (1997):

> Someone with Intercultural Communicative Competence is able to interact with people from another country and culture in a foreign language. They are able to negotiate a mode of communication and interaction which is satisfactory to themselves and the other and they are able to act as a mediator between people of different cultural origins. Their knowledge of another culture is linked to their language competence through their ability to use language appropriately – sociolinguistic and discourse competence – and their awareness of the specific meanings, values and connotations of language. (p. 71)

Being aware of the types of differences covered by cultural dimensions, and becoming aware of and sensitive to the needs of people of other cultures can certainly contribute to successful communication in foreign languages. Therefore, teaching about cultural dimensions should be included in education: they can be tackled in most humanities subjects at school, but they are most obviously linked to foreign language teaching at any level, since language classes offer a natural context for comparing cultures. Some teachers may reject the idea on the grounds that there are too few hours to teach the language, or that cultural dimensions would be too academic for their students. The beauty of including content about cultural dimensions is that it can be fully incorporated in any language class. Cultural comparisons can be done through story telling, reading or listening, giving a presentation, discussion, writing a summary, performing a role play or a problem solving task – and countless other language class activities. However, as this is an area that is almost impossible to learn on one's own, it is irresponsible to leave it up to the learners to master intercultural communication. Even if classroom teaching cannot fully provide students with communicative and intercultural competence, it has to be every teacher's aim to go beyond teaching grammar and vocabulary and help their students become open-minded and non-judgmental communicators with good language proficiency and a good understanding of culture's influences on communication.

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CROSS-CULTURAL RHETORICAL STUDIES IN THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Zoltán Kiszely

INTRODUCTION

Contrastive rhetoric, the study of cross-cultural written discourse, is an area in applied linguistics that has always initiated heated debates since 1966, when Robert B. Kaplan (1966) coined the term. These arguments led the present-day pioneer of the field, Ulla Connor, to reconceptualise and even rename the field from contrastive into intercultural rhetoric (Connor, 2004). This redefinition of a field in applied linguistics is an issue that is in itself worth speculating about; however, it is even more intriguing to discover whether the field has anything to offer to EFL students to improve their writing skills regardless of the debates and regardless of what the field is exactly called.

Therefore, the present article has a twofold aim. The first is to provide an overview of the field through the spectacles of some of these arguments resulting in redefining the area; the second is to present a classroom project to test whether the findings of cross-cultural rhetorical studies can be exploited for improving EFL students' writing skills. The first part of the article gives an overview of the field by highlighting some significant debates from the history of contrastive rhetoric to show how writing experts contemplate on issues having emerged in cross-cultural rhetoric. The second part will present my non-representative small-scale classroom-based study with two groups of English major college students evaluating

two EFL student essays. Although the findings are non-conclusive due to the few participants, the results may turn university or college instructors' attention to emphasizing the significance of comparing and contrasting expectations as to writing in different cultures.

Throughout the text my guiding principle in using the terms "contrastive rhetoric", and "intercultural rhetoric" is to apply the one that the authors of the articles did.

SOME DEBATES FROM THE HISTORY OF CONTRASTIVE/INTERCULTURAL RHETORIC

Naturally, the first debate revolved around Kaplan's 1966 article. During his teaching career at university Kaplan (1966) realized that native English students wrote differently from their non-native counterparts not only in terms of grammar but also in terms of textual organization. Having examined the topical development of more than 600 international students' essays, he assumed that students' mother tongue interferes with their second language writing, which is a source of negative evaluation; therefore, students of English as a second language must be aware of the rhetorical conventions of English writing. Kaplan found that the essays followed five different paragraph organization patterns according to the students' different cultural backgrounds. English essays have a linear development, whereas Semitic students' paragraph development contains several parallel coordinate clauses. Discourse in Asian languages is specified by an indirect approach to the final conclusion, whereas in both Russian and Romance languages, several digressions can be detected from the main idea. Kaplan described these findings in diagrams, which had a huge effect on the teaching of writing. As to the pedagogical applications of his results, Kaplan proposed that students study the linear English development pattern, and also devised some exercises (e.g., unjumbling sentences of paragraphs) to practise this pattern.

This article received a great deal of criticism. Some of them were substantiated, but others interpreted Kaplan's point too literally. Several researchers claimed that the study was "more intuitive than scientific" (Leki, 1991, p. 123); they stated the diagrams were overgeneralized and simplistic (Hinds, 1983); they mentioned that the English discourse was interpreted from an insider's perspective, while discourses in the other languages were interpreted from an outsider's perspective (Atkinson, 2003); they assumed contrastive rhetoric to be too ethnocentric by privileging the writing of native speakers of English and regarding L1 transfer on L2 writing as a negative effect (Raimes, 1991); and claimed that Kaplan did not carry out empirical research on English discourse but relied on the findings of style manuals (Brown, 1994) and compared their principles to real-life L2 texts of ESL students.

In one sense, at least, Kaplan's ideas have to be defended. Kaplan has never said that the linear paragraph is the only textual pattern that can be found in English written discourse and this is the only pattern used by native speakers all the time. When he talks about the typical organizational categories or patterns across cultures he states that it is

> necessary to understand that these categories are in no sense meant to be mutually exclusive. Patterns may be derived for typical English paragraphs, but paragraphs like those described above as being atypical in English do exist in English. By way of obvious example, Ezra Pound writes paragraphs which are circular in their structure … (Kaplan, 1966, p. 14)

Another argument was initiated by Mohan and Lo's important article (1985) examining the expository prose of Chinese students studying English L2 writing in Hong Kong and English L1 students in Canada belonging to two different age groups. Mohan and Lo state that there is no evidence that Chinese expository prose is indirect and there is no evidence that there are huge differences between the organization of exposition in Chinese and in English. They indicate that besides negative transfer effects, L2 writing errors can also be explained by lack of appropriate L2 proficiency, unfamiliarity with a topic, false ideas about reader expectations, lack of L1 writing experience and developmental factors. In other words, they do not ignore the Kaplanian L1 transfer effects but complete that with other possible factors that may account for different organization patterns. Moreover, Mohan and Lo (1985) argue for the importance of comparing essays written in different L1s if we want to find out the measure of transfer factors on L2 writing.

Gregg (1985) criticizes Mohan and Lo's argumentation stating that they do not consider traditional Chinese writing conventions as important factors of transfer in students' expository writings. She claims that American academic expository prose is characterized by clear thesis statements and original ideas, while Chinese academic prose is inductive where topics and subtopic elements are loosely developed, and paragraphs do not contain clear topic sentences. She states, therefore, that Chinese students' writing in English will display these aspects of Chinese prose.

In his response Mohan (1986a) acknowledges that there are rhetorical differences between English and Chinese academic prose but Gregg does not provide any evidence to prove her statements about these differences. Cross-cultural differences in rhetoric cannot be well-founded if they are not demonstrated in texts written in the native languages of the writers. He also repeats the main idea of the Mohan and Lo (1985) study indicating that errors in second language composition are not necessarily transfer errors as even American students do not always formulate clear thesis statements, which cannot be attributed to the result of transfer from another language but are developmental errors.

Commenting on Mohan and Lo (1985), Ricento (1986) questions the idea that without rigorous studies of the discourse structure of expository prose, it is hard to

see how negative transfer from the discourse patterns of Chinese can be demonstrated. In the absence of rigorous studies, we cannot dismiss the role of transfer in the writing of ESL students. While Mohan and Lo (1985) mention that according to most researchers negative transfer is the only reason behind the difficulties of students, Ricento (1986) points out that neither Kaplan nor anyone else in the field has proposed this.

In his response to Ricento, Mohan (1986b) restates his thesis that there is no evidence to support Kaplan's claim that Chinese expository paragraph was indirect, but this does not mean that rhetorical differences do not exist. If contrastive rhetoric hypothesis is the idea that there are some differences between rhetorics across cultures, it cannot be labelled as *hypothesis* at all because even a slight difference would justify that. He concludes by arguing for the necessity for rigorous studies of Chinese expository prose to decide the question.

In an interesting but highly complicated article two decades later, Kubota and Lehner (2004) repeat the usual criticisms against both the idea of what they call traditional contrastive rhetoric and its pedagogical implications stating that it prescribes an assimilationist viewpoint since the principal aim of teaching writing is acculturating writers so that they can become members of a community that has a set of rhetorical conventions. After that they attempt to lay the foundations for critical contrastive rhetoric and a pedagogy that is based upon that. They suggest that "critical contrastive rhetoric does not prescribe pedagogical approaches" but "it develops among teachers and students an educational and philosophical vision to enable… pluralization of rhetorical norms" (Kubota & Lehner, 2004, p. 20). According to their ideas an important aim of an English writing course is "the addition of new and different ways of writing rather than the subtraction of ways a teacher might find inappropriate or lacking" (Kubota & Lehner, 2004, p. 20).

In her comment on this article Connor (2005) warns against an uncritical application of critical pedagogy that in itself can pose a real challenge for both students and teachers. She also states that Kubota and Lehner (2004) misunderstand and misrepresent contrastive rhetoric in several ways. For instance, the assimilationist standpoint prescribed by traditional contrastive rhetoric is refuted by Connor stating that teachers have been offering EFL/ESL learners a wide range of rhetorical strategies and they do not replace the writing styles of the students' L1s and cultures. Furthermore, when Kubota and Lehner (2004) claim that there is no difference in Japanese students' writing in English and Japanese by referring to Hirose (2003) to prove their point Connor demonstrates that Hirose's study contains some methodological flaws which disqualify Kubota and Lehner's thesis.

In their response to Connor's comments, Kubota and Lehner (2005) agree that cultural differences in writing exist, but they state that it is not sufficient only to describe cultural differences; therefore, they propose to discover and examine "how cultural labels and images are produced and reproduced in contested discourses and how critical consciousness about taken-for-granted cultural knowledge can be fostered among teachers and students" (Kubota & Lehner, 2005, p. 138). They also

underline that critical pedagogy is not a method but a social educational process so Connor's fears that critical pedagogies are difficult to implement are not well founded.

In a later overview of the field Connor (2008) makes a reference to the Kubota and Lehner (2004) article indicating that they should not regard contrastive rhetoric as if it was "frozen" at its 1966 phase and suggests that the developments of the field in terms of its scope and methodology be acknowledged.

This debate was also complemented with Hirose's (2006) comments on Connor's criticism on Hirose's 2003 study. Hirose (2006) states that rhetorical patterns are not carved in stone, but they reflect multiple factors which play a part in writing. The aim of contrastive rhetoric research should be to explain this diversity and complexity in students' writing both in their mother tongue and in their L2. Therefore, researchers need to work out complex explanations for the relationship between L1 and L2 writing.

These theoretical and pedagogical concerns led Connor (2004) to reconceptualize the field. She claims that contrastive rhetoric gained a negative connotation as being simplistic, ethnocentric, stereotyping and offering a static view of culture; therefore, she renamed the term as intercultural rhetoric which better expresses cultural influences in writing; it indicates that no rhetorical tradition is pure but they exist between cultures, and it emphasizes connections more than differences. Connor (2011) also suggests that *intercultural rhetoric* is a broader term than *contrastive rhetoric*. The study of writing is not limited to texts but extended to social contexts and practices. National cultures interact with other cultures in different ways, which can be detected in speaking as well as writing. Nevertheless, the new term has come under some criticism too (Matsuda & Atkinson, 2008).

CROSS-CULTURAL RHETORIC IN PRACTICE

In the following section I will present a case study from my teaching experience to examine whether the findings of intercultural rhetoric can be exploited for pedagogical purposes. At Kodolányi János University of Applied Sciences (KJF) I am in the fortunate situation to offer English-language writing courses for 1st-, 2nd- and 3rd-year BA English studies majors, and a course on intercultural rhetoric containing a series of lectures and seminars for 3rd-year students majoring also in BA English Studies. I asked a group of 1st-year and a group of 3rd-year students to evaluate and give a mark to two essays (Essay-A, Essay-B) based upon their first impressions.

Hypotheses

My hypotheses were the following:

1. 1st-year students will consider Essay-B better than Essay-A.
2. 3rd-year students will consider Essay-A better than Essay-B, which means that 3rd-year students' evaluations will be similar to my own evaluations.

Participants

Two groups of students, a 1st- and a 3rd-year group (36 and 9 students, respectively) participated in the project. At the time of the study, 1st-year students were studying about English written rhetoric, which was the first time they had been doing so during their KJF studies in their Research Methodology and Essay Writing course. At the time of the project the 3rd-year students had already completed the course the 1st-year students were attending, and they had also done two Language Practice classes in their 2nd-year, focusing partly on essay writing. At the time of the survey they were studying Intercultural Rhetoric in the final term of their 3rd year. Hence, 1st-year students had little experience, while 3rd-year students received much more information on English writing conventions.

It must be acknowledged that the number of participants, mainly in the 3rd year, does not allow us to generalize the findings. The reason for this low participant number was that at the time of the survey this was the number of students present in the class.

Research instruments

I distributed two essays to the groups, written by two earlier KJF students. (See the Appendix.) The two essays were take-home assignments in which students had to give their opinion whether dictionary use should or should not be allowed in language examinations.

Together with other essays I evaluated these two student performances holistically on a five-unit scale, awarding excellent essays with a mark 5 and the poorest ones with a mark 1. The organization of Essay-A typically follows the Anglo-Saxon rhetorical tradition highlighted in several writing manuals (e.g., Raimes, 2005), according to which there is a thesis statement in the introduction that identifies the writer's stand on the assigned issue; in this case, he or she is against using dictionaries in exams. In the body paragraphs the main reasons for the thesis are given, the last but one paragraph dealing with some possible counterarguments. In the conclusion, the author summarizes the statement by repeating the main ideas. For the sake of simplicity this is the organization that I will call the "English way" in

the rest of this paper. The content is mature, well thought-out, the grammar is of high quality, even though a bit too complicated in some parts, with the vocabulary displaying a broad range of words used accurately. Therefore, I evaluated Essay-A as an excellent one (5).

As far as Essay-B is concerned, it starts with a lot of questions. After a three-paragraph introduction the author starts discussing mono- and bilingual dictionary use in exams revealing his position favouring dictionary use in language exams in the last paragraph. Not wanting to degrade this organization type, only for the sake of simplicity, this is the organization that I will call the "Hungarian way" in the rest of this paper. Grammatically and lexically the text is acceptable but marked by some problems. I rated Essay-B an average quality text (3).

Procedures

I asked the students to evaluate and give a mark to the two essays on a five-unit scale based upon their first impressions. I did not call their attention to rating these essays on the basis of what they had studied about English writing; it was on purpose that they were left to their own devices while carrying out the evaluation task. Naturally, they did not know what marks I had awarded these essays. 15 minutes were allowed for them to complete the task and they had to work on their own without discussing their ideas with each other. 1st-year students completed the task in April 2012 in their "Research Methodology and Essay Writing" course, whereas 3rd-year students did so also in April in their "Intercultural Rhetoric" class.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 visualizes the results. The numbers in the columns referring to students' evaluations indicate the number of students in each group awarding the mark presented in the second line. The last column shows the marks I, as the teacher, gave to the essays.

Table 1. Results of the rating study

	1st-year students' evaluation (36 students)			3rd-year students' evaluation (9 students)			Teacher's evaluation
Mark	**5**	**4**	**3**	**5**	**4**	**3**	
Essay-A	15	17	4	2	5	2	5
Essay-B	19	13	4	7	2	0	3

The table shows that the first hypothesis was verified by the data. Although by only a narrow margin, most 1st-year students considered Essay-B better than Essay-A. In spite of the fact that they were receiving writing instruction at the time of completing the task, they still did not have much experience in English essay writing; consequently, when they were not instructed to evaluate the two essays in the "English way" or in the "Hungarian way" they immediately switched their mind back to the "Hungarian way" and evaluated the essays accordingly. Although 15 1st-year students rated Essay-A similarly as I did, the majority (17+4) rated it weaker or even average.

As for the second hypothesis, to my surprise, it was not justified by the data. My original assumption was that most 3rd-year students having received much more writing instruction than 1st-year students and having been explicitly familiarized with contrastive rhetoric as well would evaluate the essays in the same way as I, the teacher, did, which will be different from that of 1st-year students. Nevertheless, the table shows that the majority of both 1st- and 3rd-year students evaluated the essays similarly, which automatically means that both groups' assessment was different from mine. What is perhaps even more striking is that seven of the nine 3rd-year students rated Essay-B as excellent (5) in opposition to my evaluation of average (3).

A logical reason for this finding might be that the content of the essays guided both groups of students in the rating process since it is likely to be the case that most students would rather argue for than against using dictionaries in language examinations, which is the thesis for Essay-B.

A more feasible scenario for this finding, however, may be that the explicit teaching of contrastive/intercultural rhetorical findings does not have any effect on EFL learners' writing development. These students are taught for three years how to write an English argumentative essay. They are provided with lots of information on the characteristics of essay writing; and they are provided with a lot of chances to put into practice what they learn about essay writing in their literature, linguistics, culture and history classes as English majors. Still, when it comes to evaluating two short essays on their own, they forget what they studied before and think and work in the "Hungarian way." Perhaps, it is a much more difficult process for them to change their traditions they brought to class from the Hungarian cultural-intellectual-educational tradition than I first thought, and their individual characteristics might also play a part in their decisions. These traditions and conventions are so deeply imprinted in their minds that they cannot set themselves apart from them.

It can also be argued that it is the methodology applied during the writing and rhetoric classes that is to be blamed for this result. It is not the aim of this article to elaborate on the effectiveness of the teaching techniques I used, but I definitely need to reconsider some of my classroom practices so that at least 3rd-year students could realize that an English-language argumentative text is to be evaluated in the "English way."

The reason for providing students with several writing classes and intercultural studies as well is to teach them the norms of English writing. If 3rd-year students cannot evaluate essays in the "English way" if not emphatically instructed to do so, is it not the case that the opponents of cross-cultural rhetoric are right in stating that contrastive rhetoric does not have too much to say for pedagogical purposes?

My answer to this question is a clear no. If switching from one system to another is so difficult for students, then it is of extreme importance to integrate cross-cultural issues into the writing classroom. Moreover, the more it is discussed from as many aspects as possible, the better. Just talking about cross-cultural differences and similarities widens students' horizon: it gives them the opportunity to think about their own writing practices and the reasons behind their choices, and with thoughtful and precise guidance they can also recognize that difference does not necessarily mean that any writing convention is superior to another.

CONCLUSION

This paper attempted to highlight some important disputes from the history of contrastive rhetoric, which paved the way for reconceptualising and even renaming the field; and to show that despite all of these debates and regardless of what it is called it is still an area the findings of which can well be exploited for pedagogical purposes.

The first part reviewed the field by focusing on some debates which led Connor (2004) to redefine the term to provide new impetus for cross-cultural rhetorical studies. The second part highlighted my non-representative small-scale classroom-based project with two groups of BA English major college students who rated two EFL student essays. Although the number of students participating in the research does not make generalizations possible, the findings showed that the intellectual, cultural and educational traditions are so deeply embedded in students' minds that discussing cross-cultural rhetorical issues at class is a well-founded and worthwhile activity. A possible direction for future research can be to replicate this study by involving more 1st- and 3rd-year students so that more reliable findings can be recorded.

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APPENDIX

Essay A

It can be argued whether using a dictionary during an English language exam helps the evaluation of examinees or whether it helps the students in their tasks to tackle exercises. My opinion is that the use of dictionaries after all might do more damage than help from both of these aspects.

First of all, let us look at the purpose of a dictionary. To be honest, I highly doubt the ever-helpful quality of these *wordy volumes*, for example, if we have absolutely no familiarity with an entry we so triumphantly come across during the search for a word we think will define the whole academic quality of our *short informal letter to the landlady*, we are better off not using it eventually, because there is a great chance that we will come off as utterly ridiculous.

Having taken part in quite a few language examinations, my view is that dictionaries are likely to have several serious disadvantages during such tests: the first one is described above, another one is that it can take up several crucial minutes to look up words which we think might impress the evaluator, but in reality just leaves less time for other exercises. Furthermore, it can also hurt the assessment process by giving a false picture of the vocabulary of the examinees by distorting it with words they probably come across for the first time.

However, language exams tend to be rather unfair topic-wise. Certain amount of help regarding vocabulary is needed to even out the differences between the preparedness of people in more causal topics and topics requiring knowledge not of the language but the topic itself. The best way would be to provide key words to make exercises focus on what they are originally intended for.

"What about monolingual dictionaries?" one could ask. Well, that is a different question, it certainly provides a great alternative in the case of higher level examinations, as it presupposes a certain amount of knowledge needed for the exam in the first place.

Despite all the help I received from dictionaries during exams, I still think that they should not be allowed to used in such context, first of all, from an evaluation point of view by distorting the level of knowledge and second of all, from the aspect of students, as using words based on guessing their authenticity or usability in the given context often leads to weird or even false outcomes.

Essay B

Dictionary usage on a foreign language exam is a debating question. Would it be useful for students to allow them to use it? Which dictionary would be a better choice when an examiner allows it? Which part of the exam should be allowed for students to use one?

Exams are always stressful for students. Most of the examinees prefer to taking a dictionary with them. The possibility to use it makes them feel more secure, gives a better feeling even if they do not use it. Knowing that they have a support enhances confidence which reduces stress level.

Depending on the text type, it is useful to have the opportunity to look up a word which is unknown. It helps analize the text and make sure you avoid misconstruction. However, some might make the typical mistake of looking up each and every unknown word, which might lead to run out of time and skimp work.

Monolingual and bilingual dictionaries are both common. Students in higher education prefer monolingual dictionaries although they also use bilingual dictionaries. Examinees prepairing for intermediate level exam use mostly bilingual dictionaries. However, the use of monolingual dictionary can be expected at a certain level.

For an essay task, where students have to focus on one particular subject, to use a monolingual dictionary can give enough support to build up their composition. The purpose of reading comprehension tests is to measure the ability to read and understand a text which contains wide range of lexical words. In the case of a text filled with unknown words a dictionary can be helpful. In order to measure a student's reading comprehension skill, a monolingual dictionary may be allowed. Since each part of the exam has a time limit which students have to keep, using a dictionary to look up some unknown words will not lead to misjudge a student's skill to comprehend text.

In my opinion the use of a dictionary on a foreign language exam can be helpful. For students at intermediate level or above, a monolingual dictionary could be allowed to use to avoide misunderstanding the text. This help gives enough support for the students to complete the tasks on a foreign language exam.

LANGUAGE POLICY, TEACHERS AND METHODOLOGY

LANGUAGE PLANNING IN THE PRESENT: AN INTRODUCTION

Robert B. Kaplan

INTRODUCTION

Most readers are undoubtedly familiar with the history of their own languages over the past centuries. As an example, the history of the Hungarian language may be said to have begun during the Neolithic period (c. 10,200 BCE to between 4,500 and 2,000 BCE) when the ancestors of all Uralic language speakers lived together in the Ural Mountains (Balázs, 1997). Of course, the developments in the preceding example cannot be regarded as *language planning* in the sense the term has come to be used at present. The field is a relatively new addition to the anatomy of academia, having come into existence in the years immediately following World War II – a period marked by the break-up of European colonial empires and the emergence of new nations, largely in Africa and Asia. Initially called *language engineering*, the discipline emerged as a means of creating programs for solving "language problems" in newly independent "developing nations". Language planning was conceived as being done using a broadly based team approach employing an objective, ideologically and politically neutral technological perspective in which the identity of the planners didn't matter so long as they possessed the required technical skills. The intellectual link between language planning and *modernization / development* ensured that the implicit assumptions in language planning reflected assumptions in the social sciences, subsequently subject to re-evaluation and revision (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Especially striking in hindsight is the optimism of early language planners who demonstrated an underlying ideological faith in *development* and *mod-*

ernization. In early language-planning research, practitioners were seen as having the expertise to specify ways in which changes in the linguistic situation would lead to desired social and political transformations (i.e., supporting the development of unity in the socio-cultural system, reducing economic inequalities and providing access to education). The belief in economic and social progress was perhaps best expressed in Eastman's introduction to language planning where planners are depicted as being at the forefront of fundamental shifts in the organization of global society:

> Modernization and preservation efforts are seemingly happening everywhere, to provide all people with access to the modern world through technologically sophisticated languages and also to lend a sense of identity through encouraged use of their first languages (Eastman, 1983, p. 31).

CONSIDER TERMINOLOGY

The terms *language planning* and *language policy* are frequently used, in both the technical and the popular literature, either interchangeably or in tandem. However, they actually represent two quite distinct aspects of the systemised language change process.

Language planning is an activity, most visibly undertaken by government (simply because it potentially involves such massive changes in a society), intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers. The reasons for such change lie in a reticulated pattern of structures developed by government and intended to maintain civil order and communication, and to move the entire society in some direction deemed "good" or "useful" by government. The exercise of language planning leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government (or some other authoritative body or person).

A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system. Only when such policy exists can any sort of serious evaluation of planning occur (Rubin, 1971); i.e., in the absence of a policy there cannot be a plan to be adjusted. Language policy may be realised at a number of levels, from very formal language planning documents and pronouncements to informal statements of intent (i.e., the discourse of language, politics and society) that may not at first glance seem like language policies at all. Indeed, as Peddie (1991) observed, policy statements commonly fall into two types: *symbolic* and *substantive*: the first articulates good feelings toward change (or perhaps ends up being so nebulous that it is difficult to understand what language-specific concepts may be involved), while the latter articulates specific steps to be taken. This discussion concerns itself primarily with language planning. Complex motives and approaches, and large populations, are in-

volved in modern states, and language planners have, up to the present time, most often worked in such macro situations.

EARLY PRACTITIONERS

The linkage of language planning with development and modernization – essential for the early emergence of the field – was influenced by modernization theory (e.g., Rostow, 1960); consequently, early research focused primarily on the role of language planning in developing societies. Consideration of the question of exactly who the planners were and what impact their views might have on the goals set to solve language problems has been raised only much more recently (by, among others, Baldauf, 1982; Baldauf & Kaplan, 2003; Zhao, 2011). By the 1970s it had become apparent that language problems were not unique only to developing nations, but that they also occurred as *macro* (i.e., state-level) language situations in polities worldwide. Despite the early optimism, in less than twenty years, by the mid 1980s, disillusionment with language planning – due to several factors – was widespread (Blommaert, 1996; Williams, 1992), and important changes in language planning were occurring. Since the late 1990s, language policy and planning principles have also been increasingly applied in *micro* situations (for example, in relation to language problems in communities, schools, organizations and companies; see, for instance, Canagarajah, 2005; Chua & Baldauf, 2011).

Ricento (2000, p. 196) has suggested that research in language policy and planning can be divided into three historical phases:

- decolonization, structuralism and pragmatism (1950s, 1960s);
- the failure of modernization, critical sociolinguistics (1980s, 1990s);
- a new world order, postmodernism, linguistic human rights (21st century).

An important change in language planning since the 1980s lies in the recognition that language planning is not necessarily an aspect of development but rather that it implicates a broad range of social processes including at least migration and the rise of nationalism in Europe and Central Asia. Migration constitutes one reason for the increases in the numbers of people worldwide that are learning languages and – consequently – for a significant increase in concern with language-in-education planning (Tollefson, 2001).

As a consequence of the recent developments in language planning, two immediate issues arose:

1. How should the discipline of language planning be taught in academic institutions?
2. How can language planning be undertaken without recognizing the inherently political nature of the enterprise?

These concerns raise the question of what one can do when trying to explicate the social forces that influence language change, and the kinds of language change motivated by social forces. These questions, in turn, reveal that the basic concerns really are about political preference; language planning – a subset of sociolinguistics – is actually constrained and defined by politics, since language policy invariably implicates someone's social and/or political choice. Much language planning – past and present – has been undertaken by government and has been conceived primarily as a top-down activity espousing "a set of views, beliefs, ideas and so forth, subscribed to by a specific dominant social group (class, language, gender, race or ethnicity...) to maintain the existing social order..." (Webb, 2006, pp. 147-148; see also, e.g., Pennycook, 2000; Phillipson, 1992; Toleffson, 2002). If politics were to be excluded from sociolinguistics, there would be nothing to teach (Webb & Du Plessis, 2006). Indeed, the issue lies largely in the metaphors used to define the values; but metaphors over time accrue a coating of popular opinion often creating counterproductive effects (Larson, 2011).

Thus, it appears that language planning is essentially a political activity; given that perspective, the practice of politics is an inherent part of the development and eventual implementation of any language plan. Language planners cannot involve absolutely neutral individuals, capable of separating their planning selves from any practical activity. Rather than separating one's scholarly self from one's partisan self – an activity akin to becoming partially pregnant or partly virginal – could it be possible instead to examine political behavior as a part of the human makeup and then to study that political behavior without necessarily instantiating a line of action? Students of language planning should be free to select a course of action appropriate to the given situation and the given population. In doing so, however, those planners should be made aware of the probable consequence of the path chosen, as well as the probable consequences of choosing a different path or of opting for the status quo by choosing no path at all. The basic principles of doing so were explored and articulated by the Prague School linguists in the early years of the 20th century. While the principles were clearly articulated, application was not well understood; however, contemporary exercises do exist (see, e.g., Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2006).

A language plan in the absence of an implementation plan is a useless bit of academic research – truly an exercise for the Ivory Tower. And a language plan in the absence of the recognition of the political implications of such a plan may resemble the proverbial road to hell, paved with good intentions. In brief, it is impossible to remove politics from the classroom or from the implementation of any language plan; whether those politics must be captured in a partisan stance is another matter, but once the camel's nose is in the tent it may be virtually impossible to recover any space. Doing language planning involves the interaction of three groups of actors: people with expertise (e.g., linguists and applied linguists), people with influence (e.g., people with high social standing) and people with power (e.g., national leaders and highly placed officials). Furthermore, the success or failure of a particular language planning initiative may hinge on political decisions; this is an important

lesson for all those involved with language planning to understand. Given the normal complexity of any language-based problem, the members of any group organized to undertake a language planning activity (or even to undertake a language-planning activity as a purely academic exercise) are obliged to inform their supporting sources, whether governmental or not, of their individual and collective biases. The supporting sources, especially governmental funding sources (since governmental funding inevitable derives from public monies), are entitled to know the planners' views of language in general and of the language(s) implicated in the planning activity. In addition, unexpected "political" complications can arise that can undermine the basis for a language planning project. In short, language planning is a profoundly political activity, and "politics" cannot simply be omitted from such studies. That being so, there appear to be at least five basic reasons why language planning, in its political guise, is likely to fail:

1. In normal contexts, languages are commonly disseminated primarily through educational systems, but educational systems often suffer from several constraints – e.g., limitations deriving from national budgets, painfully slow decision-making processes, unrecognized variation among teachers and administrators, lack of experience in local government, parental ambitions for their offspring and unrecognized variation among students.

2. Language planning strives to make choices among languages and – with each language selected – planning must consider public attitudes toward non-local languages, literacy, the status of non-local languages, the suitability of non-local languages selected for medium of instruction as well as for education, and the distribution of users within the polity.

3. The logistics of the situation, considering:

- the real distance from the legislative seat to the places where implementation is likely to occur,
- the relative cost and the relative ease or difficulty of movement and transport between the legislative seat and the distant implementation loci, and
- any differences between attitudes at the urban center versus those in the outlying and/or rural areas.

4. Whether the national language is indeed the language of students, teachers and administrators in the periphery, as well as whether the non-local language to be introduced has an orthography with which learners may be unfamiliar, whether the non-local language has a status and is acceptable.

5. More purely political issues; e.g., the attitudes of the dominant political party to the language and its users in comparison to the attitudes of the minority party(s) to the language and its users, whether a legislative proposal is likely to survive, likely

to be funded, and likely to be allowed to continue uninterrupted for a sufficient trial period.

No known extant language plan actually considers the large and complex set of variables summarized here. However, there is yet another matter that needs to be considered: whether the proposers of the plan can expect to find a consensus of opinion across the polity in support of the proposed language plan/modification. In short, has anyone asked the speakers in the community what they think about the plan? Any political structure may be divided into two quite different camps, each determined to show that the opposition's approach is seriously flawed while their approach is the correct one, since there are likely to be broad differences of opinion on whether to tax, what to tax, whom to tax, for what to tax in order to develop the resources necessary to fund the activities essential to allow any plan to be implemented.

THE PRESENT

In many countries, language-in-education planning has become central in efforts to deal with massive movements of people (Tollefson, 1989), resulting initially in a range of new questions in need of attention:

- What should be the role of migrants' languages in education and in other official domains of use?
- How are local languages affected by migrants?
- What should be the status of new varieties of various *lingua francas*?
- How can acquisition planning be most effectively carried out?
- What factors constrain acquisition planning?

A second concern in language planning has emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union and the realignment of political boundaries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia – a phenomenon giving rise to the emergence of new states in which language issues are intimately linked with ideological and political conflicts. Also, these issues are central to the efforts of such new (or re-emerging) states to establish effective local institutions (see, e.g., Hogan-Brun et al., 2007). The language planning choices made by state planners, legislative bodies, and citizens are likely to play an important role in the management of political conflict in these new or re-emerging states for decades to come.

A third area of current research lies in the movement to deconstruct the ideology of monolingualism that has pervaded much language planning research (Williams, 1992), exactly because the focus has been on the monolingual state – one polity/one language/one culture. Emerging research involves a re-examination of traditional assumptions about the costs of multilingualism and the benefits of

monolingualism. The linking of multilingual policies and democratization (Deprez & Du Plessis, 2000) has also become an important part of political debates.

The movement for linguistic human rights offers another significant point of view. While some language planning scholars have advocated mother tongue-promotion policies (e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), others have linked language rights to political theory and to efforts to develop a theory of language planning (e.g., Cooper, 1989; Dua, 1994; May, 2001). Calls for expansion and implementation of language rights can be expected to continue, with language planning research heavily involved in the development of a better understanding of the role of language rights in state formation, in international organizations, in political conflict, and in a variety of other social processes. Similarly, recent research on the links between language planning and social theory, long advocated by Fishman (1992) and Williams (1992), can contribute to deeper understandings of language rights and to new research methods (Ricento, 2006). Current research examines the ways in which language planning processes are constrained by constitutional and statutory law (Liddicoat, 2008).

It may be assumed that the failure of early or classical language planning activities to achieve their goals in many contexts and the intimate connection between early language planning and modernization theory meant that language planning was subject to the same criticisms as was modernization theory generally, including at least the fact that:

- economic models appropriate for one place may be inappropriate in any other places;
- national economic development will not necessarily benefit all sectors of any given society, especially the poor (Steinberg, 2001);
- development generally fails to consider local contexts and the conflicting needs and desires of diverse communities; and
- development has a homogenizing effect on social and cultural diversity (Foster-Carter, 1985; Worsley, 1987).

A second assumption underlying the work in the early period of language planning was an emphasis on *cost-benefit analysis*, *efficiency* and *rationality* as criteria for evaluating plans and policies. An emphasis on the technical aspect of language planning led Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) to argue that planners may be better able than political authorities to apply rational decision-making in the solution of language problems. Such attempts to separate language planning from politics reflected not only confidence in the skills of technical specialists, but also a broader failure to link language planning with political analysis – the failure to acknowledge that language planning is fundamentally political lies at the heart of subsequent critiques of language planning.

A third assumption was that the nation-state is the appropriate focus for language planning research and practice, since language planning is a tool for

political / administrative and socio-cultural integration of the nation-state, a view that had two important consequences:

1. the main actors in language planning were assumed to be government agencies, and thus most research examined the work of such agencies;
2. many researchers adopted a top-down perspective, limiting their interests to national plans and policies rather than to local language practices.

The assumptions noted here resulted in a number of problems impeding the development of language planning. Yet another problem in early language planning was its failure to analyze adequately the impact of local contexts on national policies, partially the consequence of an emphasis on technical rather than political evaluation of policies, as well as a general separation of language planning from political analysis. As Blommaert (1996: 217) argues, language planning "…can no longer stand exclusively for practical issues of standardization, graphization, terminological elaboration, and so on. The link between language planning and sociopolitical developments is obviously of paramount importance…". Failing to link language planning to politics resulted in a situation in which planners could not predict the impact of their plans and policies. Language planning specialists in the early period believed that unexpected outcomes could be avoided as long as adequate information was available, but more recent scholarship assumes that unexpected outcomes are a normal feature of highly complex social systems:

- where linear cause-effect relationships between language and society do not apply, and
- where social groups may have covert goals for language planning (Ammon, 1997).

The more one examines the language planning situations with which one is familiar (or that one reads about in the literature), the more apparent it becomes that policy aspects of such planning (as opposed to the cultivation or the implementation aspect) are only secondarily a language planning activity; primarily, they are a political activity (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2007). Language planning is often perceived as some sort of monolithic activity, designed specifically to manage one particular kind of linguistic modification in a community at a particular moment in time. Language planning has tended to concern itself with the modification of one language only, having largely ignored the interaction of multiple languages in a community, as well as multiple non-linguistic factors — that is, the total ecology of the linguistic environment. Language planning is really about power distribution and political expediency; it is about economic issues, and it is about the distribution of time and effort of administrators, scholars, teachers and students. Although a concern with theory suggests that such policy decisions should be based on data about learners and community language needs (see, e.g., Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; van Els, 2005), in fact policy decisions generally are not about the needs of any given community,

nor are they about the needs of learners. They are, rather, about the perceptions of language(s) held in the Ministry of Education and to some extent in the general perceptions of the society at large. Policy decisions rarely take into account such matters as learners' age, aptitude, attitude or motivation. They tend to be top-down in structure, reflecting the opinions and attitudes valued at the highest levels in the planning process; they are rarely about the linguistic needs or desires of any given society or community. Indeed, the least important factor in such planning decisions may well be the needs and desires of the target population (Kaplan, 2004).

ORDINARY CITIZENS

Ordinary citizens all over Asia tend to believe that a knowledge of English is a good investment because English is believed to be the unofficial global language and because parents believed that a knowledge of English gives speakers access to the global economy as well as young people a better opportunity to work in a major company for a good salary; that is, to have a better, more prosperous life than their parents had. This belief is mythic, not in fact supported by reliable evidence, given that:

- the perception of English as a global language requires some understanding of what a global language may be;
- the perception of youngsters does not accord with the perception of ESL/EFL teachers and school administrators;
- for youngsters, English is merely a school subject, in no way reflecting the normal daily linguistic activity of learners; what is learned is not the English language but rather a small fragment of the grammar of English and an even smaller fragment of the English lexicon – a content that is completely isolated from what the learners normally talk about, hear around them, and experience conversationally in their first languages.

The rationale offered by government for the extensive use of English in school (in accord with the beliefs of many parents) contributes to the fiction that English is to be learned for its utilitarian value, for employment and for access to Western science and technology. Some officers in ministries of education, as well as some parents, have come to believe that children would be assured better economic opportunities if they had the English language as part of their linguistic repertoire. This belief has induced those academic officers to add English to the school curriculum, initially at the intermediate-school level – but faced with decades of experimentation that has demonstrated that English instruction introduced at intermediate-school level has not produced the desired result –, currently at the earliest possible grade level based on the assumption that better results would result from the earlier introduction. Clearly, early introduction of English has been perceived as the

panacea, a view supported by an international assumption that English language education should begin at the first grade, or even better, in Kindergarten. The fallacy inherent in this practice is beginning to demonstrate that knowing English is not a guarantee of improvement in economic opportunity, and early English learning is not a guarantee of achieving near-native English proficiency.

Studies across a number of Asian polities have demonstrated that there are a dozen problems inhibiting the teaching of English as a second or foreign language:

1. Generally, the amount of time dedicated to language learning is inadequate.
2. Indigenous teacher-training programs do not necessarily prepare teachers to deliver successful instructional programs.
3. Indigenous English speakers may not exist in sufficient numbers to close proficiency and availability gaps.
4. Available educational materials may not be appropriate to language learning.
5. Available models of educational methodology may not be appropriate to language learning or to achieving the desired outcomes.
6. Developing country educational system resources may not be adequate to the needs of the student population.
7. In terms of the availability of resources, space, and any prospect for continuity, indigenous educational systems may not be sufficiently committed to providing primary school English.
8. International assistance programs may not be useful in overcoming indigenous weaknesses.
9. Children of primary school age may not be prepared to undertake early language instruction, especially when the target language exists as an isolated school exercise unsupported by the environment in which the children live.
10. The language norms underlying instruction may be unrealistic.
11. There is no evidence that the availability of such instruction actually meets community and/or national objectives in terms of utility for participants.
12. The impact of such instruction on other languages in the language ecology (i.e., immigrant and indigenous minority languages) is unknown, but the introduction of early language instruction in a language of wider communication may endanger other languages by replacing them in some or all registers. (See, e.g., Kaplan, Baldauf & Kamwangamalu, 2012.)

In short, language teaching plans developed in some ministries of education fail to meet expectations, not because the subject language is difficult to learn or because learning the language is accompanied by certain assumed benefits, but rather because those ministries of education have often failed to consider the broad range of factors affecting successful foreign language teaching and the equally broad range of factors affecting foreign language learning, including learner readiness, motivation, and aptitude.

The point of this discussion is to show that the debate about national multilingual policy versus monolingual policy is commonly based on misunderstanding of the issues; consequently, the debate frequently is quite independent of language, driven by social, political, economic and even theological issues. Educators need to explore positions espoused by governmental agencies to understand how such positions may actually interfere with second or foreign language learning and in the resulting squandering of resources in the pursuit of ephemeral objectives – to look at discrepancies between stipulated policy and actual practice, between stipulated objectives and actual effects, and between intended outcomes and real outcomes. (See, e.g., Nikolov & Mihaljevic Djigunovic, 2006.)

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THE NATIVE/NONNATIVE CONUNDRUM REVISITED

Péter Medgyes

INTRODUCTION: PROS AND CONS

More than twenty years ago, I had a paper published in the *ELT Journal* (Medgyes, 1992), followed by a full-length book (Medgyes, 1994). While writing the two pieces, I had the gut feeling that I was going to open a can of worms. However, not in my wildest dream did I imagine that there were going to be so many worms in that can.

In those two studies I investigated the differences between native- and nonnative-speaking teachers of English, for whom I used the acronyms *NESTs* and *non-NESTs*. I advanced two sets of hypotheses. In the first set, I claimed that NESTs are more proficient users of English than non-NESTs, and their superior command of English applies to all four skills, listening, speaking, reading and writing. I was pleased to see that the questionnaire and interview data I had obtained from several hundred teachers, both NESTs and non-NESTs, had justified my hunch. My second assumption, namely that NESTs and non-NESTs differ in terms of their teaching behaviour, proved to be true as well. On the basis of the collated data, I specified these differences in a tabular form. The first two hypotheses led me to conclude that the differences in teaching behaviour are due to dissimilar levels of language proficiency. This I considered so evident that I did not even bother to seek empirical evidence to confirm it. Finally I hypothesised that NESTs and non-NESTs can be equally good teachers – albeit each on their own terms. My respondents were rather divided on this issue. While nearly half of them agreed, the

other half, in roughly equal proportions, expressed their preference for either NESTs or non-NESTs.

In view of the above, I could not help asking myself: How come that non-NESTs can be as good as NESTs despite their linguistic handicap? What assets give us, non-NESTs, a competitive edge and grant us an equal chance of success? Surely, this is only possible if we are endowed with certain attributes that NESTs are lacking. Now what exactly are these attributes?

In an attempt to answer this question, I put forward a second set of hypotheses. This time, however, I refrained from putting them to the acid test, and relied merely on my personal experience and intuition, as well as on a good deal of informal exchange of ideas with fellow teachers, NESTs as well as non-NESTs. Below are the six hypotheses that display what I believe is the bright side of being a non-NEST. Non-NESTs can:

- provide a better learner model than NESTs,
- teach language learning strategies more effectively,
- supply more information about the English language,
- anticipate and prevent difficulties better,
- show more empathy to the needs and problems of students,
- benefit from the students' mother tongue.

For lack of space, I shall not elaborate on any of these statements. Suffice it to say, I posit that the linguistic deficit of non-NESTs, paradoxically, is a blessing in disguise, since it helps them to develop capacities that NESTs cannot even hope to possess. In the final analysis, there is cogent reason to believe that NESTs and non-NESTs may be equally good teachers, because their respective strengths and weaknesses balance each other out. Since each group can offer competences that the other group is short of, the ideal school is one in which there is a mix of NESTs and non-NESTs, who work in close collaboration with one another.

OPENING THE CAN OF WORMS

No sooner had my studies seen the light of day than I was attacked from various quarters. Linguists rejected the division of natives and nonnatives, stressing that the demarcation line between the two species cannot be drawn with any degree of precision. Can anyone define who is a native or a nonnative, they asked.[1] Indeed, the native/nonnative dichotomy does not stand up to close scrutiny; there are borderline cases galore. Nevertheless, the majority of us still fall into either this or that category. Who would query that I am a nonnative speaker of English whereas

[1] A vehement opponent of the native/nonnative speaker division, Paikeday (1985), went so far as to give his book the title, *The Native Speaker is Dead!*

Christopher (the son of an English mother and father, born in London) is a native speaker? Or that I am a native speaker of Hungarian, which Christopher is not. Mind you, there are lots of other things in the universe which defy clearcut definitions. The philosopher Popper (1968), for example, said that if physicists in the 19th century had been bogged down in the definitional problems of the phenomenon "light", the electric bulb might never have been invented. As if to close the polemic, the linguist Halliday (interviewed in Paikeday, 1985) quipped that the native speaker is a useful term, precisely because it cannot be closely defined.

Up rose the stalwarts of the P. C. movement, too. They objected to the prefix "non" in the term *nonnative*, stressing that it had a pejorative ring to it. "No human being is inferior to another. We're all equal," they queried. Undoubtedly, but the fact that we are all equal does not imply that we are the same, too, does it? Different does not mean better or worse! [2]

Another band of critics consisted of teacher trainers and their ilk. They complained that in my obsession to scourge non-NESTs for their alleged linguistic shortcomings, I gave short shrift to other attributes, such as teaching qualifications, length of experience, individual traits, level of motivation, love of students, and many more. I admit I did! However, in order to uphold the validity of my research, I was obliged to keep all the variables constant, except for the language proficiency component. What I claimed was that, all other things being equal, the better a non-NEST speaks English, the better teacher he or she will be! Which is not the same as saying that those other teacherly attributes carry negligible weight.

However, the most vociferous opponents of the NEST/non-NEST dichotomy were non-NEST advocacy groups, who contended that this separation fuelled discriminatory practices against non-NESTs: teaching applications from even highly qualified and experienced non-NESTs often get turned down in favour of NESTs with no comparable credentials. While my sympathy lies with my fellow non-NESTs, I have to underline that this is not an overriding concern in most parts of the world, as the percentage of non-NESTs in search of a teaching job in English-speaking countries is insignificant. Non-NESTs typically work in EFL environments at home and not in ESL contexts abroad. Anyway, forcibly removing the label *non-NEST* is no more than window-dressing. For good or ill, NESTs and non-NESTs belong to different species.

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[2] Incidentally, there were several attempts to replace the native/nonnative labels with something more appropriate, but none of them seem to have stood the test of time (e.g., Edge, 1983; Kachru, 1985; Paikeday, 1985; Rampton, 1990).

FOR ALL THE BACKLASH

For all the backlash outlined above, I trust that my effort to shed light on the NEST/non-NEST conundrum was well worth it. Firstly, I unwittingly launched an avalanche of research on this issue. Replicating my studies, many researchers confirmed or fine-tuned the conclusions I had arrived at. Others, following different research agendas, provided new perspectives and generated novel ideas. Either way, in the past twenty years the study of the NEST/non-NEST issue has come into its own.[3]

Secondly, non-NESTs, who had seldom made their voices heard in the past, were prompted to contribute to this line of research – and they did, ever so eagerly. The study of NESTs and non-NESTs turned out to be a niche they could call their own, offering plenty of opportunity for doing research and gaining recognition in the academic world. Braine is right in noting that this development is "an indication of the empowerment of [nonnative] researchers who are no longer hesitant to acknowledge themselves as [nonnative speakers], and venture into uncharted territory" (Braine, 2010, p. 29).

Thirdly, and most importantly, I like to think that my studies, but especially a follow-up lecture I delivered in many parts of the world under the title "Always look on the bright side", succeeded in boosting non-NESTs' self-confidence. The message that it is not a shame to be a non-NEST, because their linguistic shortfall is amply offset by the benefits they bring to the classroom, seems to have gone through. Non-NESTs would often come up to me after my talk, saying that from now on they would take pride in who they were. I received loads of emails, too, adorned with smileys.[4]

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[3] In addition to hundreds of research papers published in professional journals, PhD dissertations and MA theses, at least seven full-length books wholly devoted to this topic were published between 1999 and 2010 (Belcher & Connor, 2001; Braine, 1999; Braine, 2005; Braine, 2010; Kamhi-Stein, 2004; Llurda, 2005; Mahboob, 2010). I continued my own empirical research, too. Having investigated the NEST/non-NEST division from the teachers' perspective (Reves & Medgyes, 1994), I examined the classroom behaviour of NESTs and non-NESTs by means of video analysis (Árva & Medgyes, 2000), and then explored the same issue through the prism of learners (Benke & Medgyes, 2005). A modified version of my original ideas were formulated in Medgyes, 2001.

[4] Not all responses were so elevating, though, as the following intermezzo indicates. In my staple lecture referred to above, I like to whimper about my limited English-language competence whereupon native colleagues usually comfort me like this: "Come on, Peter, you're just fishing for compliments. You speak better English than ninety percent of the so-called native English population." On this particular occasion, however, a NEST from the audience stepped up to me after my talk and said, "You're bloody well right. And no matter how hard you're trying, my English will always be better than yours." I was miffed but appreciated this rare instance of honesty.

WHEN NESTS REIGNED SUPREME

Let us now take a look at what the ELT operation was like before the non-NESTs' self-awakening process began. From time immemorial, native speakers were in a position of unchallenged authority. They were regarded as inimitable models of the proper use of English, whom, paradoxically, learners were expected to imitate. This predicament partly explains why so many learners at school underachieved in English classes only to resume as false beginner adults under existential pressure.

However, non-NESTs were even worse off; after all for us an excellent command of English was – and still is – a make or break requirement, a good predictor of professional success. Since there was no way we could emulate NESTs in terms of language proficiency, many of us developed a more or less serious form of inferiority complex.[5]

In his hotly debated book, Phillipson (1992) introduced the Centre/Periphery dichotomy. To the *Centre* belong powerful English-speaking countries in the West, whereas the *Periphery* consists of mostly underdeveloped countries, where English is a second or foreign language. Another construct, similar to Phillipson's, is the BANA/TESEP distinction created by Holliday (1994). While *BANA* typically comprises private sector adult institutions in *B*ritain, *A*ustralasia and *N*orth *A*merica, *TESEP* includes state education at *te*rtiary, *se*condary and *p*rimary levels anywhere else in the world.

Both authors pointed out that since ELT was an extremely profitable business, organisations and individuals in the Centre/BANA had high stakes in maintaining its operation. NESTs and their accomplices considered themselves not only the sole repository of the English language but also the gatekeepers of "proper" ELT methodology, even though their bandwagon ideas had no roots in and were often inimical to the educational traditions of the Periphery/TESEP. We were inundated with flashy course materials, "wandering troubadours"[6], jet-in-jet-out teacher trainers and backpack teachers, all arriving from the "hub", to act the smart alec.[7] Regretfully, we accepted NEST superiority unconditionally, giving preference to import products over home-grown goods.

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[5] This nasty feeling is well expressed in the title of a paper, *Children of a lesser English* (Mahboob et al., 2004), which is a paraphrase of the American movie, *Children of a lesser God*. However, Rajagopalan is not so acquiescent; he transformed Karl Marx's famous proclamation like this: "[Nonnative speaker teachers] of the world wake up, you have nothing to lose but your nagging inferiority complex" (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 300).

[6] This is a phrase Alan Maley used in one of his blogs, with reference to NEST keynote speakers.

[7] Typically, back in 1979, International House, a large British-based network of language schools, had this on its brochure: "Once we used to send gunboats and diplomats abroad; now we are sending English teachers".

This was the situation in the not so distant past. What about today? Has anything changed since the first publications on the NEST/non-NEST issue came out in the early 1990s? My answer is a definite yes.

To begin with, today nonnative speakers of English far outnumber native speakers: according to rough estimates, out of four speakers of English only one is a native speaker. This being the case, the question of ownership inevitably arises: Can a minority group, that is native speakers of English, retain their hegemony and continue to arbitrate what is right and what is wrong in language usage? Widdowson's answer is unequivocal: native speakers should no longer be considered the true custodians of the English language, which they can "lease out to others, while still retaining the freehold. Other people actually own it" (1994, p. 385).[8] According to this line of reasoning, any nonnative speaker who engages in genuine communication in English with a native or nonnative partner is entitled to use it creatively, moulding it until it becomes an adequate tool of self-expression. Hundreds of studies support Widdowson's doctrine against the "native speaker fallacy" (Phillipson, 1992) – none states the opposite.[9]

Graddol is even harsher in his judgment when he says: "[N]ative speakers may increasingly be identified as part of the problem rather than the source of a solution. They may be seen as bringing with them cultural baggage in which learners wanting to use English primarily as an international language are not interested" (2006, p. 114). He goes on to contend that native speakers in fact hinder communication with nonnatives, partly because their presence is intimidating, but mainly because "few native speakers belong to the community of practice which is developing amongst lingua franca users" (*ibid.*, p. 115). However, since an increasingly large proportion of interaction in English takes place between nonnative speakers with no natives being present (Seidlhofer, 2011), this is no longer a big issue. All in all, native speakers are rapidly losing the pride of place they once occupied.

The fact that English has become the unparalleled lingua franca of our time has led some people to believe that it is under the threat of becoming so fragmented as to become mutually unintelligible. As it is spoken differently by billions of people in far corners of the world, so runs the argument, it will cease to retain its lingua franca status, just as Latin disintegrated into several Romance languages after the fall of the Roman Empire. Others question the fragmentation theory referring to the

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[8] As early as the 1970s, Povey reported on an illuminating example of disobedience: "An African student, after he was criticised by the native-speaking teacher for using a non-standard form, burst out like this: "It's our language now and we can do what we like with it!"" (1977, p. 28).

[9] In this regard, Li, for example, has this to say: "[B]eing a non-native speaker, I have learned, does give me the license to march to a different drum, to some extent" (1999, p. 50).

uniting force of globalisation and the irresistible spread of *information and communications technology* (ICT).

Be that as it may, *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) has become a prominent area of research; scores of studies have been conducted to disentangle its complexities both as a social phenomenon and a language variant. However, while acknowledging the socio-educational value of such efforts, in a linguistic sense I doubt that it deserves the credit it is extended these days. After all, only a language whose grammatical structure has been codified can aspire to be a language suitable for being taught at school. Where can I get hold of a book under the title, *The grammar of ELF*, I wonder. Although there have been several attempts at producing one and, for example, a *Lingua Franca Core* is now readily available (Jenkins 2000), a comprehensive description of ELF is still waiting to be construed (Sowden 2012). Therefore, learners of English, as well as their teachers, are ill-advised to throw away standard grammar books of English. For the time being, they had better turn to the native speaker for authoritative norms of usage or at least "as a benchmark against which to monitor output" (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 191) – albeit perhaps to a lesser degree than before (Graddol, 2006).

YOUNG LEARNERS

Another marked trend gathering momentum is that English learners are getting younger. In more and more countries, English is introduced as early as the lower primary school and even the kindergarten – it is on its way to becoming part and parcel of general education. The fact that English, together with ICT education, catches up with the three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic) as a basic skill enhances its scope and prestige. On the other hand, since it is increasingly seen as a second rather than a foreign language, English can no longer offer the added value ascribed to foreign languages in general.

In any case, teaching the young poses new challenges that the profession cannot yet meet either in terms of teacher supply[10] or methodological expertise. A larger number of teachers of English who are intimately familiar with the local educational environment are needed today than ever before. For reasons outlined above, NESTs are less capable of coming up to these expectations than non-NESTs. In sum, it is general experience that the traditional EFL model is in decline (Graddol, 2006) and NESTs, the last bulwarks of native speaker supremacy (Braine, 1999), are losing ground at an ever faster speed.

[10] According to current estimates, 80 percent of the ELT profession consists of non-NESTs (Braine, 2010).

AN ACTION PLAN

What is to be done then? With a new paradigm looming large, a fundamental rethink of steps to be taken in language policy and practice is required. Teacher trainers, in particular, bear an increased responsibility for equipping the pool of prospective teachers with the knowledge and skills needed for the changing educational environment. It is with these caveats in mind that I, somewhat presumptuously, propose a 12-point action plan. Whereas some of these points have been touched upon in this paper, others are waiting to be put on the agenda of further deliberations.

1. An adequate teacher supply to satisfy the exponential growth of demand for English should be ensured.
2. Efforts to compile comprehensive corpora of English as a lingua franca should be intensified.
3. Work on producing a "grammar of ELF" with the purpose of establishing norms of ELF use should be intensified.
4. In consideration of the worldwide tendency to start learning English at an early age, training curricula should pay more heed to the peculiarities of teaching the young.
5. Being regarded as a basic skill in the curriculum, English should become a major vehicle for *Content and language integrated learning* (CLIL).
6. Frameworks for training teachers for CLIL should be created.
7. In view of the worldwide spread of ICT, the theory and practice of ELT and teacher training should be radically overhauled.
8. As English is becoming a second, rather than a foreign, language in more and more countries, work on finding ways for the integration of out-of-school learning opportunities into classroom teaching should be undertaken.
9. Since language competence is a key requirement for effective teaching, language improvement courses should constitute a fundamental component of the training curricula for non-NESTs.
10. Only NESTs prepared to adapt to the local educational environment and stay for an extended period of time in the foreign country should be employed.
11. The role of NESTs should be reappraised: a suitable niche for them should be found.
12. Opportunities should be provided for NEST/non-NEST cooperation in as many schools as possible.

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DEVELOPMENT AND CONTENT STRUCTURE IN LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

Jenő Bárdos

INTRODUCTION

One of the major Hungarian composers of the past century, Zoltán Kodály, is often referred to as the ideal musician, who is able to create harmony from amongst the operations of the ears, the hands, the heart and the brain. Kodály, also a linguist and musicologist, died almost fifty years ago, but his metaphors are still alive: the *ears* are responsible for identifying and distinguishing the characteristic features of sounds; the *hands* will represent the dexterity and skillfulness of an instrumentalist; the *heart* – as a slightly outdated symbol of emotions – should illustrate the long and winding road of an artist from affected mannerisms to real artistic effects; while the *brain* is the metaphor of memory and creativity. Kodály – who is said to have been a better composer than a cello-player and a better linguist than some of his contemporaries – may not have thought too much of these seemingly nonsensical metaphors, and we do not either. However, the practicality and pragmatic aspects of the explanations to be provided may give us some insight into the language teaching profession.

Many papers describe language teaching as a kind of *craft* that can be learnt by imitating the master teacher. Depending upon the amount of practice and the routine to be developed, the teacher-candidate – while becoming a professional – may sink or swim. This "let him sink or let him swim" idea will take us closer to another popular idea about language teaching, according to which it is not even a profes-

sion, it is just *common sense*. Anyone can teach the language who is able to speak it, i.e., all native speakers can take up language teaching as a profession (and then sink or swim). With a horizon more elevated than narrow practicism, we believe that language teaching is an application of the principles and practical considerations of a sub-branch of *applied sciences* named *language pedagogy*. Just as we are about to finish our layman-like description of the language teaching profession – far beyond the earthly values of common sense and rationalism –, a mystic figure will catch the eye: the language teacher as an *artist*… Which one is more real of the quartet: language teaching as common sense, as a craft, as an applied science or as an art form? Our instincts would dictate that we need all four of them, but the proportions are questionable. Figure 1 depicts language teachers in the "bull's eye", at equal distances from extreme behaviours, proving that the right choice is to stay in the middle of the road.

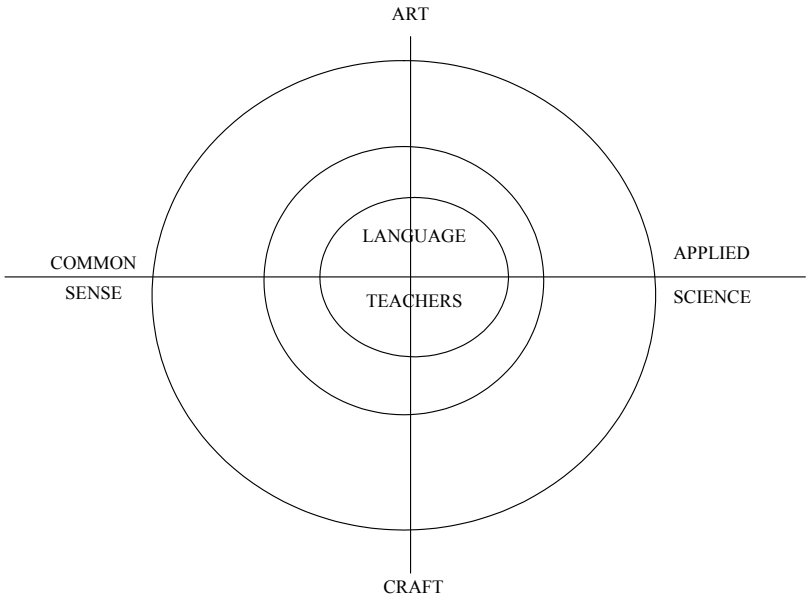

Figure 1. Challenges in the language teaching profession (Bárdos, 2000, p. 202)

Couldn't we possibly – *mutatis mutandis* – apply Kodály's popular metaphors to the language teaching profession? Is there a similarity between language teaching and the teaching of music in terms of the performances of finely-tuned, delicate series of tiny movements to be carried out? A combination of the two models can be seen in Figure 2. (Perhaps, the category *ears* to specify supra-segmental features or pronunciation in general should have come first instead of being last!)

❖ COMMON SENSE

'HEART'	ENTHUSIASM AND EMOTIONS IN TEACHING

❖ A CRAFT

'HANDS'	DEXTERITY (IN FINE MOVEMENTS OF THE SPEECH ORGANS+HANDWRITING)

❖ AN APPLIED SCIENCE

'BRAIN'	CREATIVITY, DIDACTIC CONSTRUCTIVITY

❖ AN ART

'EARS'	SOUNDS, STRESSES, INTONATION PATTERNS

Figure 2. Language teaching models in the light of Kodály's metaphors

The unification of these seemingly distant entities was meant to be more than just a provocation. By way of introduction, it can also provide insight into the various aspects of this ancient craft. The question is whether there is a general theory of language teaching, a sub-branch of various applied sciences to deal with all these aspects of the language teaching profession? It is high ti me we had a more scientific approach to the investigation of the content structure of language pedagogy, which is a complex multidisciplinary branch of applied sciences to cover all knowledges and skills (competences with reference to language teachers) that triggers language learning and results in various competences to use the language properly.

THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY AS A MULTIDISCIPLINARY SUB-BRANCH OF APPLIED SCIENCES

Early stages

Independently of their academic value, Roger Bacon's "Greek grammar" (1272) or the "Colloquiorum Liber" by Erasmus (1524) were only two of those several hundred, and later, thousands of books, the aim of which was to facilitate the process of language learning and language teaching. For many centuries "linguistic sciences" such as grammar and rhetoric served language teaching like pampered menials. Authors then did not bother to meet the rigorous requirements of a science

because such sciences did not exist yet. Their works were only motivated by their own wit, the depth and fineness of their knowledge and the philosophy of *utilis esse*. The rich arsenal of language teaching solutions accumulated throughout history included the main areas of communicating language content: teaching pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary with some pragmatic remarks in the *glossa* part of *praelectio* (cf., *praelectio*: *commentum* and *glossa*). Unfortunately, the first model of a language teaching method – the prototype of grammar-translation – narrowed down language teaching to reading texts with the help of a dictionary and degraded some of the activities into guessing games or mental gymnastics. Although Comenius introduced illustrations (*nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu*, 1650), Erasmus created the archetype of substitution drills (*Colloquiorum Liber*, 1524), Marcel described the four basic skills for the first time (1853), Prendergast foresaw the importance of word frequency and sentence generalizations (1864), and Gouin invented a verb and activity-centred language teaching – the most important ordering principles of language learning and teaching did not yet appear to create a theoretical framework for an integrative theory.

The appearance of awareness

Traditional philology changed significantly by the end of the 19th century as a result of the discovery of language families and the development of national languages. Following so many speculative, universal and descriptive grammars, it was really refreshing to study phonetics experimentally. Phonetics was not only a hub in the development of modern linguistics, but it also helped create a new type of consciousness about language learning and teaching. It was Henry Sweet, a phonetician, who wrote the first fundamental work in language pedagogy in the last year of the 19th century (*The Practical Study of Languages*, 1899). Passy et al. and Sweet himself strongly emphasized the importance of the new science (phonetics) in language learning, and tried hard to find a theoretical framework for the main principles of contemporary language teaching. Sweet regarded phonetics and associative psychology as fundamental and related sciences to judge the various kinds of knowledge and skills about the practice and theory of language learning and teaching in general. Figure 3 shows how some prominent theoreticians of the age determined the most important scientific fields which define the interdisciplinarity of language pedagogy.

Given work	Sciences
Sweet, H.: "The Practical Study of Languages" (1899)	Linguistics + Psychology
Jespersen, O.: "How to Teach a Foreign Language" (1904)	Linguistics + Psychology + The practice of foreign language teaching
Palmer, H.: "The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages" (1917)	Linguistics + Psychology + Education

Figure 3. The fundamental and related sciences of language pedagogy in the works of early theoreticians

Methods turn into theories

In the 20th century, the body of knowledge about language teaching (which is considered to be identical with the wisdom gained in previous centuries) accumulated rapidly but also suffered from time to time from the fast and unexpected changes of the otherwise rigid methodological arrangements that various language teaching technologies demanded. Starting with the reform movements at the end of the 19th century, all new methods were trying to find justification in the theories of the so-called related or supportive sciences.

This is the time when the hierarchy of the method concept was formed in the everyday practice of language teaching. The smallest units in this hierarchy are *steps* or items (like reading aloud), which are numerous, and neutral classroom moments proved to be unable to define a method. The next level in this hierarchy is a *process* (like dialogue exploitation), which is an algorithmic series of steps or techniques, still relatively neutral from the point of view of defining a method. A *method*, as the next level of the hierarchy, can be defined as a finite number of typical processes, with the help of which the arranged language content and classroom teaching forms are organically intertwined to ensure the necessary didactic phases for learning acquisition and during the whole process of language- or learner-centred activities. This is the point where we should make a distinction between a simple language teaching method (e.g., the Gouin series or Asher's Total Physical Response) and a language teaching theory. In the case of a language teaching theory, elements of the fundamental and supportive sciences to interpret strategies in that type of language learning and teaching are in a specific congruence, providing a scientific explanation for the effectiveness of the method (which does not mean automatically that the most scientific method is also the most efficient one). Figure 4 will demonstrate how fundamental and related sciences are organically connected in some language teaching theories listed in the right-hand column.

LINGUISTICS	PSYCHOLOGY	EDUCATION (Methods in Language Pedagogy)	
Phonetics	+ Associative psychology	=	Direct Method
Structuralism	+ Behaviourism	=	Audiolingual Method
Transformative-generative grammar	+ Cognitive psychology	=	Mentalist Approach
Macro- linguistics	+ Socio-psychology	=	Communicative Approach

Figure 4. Language teaching theories (or congruences of the supportive sciences)

The 20th century produced more than twenty labelled methods, the fashion-like changes of which seemed to have gathered momentum by the end of the millennium. The greatest surprise in language teaching over the last three decades has been the endurance of the Communicative Approach – although the present state of the art has little to do with the original, orthodox communicative approach of the end of the 1970s. (We should be happy about this perseverance, as fashion-like swings of the pendulum and frequent changes of the paradigms often ruined the image of language teaching as a profession and language teachers themselves aroused disrespect due their own intolerant and inconsistent behaviour.)

By the 1990s, the Communicative Approach has expanded and swallowed some method-sized trends (e.g., the Lexical Approach). However, more classroom research is needed to describe the characteristic features of this latest flood of eclecticism. At the same time it should be noted that despite the pitfalls and fallacies of historical methods, many people have still been able to learn languages successfully with the help of these "faulty" methods. This is hardly new to those who are aware of the wisdom of the past 25 centuries of language teaching, in the light of which many new initiatives can be seen as new variations on an old theme. Although the swing of the pendulum can be caused by significant economic or political changes, for the expert the battle fought for a language teaching theory to be made more simple and logical is a never-ending story any applied linguist or psychologist would like to spin. In fact, several hundred years of experience of teaching foreign languages – as a global challenge, as a craft, as a routine of instruction and as an art form – has provided the "vehicles", with the help of which language pedagogy has been established as a special sub-branch of interdisciplinary applied sciences. The most important methods and approaches – past and contemporary classroom solutions and technologies – which have contributed to the formation and development of language pedagogy are enumerated in Figure 5.

- The Grammar-Translation Method (more than 2,000 years old)
- The Direct Method (more than 110 years old)
- The Reading Method (more than 80 years old)
- The Intensive Method (more than 60 years old)
- The Audio-Lingual Method (more than 50 years old)
- The Audio-Visual Method (more than 40 years old)
- The Mentalist Approach (Cognitive Code-Learning) (more than 40 years old)
- Humanistic Approaches (CLL, TPR, SW, SU) (more than 40 years old)
- The Communicative Approach (more than 30 years old)
- Applications of communicative language teaching (Content-Based, Task-Based language teaching) (more than 10 years old)
- "The Post-Method Condition" (or Major Strategies …) (today)

Figure 5. Best-known "labelled" methods in the history of FLT

WHAT LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY IS NOT

Despite all the recent efforts made by science to unveil the mystery of language acquisition and language learning, the decisive notions and theories interpreting quality changes still seem to be oscillating between insight and speculation, common sense and intuition in the everyday practice of the language teacher. There is no harmony between theories of language teaching and applied linguistic research in general, and there is definitely a lack of harmony if we add teacher intuition and routine as further components. Teacher intuition as an umbrella term includes any creative classroom solutions which are based on guesses, suppositions, or artistic considerations suggested by this highly pragmatic, performative profession. Some of these conjectures should not be despised or abhorred, but narrow practicism or deliberate misinterpretations can be harmful. This section will provide some examples of each.

The relationship of methodology and language pedagogy

Lectures and seminars titled "methodology" at universities often become sources of contempt, triggering a feeling of scorn as if teaching anything practical at the university brought nothing but disgrace to the institution. More often than not, an exhausted secondary school teacher will carry her audio-visual devices with a miserable look on her face along the corridors, in an effort to explain how these things operate and help the teacher in a classroom environment to a bunch of bluestockings or would-be-poets, for whom reality tends to be superficial. It is her job to teach how to do standard dictation, what are the usual steps of dialogue exploita-

tion, what type of reading should be used under certain circumstances, etc. This is not to suggest that it is not essential to be aware of the way you organize classroom activities or the way you project yourself, but all these different kinds of knowledge and skills will not amount to more than the highway code of the foreign language classroom. That kind of methodology – although fundamental and essential – is not identical with language pedagogy. Language pedagogy includes such fields as curriculum design, material evaluation, learning strategies, testing and evaluation, and many more. Methodology is only a narrow slice of language pedagogy, no more than the application of some principles of this major inter- and multidisciplinary branch of science to an educational environment.

The relationship of applied linguistics and language pedagogy

It is nearly impossible to give a thorough analysis of the similarities and differences between applied linguistics and language pedagogy without a glimpse at the historical developments of the former. In Corder's classic (1973), language teaching issues and their applied linguistic aspects are virtually identical. No better proof for this assumption than the table of contents of Corder's book.

LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE LEARNING
- Views of Language
- Functions of Language
- The Variability of Language
- Language as a Symbolic System

LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE TEACHING
- Linguistics and Language Teaching
- Psycholinguistics and Language Teaching
- Applied Linguistics and Language Teaching
- The Description of Languages:
- A Primary Application of Linguistic Theory

THE TECHNIQUES OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS
- Selection 1: Comparison of Varieties
- Selection 2: Contrastive Linguistic Studies
- Selection 3: The Study of Learners' Language: Error Analysis
- Organization: The Structure of the Syllabus
- Presentation: Pedagogic Grammars
- Evaluation, Validation and Tests

Figure 6. Corder (1973): "Introduction to applied linguistics: main topics"

The development of applied linguistics in the past three decades has resulted in the appearance (and unexpected growth) of several inter- and multidisciplinary sciences that can still loosely be connected by the umbrella term of applied linguistics.

Figure 7 shows three phases of the development of applied linguistics, quite similar to the cell-division of human reproduction. With this speed of development (and the division of branches into sub-branches), a blastocyst may have to be drawn in the next three decades! Language pedagogy, despite the overlaps (see Figure 7 and Figure 9), can only be considered to be a part of applied linguistics, but they are not identical with each other.

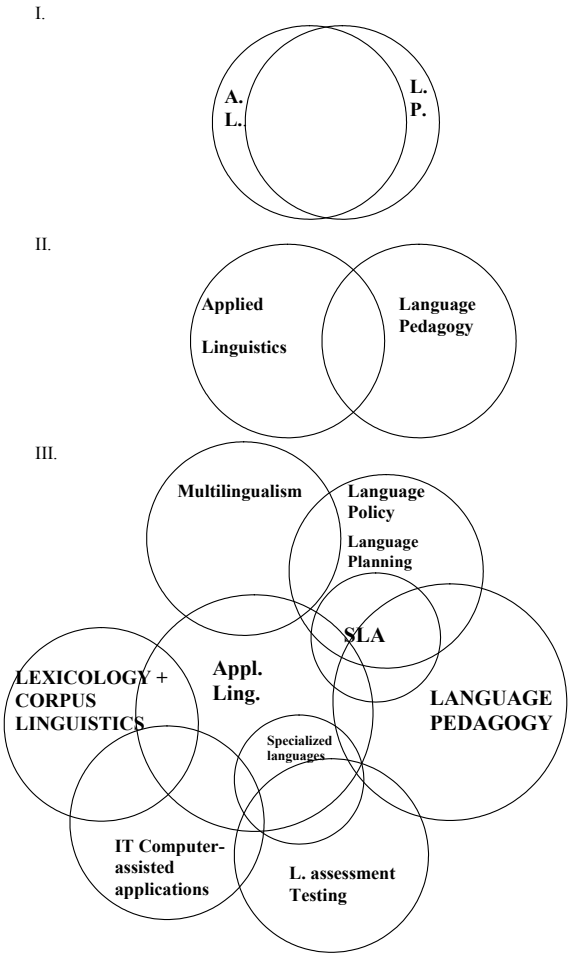

Figure 7. The development of applied linguistics and language pedagogy (Bárdos, 2004, p. 182)

The relationship between educational linguistics and language pedagogy

Spolsky's propositions were published in the form of a major encyclopedia of linguistics in 1999. The purpose of this new paradigm was to introduce a new nomenclature to include everything that had relevance in education in the mirror of linguistic issues. Although linguistics in Spolsky's encyclopaedia is interpreted in a fairly broad sense – including the originally hyphenated applications like psycho-

and sociolinguistics – the balance of various related and unrelated supportive sciences is remarkable. The strength of Spolsky's arrangement is in the high number of sociolinguistic explanations – which can rarely be found in classical books on language pedagogy. The well-chosen state-of-the-art articles, written by the best authors in their fields, offer the greatest value of this reference book, and the number of overlapping fields of language pedagogy is significant. All along, while reading the book, we cannot help feeling that Spolsky made an attempt at removing all the theories and applications of language pedagogy from the field of a social science (pedagogy) into the realm of linguistics. It would satisfy the wish of many language teachers to regard our profession as a kind of applied linguistic study, but then what about the aspects of psychology, sociology, information technology and, last but not least, education, that are all significant components of language pedagogy?

- Educational and applied linguistics
- Linguistics and language learning
- The social context:
  - society
  - national policy (language education policy)
  - literacy and oracy
  - the home-school language gap
- The individual learner:
  - LA, challenged learners
  - SL processing
- The school context:
  - school and classroom
  - dictionaries, electronic age
- Teaching language:
  - national curricula
  - grammar in mother tongue teaching
  - reading, spelling, writing in the mother tongue
- Teaching additional languages:
  - SLT, FLT, SLA
  - SL and FL pedagogy
- Testing the profession: institutions, people

Figure 8. Concise encyclopedia of educational linguistics: main topics (Spolsky, 1999)

In the previous passages we compared various fields of applied sciences in order to demonstrate how language pedagogy is different from them. Lessons learned from the comparison can be simplified the following way: *methodology* is a part of language pedagogy, and language pedagogy has minor overlaps with *applied linguistics*. Language pedagogy has more overlaps with *educational linguistics* but it is not iden-

tical with the three fields enumerated above. For illustration, Figure 9 is offered to demonstrate the way in which the related sub-branches of sciences are intrinsically intertwined, still leaving a significant part of language pedagogy to stand by itself. In reality, these symmetrical connections and correspondences are rather disproportionate. A more detailed analysis will be offered in the next chapter.

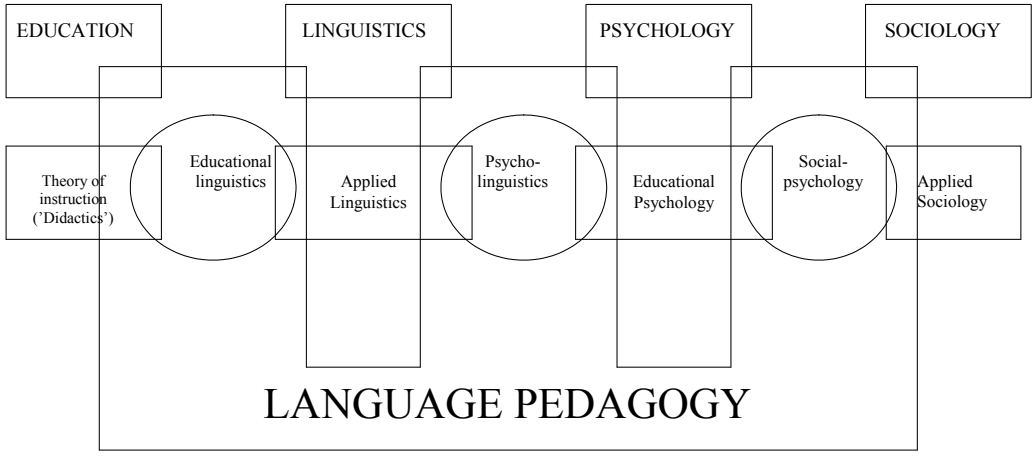

Figure 9. Language pedagogy and other related (sub)branches of sciences

WHAT LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY IS

There are several ways of describing knowledge structures in language pedagogy. Despite the abundance of research data on learner behaviour, the role of the teacher, learning and teaching styles, most models can be regarded as speculative rather than statistical. In describing the characteristic features of the language teaching profession, most traditional methodologies gave answers along the "who-whom-what-how-with the help of what" question-series. Most methodologies under the label *who* will discuss the appearance and manners of the teacher, the art of speech in interaction, the ability to ask questions, intercultural communicative competences, tactfulness and classroom management in general, etc. Some methodologies will emphasize the importance of the *whom* question (learner-centeredness), especially from the point of view of the cognitive and affective features in learners, their motivation, age and maturity, attitudes, the use of learning strategies, the ability to imitate, linguistic sensitivity, their IQ and memory, etc. The question of *what* will obviously refer to the problems of teaching material selection and gradation, a justified way of selecting general and specialized vocabulary, preferred items of grammar, speech functions and cultural scripts, the development of cross-cultural understanding and specific, practical interpretations of the components of communicative competence, etc. The *how* question is about the previously

mentioned highway-code of the classroom in a given educational environment, with the interpretation of the curricula and syllabi, methods, processes and the way of feedback with the help of evaluation. For some methodologies the label *with the help of what* is regarded as an organic part of the question *how*. Obviously, this is the audio-visual background of the instruction (how to use realia, pictures, slides, tapes, language labs, e-mail networks, CALL, interactive videos or DVDs, IT and the "new media", etc.). By creating a teacher stage, it is the teacher who "makes this world go round", although in classroom interaction, through the performances of students and teachers, each must have a part. The essential elements of this classroom chemistry are shown in Figure 10.

Most of these fields of knowledge were formed historically by intuition and speculation, but after a while the language teaching profession became aware of these practical considerations. Most teacher training courses on language pedagogy are supposed to contain the following major themes:

- theoretical and practical knowledge in *curricula* as the objectives of teaching; categories and types; minor units; their planning, development and evaluation;
- familiarity with *teaching materials*, teaching material analysis, teaching material evaluation;
- methodological solutions: processes, strategies, methods, *didactic systems* to convey and mediate language content and develop skills;
- familiarity with *technical equipment*; methodological knowledge of how to use them; the evaluation of their effectiveness;
- testing and evaluation in *foreign language assessment*, principles and practice in evaluating teacher performances, internal and external quality assurance (QA).

Proportions of Language Pedagogy (LP) courses may vary according to the level of training: history of language teaching is taught on undergraduate courses; graduate courses will focus on the way language content should be communicated, and how skills, competences and abilities be developed. Post-graduate courses may focus on language assessment in general, or test development and validation questions, etc. (Bárdos, 1995). Proportions of the elements of LP knowledge-structures at the University of Pannonia, Veszprém, Hungary are shown in Figure 11.

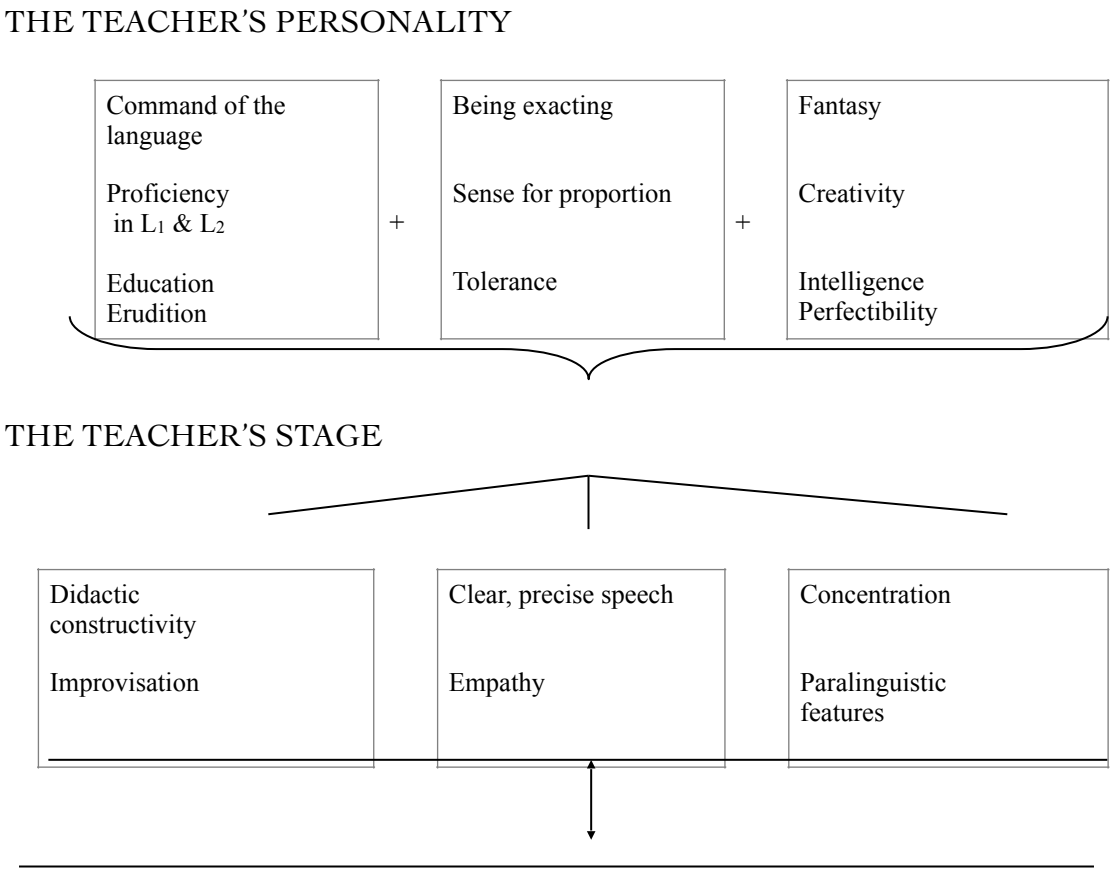

Figure 10. The teacher-student relationship

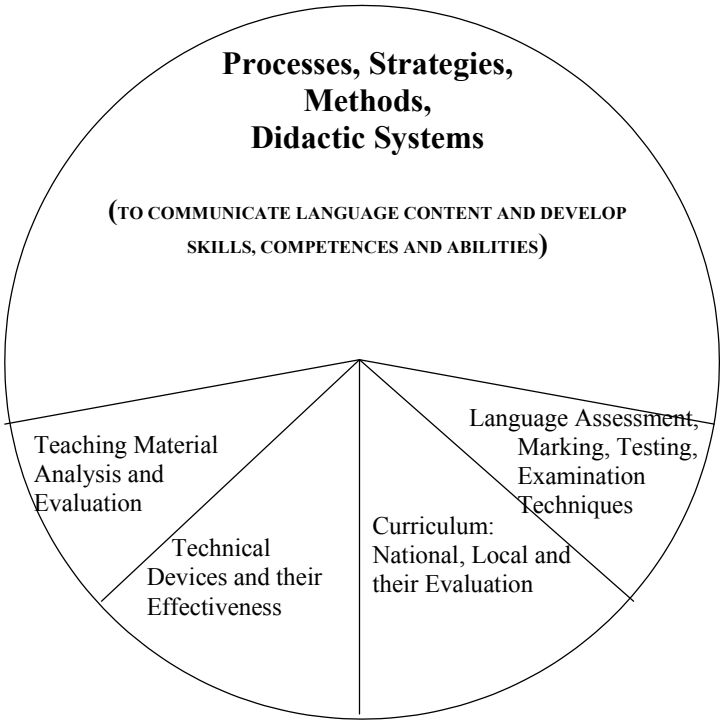

Figure 11. Proportions of the elements of knowledge-structures in graduate LP courses

So far we have discussed knowledge-structures in language pedagogy, based upon the practical considerations of a vast amount of classroom experience. We have followed an inductive way of building up a model. By introducing the history of foreign language teaching, we can add a diachronic aspect to this synchronic view on language teaching and learning. Following our inductive approach, we could go higher by adopting a more specific model to describe the *inner content structure* of language pedagogy. The following figure is a combination of the previous models, plus a model of communication, according to which the whole pedagogical process can be considered to be an input-output model with feedback.

In harmony with the model shown above, at the University of Pannonia we teach a four-semester block of graduate courses on language pedagogy, consisting of a two-hour lectures followed by two-hour seminars: history of foreign language teaching (the diachronic aspect of language pedagogy); contemporary foreign language teaching (the synchronic aspect of language pedagogy); curricula, teaching materials and technical devices; language assessment. This LP block is part of a concurrent teacher training block at MA level, that is, the pedagogical subjects are taught parallel to higher level philological subjects in literature, linguistics and cultural history, plus psychology and social sciences. The four semesters of language pedagogy are complemented with a semester of teaching practice in a regional

school network, where specifically trained mentors help teacher candidates obtain and develop reliable skills in classroom management and basic teaching. Under the Bologna-process, there are chances that our teacher training will become a follow-up model with two majors, instead of the more effective concurrent model.

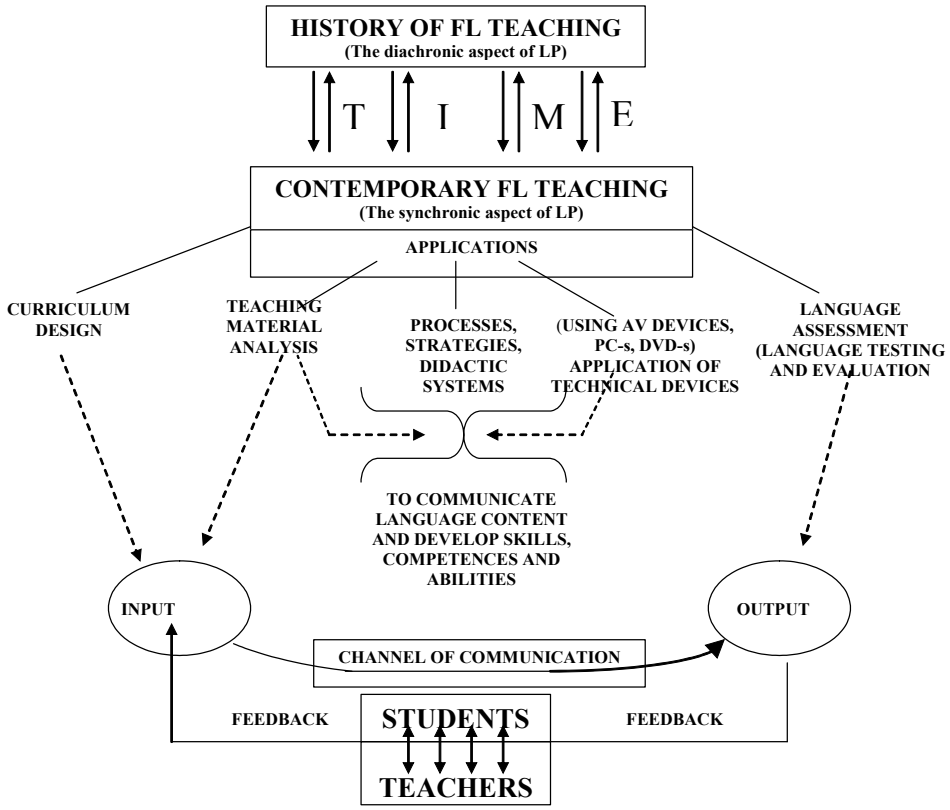

Figure 12. The content structure of language pedagogy

Although Figure 12 shows clearly the inner structure of knowledge systems in language pedagogy, we cannot be satisfied with this inner view alone. We should see how language pedagogy can fit into a whole array of fundamental and related sciences. Figure 13 will illustrate why language pedagogy can be considered to be an inter- and multidisciplinary branch of science, which in itself is a branch of applied sciences, relatively far away from theoretical linguistics or education, but at the same time very close to applied sciences like psycho- and sociolinguistics. Research methods of language pedagogy are very similar to the ones used in sociology, psychology and education, especially in terms of the design of qualitative and descriptive or experimental research; data and data-collection procedures; analysing and evaluating data, etc. New fields often develop new methods like validation process-

es in testing and evaluation, or the problems of equation and benchmarking in relating language examinations to the *Common European Framework of Reference* (2001).

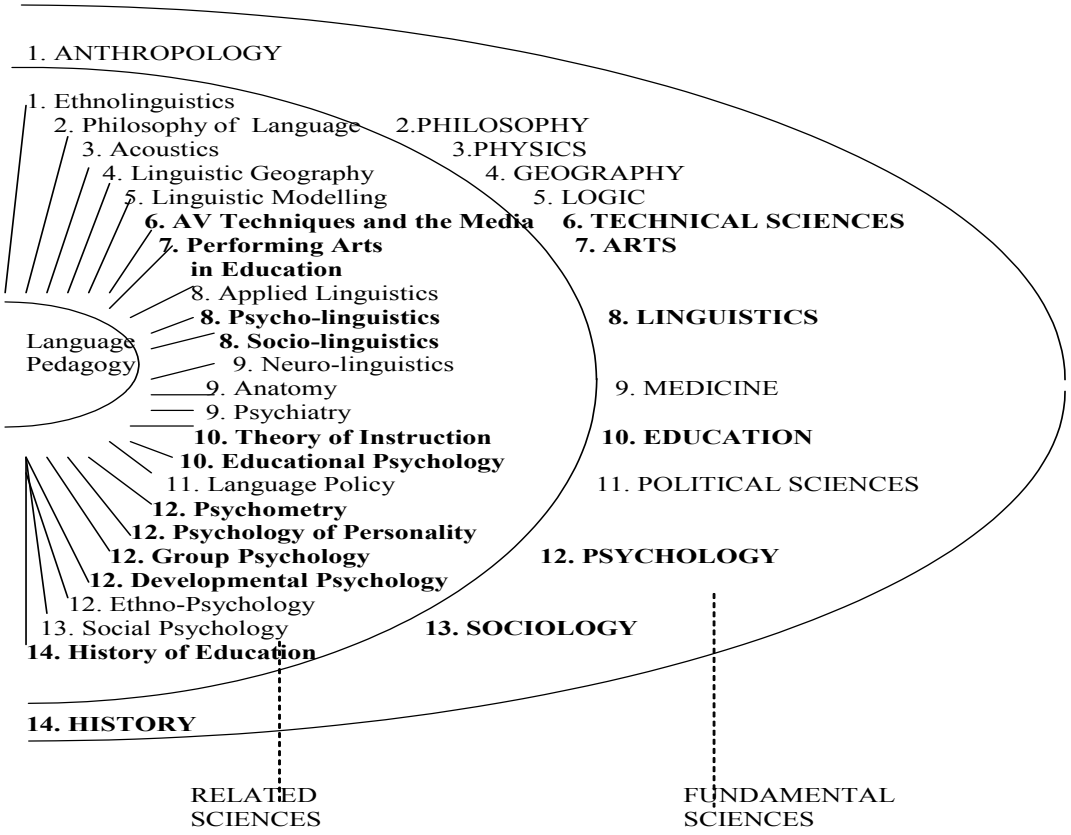

Figure 13. Generic view (external connection points) of Language Pedagogy in the set of related and critical sciences (Bárdos, 2000, p. 35)

Figure 13 provides a detailed picture of the relatedness of LP to other sciences but it cannot demonstrate the proportions of the way language pedagogy is attached to these theoretical and applied sciences. These proportions are shown in Figure 14.

The description of language pedagogy in the previous chapter is a collection of great expectations rather than a realization of the implementation of relevant principles and theories. Questionnaires on everyday activities of language teachers will demonstrate a different order of preferences. The concerns of language teachers will include an increasing amount of bureaucracy and red tape loaded on their shoulders by management. The everyday struggle to obtain, store and retrieve teaching material, the drudgery, toils and travails of transporting and eventually annihilating teaching materials (lack of space) just to meet some exaggerated demands, are also high on the list. The constant correction of homework, tests, essays, etc. swallow months and years of one's lifetime. Under such circumstances,

questions about the application of scientific theories become problems of a secondary order or shrink into insignificance. Although most language teachers try hard to keep up language standards, develop target language competences and increase intercultural awareness, their administrative and other school burdens may prevent them from making professional improvements. The following figure will show the proportions of the various fields in their activities based upon the analyses of questionnaires.

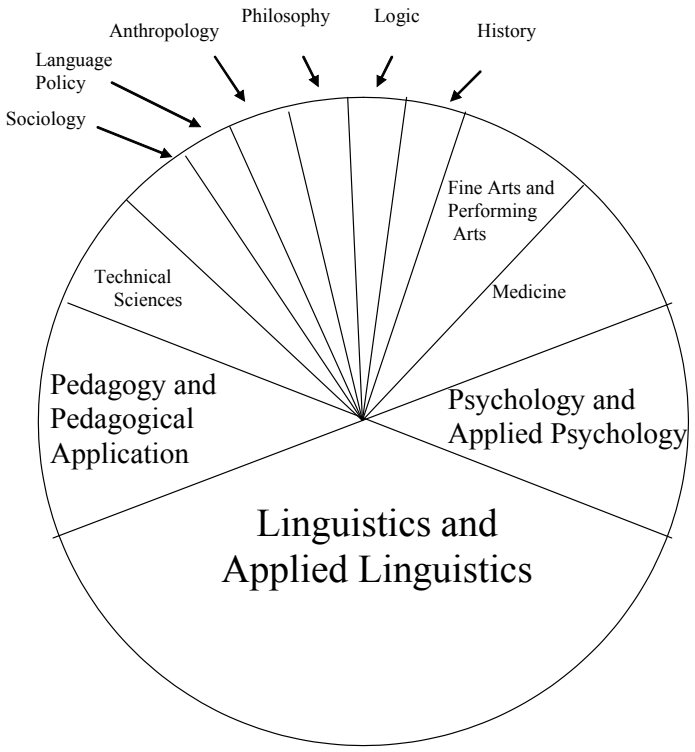

Figure 14. Proportions of the external relationships to various branches of science from the point of view of Language Pedagogy

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EXPECTATIONS AND REALITY

The situation described above can explain why there is little erudition and scholarship in the world of practical language teaching nowadays. The split between theory and practice is palpable in most educational environments: anything "scientific" is treated by feelings of animosity. Similar processes can be detected at universities about anything "practical". There are few instructors (and textbooks) able to bridge the gap, mainly because of the paucity of LP subjects in teacher training. The systematic description of the elements of LP structure, and a hierarchy of LP

subjects – as seen in Figure 12 – have not yet become the organic parts of contemporary foreign language teacher training.

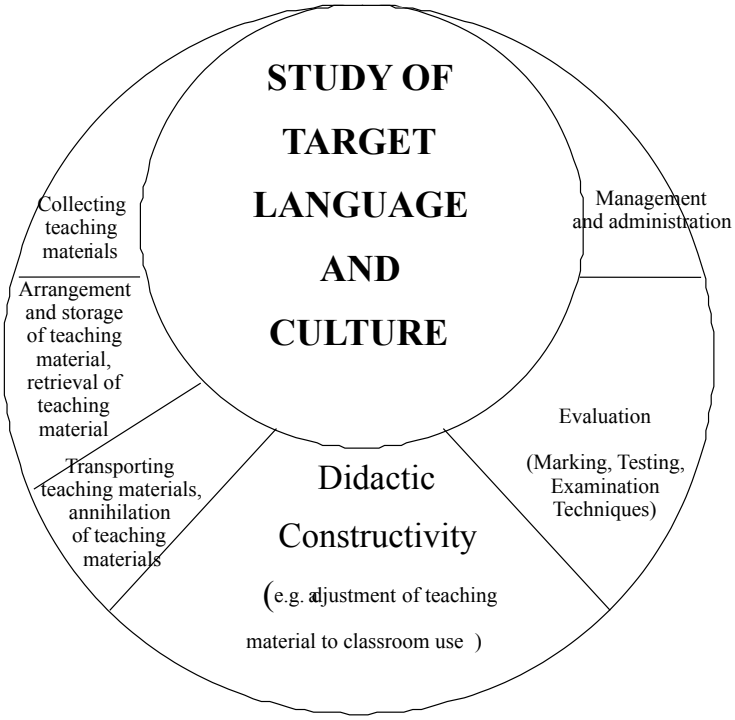

Figure 15. Main components of LP activities in the case of practising language teachers

The danger is narrow practicism and a lack of awareness about the real character of the teaching-learning processes. As can be seen in Figure 16, practice will rely upon routine and eventually intuition while the two are contradictory concepts. Research would need both intuition and routine, and contemporary language teaching and learning theories ought to be reflected in everyday practice. Disharmony and dissatisfaction because of this split often result in rows and diatribes, which are accidental and too vehement. It is high time we tried to settle this matter. The core and kernel of good practice is a good theory applied properly.

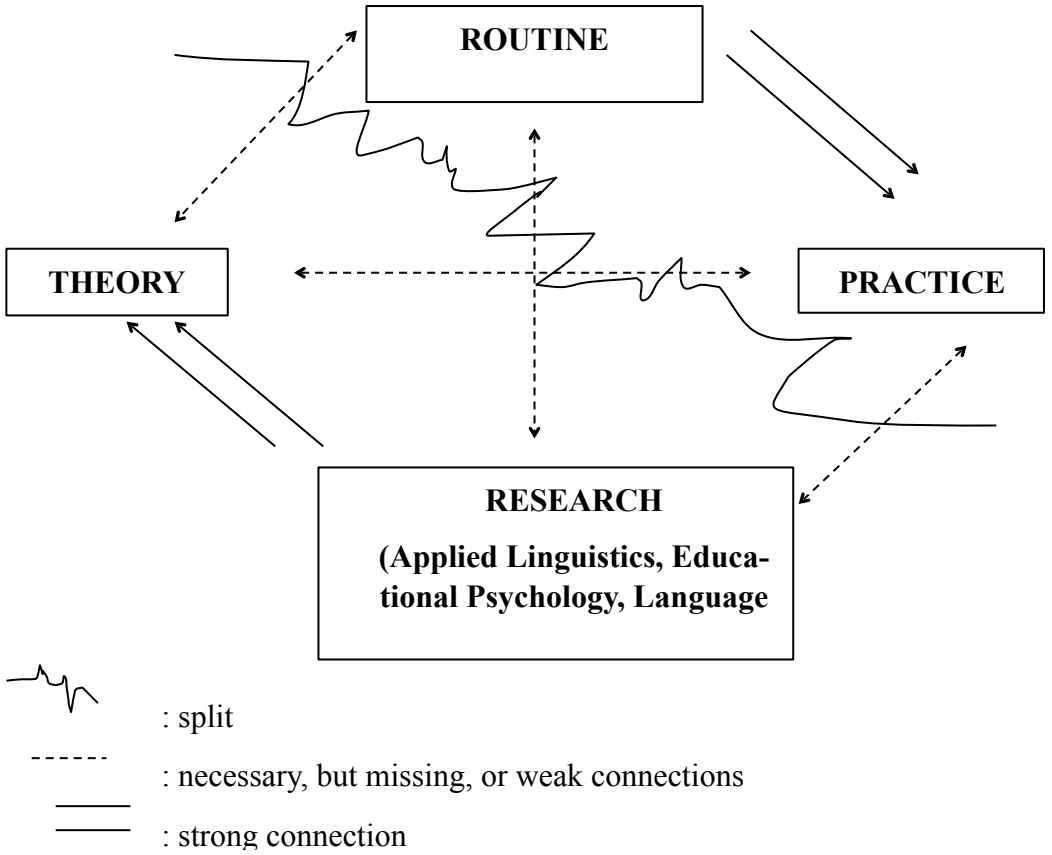

Figure 16. Split between theory and practice

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MODERN FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL CORE CURRICULA

Enikő Öveges

INTRODUCTION

The core document which defines the content requirements of foreign language (FL) teaching in Hungarian public education is the National Core Curriculum (NCC), the first version of which was defined in the LXXIX Act of 1993 on public education and in its modification in 1995. The purpose of the first issue (introduced in 1998) was to replace the formerly highly detailed central curriculum regulations and establish the upper level of a two-level content regulation system. It contained a framework of development and detailed requirements for ten grades in public education, which ensured ground for independence and choice at the local or institutional level in the elaboration of their school-specific programmes in the different subjects. Due to its genre, it drew up the content and the requirements compulsory for every student in each subject, including FLs. As a result of a new policy approach, from 1999 it became the topmost level of a "triple system" (Vass, 2002, p. 1), the unit of the core curriculum, the frame curricula and the local curricula.

The political changes of 2002 resulted in the reviewing of the NCC for „legal and professional" reasons (Vass, 2002, p. 1) with the intention of granting the local level a wider role by eliminating the compulsory nature of the frame curricula and omitting the elaborated detailed requirements. The outcome of the reconsideration was the government decree of 2003, in which the NCC of 2003 (Government decree, 2003) was determined as the ground for local curricula and the frame curricula were labelled as an optional base. Because of the former extension of the com-

pulsory school age, this phase extended the development requirements for 12 years. The next phase of the NCC revision was in 2007 (Government decree, 2007), which followed the previous path completing it with the system of key competences.

The third reviewing phase of the NCC was conducted in 2011. The core curriculum constructed represents the earlier, strongly regulatory approach with its detailed regulations and the accompanying obligatory frame curricula system. On the basis of the Act CXC of 2011, the objective of this version is to ensure "the content standard of school education" and to define the "compulsory learning contents", thus returning to the triple system of 2003. In this system, the base for the local curricula will be the frame curricula based on the NCC and only 10% of the total lessons will remain to be filled independently with "teaching and learning contents and activities" (Government decree, 2012, p. 10647) which are "tailored to the school's profile".

The documents in the four phases differ not only in their approach and content elements but also in the certain age groups they summarize the objectives and the requirements for. The first NCC divides the compulsory education into two phases (grades 1-6 and grades 7-10) and specifies the general requirements for the end of grade 6 and grade 10, with the detailed requirements for the end of grades 6, 8 and 10. Since the public education act of that time defined the compulsory school age until 16 the NCC did not take account of grades 11 and 12; for these grades the matura exam requirements provided regulation. The 2003 version matched the requirements with two-year-periods for grades 6, 8, 10 and 12 on the basis of the extended compulsory school age until 18. The 2007 document applied the same approach. The content of the 2011 revision is similarly allocated to two-year-periods in three bigger groups (grades 1-4, 5-8 and 9-12).

This study aims to give an overview of the evolvement the FL parts have gone through in the four NCC versions. Their importance is obvious as they are the central documents to be consulted when planning FL teaching in the Hungarian public education. Moreover, the first and the last issues (1995, 2012) have served as the basis for the related frame curricula developed. They have reflected the way Hungarian decision makers and curriculum development experts think of FL education and at the same time, they are also indicators of the integration of the European values and approaches into the system.

The four issues are analysed with the help of document analysis based on preestablished questions, in order to explore their main change attributes and to gain insights into the ever prevailing approaches to FL education. The analysis is intended as a first step to fill a niche as despite the fact that the four versions of the NCC are supposed to have direct impacts on FL teaching in public education, they have not received the research attention they would deserve. The most recent and currently effective issue is handled independently in the study, making it a basis to launch the retrospective comparison from. For this reason, the data of the 2012 version are also included in the discussion of the other three, which are dealt with together in one part. Apart from the scarcity of relevant literature, the analysis has

also been generated by the personal motivation of the author who was part of the team constructing the 2012 version and was involved in both frame curricula development procedures. The research questions of the study focus on the similarities and differences of the four documents in terms of their approach, their aims, the number and range of languages learnt, the requirements, the required output levels and the amount of language lessons to be devoted to meet all these aspects.

THE MODERN FLS IN THE NCCS OF 1995, 2003 AND 2007

Although the core curricula of 1995, 2003 and 2007 all follow the recommendations of the European Council, the parts about the modern FLs show many differences in their principles. While the first core curriculum emphasized practical language skills and the recognition of other cultures, the other two modern FL curricula placed communicative language competence in the foreground. In all three documents effective language competence was the main objective; however, they differed in the number of languages to be learnt: the one compulsory FL allotted in 1995 was replaced by two compulsory languages in grammar schools and certain technical schools (the first curriculum had already suggested the integration of a second FL). The choice of language was free in all three regulations to be decided upon local needs. It only changed from 2012 when the choice of the first FL was limited to English, German, French and Chinese. With regard to second foreign languages, any modern or classical FL can still be chosen.

Similarly to the one in 2012, the former core curricula defined the requirements for all modern FLs together. The first document in 1995 listed the general and detailed requirements, the former for grades 6 and 10, the latter for grades 6, 8 and 10. The general requirements included five elements at the end of grades 6 and 10 it was completed with further elements and requirements targeting the development of communication, cooperation and self-study skills. The detailed requirements listed the actual content, divided into language functions, general notions and topics on the basis of the European Council's Threshold Level (van Ek & Trimm, 1990), each of the above completed with actual examples. The development requirements represented in the 1995 document by the competences based on the four skills and the necessary vocabulary also belonged here. The minimum level of the obligatory achievement was marked in boldface, and at certain elements examples helped the readers' understanding. The relevant core curriculum parts of 2003 and 2007 defined the development objectives in the four skills on the basis of the language levels determined in the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR) (Common, 1996). The names of the skills were altered compared to the previous versions; only "speaking skills" remained unchanged. The names went through yet another change in the 2012 version in order to harmonize the various documents.

In the 2003 and 2007 documents, the minimum required output levels were identical, some variation could be detected only in the potential "curriculum" ver-

sions of the 2007 NCC. The exact requirements for the first and second FL on the basis of the CEFR levels are summarized in the following two tables (Table 1, Table 2). For the sake of comparison the minimum levels of 2012 are also shown in the tables, although they will only be discussed in the part on the 2012 NCC.

Table 1. The minimum CEFR output levels in the first FL in the NCC documents of 2003, 2007 and 2012

	1-4.	6.	8.	10.	12.
2003	not stated	A1	A1	A2	B1
2007	no data	A1	A1	A2	B1
2012	cannot be specified in CEFR levels	A1	A2	B1	B1

Table 2. The minimum CEFR output levels in the second FL in the NCC documents of 2003, 2007 and 2012

	1-4.	6.	8.	10.	12.
2003	no data	no data	no data	no data	A2
2007	no data	no data	no data	no data	A2
2012	-	-	cannot be specified in CEFR levels	A1	A2

As regards the number of lessons the different versions represent a wider diversity. The percentage rates allotted to FL teaching in the 1995 version were the lowest, whereas the next two core curricula intended to ensure a much larger time frame. Compared to the concept of the 1995 document that FL learning should start in the fifth grade at the very latest the 2003 document meant progress by shifting the obligatory start to the fourth grade. The percentages of the number of lessons are summarized in Table 3. In order to get the full picture it includes the latest core curriculum as well, which will be discussed in the following section.

Table 3. The percentages of time allocation for modern FL lessons in the four NCC documents

NCC	primary education / years in percentages			secondary education / years in percentages	
	1-4.	5-6.	7-8.	9-10.	11-12. (only a minimal rate)
1995	-	11-15	9-12	9-13	no data
2003	2-6	12-20	12-20	12-20	13
2007	2-6	12-20	12-20	12-20	13
2012	2-6	10-18	10-15	12-20	13

MODERN FLS IN THE 2012 NCC DOCUMENT

The revision of the NCC was conducted in the spring of 2011 (for the draft document, see *Idegen nyelvek*, 2012; for the final decree, see Government decree, 2012). The latest modern language NCC overlaps with the former 2007 version in several areas. What the documents have in common is the competence based approach and the definition of the development requirements on the basis of the levels of the CEFR, however, the 2012 issue provided a more thorough interpretation of the competence based approach. A major difference is that the 2012 NCC handles FLs together: modern and classical languages are all included in the "Foreign languages" section. During the revision the terminology was tailored to match the other relevant regulative documents; for example, the names of skills were modified on the basis of the terminology applied in the matura requirements. Content-wise, the most significant changes are the integration of interaction and language use in the curriculum, the determination of the obligatory first language options and the reconsideration of the output levels. The concept of starting a second FL in grade 7 and the modifications in the number of lessons can also be considered as major alterations. The document aims to guarantee the continuity of language learning by making the students' first FL compulsory in the secondary school.

The introduction was modified and supplemented according to the general goals of the new NCC. The cross-curricular activities and the integration of information technology into language teaching gained more emphasis, and intercultural skills were also given a key role. The 2012 regulation means a relapse in terms of the number of lessons because although the percentage of the lessons remained unchanged in grades 4, 9 and 12, these percentages decreased in grades 5-6 and 7-8. The previous 12-20 % for both grades 5-6 and 7-8 became 10-18 and 10-15 per cent in the current regulation. The lowered number of lessons are in contrast with

the allotted higher output requirements for these grades and questions the feasibility of starting a second FL in grade 7 as declared in the document.

The part titled "Principles and Objectives" defines a frame for language learning in Hungarian public education (obligatory start, number and choice of languages learnt in different school types). The document establishes five main points as the targets of modern FL learning, namely developing communicative and intercultural competence, making use of the integration between subjects, integrating ICT and establishing language learning strategies. It interprets communicative competence in a broader sense than the previous version, including linguistic, sociolinguistic and text competence. It also determines the basic learning and teaching requirements that must be enforced during the teaching process such as classroom management, an activity-based approach, differentiation and the use of authentic materials.

Similarly to the previous NCC and the matura requirements, the development requirements in 2012 NCC are embodied by the language levels and competences specified in the CEFR. Corresponding with the earlier practice, different languages are dealt with together, and specification are made in relation to first and second FLs. The requirements are also set for interaction and language use skills. A higher level of awareness of intercultural skills is allotted in order to help students to recognise the specialty of other cultures, to compare them with their own and to communicate more efficiently with members of other cultures.

The 2012 revision brought a new approach in relation to the output levels. As Nikolov points out, the regulation of 2007 "defines a double requirement system" (Nikolov, 2011, p. 15), the choice of which is determined by the student's desired output level at the end of grade 12. Choice from the hypothetical curricula was decided on the basis of "what level of the given language the students aim to reach by the end of the compulsory education, how intensive their language learning is and what level of matura exam they wish to take" (Nikolov, 2011, p. 15). No further instructions were made to the system as described in the 2007 NCC, and the levels based on the decisions students make at the beginning of their studies seem to be hardly feasible. The 2012 document applies a more transparent and more articulate system. It determines an obligatory minimum level for all students at the end of grades 8 and 12 (it cannot be specified in CEFR level for grade 4). Schools are allowed to target higher output levels according to their goals and possibilities, and the document appoints the levels proposed in the case of advanced level language education.

Compared to the 2007 version, the output levels were changed significantly only at one point. The expectations of the recent education policy set A2 as the minimum level instead of the former A1 level by the end of grade 8. The minimum B1 level in the first FL and A2 level in the second foreign level by the end of grade 12 did not change. Although the decision aimed to allocate a more significant role to primary school language teaching, it is important to note that this was not based on genuine empirical data, thus making it an unsubstantiated and dubious measure.

The minimum levels expected from every student are A2 level at the end of grade 8, B1 level in the first FL and A2 level in the second FL at the end of grade 12. The NCC also contains output levels for grades 6 and 10 in the case of advanced level education. The compulsory output levels are summarized in the tables below. Table 4 illustrates the minimum levels which are compulsory for all students in public education, whilst Table 5 summarizes the output levels proposed for advanced language learning.

Table 4. Minimum levels compulsory for all students

	Grade 4 minimum level	Grade 8 minimum level	Grade 12 minimum level
First foreign language	not specified in CEFR levels	A1	B1
Second foreign language	--	--	A2

Table 5. Output levels targeted in advanced level education

	Grade 4 advanced level	Grade 8 advanced level	Grade 12 advanced level
First foreign language	not specified in CEFR levels	A2-B1	B2-C1
Second foreign language	--	A1	B1-B2

The 2012 NCC might confuse, even frustrate its readers with its different expectations in terms of the output level in grade 12. The FLs part states B1 as the minimum required level, which is obviously built on the students' obligation to pass at least one intermediate-level school-leaving exam in a FL. The introduction, however, seems to have been based on a different concept by specifying B2 as the minimum level to attain. Although the frame curricula make it clear that the first approach is the required one, it would be more than necessary to avoid these errors.

As far as the range of languages students can choose from is concerned, the NCC 2012 also has a twofold answer for the readers. The FLs part claims that students may decide to learn any FL available in their school, but the introductory paragraph on FL teaching determines English, German, and, in a later modification, French and Chinese as obligatory first FL options. Although the gap between the two may be attributed to the rapid present-day educational policy decisions, it would be a sensible approach to harmonise the various decision-making processes.

As for the number of languages learnt, the novelty in the 2012 NCC is the introduction of a second language in grade 7. Although it is not a must but an option for the students, it appears hardly feasible to allot lessons to a second language in the given lesson framework. Besides other considerations, it is also dubious whether it is worth starting a second language in the last two years of the most common type of primary school in the light of another rule which makes it compulsory to continue the first FL in the secondary school.

In terms of the continuity of language learning, the document states the obligation to study the first FL in the secondary school. The regulation applies to all school types, including bilingual and YILL (year of intensive language learning) ones, which in theory means that they are not allowed to start a new language in their extra year. Despite the fact that the rule can be avoided by teaching the given language as a second FL, it definitely will cause serious difficulties in the school curricula and their implementation. There are two further examples of mismatch between the introductory and the FL parts in the 2012 NCC. One is that mediation is referred to as a useful skill and listed together with the other four basic skills (Government, 2012, p. 10653) but is disregarded among the development requirements. Another element is the necessary level of proficiency in the different skills. The requirements are determined uniformly for each skill but the introduction approaches the issue from another perspective (for the official English translation of 2012 NCC, see *The Government's*, 2012):

> The individual's level of proficiency will vary between different languages and linguistic activities (listening, speaking, reading, writing, mediating skills), and according to the individual's social and cultural background, needs and interests.

One may wonder if the two parts of the document (the relevant introductory paragraphs and the FL part) were written by the same authors.

The 2012 NCC is supplemented with a series of frame curricula issued six months later. The frame curricula in FLs are also non-language specific (*Kerettantervek*, 2012), but they are completed with language-specific appendices in English, German (*Függelék*, 2012), and Latin as a second FL (Latin, 2012). The appendices include language functions, general notions and examples in the target language. It seems that the teachers of other languages have to rely on these documents as no further ones in French or any other language have been published.

SUMMARY

The study has been devoted to exploring the similarities and differences in the FL parts of the NCCs of 1995, 2002, 2007 and 2012 the most recent one being the basis of the comparison. On the whole, it can be noted that the modern FL part of the 2012 document indicates progress in several ways compared to the previous core curricula. As opposed to the former documents, it interprets communicative competence in a broader sense, extends it with a linguistic, sociolinguistic and text aspect and as a result, it is more in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference. It fortifies the role of intercultural competence and highlights the importance of the cross-curricular activities, the integration of the ICT and the teaching of language learning strategies. The already existing four basic skills are complemented with interaction and language use, and the terminology is adjusted to other relevant documents. It leaves the major elements in the framework of FL teaching unchanged, such as the obligatory start in grade 4, but also involves alterations, e.g. the determination of the range of languages the first FL has to be selected from or the introduction of the second FL in grade 7. In terms of the levels it applies a clearer and theoretically more realistic approach. The required output levels were modified due to a policy decision which specified A2 as the new minimum at the end of grade 8.

In spite of the positive changes, the new NCC is a step back in a number of areas such as the evergreen problem that the given output levels are not based on empirical data or the fact that the initiatives sometimes contradict each other. It also fails to offer the long-expected regulations for grades 1-3 which results in teaching these age groups without any central guidelines or requirements. The introduction of a second FL in grade 7 may comply with the notion of the European citizen, but its implementation does not seem feasible. The required output levels were raised for the primary school studies but the number of lessons proposed for the relevant grades were reduced. Although he 2012 version was completed with language-specific frame curricula, they are only provided for English, German and Latin, thus leaving the other languages unaided.

The findings above show that there are several areas worthy of further investigation. The actual language competence in the different grades of public education should be surveyed to build high-stake decisions on empirical data, and the exploration of the effects of the new regulations could also yield findings that would help fine-tune the latest decree. It would be equally beneficial to inquire what role language teachers attach to the modern FL part of the 2012 NCC.

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(RE-)SHAPING THE TASK: THE UNPREDICTABILITY OF EFL LEARNERS' SPEAKING TASK PERFORMANCE

Thomas A. Williams

INTRODUCTION

Twenty-seven years since Breen's (1987/2009) crucial distinction between "task-as-workplan" and "task-in-process" and his observation that "any language learning task will be reinterpreted by a learner in his or her own terms" (p. 334), research on task performance has shown little vigour in responding to the challenge these points offer. Instead, much research on tasks has been conducted from a (laboratory-based) psycholinguistic perspective, which, while useful for a better grasp of the cognitive processes involved in language learning, tends to focus on the learner as a data processor.

In contrast, sociocultural research on tasks – particularly the classroom-based kind – has provided opportunities for more nuanced understandings of the diversity of learners' task performance. It is in this vein that the present study analyses the task-based spoken interaction of Hungarian students in the first year of an English/American Studies BA course and explores the unpredictable variety of approaches they take to meeting the demands of the task. It is anticipated that the findings will have implications for task development, lesson planning, and teachers' and learners' perceptions of classroom power relations.

In what follows, I briefly describe the three perspectives that inform this study. I review relevant past research. I then discuss my own study and findings and conclude with thoughts on the implications of such scholarship.

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

This study is informed by three specific, complementary research perspectives: that of the language learning task; classroom-based research; and activity theory. I will briefly deal with each in turn.

The task

The second-language pedagogic task has been defined in a variety of ways by Breen (1989), Bygate, Skehan and Swain (2001), Candlin (1987), Ellis (2003), Lee (2000), Long (1985), Nunan (1989), Prabhu (1987) and Skehan (1998). Samuda and Bygate (2008) have adapted Ellis's (2003) criteria for a task and produced a working definition: "A task is a holistic activity which engages language use in order to achieve some non-linguistic outcome while meeting a linguistic challenge, with the overall aim of promoting language learning, through process or product or both" (Samuda & Bygate, 2008, p. 69).

A task can cover any of the four language skills, either individually or in combination. It may call for learners to work individually, in pairs, or in groups. The non-linguistic outcome of a task may take many forms, including a decision made, a problem solved, and information exchanged. Most speaking tasks are designed to necessitate learner interaction since research shows that this greatly facilitates language learning (see the metastudy by Keck, Iberri-Shea, Tracy-Ventura & Wa-Mbaleka, 2006).

Classroom-based research

A great deal of research on tasks has taken place under controlled laboratory conditions. In contrast, classroom-based research seeks to investigate tasks in action under actual classroom conditions. Examples of such studies include Foster's (1998) exploration of negotiation for meaning in the classroom and Kumaravadivelu's study (2007) on learners' perceptions of tasks.

Limited resources represent an important aspect of classroom conditions. In her study, 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. Given the sheer diversity of classroom settings throughout

the world, the need for more research on task implementation in intact classrooms is enormous.

Activity theory

When we investigate what learners are actually doing with – and to – the tasks teachers set for them, it is important to understand what guides learners' actions. Early in the last century, the Belorussian developmental psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1987) attempted to explain this in what has become known as activity theory. He argued that the work we do is impacted by our motives. Specifically, he posited that our motives for learning in any given setting are intricately interwoven with beliefs that are socially and institutionally defined. This serves to explain why different classes may approach the same task differently and why even the same person may approach the same task differently at different times.

Activity theory forms part of a larger framework developed by Vygotsky known as sociocultural theory (SCT). This theory centres on the notion that the human mind is mediated and emphasises the role of mediated learning in learners exercising conscious control over such cognitive activities as attention, planning, and problem-solving. It also stresses the importance of spoken language as a mediator in learning.

Although Vygotsky and his colleagues and students focused on learning in maths, sciences, and other subjects, their theory and findings have greatly benefited second language learning more recently. SCT has been applied in this field in volumes by van Lier (1996), Lantolf (2000), and Lantolf and Thorne (2006) as well as in studies by Foster and Ohta (2005), van Comperolle and Williams (2012), and Stafford (2013).

RELEVANT STUDIES

Though not abundant, a number of studies have been conducted on the role the learner plays in (re-)shaping the task. Several studies are covered here with a particular focus on Kumaravadivelu (1991) and categories he has proffered toward a clearer understanding of the gap between what teachers intend and how learners interpret the task at hand.

Learner contributions to the task

Allwright (1983) makes the important distinction between the "syllabus as plan" and the "syllabus as reality" (as cited in Breen, 1987/2009, p. 335). This is fundamental to our understanding that what teachers and materials developers envisage

for learners may not be what learners actually do in the classroom. A number of studies have explored the contributions that learners make to the task as they plan and perform it.

In his seminal study, Breen (1987/2009) distinguished between the "task-as-workplan" and the "task-in-process". He found a disparity between what learners derive from a task and what teachers – and task designers – intend the task to achieve. Indeed, he observes, "Learners are capable of playing havoc with the most carefully designed and much-used task" (p. 333). However, beyond simply tolerating this, he points out, teachers must see that diverse outcomes are exactly what tasks were designed to generate. Coughlin and Duff (1994) demonstrate how the task-as-workplan is interpreted and re-shaped by learners in actual performance. In a similar paper, Murphy (2003) points out that these learner contributions increase the authenticity of the task by reflecting learners' personalities and interests and by potentially boosting learner satisfaction and motivation. In her study, Slimani-Rolls (2005) stresses the importance of "learner idiosyncrasy" over commonality in dyadic task performance and the inclusion of learners in a more thorough understanding of classroom life. Samuda and Bygate (2008) note that the disparity between what it is hoped that learners will do with tasks and what they actually do may provide insights into how task design might be improved, alternative ways of using tasks, and ways of briefing learners on task implementation in future.

A tentative taxonomy of sources of mismatch

Along the lines of the research described above, Kumaravadivelu conducted a small-scale study (1991) that investigated potential sources of mismatch between teacher intention and learner interpretation in classroom task performance. He found that "learner strategies and learning processes shape the final learning outcome in ways not fully determined" (p. 98) – an observation that still holds true today. This is particularly significant in task-based pedagogy because teacher and learner enjoy far greater autonomy than they do with conventional syllabuses that use linguistic items as building blocks, and thus the ways in which this autonomy manifests itself must be better understood in terms of its effect on language learning.

In that study, Kumaravadivelu (1991) collected data on learners' speaking task performance and created a tentative taxonomy of ten sources of mismatch, which is outlined in Table 1.

Table 1. Ten sources of mismatch in task performance

Type	Source	Example
Cognitive	Mental processes or understanding of the world	Learner does not see how a home made of wood would be of additional value
Communicative	Skills through which learners exchange information	Learner has difficulty explaining a concept because a word is lacking
Linguistic	Syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic knowledge of the target language	Teacher does not anticipate that learner may be unfamiliar with a common abbreviation
Pedagogic	Teacher/learner perceptions of task objective(s)	Teachers and learners differ on task purpose, i.e., what is being learnt or practised
Strategic	What learners do to learn and to regulate learning	Teacher envisages long discussion, while learners take short cut to conclude quickly
Cultural	Prior knowledge of relevant target cultural norms	Learner cannot see why anyone would rent something as personal as a wedding dress
Evaluative	Measures used by learners to monitor own language learning	Learner and teacher are at cross purposes as learner attempts to check understanding of grammar rule
Procedural	Paths chosen by learner to solve problem	Learner explains how to solve problem instead of providing actual solution
Instructional	Understanding of instructions for performing the task	Learner misunderstands key word in instructions
Attitudinal	Learners' attitude to nature of L2 learning/teaching, classroom culture, and teacher-learner relationship	Teacher and learner disagree on word use; learner finally defers to teacher as authority

Kumaravadivelu (1991) stresses that these categories are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. While most of these groupings are clear, the difference between the strategic and procedural sources of mismatch perhaps requires some clarification. Kumaravadivelu (1991) contrasts the procedural, which involves "locally-specified, currently-identified, bottom-up tactics which seek an immediate resolution to a specific problem" (p. 105), with the strategic, which "pertains to broad-based, higher-level, top-down strategy which seeks an overall solution in a general language-learning situation" (p. 105).

THE STUDY

This study forms part of a larger classroom-based project in which the speaking task performance of 56 upper-intermediate learners of English is investigated from a variety of perspectives, including learners' negotiation for meaning in interaction and other, more collaborative processes that are also facilitative of second language learning. These 56 participants were in their first year of a BA course in English/American Studies at the University of Szeged. Two tasks were performed in a normal classroom environment on two different occasions within three different classes, i.e., by three groups of learners. Learners gathered into dyads (and, where necessary, triads) and recorded their own performance on their mobile phones. The resultant audio files were subsequently transmitted to the researcher-teacher for later transcription, coding, and analysis.

The two speaking tasks were both of the decision-making type and were taken from a standard resource for task-based pedagogy (Ur, 1981). One of these tasks, Lord Moulton's Millions, has learners review a list of several less-than-perfect candidates to arrive at the difficult decision of which of them should inherit a fortune left behind by a recently deceased millionaire who had neglected to write a will. (The three samples below are taken from learners performing this task.) The purpose of the task – at least for the task designer and teacher – is for learners to argue for their own choice and against those of others so that they converge on a single candidate. Indeed, the learners were briefed accordingly in class. However, as the study shows, learners often have different plans.

THE DATA

Many of Kumaravadivelu's (1991) mismatch types could be identified in the many hours of speaking data in this study – though, interestingly, some were not (as I will discuss below). In sample 1 below, the learners in the dyad are uncertain as to who the best candidate could be and, having been influenced by a decision made by a neighbouring dyad, decide to turn the cons they clearly see in a candidate into pros so as to justify selecting him – and thus moving along to the end of the task as they interpret it.

Sample 1: When cons become pros

> János: Tim Brodie and Miss Langland.
> Lilla: Miss Langland is 40 years old. She can still go work.
> János: Maybe they can half the money.
> Lilla: The others think Miss Langland have enough.
> János: I think it's important to help young men to study and I vote for Tim Brodie.

Lilla: He can change and be honest….
János: Lots of girlfriends, it's a good thing, I think. I want lots of girlfriends.

In the next sample, the participants chose to perform the decision-making task as if the text in front of them were not actually there, as if they had heard the information through an imaginary grapevine and were discussing the matter naturally over tea.

Sample 2: Tea party

Anna: So Lili, have you heard about the death of Lord Moulton?
Lili: Yes I heard about it.
Anna: It's so sad. And I heard that he had a lot of money but he didn't leave a letter how-who to leave the money. What do you think?
Lili: I think Lady [inaudible] should got the money [Mmm] because she is the only living relative of him. It's very important.
Anna: Yes, it is true, but I heard that they had a huge fight and they haven't talked in years. And I also heard that there is a boy called Tim Brodie, who had a good relationship with Lord Moulton and he paid for Tim Brodie's education for one years and …

Rather than the teacher-anticipated discussion aimed at reaching a decision, this task performance represents the sort of role play the participants would have had experience with in previous language learning and testing. It is the sort administered on Hungary's matura exam in English and on other proficiency exams familiar in that country, such as the ORIGO exam. This sample illustrates Vygotsky's (1978, 1987) point, noted above, that our learning is intermingled with beliefs formed by our social and institutional experience. It also exemplifies the imaginative and creative activities that are seen as facilitative of learning in Vygotskian theory. As Sullivan (2000) points out, "The role of play in the development of language is viewed as one that creates a zone of proximal development in which the child behaves 'beyond his age, above his daily behaviour'" (Vygotsky, 1978, as cited in Sullivan, 2000, p. 123). Similarly, Lantolf (1997) observes that playful activities "seem to have a positive effect on the learners' confidence to use their second language" (p. 32). Other learners in the data likewise joked and engaged in light banter.

Sample 2 is ultimately a relatively short dialogue. The participants arrive at their final decision very quickly without appearing to consider all the choices, as the task instructions have made clear that they should. This thus represents a strategic mismatch in Kumaravadivelu's taxonomy in so far as the teacher imagined a discussion that considered all the points available, while the learners chose to take a shorter route which better suited their script. Similarly, in sample 3, one learner

applies his own strategy of meticulously reviewing each item in the task, actually reading it aloud, taking notes, and categorizing each candidate's pros and cons.

Sample 3: Chairman of the Board

> Zoli: Ok first let's check the pros and the cons. All right, with the first. First one. Here's [reads] "Lord Moulton's widowed cousin". Well he's eh oh no Lady. She's a Lady [laughs], so a relative to Lord Moulton. So that's pro. [Writes it down as he says it.] Related … to … this … guy. All right oh she's 66 years old, she's pretty old. I don't know if it's a pro or a con.
> Márk: Probably she would like some...?
> Zoli: Well this is true. [Laughs] All right it would be a con. [Reads on] "living alone in a small village in comfortable but not luxurious circumstances". Well I think that's-that's-that's common. No, you don't have to be in-live in luxury, so that's no problem. Write it down. [Writes it down.] "The money would enable her to hire a nurse…, travel, move into pleasanter surroundings". Well I would like to travel a lot and move to pleasanter surroundings, but I don't have such, I don't know, uncle, not, it's cousin. So that's a con.

Here, Zoli (not his real name) seems to take the lead, actually describing what he is doing as if engaged in a think-aloud protocol. He uses lines from the text verbatim in his decision-making process as well as correcting his own language use in the process. This facet of the discussion represents another strategic mismatch; it is a rather one-sided discussion which largely excludes the other two participants in this triad and which leads to no decision in the end. This failure to reach the teacher-intended goal may be seen as an attitudinal mismatch inasmuch as the learner's (Zoli's) previous educational experience seems to suggest to him that a speaking activity is meant to be task-oriented, not goal-oriented, thus again pointing to the Vygotskian notion of socially and institutionally defined beliefs guiding our learning.

Other incidents of strategic mismatch from the data include the following: learners listen in on other dyads instead of engaging in the task at hand as if perhaps to trawl for ideas or strategies; one participant readily defers to the other to end the task as soon as possible; and learners ask the teacher for the "right answer". Beyond Zoli's reading the text aloud, some learners demonstrate an overdependence on the text, reading long parts of it instead of interacting naturalistically. I also observed procedural mismatches, such as learners deciding on more than the required single choice and learners adding one or more conditions to the final choice. While these two examples may appear to be failures similar to arriving at no decision, in fact they represent innovative "stated or unstated paths" (Kumaravadivelu, 1991, p. 104) to solving the problem at hand. While not entirely in keeping with the teacher's intention, a conclusion has in fact been reached.

Other unexpected learner interpretations include marking time ("I think it's been five minutes."), an attitudinal mismatch that suggests task-orientation and making the teacher happy as opposed to engaging in the task toward a goal. Other participants became side-tracked in the discussion, and finally, one relatively tacit learner physically pointed to the task sheet in making his point ("She's not as old as this one."), a metalinguistic tactic that may suggest a reluctance to speak. (This learner's tacit tendency was certainly not discouraged by being in the same triad with Zoli – the lesson for the teacher perhaps being that dissimilar personality types should not be assigned to the same pairs or groups.)

Perhaps even more interestingly, some of Kumaravadivelu's mismatch types were not observed in the data. I experienced no cultural mismatches, for example, a fact which may owe to the fact that Kumaravadivelu's learners represent a multilingual and multicultural group in an ESL class in the US, while the learners in this study are all Hungarians in an EFL class in their own country and the teacher is relatively familiar with the culture. Thus clashes of culture are relatively improbable. Such disconnects are also prevented because EFL teaching in Hungary usually consists of instruction in the culture(s) of the Anglophone world, and thus situations such as the one Kumaravadivelu (1991) describes of a young Malaysian learner being at a loss as to why an American would wish to rent a wedding dress become far less likely in this context.

CONCLUSION

According to Vygotsky (1978, 1987), and indeed as noted above, spoken language is a key mediator in *any* learning. Specifically, as concluded by the metastudy conducted by Keck et al. (2006), spoken interaction clearly aids in language learning. This being the case, successful language teaching would certainly involve ample speaking tasks that provide opportunities for learners to interact. If we are to design and implement such tasks as effectively as possible, then the field would certainly benefit from further research on the wide range of learner interaction that naturally occurs in task-based/-supported language classrooms around the world.

Carried out in such a classroom setting, this study has explored some of the ways learners may surprise – and confound – teachers in the way they perform tasks, e.g., by creating their own playful role-playing variation of the standard argument structure, as Anna and Lili did in sample 2, and by dominating the interaction, as Zoli did in sample 3. I would agree with Kumaravadivelu (1991) that a clearer, more specific understanding of potential sources of mismatch will (a) sensitize us as teachers to what he aptly refers in the abstract for his paper as the "interpretive density" of language learning tasks and (b) aid us in working with learners to achieve desired learning outcomes in our classrooms.

I also wish to reiterate Kumaravadivelu's (1991) point about the relative learner autonomy afforded by task performance. Such research provides a deeper insight

into the constructive possibilities of learner autonomy. Given the wealth of evidence that relative autonomy leads to superior results not only for language learners, but for all learners – as indeed it does for their teachers and institutions as well – it is all the more urgent to fully grasp the pedagogic importance of autonomy throughout the educational enterprise.

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COOPERATION IN PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION AND IN-SERVICE TEACHER DEVELOPMENT IN TEFL

Stefka Barócsi

INTRODUCTION

This paper reports on research carried out under the academic supervision of Professor Marianne Nikolov of the University of Pécs and completed as a PhD dissertation in 2008. It aims at exploring the role of cooperation in language teacher education and the teaching profession in order to identify learning benefits of cooperation and to explore challenges that emerge. The research looks primarily at the field of teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) and outlines a qualitative paradigm which includes ethnographic elements.

The findings reveal the beneficial aspects of collaborative initiatives and imply the continuum of professional growth in terms of cooperative techniques, which foster a beneficial approach to learning. The research justifies why cooperation in pre-service education and in-service development is a valuable experience, and goes further to consider why participation in collaborative processes should be given particular attention.

RESEARCH TOPIC AND AIMS

Teaching and learning in formal school circumstances as well as work in a language teaching career involve complex processes; therefore, they are worth examining in order to achieve better results. The particular purpose is to narrow down the scope of the field of TEFL and focus on cooperation as an important means for development of foreign language (FL) teachers in the Hungarian context. This goal is accomplished by looking at the role and importance of cooperation in pre-service education and in-service development. The research questions were formulated as follows:

- What factors interact in cooperation in pre-service teacher education?
- What factors interact in cooperation in the subsequent in-service teacher development?
- What is the influence of pair or team teaching in the training of teachers on cooperation in their careers?

In order to answer the research questions, I investigated the field of cooperation in learning and teaching. The reference was to a specific form of teacher training at the Centre for English Teacher Training (CETT) in Budapest, leading to a teaching practice which displayed numerous opportunities for collaboration. The purpose was twofold: a) to look at the pair or team teaching side of this special mode of teacher training and the idea of collaboration between trainees supposed to work closely together over a period of extended training; b) to investigate how trainees developed and managed their professional lives after graduation.

CETT began its work in the 1990/91 academic year. The educational system of CETT, which has been described in detail in a number of publications (Barócsi, 2007; Major, 2003; Medgyes & Malderez, 1996; Medgyes & Nyilasi, 1997; Révész, 2005), was introduced to meet the demand for language teachers in Hungary. In order to comply with the European standards, CETT subsequently underwent many changes and merged into the School of English and American Studies at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest in the spring of 2006.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research literature on the topic of cooperation is described on three levels: research, learning and teaching. The theoretical framework is provided to account for key issues grounded on the perceptions (Allwright, 1993, 2005; Johnstone, 2001; Kramsch, 2000; Malderez & Bodóczky, 1999; Nunan, 1992) of the relationship between these levels.

Research-based policy in FL education

Within the boundaries of education and language pedagogy, substantial attention is paid to understanding the learning process from the viewpoint of the learner, the teacher and the researcher (Mc Groarty, 1998). In recent years, interest has been directed towards the question of practitioner research (Allwright, 2005) in terms of teachers' involvement into investigation. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) articulate the importance of action research (initiated by Schön, 1987), which stimulates teachers to become researchers in their own environment (Gebhard & Oprandy, 1999). The issue of collaboration at research level has also been under discussion (Allwright, 1993, 2005; Stewart, 2006). Debates are about the concern that, albeit collaboration in research seems to be occurring, participants are less aware of the cooperative matters involved. Critical issues emerge mainly regarding the relationship between teacher educators and practitioners (Grundy, 2001).

Cooperation in FL learning

Research on cooperative learning (Crandall, 1999; Garrett & Shortall, 2002; Gwyn-Paquette & Tochon, 2002) indicates that this way of dealing with FL learning is in relation to teachers' affinity for reflective processes and interactions among students, regarded essential to foster learners' development. This leads to the question of the positive aspects of cooperative learning. Existing research on the effectiveness of the cooperative approach in FL learning supports the belief (Barócsi, 2008) that its use is justified by numerous advantages.

Cooperation in FL teacher education

Peer-assisted learning and teaching in the course of teaching practice are found to be a beneficial approach compatible with teaching in a particular situation, which in this case is the context of pair or team teaching at CETT. The scheme reported in research (Barócsi, 1998, 2007, 2008; Bodóczky & Malderez, 1994, 1997; Major, 2003; Malderez & Bodóczky, 1999; Medgyes & Malderez, 1996; Medgyes & Nyilasi, 1997; Révész, 2005) serves many purposes simultaneously. The general aims are to provide support for teaching and learning and to maximize the benefits in cognitive gains for the participants involved. There are additional objectives which emerge as relevant: a) to give student teachers an opportunity to develop their planning, problem-solving and decision making skills; b) to provide a more profound experience of the classroom; c) to allow a better understanding of the teaching profession; and d) to develop and maintain an interest in teaching as a choice of career.

The underlying assumption is that partner support during the teaching experience relieves anxieties, fosters the feeling of security and promotes the learning process (Bodóczky & Malderez, 1994; Medgyes & Malderez, 1996). The central interest remains in how future teachers develop their skills, knowledge, confidence and capacity for reflection. The emerging key issue is that collaborative work between trainees has a major effect on student teachers' professional development (Knezevic & Scholl, 1996). In recognition of the importance of cooperation in language teacher education, it is worthwhile to look at what goes beyond the scope of teacher preparation.

Cooperation in the teaching process

The literature offers inadequate information on cooperation in the teaching profession. The notion of collaboration is deeply rooted in the combat against isolation due to single classroom authority (Brandes & Ginnis, 1992; Claxton, 1989; Underwood, 1987). Being isolated seems to be a typical condition of teachers in general and language teachers in particular.

One of the central issues is that there is a need to alter this present-day situation (Claxton, 1989; Nunan, 1992). Besides the state of solitude of teachers, there are current attempts at cooperation (Claxton, 1989; Medgyes, 1995; Nunan, 1992). Another consideration is the demand (Nunan, 1992) created for promoting the idea of cooperation rather than competition in language education, where teachers, learners, and curriculum specialists can collaborate for various reasons and purposes. Medgyes (1994a, 1994b) offers thoughtful insights into collaborative approaches to teaching, the main philosophy of which is based on cooperation between teachers, native and non-native speakers of English. A similar understanding is expressed by Carless (2006), who describes more recent innovative collaborative programmes in schools. Edge (1992a, 1992b) argues that through exploration, discovery and action, cooperation enables teachers to work on their own development and eventually become better professionals. This view, ardently supported by Bailey, Curtis and Nunan (2001), underlines the assumption that there is a need for collaboration in the teaching profession.

RESEARCH METHOD

With the intention of finding answers to the research questions I carried out a project in my immediate teaching context. In order to collect data, a qualitative approach was adopted. The choice of method was determined by first, the complex nature of collaboration affected by numerous factors; second, the low number of respondents; third, an interest in the participants' detailed experiences and person-

al impressions about team work; fourth, the main aim to achieve in-depth investigation and understanding.

The project included prolonged engagement, persistent observation (Davis, 1995; Crookes, 1992; Lazaraton, 2003), triangulation and thick description of the collected data (Bachman, 2004; Crookes, 1992; Davis, 1995; Holliday, 2004; Lazaraton, 2003; Mc Groarty & Zhu, 1997; Seliger & Shohamy, 1989). Apart from semi-structured interviews, observational field notes, trainees' diaries and transcripts of recorded planning sessions were collected for investigation.

Participants

The core of data was gained from pre-service and in-service teachers who were related to CETT. As for the pre-service teachers, the project involved four participants, in the TEFL university programme. The investigations were associated with the time of their studies and particularly their teaching practice scheduled in the academic year of 2005/2006. The place of the teaching experience was the grammar school where I worked. The trainees worked in pairs to teach a class for a term. Their selection was made through convenience sampling.

With regard to the in-service teachers, another four participants were interviewed with the purpose of collecting data on the overall understanding of their work habits and attitudes toward cooperation in school. The respondents representing the teaching profession were previous student teachers who had graduated from CETT and had worked with me during their teaching practice. Two participants had taken part in one-year-long teaching practice and two participants had experienced a one-semester-long period. The four in-service teachers were randomly chosen. Two participants worked at secondary schools (one grammar school and one technical school), which belonged to the state sector of education, and two participants were employed in language schools. The schools involved in this research were considered typical of the career opportunities for teaching English in Hungary.

Moreover, in order to gain insight into the context, I interviewed four individual classroom teachers. Selection of these participants, members of staff in one of the state schools, was also a result of convenience sampling. Finally, the study included data from the students who attended the pre-service teachers' classes.

Data collection

Although the research included a limited number of participants, an attempt was made to carry out a value-bound study (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The basis on which the research method developed was Mc Cracken's (1988) four-step model. The starting point was related to the question of how to achieve validity and

reliability of research (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). Regarding this issue, the qualitative interview schedule was improved in the process of validation (Barócsi, 2005a) and pilot work (Barócsi, 2005b, 2006).

To collect data from the participants, sixteen in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted in the academic year of 2005/2006. Data were gathered in four phases: (1) eight interviews with pre-service teachers before and (2) after their teaching practice, (3) four interviews with in-service teachers and (4) another four interviews with the in-service teachers' colleagues. The interview transcripts were triangulated with the four student teachers' diaries, my observational field notes taken during classroom observation and tape-recorded planning sessions. The field notes contributed to a better understanding of the processes in the classroom and provided insights into behaviours that could not be obtained through other means. As the student teachers kept a record of their experiences, the entries from their diaries were included for the purpose of receiving more reflection and gaining as much knowledge as possible about the particular areas of interest. The tape-recorded planning sessions during the period of teaching practice constituted the additional data as regards pre-service education.

Data analysis

The main data sources used in the process of the research were varied; however, the type of data was appropriate for the same approach to the analysis: the inductive approach. In relation to the way of the interpretation of the responses, the hypotheses had not been generated prior to the qualitative data examination. The data were analysed using the constant comparative method described by Maykut and Morehouse (1994). Additionally, a thematic analysis of the text was found appropriate and used.

FINDINGS

Cooperative learning

With the purpose of attributing the findings to the concept of on-going learning in teacher training and the teaching profession, the interviewees' perceptions about cooperative learning situations during their undergraduate work were evaluated. The respondents' views suggested that cooperative approaches were established in different ways in different circumstances of learning.

A distinction was made in terms of how various subjects, FLs and majors were taught and learnt. It appeared that cooperative techniques were more commonly used in TEFL than in other subject areas. The participants perceived remembering more cooperative approaches to learning in their tertiary education. Most partici-

pants regarded secondary schools as the environment in which cooperative tasks were less popular. The majority of the interviewees acknowledged that plenty of cooperative learning situations had been provided at CETT.

It was clearly identified that the way cooperative techniques were used depended on (a) how course materials were designed, (b) preparation for teaching, (c) methods used, (d) teachers' preference for cooperative activities or the lack thereof, and (e) teaching styles.

Cooperation in FL teacher education

The findings carried implications for the factors which interacted in cooperation in pre-service teacher preparation. Considerations of these factors provided an answer to the *first research question*. The following major factors were recognized as interacting in collaboration in pre-service teacher education and contributing to successful and beneficial processes.

The student teachers' interviews indicated that a profound stage of preparation would be needed before involvement in the teaching practice and team teaching as a special form of teaching. It was implied that observations of team taught lessons and familiarization with the nature of collaborative teaching might dispel worries over the unknown, raise the aspirations of the students and boost confidence before the start of the teaching practice.

The responses in the interviews showed that all participants realised the complexity of the process and definitely perceived team teaching as referring to collaboration before, during and after classes, thus covering the two areas of inside and outside the classroom. It emerged that all pre-service teachers considered planning and discussions before and after lessons to be as essential as in-class work. The findings revealed that pre-teaching cooperation might take a sufficient amount of time and effort to coordinate activities. In-class collaboration, as far as team taught lessons were concerned, was successful for some trainees and challenging for others but it was not a prerequisite for establishing a team. In addition, the trainees' responses revealed that shared lessons tended to reduce responsibility and the workload. Strong evidence in support of the view that collaborative work reduced the workload on teachers was also found in my observation field notes. A further point was related to the pre-service teachers' opinion that post-lesson cooperation was crucially important and promoted professional development.

Another result from the student teacher's diaries and the tape-recorded planning sessions was that ideas and development of reflection were facilitated in the course of regular discussions. The interpretations seemed to suggest that engagement in a prolonged form of experience might be extremely beneficial in the sense that peer cooperation could contribute to the personal development of individuals over time. Additionally, participants' perceptions supported the view that a team operated more effectively when individuals possessed special qualities, abilities, skills and a

favourable attitude. The reflections from the interviews with all pre-service and in-service teachers confirmed that the mentor was perceived as effectively performing an important role before, during and after classes.

The findings of this study did not produce any evidence of failures in cooperation, but the outcomes shed light on possible problems that might be anticipated. Most of the problems concerned the time factor. It was found that the time factor could play a significant role in cooperation in teaching practice. Further reflections demonstrated concerns about post teaching collaboration as being time-consuming and laborious as well. Drawbacks of working together were also perceived around discrepancies in the range of ideas, opinions, applied methods and different personalities. However, the assumption based on the student teacher's diaries and the observational field notes was that cooperation could improve in the course of time.

Cooperation in the teaching profession

In comparison with pre-service teacher education, the quantity and quality of collaborative initiatives in the teaching profession were fundamentally more difficult to explore. It is essential to note that data analysis continually implied that cooperation in FL teacher education had a lot in common with collaborative relationships in the teaching profession. Similar features emerged when the focus was on the key factors contributing to successful outcomes in a cooperative environment in a school. Surveying the participants' responses, a number of significant factors emerged, which provided an answer to the *second research question*.

First, evident in the majority of remarks was the view that partners' qualities, abilities and skills had an impact on shared experiences. Along the abilities and skills for cooperation, it was considered essential to develop effective strategies. Another point concerned the view that a positive attitude toward cooperation was one of the major determinants of efficiency. The conclusion was that working cooperative circumstances allowed teachers to develop a positive attitude towards the value of trust, support and sharing. Another consideration raised the question of interaction among people of diverse abilities and characters. Further, it was assumed that success of sharing experiences rested in knowing the person, which related to the perception for selection of the person to cooperate with. It was also revealed that mutual work depended on the nature of the common task. The recognition implied that teachers who cooperated should share similar attitudes to the task. This understanding established a link with the involvement of teachers and directed attention toward the importance of the two dimensions in cooperation: professional and personal.

On the negative side, the findings pointed at significant implications that cooperation in the teaching profession and in teacher education might be difficult due to the efforts it demanded. In fact, participants tended to report their initial concerns about difficulties which might be encountered in a cooperative work environment.

As for the relationships among teachers, the data of the research proved that difficulties might be due to local conditions as teachers worked according to different schedules. There were further difficulties experienced in the flow of information from one teacher to another or mere misunderstanding, particularly concerning efforts to organize and coordinate the process when several people were involved. One possible problem was related to the failure to reach consensus. It was further found that obstacles and problematic situations were associated with domination of one individual, which pointed at the importance of people's different roles in cooperative behaviours.

If teachers intended to cooperate successfully, it was necessary to make an attempt at overcoming problems. On the whole, references raised the issue that relationships with others would depend to a great extent on the teachers themselves: their attitudes, shared characteristics and personalities. In general, the majority of reflections expressed the need to implement collaboration in practice.

Although it seemed that in people's minds and in reality perhaps, collaborative relationships were valued in other jobs, too, it was apparent that the usefulness of cooperation in teaching was equally important. In all cases cooperation was linked to the classroom and outside the classroom involving daily contacts with others. In this sense cooperation could be modelled as a two dimensional space, one being the cognitive and the other the affective field.

At the cognitive level, it was regarded as necessary for teachers to cooperate when dealing with school examination periods, placement tests and competitions, among many other issues. Typically, the research showed that having a share in teaching a group of learners and substitution for a teacher also demanded a high degree of collaboration. Analyses and interpretations of the qualitative data also revealed perceptions about cooperation relating to a level different from the cognitive one discussed above. The responses indicated that cooperation developed in special school events, projects, exchange programs, trips, outings and summer camps.

Ultimately, the analysis related to the in-service teachers' responses provided an answer to the *third research question* about the influence of pair or team teaching in the training of teachers for cooperation in their career. The results suggested that working as a team during the teaching practice had a positive impact on the in-service teachers' work in their careers. In consequence, student teachers involved in team teaching continued to cooperate with others and could adopt the role of being a team member in their teaching career. Several conclusions emerged from four essential observations in the course of data analysis.

First, the help provided by the in-service teachers, who agreed to assist me and contribute to the present study, was an indication of their preference for collaboration. The interviews illustrated the enthusiasm of the participants for the process of working together. Second, the implication of gains was discerned in the fact that the in-service teachers took the question of cooperation very seriously. While the participants expressed an interest and gave as thoughtful answers as possible, they

demonstrated a positive attitude and high respect toward the theme of my research. Third, the interviews provided evidence for the participants' success in their previous team teaching experience as well as their attempts at developing collaborative relationships in their current careers. Fourth, the data revealed the in-service teachers' particular attention to the importance and necessity of cooperation in the teaching profession and life. Apparently, this was regarded as an issue which needed careful consideration. In general terms, the interviews supported the idea that cooperative teaching in the context of teaching practice could generate further benefits to in-service teachers in their careers over time.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Collaborative practices in the field of TEFL can offer benefits importance in two areas: in language teacher education and in the teaching profession.

Taking into account the first area, one important condition for success can be that pre-service teachers be involved in collaborative work. Team teaching as a form of teaching practice, done on a systematic basis, can be a beneficial way for student teachers to acquire the main components of professional competence. The opportunities to team teach combined with the length of the teaching practice can be associated with the main strengths of a teacher training programme. The main positive aspect of collaborative teaching as a particular form of teaching practice is that it creates an effective environment and stimulates learning. Provided with the opportunities for intensive and varied interactions, student teachers combine reflection and action to take responsibility for their own learning, which eventually results in gaining an ability to maintain autonomy.

This leads to the second area, that of the teaching profession. The outcomes of the present study point at the fact that individuals who establish cooperative relationships during their teaching practice can carry on the potential to develop a cooperative attitude and eventually continue to foster collaborative work between teachers. In broad terms, it appears that in both contexts, namely FL teacher education and the teaching profession, collaborative initiatives are highly beneficial and promote personal and professional growth to a great extent.

In conclusion, the important aspects outlined above reveal the close relationships between pre-service education and in-service development, often regarded as separate areas. With special reference to these fields, the research initiates a reconsideration of this divide in the domain of TEFL. In this respect, the study directs attention to an integrated approach to learning and teaching in terms of the application of cooperative techniques and professional growth. The final message is that if cooperation in pre-service education and in-service development is a valuable experience, then participation in collaborative processes in education should be encouraged.

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LEARNER CHARACTERISTICS

THE COMPREHENSION HYPOTHESIS AND ANIMAL LANGUAGE

Stephen Krashen

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I discuss the possibility that the *Comprehension Hypothesis* provides a plausible explanation for animal language, both communication systems that animals develop in interaction with others of their own species (but not always their own subspecies), as well as cases of animals acquiring human language. Specifically, I attempt to determine to what extent animal language acquisition fits the Comprehension Hypothesis.

THE COMPREHENSION HYPOTHESIS

The Comprehension Hypothesis states that we acquire language and develop literacy when we understand messages, that is, when we understand what we hear and what we read, when we receive *comprehensible input* (Krashen, 2003). Language acquisition is a subconscious process; while it is happening we are not aware that it is happening, and the competence developed this way is stored in the brain subconsciously.

The Comprehension Hypothesis has had several inventors and has been known by several different names. I have referred to it as the *Input Hypothesis* in previous publications. Well before my work began, Frank Smith and Kenneth Goodman

hypothesized that "we learn to read by reading," by understanding what is on the page (e.g., Smith, 2004; Goodman & Goodman, 1979). Asher (2000) and Winitz (1981), among others, also hypothesized that comprehension is the mechanism underlying language acquisition in publications that predate mine.

I describe here aspects of human language acquisition that will be relevant in our discussion of animal language.

Affective variables and club membership

Studies have shown that several affective variables are related to success in language acquisition – anxiety (low anxiety is correlated with more success in language acquisition), self-esteem (more self-esteem is related to success in language acquisition), and motivation, especially *integrative motivation* (a desire to belong to a certain group).

To relate affective variables to the Comprehension Hypothesis, it has been hypothesized that for input to enter the *language acquisition device* the acquirer must be "open" to the input: the *affective filter* must be low, or down. This view considers affective barriers to be outside the language acquisition device, a hypothesis that predicts that affective factors will not influence the nature of acquisition or the order of acquisition of the parts of language (Krashen, 1982; Krashen, 2003).

Smith (1988) hypothesizes that for language acquisition to take place, the acquirer must consider himself or herself to be a potential "member of the club" of those who speak the language. It is easy to translate this idea into the affective filter framework: When integrative motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) is high and anxiety is low, the affective filter is lowered, and those late-acquired aspects of language that mark club membership are acquired.

Club membership explains why we do not always acquire all varieties of language we are exposed to, why, for example, older children prefer the language of peers over the language of their parents.

Modified input

Consistent with the Comprehension Hypothesis is the finding that less advanced language acquirers typically receive modified input. Parents and other caretakers, for example, use *caretaker speech* when they speak to young children. Caretaker speech is known to be composed of shorter sentences, has less complex grammar, and uses a restricted vocabulary (Krashen, 1981).

Role of context

Context helps make input comprehensible. Caretaker speech is typically restricted to the here and now, to what the child can see, hear or touch at the moment. Similarly, teachers of beginning foreign and second language students typically use pictures and realia to make input more comprehensible (Krashen, 1981).

Silent period

Children acquiring first and second languages typically go through a silent period, or a period of reduced output, before they build up enough competence to produce language. (Adult second language acquirers are often not allowed a silent period. They are often forced to speak before they are ready, which they can only do by "falling back" on their first language grammatical competence. Adults typically find forced speech to be uncomfortable.)

An additional feature related to the Comprehension Hypothesis, the *din in the head*, will be introduced later, when we discuss the case of Cosmo.

RIVAL HYPOTHESES

There are two major rivals of the Comprehension Hypothesis. Both involve output and feedback.

The Instruction Hypothesis

This hypothesis maintains that we acquire language when we consciously learn rules of grammar and vocabulary, and we learn to read by first consciously learning the rules of phonics. Output helps us by making our knowledge more "automatic" through practice and by providing a domain for error correction, which helps us arrive at a better version of a rule we have learned imperfectly.

The Comprehensible Output Hypothesis

This hypothesis maintains that language acquisition occurs when we say something and our conversational partner does not understand, forcing us to notice a gap in our competence (Swain, 1985). We then try again until we arrive at the correct version of the rule.

ANIMAL LANGUAGE: VERVET MONKEYS

During the first two to three years of their lives, young vervet monkeys[1] acquire alarm calls that alert others to the presence of a predator. The calls are predator-specific. Hearing a specific alarm call from one monkey results in the others taking appropriate action, e.g., climbing a tree when hearing one alarm call, hiding in a bush when hearing a different one. The appropriate calls are gradually acquired. Very young monkeys (up to two to three years old) make "mistakes", not distinguishing between predators and non-predators, and confusing types of predators.

Evidence for the Comprehension Hypothesis

Helpful context

Cheney and Seyfarth (1990) report that young monkeys look at adults before responding to alarm calls, and that looking at adults increase the likelihood of a correct reaction to the alarm call, suggesting that the adults' behavior is the context that makes the alarm calls comprehensible.

Silent period

Comprehension appears to precede production of alarm calls: Cheney and Seyfarth report that six to seven month old monkeys consistently respond appropriately to alarm calls, but the ability to produce an adult-like alarm call takes another 18 months to develop (1990, p. 137). They experience, in other words, a silent period.

Rival Hypotheses

Instruction

There is some evidence to suggest that correction works for vervet monkeys. Hauser (1987, reported in Cato & Hauser, 1992) observed five cases in which a young monkey gave an inappropriate alarm call and was punished (bit or slapped) by the mother. In three out of four cases, the young monkey's next attempt to give the same alarm call was correct, suggesting (but not demonstrating) that correction worked. Cheney and Seyfarth, however, "found no indication that mothers pay particular attention to infants who have behaved inappropriately" (1990, p. 135).

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1 An earlier version of the discussion of vervet monkeys, birdsong and Washoe was published in Krashen (2009).

Comprehensible output

When young monkeys get the alarm call right, the call is often repeated by an adult, and this "reinforcement" is more likely to result in a correct alarm call by the young monkey the next time. This has been interpreted as evidence for a feedback model of acquisition (Cato & Hauser, 1992; Hauser, 1996), similar to the Comprehensible Output Hypothesis.

ANIMAL LANGUAGE: BIRDSONG

The research on birdsong is very extensive and rich. Pepperberg and Neapolitan (1988) and Neapolitan (1988) have provided detailed discussion of birdsong acquisition and its relationship to a number of research findings in second language acquisition. I limit this discussion to the hypotheses presented in the introduction. A major breakthrough in research on the acquisition of birdsong was Marler's discovery that the white-crowned sparrow will only acquire the song typical of its species if the song is presented during a critical period, 10-50 days after birth. Marler (1970) demonstrated that birds that were raised in isolation and presented with tape-recordings of their species' song acquired "abnormal" versions of the song if they heard it before they were 10 days old or after they were 50 days old.

Evidence for the Comprehension Hypothesis

Marler's birds acquired the songs from input alone: there was no interaction with other birds (songs were presented on tape), no communicative use of the song, no feedback on success, no comprehensible output.

Club membership

Baptista and Petrinovich (1984) reported that white-crowned sparrows can acquire songs beyond the 50 day limit (up to 100 days) if they hear the song from a live bird, not a tape recording. In fact, if the first song has been solidly acquired, a second song can be acquired up to 200 days later, even if both are not the regular song of the bird's species (Petrinovich & Baptista, 1987).

What is particularly interesting and supportive of the club membership concept is the finding that birds prefer the live song of a different species to the recorded song of their own species. For birds, apparently, a close friend is better than a distant relative.

Not all species can fully succeed in song acquisition from tape-recorded input alone. Starlings can acquire some features of song from tape, but do much better with a "live tutor." Chaiken, Pepperberg and Schinke-Llano reported that both

"tape-tutored" and "live-tutored" starlings "developed songs displaying the basic features of species-specific song formation" (1993, p. 1079), but the tape-tutored starlings' songs had "syntactic and phonological abnormalities" (op. cit., p. 1079). Nevertheless, the tape-tutored starlings did much better than starlings raised in isolation, and "were able to abstract general rules of song organization from the training tapes ..." (op. cit., p. 1079).

The interesting question for the Comprehension Hypothesis is which aspects of the live input are essential for full acquisition of birdsong for all species. The advantage of live input could be context and/or affective factors (club membership). And, of course, some version of the comprehensible output or output plus correction hypothesis may be at work, with the live bird providing feedback on appropriateness (comprehensible output) or form (output plus correction).

From the description in Chaiken, Pepperberg and Schinke-Llano (1993) it appears that starlings who were live-tutored were very focused on the input: "The young birds appeared attentive to their tutors' singing. They perched near the tutor, oriented towards him, and ceased other activities" (1993, p. 1089). West, King and Goldstein also note that starlings, like other species, have a "listening posture", a position in which they are quiet and cock their head to and fro while listening. When a starling hears a new sound, they "stop vocalizing to digest the vocal bite" (2004, p. 384).

Is output/singing necessary to acquire song?

Songbirds typically go through several stages in acquiring song (Marler, 2004, p. 19), a *subsong stage* ("reminiscent of infant babbling"), a *plastic song stage* in which the bird sings a variety of songs heard previously (60 days duration), and a *crystalization stage* in which the bird chooses among the plastic songs. Anesthetizing parts of the vocal control mechanism during the subsong and plastic song stages does not result in any deficit in subsequent song production in the zebra finch (Pytte & Suthers, 2000), supporting the hypothesis that actual production is not necessary for the development of song. Disruption of the speech mechanism in later stages, however, did impair song development.

Analogous studies with humans, the result of injury, have shown that language acquisition can proceed normally without babbling (Lenneberg, 1962) and that aural comprehension and written competence can develop without the ability to speak (Fourcin, 1975).

ANIMAL LANGUAGE: CHIMPANZEES ACQUIRING HUMAN LANGUAGE (SIGN)

Evidence for the Comprehension Hypothesis

Roger Fouts' descriptions of the acquisition of sign by one chimp, Washoe, contain a great deal of evidence for the Comprehension Hypothesis. Attempts to teach Washoe sign using direct instruction and conditioning failed, but "Washoe was picking up signs left and right by seeing us use them" (1997, p. 78).

> Nobody was teaching, much less conditioning, Washoe. She was learning. There is a very big difference. Despite the misguided attempts in the first year to treat Washoe like a Skinnerian rat, she was forcing us to accept a truism of chimpanzee and human biology: The child, not the parent, drives the learning process. If you try to impose a rigid discipline while teaching a child or a chimp you are working against the boundless curiosity and need for relaxed play that make learning possible in the first place. As the Gardners finally conceded: 'Young chimpanzees and young children have a limited tolerance for school.' Washoe was learning language not because of our attempts to school her but despite them (ibid., p. 83).

By the time Washoe was five, she had acquired 132 signs and a rudimentary syntax similar to that developed in early human language acquisition (ibid., pp. 101-103).

Loulis, Washoe's adopted son, was the first non-human to acquire human language from another nonhuman. Loulis began acquiring sign right away, "by watching his mother" (ibid., p. 244), eventually acquiring 24 signs in 18 months.

Instruction

There is, however, also evidence suggesting that direct teaching works in helping chimps learn sign. In several instances, Washoe attempted to teach Loulis signs directly, using "molding", taking Loulis' hand and shaping it into the appropriate sign. In one instance, "with Loulis watching, Washoe signed FOOD over and over when one of the volunteers brought her a bowl of oatmeal. Then Washoe molded Louslis's hand into the sign for FOOD and touched it to his mouth several times ... This maternal hands-on guidance seemed to work because Loulis promptly learned the FOOD sign" (Fouts, 1997, p. 244). Fouts, however, notes that Washoe was not corrected: "Most parents do not correct their children's 'child-speak' and, having given up on conditioning Washoe, neither did we" (ibid., p. 79).

ANIMAL LANGUAGE: PARROTS (COSMO)

Cosmo[2] is an African Grey parrot who has lived with Professor Betty Jean Craige for ten years (since May, 2002). Cosmo was six months old when she moved in with Craige. There is no question that Cosmo has acquired an amazing amount of English. By the time she was six years old, she had a vocabulary of about 100 words and 200 phrases (Craige, 2010, p. 17), somewhat similar to Washoe's competence, and it is clear she uses her knowledge of English appropriately. Here are just two examples of how well Cosmo understands and speaks English (from Craige's remarkable book, *Conversations with Cosmo,* and her posts on *Online Athens*):

Poop

> When she awakens in the morning, Cosmo calls me to her cage: 'I'm here! Cosmo wanna poop!' I lift her to the perch on top on her cage, where she poops. Cosmo then declares proudly, 'Cosmo poop on paper! Cosmo is a good bird!'
> "Cosmo is not such a good bird when she walks around the house. Fortunately, I have hardwood floors. If she poops near me, she immediately confesses, 'Cosmo poop on floor.' If she poops out of my sight, she mutters to herself, 'Cosmo poop'. I hear her, and I hurry to the site with a paper towel and a vinegar-based multi-surface cleanser. As I spray the spot, Cosmo mimics the sound, 'Whiss,' and adds, 'That's for Cosmo poop!' (Craige, 2012a).

Okay

> Cosmo and I use 'okay' to consent to a request made by the other, and 'okay' to ask for consent. For example, if Cosmo has done something bad, like biting me, and I have put her 'back in her cage' ... we may have this conversation:
> COSMO: Cosmo wanna go up, okay? (go up = leave the cage)
> BJC: No, Cosmo is a bad bird. Cosmo stay in cage.
> COSMO: Cosmo be a good bird, okay?
> BJC: Cosmo be a good bird. Stay in cage.
> COSMO: Cosmo wanna be a good bird, okay?
> BJC: Cosmo stay in cage.
> COSMO: Cosmo don't bite, okay?
> BJC: Okay, Cosmo go up.
> And I open the cage door to let her out. I'm not much of a disciplinarian. (Craige, 2010, p. 43).

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[2] My thanks to Prof. Betty Jean Craige for her comments, help and inspiring book, *Conversations with Cosmo.* Parts of this section were originally published in Krashen (2012).

Colbert-White, Covington and Fragaszy (2011) confirmed that Cosmo uses language that is appropriate to the situation. They reported, for example, that Cosmo made more attempts to start conversations when Craige was clearly able to communicate with Cosmo, then when Cosmo was alone or it was clear that she was being ignored. They also found that Cosmo was more likely to talk about her own location ("I'm here") and Craige's location ("Where are you?") when she and Craige were in separate rooms but within hearing range, and Cosmo also talked louder in this situation.

Evidence for the Comprehension Hypothesis

Amount of input

There is no question that Cosmo got a great deal of input from Professor Craige. Craige and Cosmo have been talking with each other nearly every day for ten years. Craige tells us that "When I am home Cosmo and I talk constantly" (Craige, 2010, p. 40).

Modified input

Craige clearly uses caretaker speech with Cosmo, simplified in order to help comprehension: " ... like foreign language teachers I used a simplified vocabulary with Cosmo. I look at her when I speak, and I consistently use the same words and phrases. For example, I always say, 'Cosmo wanna go in a car?' and never vary the question with synonyms. I don't say 'Cosmo wanna ride?' or 'Would you like to go for a drive in the automobile?'. I say 'peanut' for all kinds of nuts: peanuts, walnuts, pecans ... cashews ..." (Craige, 2010, p. 41)

Helpful context (and relevance)

As is the case with caretaker speech, the talk is about the here (Cosmo's immediate environment) and now (or immediate past and future), which provides context for helping Cosmo understand. Also, all discussion with Cosmo relates directly to her needs, interests and desires, ensuring that the input will be highly interesting and relevant to her.

Silent period

Cosmo went through a "silent period" during her first year of life (Craige, 2010, p. 59): "In January of 2003, at about thirteen months, Cosmo started repeating the phrases I had been saying to her since I got her: 'Hello!' 'Hi!' 'Wanna peanut?' ..." (p. 25; for other examples, see pp. 43-44). Cosmo had apparently been

listening and acquiring during her silent period: most likely, when she started to produce English words, it was not the beginning of her acquisition of English.

Cosmo's monologues: The din externalized?

It has been suggested that an indication that acquisition has taken place is the *din in the head*, spontaneous mental rehearsal of words, phrases and sentences we have heard in a second language, often in the voices of people we have been interacting with (Krashen, 1983). The Din appears after we have had a good dose of comprehensible input and can make us less hesitant to use the language (Bedford, 1985; de Guerrero, 1987).

The *Din Hypothesis* explains the "language in the crib" phenomenon (Krashen, 1983). Ruth Weir (1962) tape-recorded her 28-month-old son's evening monologues, speech he produced alone while falling asleep. This "crib talk" might be the Din externalized, a result of language acquisition and not a form of "practice".

Like Pepperberg's parrot, Alex (Pepperberg, 1999), Cosmo also talked to herself when alone, using language she had acquired, as well as producing other kinds of output, a combination of "words, whistles, squeaks, environmental noises, and silences that went something like this: Hello, Chirp, Hi Woo woo woo (imitating dog barking) How are you? Fine Whee whew Here are you? Here I am! I am here! Squeeeeek What are you doing? Beep .... beep What doing? Chee chee Up Wanna go up ..... There you are! I love you. Wanna kiss. Thank you ...." (Craige, 2010, p. 26).

Cosmo's monologues took place "in the months when she was first learning to talk" (Craige, 2010, p. 37), consistent with the idea that this was an "externalized din" and a result of language acquisition.

Rival Hypotheses

Instruction

Cosmo received at least some direct instruction: Professor Craige labelled objects for Cosmo and also "... (corrected) Cosmo's misuse and mispronunciation of words" (Colbert- White, Covington & Fragaszy, 2011, p. 1). But Craige did not give Cosmo "language lessons", activities deliberately designed to increase her vocabulary. Cosmo herself, however, asked for the names of things.

Craige reports that Cosmo likes to play the game, "What's that?", which apparently helped her learn the names for "clothes", "television," "bark" and other words (Craige, 2010, p. 42, 47).The game produced some remarkable exchanges, including this one in which Cosmo began by imitating a dog barking:

COSMO: Woo, woo, woo. What's that?
BJC: That's doggy!
COSMO: That's doggy bark! (Craige, 2010, p. 47).

Whether this kind of direct instruction contributed significantly to Cosmo's competence in English is undetermined, but what we can say for sure is that there are cases in which direct instruction did not work and cases in which Cosmo acquired words without instruction.

A case of direct instruction not working

"I tried to teach Cosmo to distinguish between red feathers and gray feathers. Cosmo had already learned the word 'feather' ... But she could, or would not, say 'red feather' or 'gray feather.' She would simply grab the feather with her beak and fling it away ..." (Craige, 2010, p. 51).

A case of direct instruction not working, but incidental exposure succeeding

"Lately, Cosmo has been trying to say the word *desk*... I hadn't tried to teach her the word. Actually I tried to teach her 'Betty Jean's study', which she never learned to say. I must have said 'desk' once or twice before she tried to say the word to refer to the table where my computer rests ..." (Craige, 2010, p. 46).

Pepperberg's parrott, Alex, who was heavily instructed, also "picked up" at least some expressions incidentally, without instruction. Pepperberg gives three examples: "calm down" (Pepperberg, 2008, p.157, 159), "pay attention" (p. 121), and "You turkey!" (p. 149). Alex used all three of these expressions appropriately.

Evidence for Comprehensible Output

Craige certainly makes sure that Cosmo has plenty of communicative success: "As much as I can – and within reason – I comply with (Cosmo's) spoken wishes, because I want her to know that language works. I want her to know that use of language enables her to manipulate the environment: to obtain peanuts, go to the kitchen, make people laugh, get a misting [spray with water], get a kiss on her feathers, and get my rapt attention. When she speaks she has power, for she can tell me what to do, even though she's little and I'm big" (Craige, 2010, p. 80). The existence of incidental acquisition shows that comprehensible output was not necessary for Cosmo to acquire English. The possibility remains that it could have been helpful.

The affective filter and club membership

Perhaps the most significant factor in Cosmo's case is the fact that she has had a warm and loving interaction with a single person over a long period of time, and they have talked about topics that are of great personal interest to Cosmo. Unconditional love is clearly the best way to insure low anxiety, self-confidence, and motivation to join the group, in other words, a zero affective filter: "... Cosmo knows that I love her, that I will always give her attention, that I will always feed her, and that I will never strike her, even when she bites" (Craige, 2012b).

Post-script: A critical period?

Craige (2012c) notes that "By the age of three (Cosmo) had acquired the vocabulary and grammatical tools she would use in her speech from then on." According to Professor Craige (personal communication), since she was five or six, Cosmo has not acquired many new words: "Occasionally, very occasionally, she'll pick up a new word, but not often." Several possible explanations come to mind: (1) A neurologically-based critical period for language acquisition exists in parrots that holds for their acquisition of human language. (2) By age three, Cosmo had acquired all or nearly all the language she needed and resisted acquiring vocabulary that she considered irrelevant. (3) Craige either consciously or subconsciously changed her style of interaction with Cosmo when Cosmo was three years old.

But Cosmo is still learning new things: "... she does pick up new tunes to whistle. This past year she learned 'Yankee Doodle,' after I had whistled it only a few times. To learn it she'd whistle a line, wait for me to do the tune, and then try it herself, stopping whenever she forgot the next line and waiting for me to help her out. She also learned 'Wooden Heart' a year or so ago" (Craige, personal communication).

SUMMARY

Table 1 presents a summary of the results. In my interpretation, all four cases provide evidence for the Comprehension Hypothesis; in all cases, it is clear that comprehensible input was supplied, suggesting that is is essential for language development, as features of rival hypotheses occurred only occasionally. In addition,

- Cosmo was the only case in which it was clearly recorded that input was specifically modified; this was probably also the case with Washoe; it is unlikely that Washoe's caretakers used highly complex signs with her.
- Helpful context: Young vervet monkeys observed older monkeys making and reacting to alarm calls, which made correct reactions more likely. Cosmo's input was focused on the here and now, and her interests and desires.

- Vervet monkeys clearly went through a silent period, a period of comprehension without production, as did Cosmo.
- Cosmo experienced a "din in the head," which may be a reflection of language acquisition. There is a hint that Washoe experienced the din as well; Fouts reports that he often found Washoe signing to her favorite doll (1997, p. 73).
- In general, direct instruction did not work with Washoe. But Wahsoe attempted to teach her adopted son, and may have had some success. Instruction may have worked with Cosmo, but the results were inconsistent.
- Vervet monkeys appear to have profited from attempting alarm calls and experiencing communicative success, and Cosmo may also have acquired some language through compehensible output, thanks to her rich interactions with Professor Craige. Some evidence in favor of output in general comes from the finding that not allowing production in late stages of acquisition harms the acquisition of birdsong.
- Remarkable evidence for the power of club membership was documented with birdsong, with birds preferring the live song of another species over the recorded song of their own, and additional evidence is the warm relationship between Cosmo and Professor Craige.

Table 1: Observed behavior related to the Comprehension Hypothesis and rival hypotheses

	Vervet Monkeys	Birds	Chimpanzee	Parrot
	Alarm Calls	Song	Sign	Spoken English
COMPREHENSION HYPOTHESIS				
CI available	yes	yes	yes	yes
modified input			yes?	yes
helpful context	yes			yes
silent period	yes			yes
din			?	yes
club membership		yes	yes (Loulis)	yes
RIVAL HYPOTHESES				
instruction			yes	yes
correction	disputed		no	yes
comprehensible output	yes			yes

Yes = evidence that the feature contributed to language development

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to present the major hypotheses about human language acquisition and begin to determine if any of them are consistent with what is known about animal acquisition of communicative systems. The Comprehension Hypothesis appears to fit in all cases, but there is evidence suggesting that rival hypotheses make contributions as well. My hope is that the framework presented here will help interpret the results of other studies.

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A NATIVE SPEAKER'S PERCEPTIONS OF HIGH- VS. LOW-ANXIOUS EFL STUDENTS' SPEAKING PERFORMANCE

Zsuzsanna Tóth

INTRODUCTION

Learners, teachers, and researchers of second or foreign languages (L2) are well aware of the fact that learning and using a foreign tongue can be an anxiety provoking experience. L2-related anxiety has been defined as "the feeling of tension and apprehension specifically associated with second language contexts, including speaking, listening, and learning" (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994, p. 284). Although there is evidence that other aspects of language learning, such as reading and writing in a FL, can also provoke anxiety for some individuals (Cheng, 2002; Cheng, Horwitz & Schallert, 1999; Saito, Horwitz & Garza, 1999; Sellers, 2000), research has shown that it is the speaking skill that provokes most anxiety among FL learners (Bailey, 1983; Cohen & Norst, 1989; Frantzen & Magnan, 2005; Horwitz, 2010; Kim, 2009; Koch & Terrell, 1991; McCoy, 1979; Price, 1991; Young, 1990); and this is true even for learners at higher levels of proficiency (Ewald, 2007; Horwitz, 1996; Tóth, 2009, 2011). Therefore, it is not surprising that considerable research has been conducted on how anxiety affects speaking in a foreign language.

Several studies have examined the relationship between learners' anxiety scores and some assessment of their spoken output. Significant negative correlations have been reported with oral test scores (Scott, 1986; Young, 1986), oral exam grades

(Hewitt & Stephenson, 2011; Phillips, 1992; Woodrow, 2006), and speaking course grades (Cheng et al., 1999).

Some researchers have also explored links between anxiety level and various aspects of the speaking skill. Phillips (1992), for instance, examined the potential effect of anxiety on performance variables related to the quantity and quality of the oral output. She has found that students with high anxiety said less, produced shorter communication units, and used fewer dependent clauses and target structures than those whose anxiety level was lower. Hewitt and Stephenson's (2011) recent replication of Phillips's (1992) study has supported these findings. It has established a link between anxiety and poorer performance in quantity and correctness of output as well as in terms of grammatical complexity. MacIntyre and Gardner (1994) have found similar differences in the output quality of learners with differing levels of anxiety. Learners with high levels of anxiety in their study tended to receive lower ratings for their L2 fluency, sentence complexity as well as accent than participants with lower levels of anxiety.

Similar results have been produced by studies comparing the oral performance of learners in the two extreme anxiety categories. Gregersen (2003) has found that high-anxious learners made more errors, were less able to recognise their errors, and resorted to code-switching more frequently than participants in the low-anxiety group. Zhang's (2004) highly anxious participants have been reported to produce fewer and shorter communication units (CU) than their low-anxious counterparts, and the number of their error-free CUs was also lower, which is in line with the findings of studies examining the same performance variables in larger samples of learners with differing levels of foreign language anxiety (FLA) (Phillips, 1992; Hewitt & Stephenson, 2011). Finally, Steinberg and Horwitz (1986) investigated the more subtle effects of anxiety on the content of L2 speech. They have found that the oral descriptions of subjects in the anxiety arousal group were significantly less complex or interpretive than those of their peers in the non-anxiety condition.

The present investigation continues this line of research into the role of FLA in L2 speaking in a Hungarian EFL setting. It aims to test the findings of previous studies in other contexts as well as to identify further differences between high- and low-anxious L2 speakers. To this end it compares highly anxious and low-anxious English majors' performance in a semi-formal interaction with a native speaker of English: a situation between a casual conversation outside the language classroom and a formal oral exam or speaking test. Whereas previous studies have examined the linguistic characteristics of anxious L2 learners' speech, no research has looked at how these learners with high levels of FLA are perceived by others in L2 interactions (MacIntyre, 1999). To fill this gap, the study examines participants' performance from the perspective of the interlocutor: a native speaker of English. It seeks to address the following questions:

1. What are the differences between high- and low-anxious students' oral performance as perceived by a native speaking interlocutor?
2. How are high- and low-anxious students perceived as conversation partners?

METHOD

Participants

The participants were 16 English major students in their first year of study from a university in Hungary. They were selected from a larger group of EFL majors (N = 117) through purposeful sampling. Based on their scores on the Hungarian language validated version of Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope's (1986) Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Tóth, 2008), they were identified as the eight most anxious and the eight least anxious students in the examined sample of EFL majors. The mean FLA score for the 117 students was 84.59 with a standard deviation of 19.34 (Tóth, 2009). The FLA scores of the eight high-anxious participants ranged from 108 to 136, while those of the eight low-anxious ones from 49 to 59. Of the 16 participants, 13 were female and three were male. All participants were between the ages of 18 and 22, and they had studied English for an average of 9.5 years. The interlocutor was a new lecturer from England, whose classes had not been attended by any of the students involved in the study.

Materials and procedures

Participants took part in 10-15 minute, semi-formal, one-on-one conversations with the native speaking lecturer. Each interview consisted of three stages. First, students were invited to exchange information about themselves and the interlocutor in a lead-in free phase (where they come from, interests, studies, and career goals). Second, they were asked to express their opinion on a controversial issue presented on a situation card (whether the amount of tuition fee to be paid for university studies should depend on students' academic results). Finally, they had to describe and interpret an ambiguous picture. The three tasks were designed to measure spontaneous communication, argumentative, and interpretive skills.

To tap the native speaking interlocutor's impression of high- vs. low-anxious participants, a questionnaire was used, to be completed by the interlocutor immediately after each conversation. It consisted of two parts: an open-ended question asking the interlocutor to record his general impression of the interviewee and four five-point rating scales on which he was to rate participants' performance in terms of (a) overall proficiency, (b) task performance, (c) interaction skills, and (d) depth of answers.

Neither the student participants, nor the interlocutor was informed about the anxiety-related focus of the study. The students were asked to perform to the best of their ability; however, they were ensured that their performance would not affect their grades in any way.

Data analysis

For each student an oral average score was calculated by summing up the four impression marks they received from the interlocutor. Means and standard deviations were computed for the high- and low-anxious group's performance according to the four assessment criteria. To test whether the observed differences between the two groups' performance were statistically significant, the non-parametric version of the t-test for independent samples: the Mann-Whitney test was used.

The interlocutor's descriptions of the sixteen students were analysed qualitatively, using the constant comparative method (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). The coding procedure began with a careful reading of the data in order to identify recurring themes and sub-themes. Initial groupings were modified and/or new headings created as a result of the procedure involving constant checking of the established categories against the data.

RESULTS

Impression marks

Table 1 displays the group means of students in the high- and low-anxiety categories according to the four assessment criteria – overall proficiency, task performance, interaction skills, and depth of answers.

Students in the high-anxiety group received lower ratings from the native-speaking interlocutor on all four measures. The Mann-Whitney test showed that the two groups differed significantly in terms of overall proficiency and the depth of the answers they provided, while the differences in task performance and interaction skills were not statistically significant.

Table 1. Interlocutor's assessment of high- and low-anxious students' oral performance

	High anxiety group (1-5)	Low anxiety group (1-5)	U	p
Overall proficiency	M = 2.87 (SD = .69)	M = 4.06 (SD = .62)	6.5	.006
Task performance	M = 2.87 (SD = .79)	M = 3.62 (SD = .83)	15.5	.078
Interaction skills	M = 3.12 (SD = 1.12)	M = 3.87 (SD = .95)	17.5	.110
Depth of answers	M = 2.75 (SD = .65)	M = 3.56 (SD = .82)	13.5	.045

Comments on participants' performance

When recording his general impression of the interviewees in the open-ended part of the questionnaire, the native speaking interlocutor first gave a brief description of their L2 speech, then he went on to comment on more specific aspects of their performance, such as vocabulary, grammar, and comprehension skills.

Overall impression

Students in the low-anxiety group generally received more positive comments than their peers with high levels of FLA. To express his first impression of individual students' speech in the low-anxiety category the native speaking interlocutor used phrases like

- very good/overall good/pretty good
- confident in use of language
- fluent/fluent speech
- relatively fluid use of language
- spoke relatively fluently.

In contrast, similar complimentary remarks tended to be absent from his descriptions of students in the high-anxiety category. There was only one anxious student

whose fluency was positively commented on: "spoke relatively fluently without too much hesitation".

Vocabulary

A similar contrast was revealed between the native-speaking interlocutor's perceptions of students' vocabulary in the two anxiety groups. He used adjectives like "limited/very limited", "not too broad"/"not too wide-ranging" to describe the vocabulary used by anxious participants. What is more, he made negative comments such as the following:

- her vocabulary let her down
- the biggest problem was vocabulary
- she perhaps struggled with her vocabulary to explain precisely what she was thinking
- due to a scanty knowledge of vocabulary response and expression time very slow.

Not only do these remarks suggest that learners' vocabulary in the high-anxiety group was not particularly rich but also that the interlocutor had the impression it may have hindered them when trying to express their thoughts in English.

By contrast, the vocabulary of students in the low-anxiety group tended to be referred to as "broad"/"relatively broad"/ "quite broad", "overall good", "quite wide-ranging", and one or two participants were even praised for their knowledge of collocations and idiomatic phrases. Although there were students in the low-anxiety category whose vocabulary was not found to be all that impressive, the interlocutor made no mention of this hindering them in expressing themselves in English, as was the case with some anxious students. To the contrary, he seemed to emphasise just the opposite: students' ability to communicate successfully in spite of a not exceptionally extensive vocabulary. To give sample comments:

> Vocabulary not as broad as one would expect on the basis of overall fluency.
>
> Vocabulary seemed to be limited, although a relatively "high mileage" was obtained from the lexical items the interviewee was familiar with.

Grammar

Similar differences were revealed between students' grammar in the two anxiety groups. As for students with high anxiety, all the comments the native speaking interlocutor made tended to be negative. To give a few examples:

- on the whole very weak
- simple grammatical errors
- correct tense only occasionally
- lots of grammatical mistakes
- interviewee lacks a deep awareness of the differences between certain syntactical structures in English.

In contrast, with one or two exceptions, the interlocutor tended to refer to "few mistakes"/ "a few mistakes", "certain grammatical mistakes", "on the whole minor mistakes" which "crept in" when commenting on students' performance in the low-anxiety group. Besides, he also pointed to positive features in some students' performance, as evidenced by the examples below:

> Only a few grammatical levels, considering the complexity of answers given quite impressive.
>
> A few mistakes crept in but considering the volume of detail given this is perhaps understandable.
>
> Verb tenses often wrong or did not agree, although this did not discourage her when talking.

The native speaker's remarks suggest that although the grammatical structures these learners used were not very sophisticated ones, and their speech was not without mistakes either, these limitations did not seem to prevent students from expressing themselves in English, what is more, from presenting relatively complex and detailed ideas. However, the opposite seemed to be the case with some anxious students, who, in the interlocutor's words, "struggled with English grammar, with the correct use of tenses in particular" and appeared to experience difficulty even with sentence construction. To give a sample comment:

> Much thought put into trying to formulate correct sentences, producing correct tenses, with moderate success.

Comprehension

Another area where high- and low-anxious participants showed differences, according to the interlocutor's notes, was the ability to understand native English speech. In the low-anxiety group he described students' level of comprehension as "good", "extensive", or "excellent", and he also pointed to "quick response time" as a positive feature of some learners' performance. At the same time, students in the high-anxiety group were felt to be less successful in understanding his questions and other utterances. Only two students received a favourable comment: "compre-

hension good", while "limited" was the word the native speaking interlocutor tended to use when describing participants' level of comprehension in the anxious category. To quote some of his remarks:

- some/many questions misunderstood
- some/certain questions not understood at all
- interviewee did not always understand or respond appropriately to the question posed.

As evidenced by comments like these, the interlocutor had the impression that understanding native English speech may have posed a problem for these learners.

The comments were not confined to linguistic aspects of the sixteen participants' performance. Besides linguistic competence, the interlocutor also commented on the depth of the answers individual students provided in response to the three tasks, the interaction skills they exhibited in conversation with him, as well as the personal impression they made on him, including references to character/personality and students' affective state.

Depth of answers

Responses in the high-anxiety group were perceived by the interlocutor as "quite simple", "not particularly philosophical", "limited"/"very limited", "lacking in detail", "of no great complexity". In some cases he attributed these characteristics to language problems, as evidenced by the following comments.

> … almost impenetrable due to lack of clarity, limited and wrong use of tense/vocab., etc. Answers may have been limited by linguistic barriers.

> … as stated the interviewee struggled to express her thoughts in a concise or fluid manner. Thus her answers may have appeared slightly superficial, even if she may have been thinking quite deeply about the questions posed.

> Very limited responses made due to the long response time necessary to answer.

In other cases, the interlocutor had the impression that "nervousness", "shyness", "lack of self-confidence"/"waning confidence", "anxiety", to use his own words, may have prevented learners from answering in more depth, as the following comments suggest:

> Again, shyness may be a major factor here; interviewee may well have harboured more complex feelings towards subjects but needed some encouragement to speak about them.
>
> Answers simple, lack of detail, perhaps needed prompting to have faith in her own opinion on the question at hand.
>
> Interviewee seemed afraid to speculate on 'unseen subject'.

Students in the low-anxiety group were seen as relatively more successful in responding with complexity and authenticity to the interview questions. While the answers some of them provided were also described by the interlocutor as "relatively simple", there seemed to be a greater number of students with more positive comments. A few examples:

- very good, much effort made to make detailed, complex responses
- responded in great detail, was not afraid to expand on his ideas
- answers relatively complex
- responses detailed and intelligent

Interaction skills

Analysis of the interlocutor's notes on the students' interaction skills has shown that positive and negative remarks on this aspect of participants' performance were more evenly distributed across the two anxiety groups than was the case with linguistic competence or depth of answers, which may account for the statistically non-significant difference between the two groups in this respect. There were individuals in both categories who were perceived by the native speaking interlocutor as "polite", "friendly", "open"/"unexpectedly open" conversation partners, "attentive", "considerate of other person", "sensitive to those around", as well as others who were considered "not so polite", or even "rude", at least by British standards. Similarly, there were students in both anxiety groups who were "confident enough"/"not afraid" to "admit"/ "reveal" they did not know a particular word or understand a question, as well as others who did just the opposite: "talked around the subject" or "swept over the problem", as the interlocutor put it. Again, there were high- as well as low-anxious interviewees who "asked for clarification/assistance" when in trouble, some of them "directly", some "indirectly", or "with supralinguistic gestures", and there were others who "did not want or feel comfortable with asking for advice or correction". In short, factors like awareness of conversation partner, negotiation of meaning/asking for clarification did not seem to distinguish students with high and low low levels of FLA.

The two groups, however, did show differences in terms of turn-taking behaviour. In the low-anxiety category the interlocutor's notes contained references to turn-taking being "poor", as evidenced by remarks like these:

- interviewee did not let interviewer finish on occasions, spoke over my [i.e., interlocutor's] voice
- interruptions and tone may be considered brash or arrogant on occasion, etc.

In the high-anxiety group, however, the interlocutor made no mention of any such behaviour. On the contrary, students were praised for "paying attention to turn-taking", "being polite, sensitive in this respect" (turn-taking). Interestingly enough, though, some of the interlocutor's comments suggested that perhaps interviewees were *overly* polite and generous with allocating turns to him: in fact, they had to be encouraged and prompted to talk themselves. To give a few examples:

> A degree of self-effacement was observable, especially as the interview progressed, and her confidence appeared to wane a little.
>
> Interviewee needed encouragement to answer, although very polite when answering.
>
> Polite and responsive but needed prompting to have confidence to speak.

The interlocutor had the impression that feelings of uneasiness or anxiety might have played a part in some students' polite turn-taking behaviour.

DISCUSSION

The study has compared highly anxious and low-anxious English majors' performance in a semi-formal conversation with a native speaker of English from the perspective of the interlocutor himself. One of the aims was to examine what specific performance characteristics might distinguish between high- and low-anxious L2 speakers at an advanced level of proficiency. The other aim was to explore how learners with high vs. low levels of FLA are perceived by a native speaker as conversation partners.

Students with high levels of FLA received lower ratings from the interlocutor than their peers with low anxiety on all four performance measures, specifically: overall proficiency, task performance, interaction skills, and depth of answers. Significant differences were found between the native speaking interlocutor's perceptions of high vs. low-anxious students' overall proficiency and the depth of the answers they provided in response to the tasks and his questions. These findings in the Hungarian EFL context support previous research in other instructional set-

tings reporting a negative relationship between anxiety and performance variables related to the quality and content of L2 speech (cf. Gregersen, 2003; Hewitt & Stephenson, 2011; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994; Phillips, 1992; Steinberg & Horwitz, 1986; Zhang, 2004).

The interlocutor's notes have pointed to specific differences between high- and low-anxious students. Relative to the low-anxious group, learners with high levels of FLA came across as weaker in terms of various aspects of their L2 speech, specifically, fluency, grammar, vocabulary, and comprehension. In the low-anxiety group fluency was the very first thing the interlocutor tended to comment on when describing his overall impression of students' speech – favourably, as we have seen. In contrast, comments on this speech characteristic were virtually absent altogether in the high-anxiety group, most probably as a polite indication of a lack of fluency. These findings show that degree of fluency is a most conspicuous, readily identifiable speech characteristic distinguishing the L2 output of learners with high vs. low levels of anxiety. The interlocutor's comments on vocabulary and grammar have pointed to another difference between the two groups. This was not so much a difference in terms of the range and appropriacy of the vocabulary or the variety and complexity of the grammatical structures used, as an ability on the part of the students in the low-anxiety group to communicate successfully with whatever vocabulary and grammatical resources at their disposal, which was not the case with participants in the high-anxiety group. Finally, level of comprehension has been identified as the third aspect in terms of which high- and low-anxious students showed differences according to the interlocutor's perceptions. The relative weakness of students with high anxiety in understanding native English speech was evidenced by the native speaker's impression of many misunderstandings and inappropriate responses as well as slower response time.

The interlocutor's notes have also provided valuable insights into some non-linguistic, or at least not strictly linguistic, aspects of the participants' oral performance. Highly anxious students were perceived as very polite conversation partners; at the same time, their answers to the interview questions were felt to be less complex or deep than those of their low-anxious peers. It is an important finding that although the interlocutor was blind to the anxiety-related focus of the study, participants' affective state, specifically: anxiety/shyness/nervousness, or the lack thereof, was a recurring theme in his notes. What is more, commenting on the depth of the answers individual students provided and the interaction skills they exhibited in conversation with him, the interlocutor referred to anxiety as a factor related to/potentially responsible for differences among participants in these areas.

Specifically, he was of the opinion that in addition to language problems, shyness or anxiety may have prevented certain students from delving more deeply into the questions posed and responding in more detail and at length – contributing thereby to their answers appearing as limited, lacking in depth or complexity, or even superficial. The interlocutor's intuition about a potential relationship between students' anxiousness and their providing shorter, less detailed and elaborate responses is supported by previous research documenting quantitative differences

between the oral output of students with differing levels of FLA, specifically, that relative to their low-anxious peers, learners with high levels of anxiety tend to say less, produce shorter communication units (MacIntyre et al., 1997; Phillips, 1992; Zhang, 2004) and need more elicitation or prompting (Gregersen, 2003). It is also in line with the findings of research into how anxious individuals communicate. According to social psychologists, minimizing the length and depth of involvement in social encounters is a typical behavioural concomitant of anxiety, resulting in shorter speaking periods and lessened verbal output in conversations (Leary, 1982; Schlenker & Leary, 1985).

The interlocutor also seems to be right in suggesting that anxiety may have affected some participants' interaction style, specifically their overly polite turn-taking behaviour as well. The utmost courtesy high-anxious learners showed in allocating turns to the interlocutor, their virtually never interrupting him, as well as their marked attentiveness – accompanied by smiling, frequent nodding and back-channel responding suggestive of agreement and interest (researcher's observations) – are also typical behavioural responses observed among socially anxious individuals in interpersonal encounters, which allow remaining engaged in conversations with minimal active contribution (Leary, 1982; Schlenker & Leary, 1985). In sum, the interlocutor's perceptions of high vs. low-anxious students' performance support the view that anxiety is related to both how much learners say (quantity of output) and how they say it (output quality).

CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the role of FLA in advanced learners' oral production in a Hungarian EFL setting. The comparison of high- vs. low-anxious English majors' performance in a semi-formal interaction with a native speaker of English – a situation between a formal language exam and a casual conversation – has yielded results consistent with previous findings in that participants with low FLA scores outperformed their peers in the high-anxiety category according to the native speaking interlocutor's evaluation. In practical terms, these results suggest that L2 learners who experience high levels of anxiety come across as polite but less fluent, less effective, overall less competent conversation partners in face-to-face communication than learners with low anxiety. They are also more likely to get relatively poorer results on formal oral exams.

It has been a finding of major importance that the interlocutor, completely unaware of the focus of the study, brought up the issue of learner anxiety when evaluating participants' performance, suggesting that besides linguistic differences, affective differences may have also played a part in how participants performed in the semi-formal interaction with him. His intuition about a connection between learners' anxiety and their inhibited, reticent interaction style is in line with the literature on how socially anxious individuals communicate and also supports the re-

sults of L2-related anxiety studies indicating an inverse relationship between the degree of FLA learners experience and the quantity and quality of the oral output they produce.

However, this study did not examine to what extent the observed differences in high- vs. low-anxious students' performance were attributable to the effects of FLA and differences in their language proficiency or other factors. This question remains to be further explored by future investigations. In the meantime, teachers of foreign languages should make every effort to help learners experiencing high levels of anxiety about L2 speaking to become both more competent and more confident users of their target language. This is paramount as linguistic difficulties and anxiety both appear to lower learners' oral performance.

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VALIDATION OF A QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEASURING INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES OF HEARING IMPAIRED LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Katalin Piniel, Kata Csizér & Edit H. Kontra

INTRODUCTION

In recent years increased attention has been given in applied linguistics to the learning processes of special needs students. The Department of English Applied Linguistics at Eötvös University has also launched a series of research projects investigating various aspects of Deaf[1] foreign language (FL) learning since 2006 (see esely.elte.hu). After collecting both survey and interview data from hearing impaired adult learners about their learning experiences, it was felt that the research should be extended to the young generation, those who are still at school. Since motivation has been found to be the best predictor of learning outcomes, and learner beliefs as well as learning strategies are key factors contributing to FL success or failure (see Dörnyei 2005, 2009; Ellis, 1994), these three variables have been selected for the present investigation. Although individual differences constitute a widely researched area among hearing language learners, it should be noted that research studies on Deaf FL learners are scarce and far between, and this is especially so in the case of learner variables (Cawthorn & Chambers, 1993; Domagala-

[1] In our paper, we spell Deaf with a capital D in order to distinguish the members of the Deaf linguistic and cultural minority from those hearing impaired individuals who do not use sign language and who identify with the hearing society.

Zysk, 2013; Janáková, 2008; Kellett Bidoli & Ochse, 2008). In order to collect generalizable data from a nationwide sample of school-aged Deaf FL learners, the introduction of a new instrument has been necessary. The present study describes the development of this new questionnaire and the results of the validation process.[2]

BACKGROUND

Teaching FLs to Deaf learners is not simply a methodological issue. The reason for investigating the various aspects of FL learning among the Deaf as a different group from the hearing population lies in their unique L1 background (Szabó, 1998). Since only about 5-10 per cent of children with a severe hearing loss are born to Deaf parents, the number of children in Deaf schools with a solid sign language background acquired naturally as their L1 is very small. Ninety to ninety-five per cent of Deaf children grow up in hearing families, where they are unable to access the language spoken around them and are not provided any or sufficient accessible linguistic input in Hungarian Sign Language (HSL) for natural L1 acquisition to take place. They spend the first years of their lives in a language-poor environment until they reach kindergarten age when they start picking up sign language from their peers. This, however, is a children's version of sign language that does not have the richness of vocabulary and expression of adult sign language use. This in turn leads to a delayed development of a language system that would be necessary as the foundation for learning any additional language at school (for more details see Bartha et al., 2006; Grosjean, 1996; Gúti & Szépe, 2006; Hattyár, 2008; Skuttnab-Kangas, 2000; Szabó, 2003; Vasák, 2005). Therefore, we cannot assume that the FL learning processes of Deaf students are identical with those of their hearing peers and are convinced that their beliefs about language learning, their motivation and learning strategies have to be investigated before successful teaching programs can be developed that cater for their special needs.

Instrument validity

The approach taken here to develop and validate an instrument measuring Deaf and hard of hearing learners' motivation, beliefs and strategies mainly rests on Messick's (1994, 1995) theoretical framework that views instrument validity as a unitary concept. The central component of this framework is construct validity, an overarching term referring to the "evaluative summary of both the evidence for and the actual – as well as potential – consequences of score interpretation and

[2] This project was sponsored by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA-K105095)

use" (Messick, 1995, p. 742). This means that in order to ensure the validity of score interpretation, it is necessary to seek evidence regarding the different aspects of the instrument. The main reason for our choice to use this framework lies in the fact that Messick's approach to investigating test validity is widely accepted in educational measurement today, among others, by the American Educational Research Association, the American Psychological Association, and the National Council on Measurement in Education (AERA, APA, NCME, 1999).

Onwuegbuzie, Daniel and Collins (2009), based on Messick's conceptualization, constructed a meta-validation model, according to which the six aspects of construct validity evidence in psychological measurement (based on Messick, 1994, 1995; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009) include the following:

1. Content: relevance and representativeness of content, including face validity, item validity, and sampling validity (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009);
2. Substantive aspect: "evidence that the theoretical processes are actually engaged by [the] respondent" (Messick, 1995, p.745), and thus their responses to the items of the instrument reflect these processes (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009, p. 203);
3. Structural aspect: evidence based on the scale's factor structure and its reliability; evidence is gathered on this aspect by assessing "how well the scoring structure of the instrument corresponds to the construct domain" (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009, p. 203);
4. Generalizability: evidence as to "the extent that meaning and use associated with a set of scores can be generalized to other populations" (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009, p. 203);
5. Comparative aspect: includes convergent, discriminant, and divergent evidence (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009);
6. Consequential evidence: based on "the value implications of score interpretation" (Messick, 1995, p. 745); outcome validity assessing "the meaning of scores and the intended and unintended consequences of using the instrument" (Onwuegbuzie, et al. 2009, p. 203).

In accordance with this theoretical conceptualization of instrument validation, the aim of the present study was to seek evidence for the validity of an instrument that measures Deaf and hard of hearing students' language learning motivation, beliefs, and strategy use. More specifically, the research question guiding the study was formulated as follows: Is there evidence of validity from the content, substantive, structural aspects as defined by Messick (1995) and Onwuegbuzie et al. (2009) for the instrument which has been developed to investigate the FL learning motivation, beliefs, and strategies of hearing impaired learners?

METHOD

To answer the research question, a validation study was devised with both qualitative and quantitative elements (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The investigation consisted of two steps: The first step comprised the formulation of the questionnaire items, conducting think-while-sign protocols and seeking expert opinion on the items. In this phase the aim was to gather evidence on the content and substantive aspect of validity. The second step included piloting the instrument (Dörnyei, 2007) among 14-19-year old hearing impaired learners studying a FL in Hungary and subjecting the data to quantitative data analysis in order to gather further evidence on the structural and comparative aspects of validity.

Participants

The participants of our study came from four different institutions across Hungary specialized for the hearing impaired. Three of them are primary schools specializing in Deaf education, and one is a secondary vocational school with special classes for the hearing impaired. As regards location, two of the schools can be found in the capital city and two in other regions of the country. All together 51 Deaf and hard of hearing 14-19 year-old learners (27 girls and 24 boys) participated in our study. Out of the 51 participants, 27 consider themselves as Deaf and 24 to be hard of hearing.

Instrument

We devised a 45-item 5-point Likert-scale questionnaire, which aimed to tap into the different aspects of language learning motivation (motivated learning behaviour, learning experience, milieu, ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, and international posture), language learning beliefs (beliefs about the difficulty of FLs, the nature of FL learning, and self-efficacy) of hearing impaired language learners. The instrument also included items assessing learners' use of cognitive, social, and affective learning strategies, as well as their modality preferences. Therefore, the twelve constructs that the instrument purported to measure were the following:

- Motivated learning behaviour: how much effort language learners are willing to invest into their learning (e.g., *I prepare a lot for the English classes*);
- Ideal L2 self: how the learners think of and envisage their future self from a language learning perspective (e.g., *I will be able to communicate well in English in a couple of years);*
- Ought-to L2 self: what language learners perceive as others' expectations of them (e.g., *Nowadays, English is important for everyone);*

- Language learning experience: the experiences language learners have had while learning a FL (e.g., *I like the English classes);*
- Milieu: the attitude towards learning a FL of people in the language learner's social environment (family, friends, acquaintances) (e.g., *My family/friends encourage me to study English);*
- Cognitive learning strategies: any learning strategy directed at cognitively engaging with the material to help the learner understand, memorize, and recall it (e.g., *I use the dictionary a lot when learning a language*);
- Social learning strategies: strategies that are directed at involving others in the learning process by asking them questions or practising together (e.g., *When I'm not sure whether I have written something correctly in English, I ask someone to check it for me*);
- Affective learning strategies: learning strategies directed at alleviating negative emotions and inducing positive ones in connection with language learning (e.g., *I'm proud of myself if I do my homework well*);
- Beliefs about language learning: language learners' beliefs and preconceptions about the FL and language learning (e.g., *I think English grammar is easier than Hungarian grammar*);
- Modality: language learner's beliefs and experience about the communication channels used during language learning (e.g., *If we don't understand something, the teacher uses signs to help us*);
- International orientation: language learners' beliefs about the importance of knowing a FL in order to communicate with speakers of other languages (e.g., *If Deaf learners want to communicate with foreigners, they can write emails to them in English*);
- Self-efficacy beliefs: language learners' beliefs about their own abilities to learn a FL (e.g., *I think I can learn to read and write well in English*).

Data collection procedures

After compiling the first draft of the instrument, we first focused on finding support for validity from the substantive aspect. Thus, a teacher of English and her two students in one of the targeted schools were asked to participate in the initial steps of piloting the questionnaire. The teacher was asked to read and comment on the relevance and comprehensibility of the items for her students. Following that, two students – one severely hard of hearing and one Deaf – were asked to fill out the questionnaire and render their thoughts in either speech or HSL while doing it. According to their teachers, each of the students were fluent sign language users and fluent users of spoken Hungarian using HSL with each other but speech when addressing their teacher or one of the researchers whose HSL is at a basic level.

Gathering evidence of the substantive aspect of validity also entailed extended consultations with a Deaf sign language teacher and fluent user of written English

as well as American Sign Language. She was asked to comment both on the content and the format of the questionnaire.

Since we were aiming at a completely barrier-free data collection procedure, the Deaf expert was also asked to translate the questionnaire into HSL item by item, staying as close to the written original as possible. Items which she thought needed some additional explanation were reworded for a closer match between the written original and the signed version in order to make sure that the participants are not guided in their answers by the translator's explanatory phrases. The expert rehearsed signing the translations in the form that was agreed upon before the video recording to be used when administering the questionnaire to the participants was done.

The administration of the questionnaire took place in four different schools. The participants filled it out either in class or immediately after the last teaching period. First, there was a brief introduction to the research project in HSL, then the printed version of the instrument was distributed and the timed video recording was started. The students could watch each item in HSL, and after each statement there was enough time for them to also read the sentences and mark their answers on the questionnaire. After each pause, a strong flashing light drew the attention of the participants to the video screen again. The complete process took approximately 35-40 minutes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of our study show that there is validity evidence for the instrument measuring language learning motivation, learning strategies, and beliefs of hearing impaired learners. The results of this evidence from content, substantive, structural and comparative aspects (Messick, 1995; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009) are elaborated on below.

Content aspect

According to Onwuegbuzie et al. (2009), evidence for the content aspect of validity can be sought through item and sampling validity by mainly relying on logically based expert judgement. Here the focus is on whether the items of the instrument "represent measurement in the intended content area" (p. 202) and whether "the full set of items sample the total content area" (p. 202).

The above was guaranteed by close reliance on previous Hungarian and international research on individual differences and on Deaf FL learning (Dörnyei, 2009; Kontra & Csizér, 2013) when formulating the items of the questionnaire and by our own expert judgement as researchers in these areas. In terms of motivation, we used Dörnyei's (2005) L2 motivational self-system, and the items of the ques-

tionnaire represented constructs of this framework, namely motivated learning behaviour, the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and language learning experience. The milieu and international orientation were also included due to the fact that most studies on motivation in applied linguistics also consider these as important elements influencing learners' invested effort and persistence in language learning (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011).

As regards learner beliefs, we relied on Horwitz's (1987) framework and included the aspects of beliefs about the FL, about FL learning in general, and about their abilities to learn a FL – in other words, self-efficacy beliefs (see also Raoofi, Tan & Chan, 2012). According to the literature, these are the main aspects of learners' beliefs that seem to influence language learning outcomes. We sought representativeness of these constructs by including a number of items that tapped into each group of beliefs.

For our investigation of learning strategies, we relied on a synthesis of Oxford's (1990) and O'Malley and Chamot's (1990) frameworks and sought to represent the cognitive, social, and affective strategies that Deaf and hard of hearing learners are likely to employ when learning English as a FL. Finally, a key issue that has emerged in regard to language learning was that of modality (Kontráné Hegybíró, 2010). Hence, we have included items that were directed at using all possible modalities in the language classroom of the hearing impaired. Thus, by following guidelines of previous studies and relying on our expert judgement, we have gathered evidence of content validity of the instrument.

Substantive aspect

The second source of validity evidence, and also the remaining sources included in our study, sought empirical evidence of validity. In terms of the substantive aspect, we gathered and analyzed qualitative data using think-while-sign protocols and experts' judgement. In the think-while-sign protocol, the hard of hearing student went through the items rapidly and almost without hesitation. The Deaf student took twice as long, translating to himself several items into sign language, but he only hesitated about choosing an answer to two items. Based on these results, there were no changes made to the initial 56 items of the questionnaire.

An English teacher at one of the targeted schools and a Deaf sign language teacher were also asked as experts to provide feedback on the measuring instrument. Whereas the English teacher found all items to be relevant and comprehensible, the sign language teacher suggested shortening the questionnaire so as not to include more than 45 Likert-scale items plus the questions soliciting background information. The instrument was amended in order to ensure that students who might take longer in processing a written Hungarian sentence or have a shorter attention span overall could also complete the whole questionnaire before losing their concentration. In summary, with the help of two respondents in think-while-

sign interviews and two experts, there was evidence that the instrument and the particular items reflect the processes that the participants are engaged in (i.e., reporting on their levels of motivation, their language learning beliefs, and strategy use).

Structural aspect

The third area in which we gathered evidence for the instrument's validity was from a structural aspect. First, we investigated the internal factorial structure of the scales of the questionnaire; then, we looked at their reliability.

Using *Principal Components Analysis*, evidence was sought for the internal relations among the observed elements (items) of each construct (see Benson, 1998). Results show that in the case of nine constructs (out of the 12 measured), items loaded onto a single dimension, which indicates that these constructs indeed measure the proposed notions. For two constructs (cognitive and social strategies) the items loaded onto a single dimension respectively after two outlying items had been deleted from each scale. As for language learning beliefs (excluding self-efficacy beliefs), the results are somewhat ambiguous, as the items have created a single component, but there are signs indicating the existence of possible additional dimensions as well. As learners' beliefs can form complex mental schemas and beliefs can be related to many different aspects of language learning, multidimensionality is not entirely surprising. (Although in the present study we will treat beliefs as a single component, further studies are suggested to investigate this area.)

Based on the analysis of the componential structure of the instrument, reliability of the scales was also assessed. Table 1 presents the results of our analysis, indicating that most of our scales seem to be reliably measuring various aspects of individual differences of hearing impaired learners. There are two scales with somewhat lower reliability figures (ought-to L2 self and international orientation), which might imply reasons to be cautious: There are still possible ways to improve our instrument, as it seems that the operationalization of these scales could have been more successful. At this stage of our research, we can only hypothesize what might cause a lower level of awareness concerning contextual expectations (ought-to L2 self) and the international use of English. It appears that Deaf and hard-of-hearing students are not fully aware of the outside expectations or, alternatively, these expectations are not clear enough for them. As for international orientation, the possible lack of travel experiences might cause the measurement problems.

The mean values of the scales show lower values than those of similar age groups of Hungarian hearing students (e.g., Kormos & Csizér, 2008). Most of the mean values are around 3.5, which not only leaves room for increasing motivation for our participants, but also indicates possible problems in the learning process. Difficulties might arise from the lack of the use of sign language during English

classes (Kontra & Csizér, 2013), the lack of proper teaching methods as well as unrealistic expectations.

Table 1. The internal reliability (and descriptive statistics) of the our scales

Final scales (number of items)	Cr. Alpha	Mean	St.Dev.
Motivated learning behaviour (3)	.70	3.78	.95
Ideal L2 self (3)	.64	3.64	.77
Ought-to L2 self (3)	.56	3.63	.79
Language learning experience (3)	.66	3.83	.86
Milieu (3)	.72	3.14	.92
Language learning beliefs (8)	.76	3.51	.62
Cognitive learning strategies (3)	.63	3.58	.67
Social learning strategies (2)	.71	3.96	.79
Affective learning strategies (4)	.70	3.67	.74
Modality (3)	.69	4.09	.64
International orientation (3)	.55	3.02	.94
Self-efficacy (3)	.76	3.22	.92

Comparative aspect

Finally, empirical data was used to find evidence for the comparative aspect of validity (also referred to as external aspect of validity by Messick, 1995). More specifically, we sought discriminant evidence by investigating the extent to which the measured constructs are related to one another (i.e., which factors contribute to other factors). This involved testing hypotheses based on findings of previous studies (e.g., motivated learning behaviour is predicted by a combination of motivational components (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005)) and hypothesizing hierarchical relationships peculiar to the present sample. To these ends, similarly to validation studies of instruments assessing individual variables in language learning (e.g., Onwuegbuzie, Bailey & Daley, 2000), we used regression analyses as a statistical method.

The relationship of the scales

As a first step of looking at the predicting values of the investigated constructs, we have calculated which scales have a significant impact on students' motivated learning behaviour (Table 2). Our results show that for our sample of Deaf and hard-of-hearing students, language learning experience proved to be the most important

composite variable shaping intended behaviour. Despite the fact that learning experience is part of the most important L2 motivational theories (e.g., Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011), its role is usually exceeded by other self-related variables (Kormos & Csizér, 2008). However, for our hearing impaired participants, what happens during English classes seems to be of utmost importance. The second key scale is that of the ought-to L2 self, that is, outside expectations that learners face, which implies the importance of developing realistic expectations and providing students with clear guidance on how these expectations can be met. The third significant scale proves to be cognitive learning strategies, which suggests that our Deaf and hard-of-hearing participants are likely to view language learning as a mainly cognitive process that takes place in the individual, rather than as the result of social interaction.

Table 2. Scales predicting students' motivated learning behaviour

Scales	R^2	Beta	t	p
Language learning experience	.60	.46	4.85	<.001
Ought-to L2 self	.72	.35	4.62	<.001
Cognitive learning strategies	.77	.30	3.21	.002

The second step of the analysis was to find out which scales further predict the three key factors directly associated with motivated learning behaviour. Therefore, we looked at the components that best predicted students' language learning experience (see Table 3). Again, three scales emerged playing significant roles: cognitive learning strategies, language learning beliefs and self-efficacy. These results reveal a number of important issues. First, the role of cognitive learning strategies is reinforced as it not only directly influences motivated learning behaviour but it also plays an indirect role through learning experience, which considerably increases its motivational potential. Second, learning experience is shaped by students' language learning beliefs, which again suggests a need for developing realistic learner beliefs. Third, interestingly enough, self-efficacy beliefs also influence the experience and, as a result, indirectly affect motivated behaviour. Based on our results, it seems that the learning experience of hearing impaired students is a complex issue that is influenced by a number of self-related concepts.

Table 3. Scales predicting language learning experience

Scales	R^2	Beta	t	p
Cognitive learning strategies	.43	.43	3.86	<.001
Language learning beliefs	.54	.28	2.26	.028
Self-efficacy	.58	.24	2.12	.039

We also investigated the second key factor that predicted motivated learning behaviour: students' ought-to L2 self (see Table 4). Based on our results, we can point out that the influences on students' ought-to L2 self are multifaceted as five different scales showed significant effects. Self-related scales (Ideal L2 self), various beliefs (language learning and self-efficacy) and to a small degree experience as well contribute to students' ought-to L2 self. The strongest influence is played by language learning beliefs, which might underline the importance of teachers' work in the classrooms concerning how beliefs are shaped. Ideal L2 self, which is usually one of the strongest predictors in L2 motivation studies (see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011), indirectly influences learning behaviour through the ought-to L2 self. Small but significant impact is measured for international orientation, which indicates the possible importance of experience and beliefs related to English as a global language. Interestingly enough, language learning experience has a small and significant but negative impact on students' ought-to L2 self. At this point, it is difficult to ascertain what causes its negative role; one hypothesis we can offer is that conflicting outside expectations (maybe between parents and teachers) might be the root of the problem.

Table 4. Scales predicting students' ought-to L2 self

Scales	R^2	Beta	t	p
Language learning beliefs	.42	.35	2.73	.009
Ideal L2 self	.53	.30	2.74	.009
Self-efficacy	.59	.30	2.72	.009
International orientation	.62	.23	2.13	.039
Language learning experience	.66	-.24	-2.02	.049

Finally, we looked at the third variable that predicted language learning motivation directly: the use of cognitive learning strategies (see Table 5). Two scales play significant roles in this relation: language learning experience and affective learning strategies. Results imply that strategy use is related to the learning experience, which means that strategy training is not only possible but can also be beneficial in generating positive learning experience.

Table 5. Scales predicting the use of cognitive learning strategies

Scales	R^2	Beta	t	p
Language learning experience	.43	.49	4.207	.000
Affective learning strategies	.50	.32	2.741	.009

Figure 1 contains a summary of the above detailed results. Based on these findings, we can conclude that the central roles of the language learning experience and the ought-to L2 self warrant the use of tailor-made motivational strategies for hearing impaired students. Second, direct strategy training for Deaf and hard-of-hearing students should greatly influence both L2 motivation and the learning process. We have to note that out of the eleven scales hypothesized to influence motivated learning behaviour, milieu, modality and social learning strategies do not play any direct or indirect roles. This is even more surprising as both modality and social learning strategies obtained fairly high mean values.

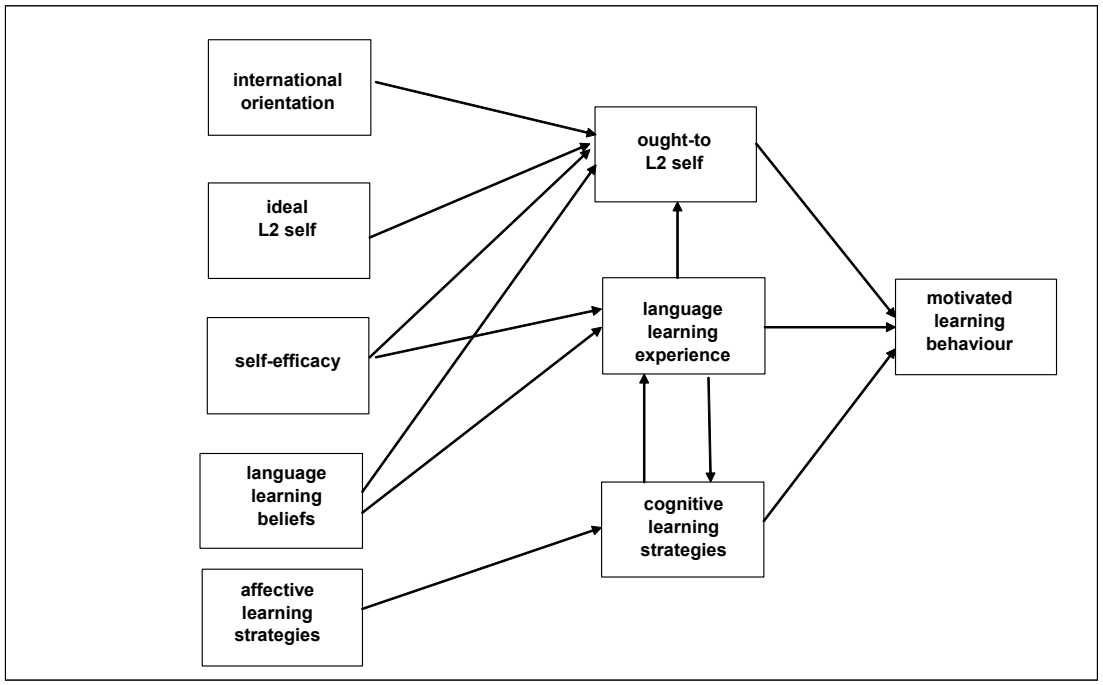

Figure 1. Schematic representation of the multiple regression analyses

CONCLUSION

The instrument measuring hearing impaired language learners' motivation, learning strategies and beliefs about learning a FL functioned well with respect to the content, substantive, structural and comparative aspect of Messick's (1994, 1995) and Onwuegbuzie et al.'s (2009) validation models. Theoretically and logically the items were found to represent the underlying constructs (cf. content aspect). In terms of respondents' answers and expert opinion, the items of the instrument were understood by the participants as was intended by the designers of the tool (cf. substantive aspect). The investigation of the instrument's factor structure provided structural evidence, while discriminant evidence (comparative aspect) of how the measured constructs are related to one another was also found through regression analyses.

Results of our validation study also highlight important information concerning hearing impaired language learners. It seems that Deaf and hard of hearing students are characterized by lower levels of motivation in comparison to their hearing peers. Interestingly, their motivation to learn a FL is principally fuelled by their experiences of learning a language, which in turn very much depends on their language learning beliefs and self-efficacy. The ought-to L2 self, in other words, others' expectations, alongside cognitive strategies, also appear to play an important direct role in the participants' motivation, whereas affective strategies and international orientation do not seem to affect motivation directly. Surprisingly, the milieu, social strategies, and modality, in spite of their relatively high importance, do not seem to influence language learning motivation in our sample of hearing impaired learners.

Nevertheless, the present study is not without limitations and as such the results are to be interpreted with caution. Although the sample in the present study can be considered adequate relative to the population of hearing impaired language learners in Hungary, before we can formulate generalizations from our findings a larger sample should be investigated. Concerning the construct of the ought-to self and international orientation further in-depth investigations may shed light on the reasons why the consistency of these scales was the lowest among the constructs measured. Follow-up exploratory research can also provide further evidence as to the interrelationship of the individual constructs comprising language learning motivation, FL learning strategies and the beliefs of hearing impaired language learners.

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LEARNING GERMAN AFTER ENGLISH: L3 VOCABULARY LEARNING STRATEGIES OF AN ADULT GFL LEARNER

Csilla Sárdi

INTRODUCTION

In the Hungarian media, there has been a debate recently about the possible orders in which English and German should be acquired for the best results. The starting point was a suggestion in *A nemzeti idegennyelv-oktatás fejlesztésének stratégiája az óvodától a diplomáig* (National Strategy for the Development of Foreign Language Teaching from the Kindergarten to the University, 2012). According to this, it would be more beneficial for pupils to start their foreign language learning with German than with English, because the latter, the authors claim, has a less complex grammatical structure. In the document, it is stated that "from the point of view of language pedagogy … if English is the first foreign language, then later the learning of a second foreign language with a more complex grammatical structure causes difficulties, and the learners often lose their motivation to study that new foreign language. If the order is reversed, however, the acquisition of the first language is more successful, and this feeling of success also supports EFL learning" (op. cit., p. 9; author's translation).

In the *National Strategy*, motivation is used as an argument for "German first". Research, however, has repeatedly demonstrated that motivation is a complex psychological quality that can be influenced by many factors, has a large number of types and components, and is dynamic in nature (see, e.g., Dörnyei, 2005; Nikolov,

1999). This indicates that factors other than the order of foreign languages can also strongly influence success in language learning. Therefore, the focus of my research lies elsewhere: on the use of different L3 learning strategies and the role of L2 in the process. This is because investigating how existing knowledge of EFL may influence strategies for learning German as an L3 can provide valuable insights into how language learning processes can be supported and/or hindered by the ability to use another FL.

In my research, I focused on vocabulary learning strategies exclusively. My aim was to investigate whether and how an adult learner's already existing command of EFL played a role in the vocabulary learning strategies when learning vocabulary items in German as a foreign language (GFL). In order to fulfil this aim, the following research questions were asked:

1. What types of strategies are used by the learner when making deliberate attempts to learn vocabulary items in German?
2. To what extent and in what manner does the learner's L2 (English) play a role in the use of these vocabulary learning strategies?

VOCABULARY LEARNING STRATEGIES

In the literature, the term "learning strategies" is defined as "steps taken by students to enhance their own learning" (Oxford, 1990, p. 7), or in other words "a choice that the learner makes while learning or using the second language that affects learning" (Cook, 2001, p. 126). Vocabulary learning strategies are regarded as a sub-group of learning strategies (Nation, 1990; Schmitt, 1997). Sökmen (1997, p. 237) states that vocabulary learning strategies are operations that help learners understand the meaning of words and learn them for later use. Takač (2008, p. 52) points out, however, that vocabulary learning strategies can also be used in other areas of language studies.

Both language and vocabulary learning strategies have been categorised in different ways and taxonomies have been developed based on empirical research (Cohen, 1998; Oxford, 1990; Schmitt, 1997; Takač, 2008). Both individual characteristics such as gender, proficiency level and experience, and external factors, for example, teacher expectations may influence strategy use (Cook, 2001; Oxford, 1990). Furthermore, research has also demonstrated that there is a relationship between the use of different vocabulary learning strategies and learning outcomes (Lawson & Hogben, 1996).

While cross-linguistic influence in L3 acquisition has been widely researched (for a review see Ringbom, 2007), I am not aware of literature focusing on the impact of existing command of L2 on the use of vocabulary learning strategies during L3 acquisition.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In this study, my aim was to find out whether and in what way existing knowledge in EFL plays a role in the use of different learning strategies when acquiring German vocabulary items. In doing so, I worked within a qualitative research paradigm because, as a staring point for possible further research, I find it important to look at empirical data and offer possible interpretations in terms of what happens and why, when a user of EFL attempts to learn vocabulary items in German as an L3. Therefore, I made an attempt to provide detailed insights from an "insider perspective" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 38) rather than generalizable results at this point.

My research design was developed in accordance with the main focus of the study. Given the qualitative approach to the issue, I kept my research open-ended so that results can emerge while analysing the data. It must be noted, however, that I formed two research questions prior to data collection in order to ensure that my analysis stays focused. I did not have an explicit hypothesis because I wanted to carry out the research as open-mindedly as possible. It required a conscious effort on my part because, based on my own life-long experience as a learner, user and teacher of EFL, I hold a strong belief that learners of an L3 can only benefit from already existing experience in learning and using another foreign language. Also, I maintain that language transfer is a naturally occurring phenomenon which can be observed in any L2 acquisition situation regardless of the languages involved, and that this should not be treated as a problem that needs to be avoided.

For my purposes, I chose a purely qualitative method, the think-aloud technique. Since my aim was to find out what kind of cognitive processes are applied by the learner when performing a vocabulary learning task, it was important to create the closest link between thinking processes and their verbal report. This goal can be achieved by asking the participant to verbalize his/her thoughts while carrying out the task (Ericsson, 2002, cited in Dörnyei, 2007, p. 148). This technique was supplemented by a retrospective interview, whereby the participant was asked to comment on and clarify some of the findings, and offer her own explanations and judgements. Also, she was asked to give her own views regarding the issues raised in an earlier version of the Results and discussion section.

Due to the qualitative nature of the study, only one participant was involved in the project. I selected an adult learner whose level of proficiency in English is high. This is because I assumed that her experience and command of the language makes it possible for her to activate her English during task completion, thus providing relevant "food for thought" for my purposes. Her description is as follows. She is an adult GFL learner at a beginner level. Her L1 is Hungarian, and she is a proficient user of English that she has acquired as a foreign language. Although she had also learnt Russian for ten years before 1990, she claims that she lost her command many years ago. Thus, for our purposes, she is regarded as an L2 speaker of English learning German as her L3. She is also regarded as an experienced and suc-

cessful language learner. Her motivation for learning German is mainly instrumental since she needs the language for career purposes.

When the think-aloud protocol was recorded, the participant had been learning German for a month in an autonomous way. She used the course book *Nyelvtanfolyam kezdőknek: Német nyelvkönyv* in the PONS series and its audio supplement (Breslauer, 2012) as a basis for her studies. The book is designed in such a way that it lends itself to independent learning, and she did not consult a GFL teacher at that stage of her studies.

The participant's task was to read a text in the course book (see Appendix A), and learn the unknown vocabulary items so that they could be recalled for later use. The learner was asked to report on her ongoing thoughts while carrying out the learning task. In order to ensure optimal results, a detailed description of the task and the think aloud procedure preceded the interview. Also, the respondent practised on a similar task first. She received the photocopied German text and its Hungarian translation on A4 size paper, and was encouraged to use these however she thought best. Also, the bilingual vocabulary in the course book and a bilingual German-Hungarian dictionary were at her disposal. The interview was recorded and then transcribed for data analysis.

Coding was done to categorize the different types of strategic moves the learner applied during task completion. Relevant findings in the literature were taken into account (see above), and categories emerged as a result of data analysis. During the process, I developed initial codes first, followed by second-level coding, in order to refine codes so that they represent each part of the transcript that was regarded as relevant for the purposes of my research. Also, during the subsequent stage of data analysis, an independent researcher applied the categories to three extracts of the transcript. It was possible to further refine the categories on the basis of his comments. As a result, L2 vocabulary learning strategies were identified (see details below).

One limitation of the study became apparent during the coding procedure. Although the respondent was aware of the request to vocalize every thought, it obviously did not always happen. Thus, the retrospective interview proved useful in this respect as well. Another limitation of the study relates to the range of strategies. Interpersonal strategies were not applied because of the design features of the study. This does not mean, however, that the participant does not apply such strategies in other learning situations. Also, since primary focus was given to cognitive operations, affective strategies were excluded from the final list because they pointed beyond the scope of the present study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of the data revealed that the learner carried out the task by consistently following a sequence throughout her work. She exhibited three main aims during task completion: (Aim 1) to identify unknown words, (Aim 2) to find relevant information about them, and (Aim 3) to learn these words for later use. These aims were fulfilled consistently in the case of each word. In fact, her procedure for task completion can be divided into three separate phases, each giving the main focus to one aim. The division is not strict, however. For example, some attempts at information finding or deliberate learning already appeared during the first phase, where the learner's main focus was on identifying unknown words.

During the information finding phase, the learner paid attention to two aspects of unknown vocabulary items: their meaning (mostly the "dictionary" meaning) and formal features (spelling, pronunciation, word grammar and phrasal syntax). The process of task completion was bidirectional. In some cases, primary focus was given to word meaning, whereas in other cases knowledge of form was established first, which, in turn, could support focus on meaning afterwards. In addition, some attempts to rehearse and remember were also made during this phase, while later, during the third phase, this became the main focus of attention.

This structure shows that the learner had a cyclical approach to task completion, which made it possible for her to return to and deal with each lexical item repeatedly. This approach supported her attempts to carry out the task effectively.

During task completion, the learner identified 20 new lexical items, recoded them in German and gave their meaning in Hungarian and/or English (see Appendix B).

Vocabulary learning strategies

In order to fulfil her learning task, the learner applied a number of operations, which were categorised as L2 vocabulary learning strategies (see Table 1). Four strategies served dual purposes during task completion. Thus, three strategies (i.e., context, contrastive analysis, and existing knowledge of German) were used for finding out information about both meaning and form (Aim 2), as well as for making attempts to learn (Aim 3), while translating was an important strategy both for identifying unknown words (Aim 1) and for information finding (Aim 2).

Table 1: Vocabulary learning strategies and their aims

Strategies	Aim 1	Aim 2	Aim 3
Chunking	√		
Context surrounding the word		√	√
Contrastive analysis		√	√
Existing knowledge of German		√	√
Information checking		√	
Mnemonic techniques			√
Noticing unfamiliar structure		√	
Reading out	√		
Repeating word and meaning			√
Self-testing			√
Translating	√	√	
Writing word and meaning			√

Three vocabulary learning strategies were used for identifying unknown words (Aim 1). Analysis revealed that the order of their use followed a consistent pattern. The procedure always started by reading the German sentence, and was followed by an attempt to translate it. However, if the sentence contained a heavy load of new information, chunking preceded translation to give focused attention to a phrase or a word.

> "Gehst du regelmäßig in den Sportverein?" / "Gehst du" te mész /
> "regel… regelmäßig" *rendszeresen* (reading the Hungarian translation) /
> "regelmäßig in den Sportverein" / a sportcent … "in den Sportverein"
> "in den" oda

The learner often combined the use of different strategies in order to understand the meaning and the formal features of a German sentence (Aim 2).

> "Aber am liebsten treffe ich Freunde." … Valamit csinálok. Freunde az valószínűleg a barátok. Treffe. Hú, ez pedig ismerős. Treffe. Találkozik (*reading the Hungarian translation*). Valószínűleg azt jelenti a treffe, hogy találkozom. Freunde. Barátaimmal. Ich Freunde. És nincs előtte prepozíció. Az angolban sincs.

Above, she used her existing grammatical knowledge in German in order to guess a part of the meaning (i.e., "…treffe ich Freunde"… Valamit csinálok). In order to do this, she also used the context surrounding the word in focus (i.e., the grammatical relationship between "ich" and "treffe"). Furthermore, she made an attempt to use her existing knowledge, and recall from memory the meaning of a word (i.e., "Treffe. Hú, ez pedig ismerős"). Her attempt, however, failed here, thus she turned to another strategy, information checking. Contrastive analysis was used to focus on phrasal syntax in the case of "treffe ich Freunde" (i.e., "Ich Freunde. És nincs előtte prepozíció. Az angolban sincs"). Here English was used for comparison purposes. This is a feature I will return to again below.

In the same example, the use of two strategies can be observed when focusing on the noun "Freunde". One of them is translating (i.e., "Freunde. Barátaimmal"). While the meaning was given in Hungarian, this was possible because of the participant's knowledge of English, since "Freund" and "friend" are cognates. (See below for more details about this issue.) The other strategy is the use of already existing knowledge of German. At the time of task completion, the participant was already aware of the grammatical rules for forming the plural form of nouns in German. This helped her realize that "Freunde" was the plural form of the noun. The above findings indicate that the learner was able to activate a number of strategies for her purposes. Some were used because others failed, while some were combined for joint use in order to reach optimal results.

The data indicate that it was important for the learner to include some kind of information checking even when she could have safely relied on the use of other strategies, such as translating or using existing knowledge only. Due to research design features, it was not possible for her to turn to additional sources (e.g., a GFL teacher or the Internet). As a result, some of her questions regarding the syntactic features of the text remained open. While this indicated her use of a strategy: noticing unfamiliar structures, it did not affect, in a negative way, the success of the learning task in focus.

The main aim of the third phase was to make deliberate attempts to remember the new words for later use (Aim 3). Here vocabulary learning strategies ranged from simple to more complex. Thus, some kind of repetition of words and their meaning in speech, as well as writing them were used frequently. It is also important to mention that the final strategy of the deliberate learning phase was self-testing, which was applied repeatedly until the learner was satisfied with her own achievements. This indicates that the learner took responsibility for the successful completion of the task, which is a characteristic feature of autonomous learning.

During this phase, the learner also applied strategies where more complex cognitive processes were involved. For example, she used the context, mnemonic techniques, and/or her already existing knowledge of German to be able to recall the meaning and/or formal characteristics of some words. She also combined the use of different strategies in the case of some items. For example, she wrote down individual words as well as the phrases in which they appeared in the case of two lexi-

cal items (see Appendix B). This shows that she used the context surrounding the word and writing to help remember the new items.

Repetition was combined with the use of mnemonic techniques for two purposes. On the one hand, associations were created to help the learner recall German words and their meaning. In the example below, the Hungarian word "rizskók", the name of a dessert is mentioned. Although the learner did not provide an explanation during the think-aloud procedure about why she mentioned the word in this context, in the retrospective interview she pointed at the similarity in sound between "kochen" and "rizskók" as well as at the possibility for creating a relationship between the meanings of these words.

> Kochen. To cook. Kochen. Kochen. Rizskók. Kochen.

On the other hand, mnemonic techniques, along with repetition, were also used to support the recall of grammatical features.

> Die Kunst. Nőnem. Die Kunst. Művészet. A művészetek azok nőneműek. OK. Mint a múzsák is nőneműek. Die Kunst.

In the example above, the learner established a meaningful association between the gender of the word 'die Kunst' and its meaning. In this example, the line of thought creating the link is explicit.

The role of English in the use of vocabulary learning strategies

Data analysis has revealed that the participant's command of EFL was used in the case of seven strategies (see Table 2).

Table 2: Division of vocabulary learning strategies according to the use of EFL

Strategies involving the use of EFL	Strategies not involving the use of EFL
1. Context surrounding the word	1. Chunking
2. Contrastive analysis	2. Existing knowledge of German
3. Mnemonic techniques	3. Information checking
4. Repeating word and meaning	4. Noticing unfamiliar structure
5. Self-testing	5. Reading out
6. Translating	
7. Writing word and meaning	

As for less complex strategies (i.e., repeating word and meaning, writing word and meaning, self-testing and translation), the use of English was notable. In a number of cases, the repetition of an item was carried out in German and English. Data indicate that Hungarian was excluded from the repetition when simple loan words or

cognates were in the centre of attention (e.g., der Computer – computer; surfen – to surf; haben – to have; kochen – to cook). Both English and Hungarian were used, however, if the focus was on words where the meaning of the parts was also important for the learner (e.g., Freizeit – freetime – szabadidő; ausgehen – to go out – elmenni otthonról). However, English was not used in the case of the word "die Ausstellung". An explanation for this is that the learner could relate the meaning of parts of this word into Hungarian, but the same technique did not work in English (i.e., exhibition). The word was also repeated in three languages where there was no apparent relationship between the word forms (e.g., treffen – to meet – találkozik; besuchen – to visit – látogat). This was done in order to establish a stronger link in memory between the German word and its meaning.

Similarly to repetition, English was also used, along with or instead of Hungarian, for the writing of words and their meaning. Of the 20 new words, the learner recorded the meaning both in English and Hungarian only in the case of one compound word "die Freizeit", while either English or Hungarian was used in 8 and 11 cases, respectively. It was not possible to identify a consistent pattern in the use of L1 and/or L2 in every case. Thus, the meaning of some loan words and cognates was recorded only in Hungarian (e.g., die Kultur, der Freund), while that of others only in English (e.g., surfen, kochen). However, in the case of the loan words with identical spelling in German and English, the meaning was always given in the latter language (e.g., der Computer, das Hobby).

The learner used the written record of words and their meaning for self-testing. Here she made attempts to recall the German words and for this she used the previously prepared records. Comparison of findings relevant to oral repetition and writing indicate that English was used more frequently during oral practice. This relates to the fact that, throughout task completion, writing played a relatively small role. For example, the final strategy, self-testing, was carried out solely in speech. The reason for this is that the learner regarded other strategies for deliberate learning as more powerful than writing.

As for translating, English was used to find out the meaning of words.

1. Kochen. Az a főzni. To cook.
2. Ausgehen. Az a go out. Elmenni otthonról.

In Example 1 above, the meaning of a cognate was given in English after the Hungarian equivalent. The Hungarian translation, however, was made possible by the learner's knowledge of the English equivalent. Hence the English translation afterwards. In Example 2, a compound word is translated into English. Although the word is not a cognate, the English translation was possible because the learner had already learned the meaning of the two parts (i.e. "aus" and "gehen") separately in other contexts. She regarded the English translation as useful in this case because there is a similarity in word formation as well as in the formulation of meaning between "ausgehen" and "go out". This, however, is not true in the case of the Hungarian equivalent.

During contrastive analysis, English was used to focus on formal features, most significantly on the similarities and differences in spelling.

1. Das Hobby. Ugyanúgy írjuk, mint angolul.
2. … a Kultur k-val íródik. Die Kultur. Kultur. A culture c-vel.

Syntactic features were also given attention by contrasting the characteristics of the two languages. In the example below, no preposition is used in the English version, and the learner takes a mental note of it.

> Akkor a surfen im Internet az lesz, hogy to surf the net. A németben kell elé prepozíció. OK.

When the learner used mnemonic techniques, her L1 was involved in most cases. There were, however, two attempts where her English was activated for such purposes. These are quoted below.

1. A "rad" az olyan, mint a "ride". Bicycle ride.
2. Besuchen… Ezt nem tudom mihez kötni. To visit. Hm.

In the first attempt, an association was created based on the similar pronunciation of and the meaning relationship between the two words. The second case is different in that the attempt failed here, and the learner turned to English when she had already realised that she could not create an association for the word in Hungarian. This is in line with the finding that mnemonic techniques were applied mostly in the L1.

CONCLUSION

This study sought answers to two research questions. The first one focused on the types of strategies used when learning vocabulary items in German as an L3. L2 strategies were developed during data analysis, which ranged from simple to more complex. In the case of a particular lexical item, more than one strategy was used for two reasons: partly, when the use of one strategy failed, and partly, when an item was perceived as difficult by the learner and she wanted to ensure optimal results. Furthermore, the division of task completion into phases ensured a cyclical pattern of learning. Thus, the learner could focus on the new items repeatedly, which helped enhance the learning process.

The second question inquired about the role of English as an L2 in the use of L3 vocabulary learning strategies. During task completion, the learner used both her L1 and L2, but to a different extent. Her L1 provided a firm basis for task completion. Indeed, her Hungarian was actively used in the case of each strategy throughout her work. At the same time, however, her L2 was also used effectively in the

case of seven strategies. This finding indicates that the participant's command of English did not result in the introduction of new strategies. Instead, she could use her existing strategy repertoire in a more effective way. When her attempt to use a strategy in Hungarian failed or was felt as insufficient, she turned to English. It is important to note that this direction was reversed in cases when the initial attempt in English failed. The role of L2 was also apparent in terms of economy, since there were lexical items to which certain strategies were more readily applicable in English than in Hungarian. For example, due to the close linguistic relationship between English and German, the meaning of cognates was established by translating the German word into English.

In conclusion, in this particular case, GFL vocabulary task completion was carried out in a well-planned and consistent way with the help of different vocabulary learning strategies, which the participant combined in ways which served her purposes best. While her L1 provided a basis for task completion, her command of English supported strategy use in two ways. Partly, parallel with her L1, to encode a given word successfully in memory, and partly, instead of her L1, when English seemed the logical or more readily available option. In the transcript, I did not find evidence for difficulties or obstacles caused by her L2 when completing the L3 vocabulary learning task.

There are a number of possible directions for further research. It would be useful to develop a longitudinal study, and investigate the issue looking at the completion of other task types and different proficiency levels. Also, it would be beneficial to compare these results to those focusing on L3 learners of English with an L2 German background.

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APPENDIX A: TEXT FOR THE VOCABULARY LEARNING TASK

• Gehst du regelmäßig in den Sportverein? • Ja, einmal in der Woche. • Und was machts du dort? • Eine Stunde Gymnastik. Und du, was machts du in deiner Freizeit? • Ich fahre gern Fahrrad. Aber am liebsten treffe ich Freunde. Wir gehen zusammen aus, wir kochen oder wir hören Musik. • Thomas, was ist mit dir? Hast du ein Hobby? • Ja, Computer. Ich surfe gern im Internet. Und ich interessiere mich für Kunst und Kultur. Meine Frau und ich besuchen oft Ausstellungen oder gehen in Konzerte.	• Rendszeresen jársz a sportklubba? • Igen, hetente egyszer. • És mit csinálsz ott? • Tornászom egy órát. És ti mit csináltok a szabadidőtökben? • Én szeretek biciklizni. De főleg a barátaimmal szeretek találkozni. Elmegyünk valahová, főzünk, vagy zenét hallgatunk. • És te, Thomas? Van valamilyen hobbid? • Igen, a számítógép. Szeretek szörfölni az interneten. De érdekelnek a művészetek és a kultúra is. A feleségemmel gyakran megyünk kiállításra vagy koncertre.

(Source: Breslauer, 2012, p. 182)

APPENDIX B: NEW VOCABULARY ITEMS AND THEIR MEANING AS RECORDED BY THE LEARNER

New item	Meaning
die Ausstellung, -en	kiállítás, -ok
das Konzert die Konzerte	koncert, -ek
die Kunst	művészet
der Computer	computer
Das Fahrrad	bicikli
(das) Fahrrad fahren	biciklizni
die Frau	asszony, nő, feleség
die Freizeit	szabadidő freetime
Der Freund, -e	barát, -ok
ich interessiere mich für	I'm interested in

New item	Meaning
die Gymnastic	torna
das Hobby	hobby
das Internet	Internet
surfen	to surf
surfen im Internet	to surf the net
ausgehen	to go out
besuchen	látogat
kochen	to cook
treffen	találkozik
regelmäßig	rendszeresen

IN QUEST OF THE POLYGLOT RECIPE: LESSONS FOR THE EVERYDAY LANGUAGE LEARNER

Gyula Sankó

INTRODUCTION

Most people want to learn a foreign language, but many fall short of mastering one. They either do not even start learning or quit after some time, usually finding excuses to salve their conscience. Lack of time, money or talent belong to the most common explanations and self-justification. While the average learner may find it difficult to master even a single foreign language, there are people who seek to learn a number of languages. Such people are often referred to as polyglots or hyperpolyglots. When it comes to defining what *polyglot* exactly means, dictionaries provide rather varied and vague answers: for example, "a person who knows and is able to use several languages" (Polyglot, 2013a) or "speaking or using many languages = multilingual" (Polyglot, 2013b). When looking up the definition of *several* in the Oxford Dictionaries, we find "more than two but not many" (Several, 2013), and the *Longman Dictionary* defines *many* as "a large number of people or things" (Many, 2013). Besides the obvious contradiction between the two definitions, there is a further problem of providing *multilingual* as a synonym for *polyglot*. While a multilingual person who lives and participates in a multilingual society can automatically keep their linguistic knowledge active and top level, and can even partake in shaping and changing the languages spoken in the community, polyglots, who generally do not live in the community where the target languages are spoken, have to work hard daily to keep their languages on a relatively high level,

and struggle to "warm up their iced knowledge" when it comes to communication (Kelly, 2011).

Although the term polyglot has several definitions, in the language learning community it generally applies to a person who can speak and write at least three languages with fluency. The dictionary definition of *hyperpolyglot* is equally disappointing: the above two dictionaries have no such an entry at all. The online Macmillan Open Dictionary defines hyperpolyglot as "a person who learns and speaks many different languages" (Hyperpolyglot, 2013), which can hardly be called exact. The term hyperpolyglot was coined by Richard Hudson, professor emeritus of linguistics at University College London, originally meaning a person who can speak six or more languages fluently (Erard, 2005b). In his project on hyperpolyglots, Michael Erard, the writer of the book *Babel No More*, was also using six as a cutoff because, according to a survey, the maximum number of languages used in any one natural community around the world was five. Later on he realized, however, that many polyglots claimed to be able to speak six or seven languages, and the real dividing line for a language superlearner was at eleven (Erard, 2012).

Another common problem is deciding what exactly speaking or knowing so many languages means. For one thing, hyperpolyglots have different recall levels of the languages in their repertoire, and, consequently, they can hardly recall and use any of them (except for the three or four languages they are fluent in) instantly on a high level without having to review them beforehand. This is hardly surprising if we think of the fact that truly balanced bilinguals are also hard to find (Kelly, 2011). Polyglots may decide to focus on just a particular aspect like the oral language, which accounts for the fact why they can seemingly master a language so quickly. The difficulty of languages they learn does make a difference in the polyglot community: Mandarin, Japanese, Hindi and Russian "weigh" more than knowing, e.g., exclusively Romance languages such as Italian, French and Spanish (Barford, 2012). The quantity and quality of the vocabulary supporting some polyglots' ostensible "fluent speech" together with the accuracy and appropriateness accompanying this fluency are also gray areas.

It is undeniable, however, that hyperpolyglots possess a special propensity for accumulating linguistic knowledge quickly, and they can switch between languages very easily (ibid). Erard has found that they are more frequently men, left-handed, with high, although not genius-level, IQs (Kelly, 2011). It is also most likely that, due to globalization and the ease of mobility, we will witness an ever growing number of such people (Steinmetz, 2012).

There have been several studies trying to find out more about the special propensity owned by polyglots and multilingual people. These studies (e.g., Della Rosa et al., 2013; Fabbro, 2001; Gomez-Ruiz, 2010; Holtzheimer, Fawaz, Wilson & Avery, 2005; Park, Badzakova-Trajkov & Waldie, 2012; Proverbio, Adorni & Zani, 2007; Proverbio, Leoni & Zani, 2004), were predominantly of neurolinguistic nature, focusing on the linguistic talent as represented in the organization and func-

tioning of the bilingual and multilingual brain. So far, however, little attention has been paid to the language learning technicalities of polyglots, such as their motivation, strategies, or their beliefs. Hyperglots like 12-year old Chinese Wendy Vo, Timothy Doner, a sixteen-year-old New York student (Leland, 2012), Benny Lewis from Ireland, Moses McCormick from Ohio, Alexander Arguelles in Singapore (Arguelles, 2012), Mike Campbell in Taiwan, British Richard Simcott, Peter Brown a professor of Spanish at the University of Texas-Pan American, or Steve Kaufmann, former Canadian diplomat, may all have some special talent for languages, but they all attribute their gained knowledge merely to hard work. None of them consider themselves linguistic supertalents or savants, such as Christopher Taylor (Smith, Tsimpli & Ouhalla, 1993; Tsimpli & Smith, 1991) or Daniel Tammet (Bethge, 2009), who demonstrate prodigious linguistic talent due to their autistic mental disabilities (Ammari, 2011). The secret of polyglots' success in mastering so many languages must (at least partly) lie in how they go about language learning.

AIMS AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Using the language learning experiences of the people contributing to "The Polyglot Project" (Cartaginese, 2010) as the primary source, the current paper aims to provide a systematic analysis of the polyglot success stories described in the book. The study addresses the following questions:

1. What are the factors that get and keep polyglots motivated to learn and sustain knowledge building of multiple languages?
2. A question closely related to motivation: What are their views on the benefits of learning multiple languages?
3. What techniques / strategies do they use to acquire, maintain, and use language knowledge?
4. What are polyglots' perceptions of the key to learning multiple languages successfully?

With camera-phones becoming more and more common and broadband internet being available in many places in the world, an increasing number of polyglots started to upload their videos to YouTube, thus forming the YouTube polyglot community. In 2010, Claude Cartaginese decided to put together a book written by members of this polyglot community. In the 534-page (nearly 140,000 words) book *The Polyglot Project: How to Learn Multiple Languages*, 43 hyperpolyglots, polyglots, and language lovers write about their language learning experience in an autobiographical manner, giving insight into their practice and techniques of learning multiple languages. Despite the criticism expressed before concerning the vaguely defined and unbalanced nature of their knowledge, polyglots, and particularly hyperpolyglots, tell important language learning success stories. Since the book used as a

primary data source has been edited in a most unorthodox, unfocused and loose manner, without proper subtitles for the 43 essays, most of which have been written in a highly informal style with the authors often identifying themselves by their YouTube nicknames or simply as "anonymous", hereinafter information from the book will be cited by referring to the editor and the page number.

In order to uncover polyglots' underlying motivation, strategies, as well as their perceptions on benefits and success, a qualitative, exploratory analysis of the raw data provided in the participants' accounts has been performed.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Factors that get and keep polyglots motivated

The reasons why participants of the Polyglot Project got interested in and started learning languages are as varied as life. Some began language learning because somebody in the family could speak one or more languages, and/or they travelled a lot owing to the parents' professions. Others had good language teachers, got impressed by a popular character speaking a foreign language in a film, or developed interest in a particular culture (literature, fine arts, sport, pop music, etc.). There are also people who started language learning as an act of defiance. They either wanted to differ from others, e.g., they got interested in a particular language (e.g., German) because other children despised it, or met foreigners with whom they could not communicate, and they did not want to experience that uneasy feeling ever again. Yet others discovered YouTube polyglots and got impressed by them. Ukrainian polyglot Yuriy, for instance, always took great pleasure in listening to an 11-language polyglot ridicule the conventional language education system on YouTube. This last example also clearly shows the participants' general attitude towards institutionalized, academic language learning. Almost without exception, they are self-determined and self-taught, autonomous learners (cf. Deci & Ryan, 1985), who tend to cooperate with one another, but who invariably found classroom language instruction tedious, boring, and a very inefficient way of learning a language. The formation of their intention to study another language was predominantly driven by intrinsic motivation, i.e., a "behavior performed for its own sake in order to experience pleasure or satisfaction, such as the joy of doing a particular activity or satisfying one's [their] curiosity" (Dörnyei, 2001, p. 27).

What keeps polyglots motivated is an even more pertinent and intriguing question. In Kupka's view the key is high self image, i.e., believing in yourself, which is roughly in line with Dörnyei's (2005) conceptual framework called "L2 Motivational Self System" describing L2 motivation processes. As Kupka puts it, "A basic ingredient of talent is the strong desire to make progress in a particular field, combined with the conviction that this is achievable" (quoted in Cartaginese, 2010, p. 60). He claims that the best way of starting to believe in yourself is by

working regularly and taking pleasure in the progress made. Stages of progress can be best followed by keeping a diary. Beliefs restricting advance in language learning should be systematically changed to beliefs that facilitate it. Dudgeon emphasizes the significance of the right attitude towards the foreign language and culture. "Like a parachute, the mind cannot function unless it is open," he writes (ibid., p. 327). Kaufmann shares this view, claiming that in language learning success is determined by attitude, not aptitude. He also asserts that motivation is fuelled by interest, enjoyment, and perceivable progress (ibid., p. 311). Anthony Lauder emphasizes the love for languages as a motivating drive, "…polyglots don't just lust after results; they are in love with languages and the whole language learning process (ibid., p. 121). Stuart Jay Raj underlines the social nature of language. He does not learn a language just to express himself. "Learning language is about learning 'people'. Learning what drives them – what makes them laugh .... If you set this as your goal, the motivation to learn drives itself," he claims (ibid., p. 200). As can be seen, polyglots are governed by strong intrinsic motivation. They learn languages for the joyful and exciting feelings associated with exploring new ideas and acquiring knowledge, as well as for the sake of achieving their goal, a fair command of the target languages studied (Vallerand, 1997). The commitment, genuine interest and dedication of these people are best illustrated by Aaron Posehn's words: "It just feels so good when you know that you can be understood and can understand someone in a language that is not your mother tongue! Because of this, … I'm going to continue to make room for learning foreign languages until the day I die" (Cartaginese, 2010, p. 277).

Polyglots' views on the benefits of learning multiple languages

Studies have found that knowing two or more languages means having considerable cognitive, academic, and societal advantages over monolingual speakers. Multilingual students outperform monolingual peers on academic tests (Bialystok & Martin, 2004), they have higher verbal and nonverbal intelligence (Hakuta, 1986; Weatherford, 1986), possess better attention and task-switching capacities (Marian & Shook, 2012), and the gained cognitive reserve protects older people against cognitive decline (Bialystok, Craik & Gigi, 2012).

Even though there are many walks of life where knowing a foreign language can be advantageous, the way polyglots write about the benefits of knowing several languages is connected more to the factors that motivate them throughout their studies. Kaufmann claims that the greatest benefit of language learning is the process itself. "As we gradually acquire confidence in another language, we sense a feeling of achievement and power or conquest" (quoted in Cartaginese, 2010, p. 182). Some of the benefits mentioned by other contributing (hyper)polyglots are open mindedness; "local people treating you as a brother and not as a stranger or just a tourist" (ibid., p. 96); an opportunity to meet and learn from different people; personal, social and cultural enrichment; or getting access to great amounts of data

which would not be possible using your mother tongue. They state that being able to use one or more foreign languages on a conversational level can boost your self-esteem and self-confidence. A considerable benefit of polyglottery is exercising and developing grey matter in the brain. As Kola puts it, "…if a person speaks four different languages, it is as if his or her brain has been rewired to think in four different ways, therefore, enhancing cognitive versatility"(ibid., p. 157). Learning languages can also bring indirect gains by getting you to develop abilities, skills and knowledge required in the process. Vera (only mentioned by her first name), a young German participant of the polyglot project, reports that through learning languages she also learned a lot of other skills, mainly belonging to the new information and communication technologies. She learned how to use Skype, to download podcasts with a podcatcher, how to record articles with Audacity, how to overwork a video with Camtasia studio, how to convert a video in a format for YouTube, how to write a wiki, how to record a screen cast with Jing, how to create HTML documents to individualize her Facebook account and her blog, etc. (ibid., p. 185). Philip Price's words illustrate well what these people think about the benefits, "Language learning has been by far the biggest project of my life and has brought me love, a career, a home, and countless amazing experiences that I will treasure forever" (Cartaginese, 2010, p. 17).

Language learning techniques / strategies used by polyglots

Polyglots consciously use both direct and indirect language learning and language use strategies, as defined and categorised by Oxford (1990). However, they do not follow the formal, classroom-based approach to second language acquisition, which, they claim, has proven to be highly ineffective with students leaving school unable to speak the language fluently, if at all. Instead, they believe in full autonomy and prefer the naturalistic approach to language acquisition (Krashen & Terrell, 1983), which involves getting large quantities of listening and reading input followed by large quantities of speaking output after the learner has established enough passive fluency. In the natural approach only moderate attention is given to conscious study of grammar rules, and learners' abilities are measured by whether or not they can actually understand and communicate in real life situations. Kaufmann, who appears to be strongly influenced by Krashen's (1982) Monitor Theory, writes about the mental foundations of success including interest (which should be enhanced by content), motivation (fuelled by interest, enjoyment, and perceivable progress), "SMART" (specific, measurable, attainable, realistic, and timely) goals, patience (monitoring your progress regularly using audio or video recordings), being calm and collected (avoiding getting frustrated when you make mistakes or when you are not understood, as negative emotions reduce learning ability). Kaufmann proposes that you can stay relaxed and confident by not speaking until you are ready, and speaking as much as possible when you are ready (Cartaginese, 2010, p. 312).

As can be seen, participants of the project apply indirect metacognitive and affective strategies knowingly. Lauder emphasizes one of the most important affective strategies / skills for language learning: getting used to living with uncertainty, which can be achieved by being thrown in at the deep end and using authentic target language materials as soon as possible. He also encourages learners to get used to looking foolish when it comes to linguistic output. He advises practicing many scenarios in their heads, and then try them out in real life with a native speaker. "Each time you get embarrassed in this way you are one step closer to fearless conversation," he adds (ibid., p. 129). Polyglots also heavily rely on social strategies: they regularly cooperate with members of the project, display their knowledge in YouTube video messages, ask for advice or share their experience with others electronically.

Similarly, they demonstrate the conscious use of direct cognitive and memory strategies, Their repertoire to memorize, retrieve and rehearse second language information includes dedicated language teaching audio, video and printed self-study materials, using language learning podcasts, films with captions, enhancing traditional and electronic dictionary skills, employing the gold list method spiraling system for vocabulary memorization, listening to music in the target language, watching target language TV, or listening to radio stations.

Polyglots, similarly to other language learners, exhibit a varied picture of strategy use, depending on their age, personality, learning style, the particular task on hand, learning context, etc. On the basis of their narratives, however, they prove to be very experienced users of behaviors, tactics, or techniques which facilitate the learning of the target language.

Rules for success: Polyglots' perceptions of the key to successful language learning

Polyglots readily share their views about how (multiple) languages should be learned best, but the experience-based advice they offer is quite diverse. Earlier on, Kató Lomb attributed her success to massive amounts of comprehensible input, which she could access mostly through her recreational reading. Lomb was convinced that favorable ultimate language attainment could only be achieved through deep motivation, combined with the willingness to absorb massive amounts of input (Lomb, 2008). In the polyglot project Peter Browne advises learners to view studying as some kind of sport, and never let it become tedious. To learners who get stuck at a certain level in a language, he suggests changing the materials used or studying another language for a while until the appropriate guidance has been found to continue. Browne's view is that "Each language has its own aroma and flavor – but you won't get this unless you dedicate some time to it" (Cartaginese, 2010, p. 20). Similarly, Professor Arguelles (a hyperpolyglot speaking more than 20 languages) advocates that the key to language learning is systematic and disciplined hard work over long periods of time (Arguelles, 2012). Lewis (2009) has the following suggestions for beginning learners:

- Learn how to think in a foreign language when you are learning the first one.
- A Western European language or Esperanto would be a fairly easy language to start with.
- Be passionate about each language.
- Only learn one language at a time giving each language the attention it deserves.
- Practise all languages as often as possible.
- Your workload can be greatly reduced by staying in the same language family.
- Choose the right technique for studying each language.
- Be clear about why you want to learn several languages.
- Be ready to "feel stupid". When learning a language for the first time, you may be frustrated for not being able to express yourself or understand others.
- Keep brushing up the languages you have already learnt. Never consider your studies in any language finished.

Lewis also invites learners to step out of their usual artificial learning environment and start communicating with other people, preferably with native speakers of the target language (Cartaginese, 2010, p. 224). Amy Burr's counsel is that you should never be shy and never be afraid to make mistakes when it comes to talking (ibid., p. 49). Mendez reminds us that although in a classroom setting you are trained for perfect language use by teachers who relentlessly correct your utterances, it is not necessary to be perfect in order to communicate. "It is more important to enjoy the world of possibilities that another language opens" (ibid., p. 81). All things considered, in order to have success in language learning, polyglots suggest setting realistic goals, studying regularly and frequently, systematically repeating and practicing learnt knowledge, and using the learnt knowledge for communicating no matter how little it is at the time.

CONCLUSION

While there is no consensus among polyglots as to their learning approaches, there are certain common features characteristic of their views. They all seem to think little of the effectiveness of conventional classroom language education and therefore swear by independent, self-taught learning; they all share a passion for languages; they all attach great importance to receiving ample input; they practice their target language(s) regularly, on a daily basis; they all share the view that language can be easy and enjoyable; they all have strong intrinsic motivation; they all hold that language learning is highly inspiring and beneficial as well as an endless journey. Most "average" polyglots, who are often celebrated as naturally gifted great talents, tend to think of themselves as moderate or average language learners, who have achieved their enviable knowledge as a result of working consistently and studiously for long years. They claim that anyone can learn one or more languages, albeit not always in a classroom environment.

Implication for institutionalized language learning

The implications of these findings for institutionalized language learning are that even more attention should be paid to teaching *the* language rather than *about* the language. Language classes should place far more focus on practicing communication while taking the students' needs and interests into consideration. Language teachers are right in asking how to do it in an average class with 15 to 20 students, where practically each student has a different personality with their own needs and interests. One possible solution could be through further enhancing the application of new information and communication technologies in second language education (e.g., Godwin-Jones, 2011), which, owing to their interactivity, flexibility, and the wealth of interesting and authentic linguistic resources found on the internet, can supply valuable supplementary materials and complement classroom foreign language instruction. In addition to this, Web 2.0 applications provide a wealth of opportunities for language learners to publish their ideas in writing, images, audio or video format, have real (and not just quasi real or realistic) communication with native and nonnative speakers of the target language, as well as cooperate and collaborate with peers from all over the world, join and participate in the life of community sites, wikis and other types of discussion forums, ask for external professional help by signing up to newsletters, etc. (Stevenson & Liu, 2010; Wang & Vasquez, 2012).

As we have seen, polyglots, who have successfully mastered three, four or even more languages, are all self-taught, autonomous, independent learners who can analyze their strengths, weaknesses, and linguistic needs, set achievable targets for themselves, create a plan of study and are disciplined enough to keep themselves to this plan without external supervision. They are able to choose the appropriate study materials, and even evaluate the progress they have made (Benson & Voller, 1997; Sheerin, 1997). It sounds reasonable then that by trying to get our language students to work more independently the study process can be facilitated and better prospects of a favorable learning outcome can be offered. Combining electronic learning with traditional classroom learning would be a large step towards fostering learner autonomy. In a blended form of learning (Klimova & Semradova, 2012; Marsh, 2012) traditional contact lessons (c-learning) are mixed with self-paced computer-based online work outside school (e-learning).

By implementing blended learning, more time can be allocated to practicing communication in face-to-face teaching, while time consuming tasks can be done online at the learners' own pace, at the most convenient time and way, which implies granting them independence in their study. In the virtual classroom work is based on individual or rather collaborative projects, followed by portfolio assessment. By working in the new electronic environment learners are likely to find their preferred way and forms of learning, as well as the content which they are genuinely interested in. Their motivation to study is further strengthened when they realize that they do need to know languages to be able to communicate with

partners from all over the world. If this can be achieved, there is hope that they can master a foreign language successfully, and many of them may even become polyglots speaking several languages, for which there is an ever growing need in our modern globalized world.

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STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF EFFICIENT LANGUAGE LEARNING IN THE CLASSROOM

Ágnes Loch & Ágnes Dévény

INTRODUCTION

Teaching foreign languages for specific purposes (LSP) has greatly contributed to the development and acceptance of a learner-centred approach in language education. It is common understanding in LSP instruction that all language teaching must be designed for the specific learning and language purposes of identified groups of students (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987; Johns, 1991). The use of needs analysis, which can explore goals and expectations, has become the main source of information for curriculum developers in teaching LSP. Needs analyses may provide the basis for decisions on the objectives and the priorities of language education, for curriculum and course content development and for setting requirements and evaluation criteria. However, it is fundamental in the evolution of needs analysis to deliberate over what types of needs and whose needs to consider and address. Richards (1990) insists that needs analyses should involve all agents: language learners and teachers, as well as administrators and employers. Thus it is possible to embed specific individual needs and group goals in the wider social and economic environment. Brindley (1989) claims that there are two main types of needs analyses: product and process. *Product orientation* focuses on analysing the target communication situations, whereas *process orientation* refers to exploring the learner's individual needs and all aspects of one's learning situation including motivation, attitude, learning strategies and learning styles. Kurtán (2003) identifies several types of needs analyses depending on their focus: the foci may be the ana-

lysis of the target communication situation, of the context of language use, of the learning situation or of defects and remedies. Needs analyses can be carried out at several levels: individual, classroom, institutional, local, national and even international levels.

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

For the last 20 years several surveys have been conducted in Hungary to explore language learning needs and purposes at different levels of the learning process and language use (Fekete, 2002; Feketéné Silye, 2002; Major, 2000; Sturcz, 2003, 2010; Teemant, Varga & Heltai, 1993; Tóth, 2009).

Fekete (2002) in her study on bilingual examinations surveys the purposes for which examinees expect to use foreign languages in their future working career. Major (2000) conducted research to explore the language skills and requirements expected from employees in lower level positions. Feketéné (2002) analysed data from questionnaires obtained from teachers and employees about the frequency of English language use in different daily activities. Sturcz (2003) analysed job advertisements from 181 companies to find out the main features of expected language competences in working contexts. Dévény and Szőke (2006) concentrated on target-situation analysis to establish priorities in terms of language choice, language skills and functions, as well as language use situations. The data collected from both language learners and employers may provide information for curriculum developers, course organisers and language teachers to tailor language education to real life needs.

When the new two-tier training system was introduced to Hungarian tertiary education in 2005-2006, the changes included reducing the number of contact hours, which influenced foreign language (L2) teaching and learning disadvantageously. The number of LSP language classes was cut by 20-60% for the new bachelor courses at the college where the present research was conducted. The new situation made the management and the teachers of the Foreign Language Department reconsider both course content and time-honoured methods. New ways and means were needed to motivate students and assist their learning processes. The radical changes inspired the Foreign Language Department to conduct a large-scale questionnaire survey involving more than 2,000 business students to explore students' experiences of language learning, their learning preferences and needs, and their perceptions of efficient language learning.

Besides gaining a clear picture of the students' goals, preferences and assumed needs, the objectives of conducting a questionnaire survey included collecting suggestions and identifying problem areas which could be a source of inspiration for improvements in methodology.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was compiled from questions collected by a small research team, and from the items of a validated questionnaire used in the national language teaching survey in 1992-1993 by the Ministry of Culture and Education (Teemant, Varga & Heltai, 1993), which was the first needs analysis survey about foreign language learning in Hungary. It included teachers, learners and employers as end users. The questionnaire in the present study was validated by asking experts' opinion on it and by piloting it with a few potential respondents.

The questionnaire collected biographic data (e.g., sex, age, faculty, specialisation); information about earlier and current language learning in terms of kind of language, length of studies, type of courses, exam passes, purposes of language learning; and opinions about learning activities and leaning situations. The questions were either closed with options provided, or statements where the intensity of agreement or disagreement was measured on a 1-5 Likert-scale, or open questions that encouraged the students to expand on their problems and suggestions.

THE RESPONDENTS

The respondents were 2,195 business students (490 male, 1,676 female, 29 missing data) from three faculties (Table 1). 98% of the respondents were regular students, and 2% participated in either distance education or attended second-degree courses. The questionnaires were completed by the students in paper format during class time. The data were collected in 2005, at the end of the academic year, and processed by using the *Statistical Package for Social Sciences* software (SPSS Version 12).

Table 1. The number of respondents in the different specialisations

Faculty	Number of respondents	Percentage
Commerce and tourism	1,010	46.0
Finance and accounting	550	25.1
Foreign trade	611	27.8
Missing	24	1.1
Total	2,195	100

FINDINGS

Much of the result is only relevant to the institution involved in the present research project. However, some of the findings may be beneficial for the whole language teaching community. The three main foci of the questionnaire were questions about (a) language learning experience, (b) assumed language needs, and (c) language learning preferences. In the following a sample of the findings is presented.

Experience

Previous (pre-college) language learning typically included studying English (93.5%) and German (76.1%). From among the other languages mentioned it was only French that more than 10% of the respondents had studied (Table 2). The proportion of other languages is very small. Although this is justified by the fact that both academic studies and future jobs mainly require English and German, it is still disappointing that variety in language learning is contracting.

The respondents identified English as the most important language in their future profession (95%), and German as the second most important (72%).

Table 2. The languages respondents had studied before starting their studies in tertiary education

Language	Number of respondents	Percentage	Language	Number of respondents	Percentage
English	2,052	93.5	Latin	71	3.2
German	1,671	76.1	Japanese	12	0.5
French	400	18.2	Polish	7	0.3
Italian	193	8.8	Slovakian	7	0.3
Spanish	161	7.3	Hebrew	6	0.3
Russian	111	5.1	Croatian	5	0.2

As for the length of studies, in primary and secondary education English is the first foreign language for most respondents: 80% of them had been studying it for more than four years, and 51% for more than seven years. Although it is possible to drop the first language in the tenth or eleventh grade in most secondary schools, one quarter of the respondents went on studying until they sat for the final examinations. German is the second most frequently taught language: 64% of those who had studied indicated studies of 4-12 years in length. A very low number of students studied other languages for a minimum of four years in school context (French: 12%, Italian: 4.2%, Spanish: 2.9%, Russian: 2.5%). Many respondents

indicated private tutoring as well, either parallel to school studies or exclusively. However, these data are excluded from this paper for difficulty of data interpretation.

The majority of respondents had already passed language examinations in one or two languages. As it was assumed that some students might have passed more than one exam in one and the same language (e.g., general and LSP exam in the same language), the respondents were only asked to give the most advanced language exam in each language. 66% of the respondents had English, and 50% had German language examinations: in both languages more than 98% of them being intermediate or advanced level exams.

The overwhelming majority of exams were general language exams: the ratio of LSP exams was 11.4% in English and 7.6% in German. The type of examination was really varied, as it included all the recently accredited language examination centres as well as internationally recognized exams such as TOEFL, Cambridge FCE and ICC. Interestingly, it emerged that the ratio of LSP exams well exceeded 10% for French and Italian. It probably reflects the fact that in these languages students often only pass an exam during their tertiary studies where they are supposed to attend LSP courses rather than general courses.

The figures concerning pre-college language studies met expectations. However, it was interesting to discover how respondents evaluated their language skills after so many years of language studies. In the questionnaire the six levels of language competences defined in the Common European Framework of Reference (2001) were translated into the traditional labels indicating levels of language knowledge in order to help the respondents assess their skills. On a scale of one to six, one indicated false beginner level, and six (near) native speaker level. The mean ranged from 3.75 to 4.4, which means that most students assessed their language skills from lower- to upper-intermediate levels in their first foreign language (L1) (Table 3).

It is revealing that students of German tended to assess their competences slightly higher than students of English. The respondents seem to be most satisfied with their reading skills, and rather satisfied with their listening and writing skills, though in the latter case the figure for English falls below 4.0. Speaking skills as well as mediation skills seem to be the weak areas in their language knowledge. This corresponds to a survey of first year students in the 2005/2006 academic year (Loch, 2006).

Table 3. The results of self-evaluation on a 1-6 scale

			Reading	Speaking	Listening	Writing	Mediation
English	N	Valid	1,352	1,349	1,347	1,347	1,345
		Missing	6	9	11	11	13
	Mean		4.25	3.80	4.08	3.92	3.75
	Std. Deviation		.883	.982	.951	.853	.913
German	N	Valid	686	687	687	687	683
		Missing	1	0	0	0	4
	Mean		4,40	3.87	4.17	4.07	3.83
	Std. Deviation		.963	1.015	1.075	.919	.957

Needs and expectations

As for needs, the respondents were asked about their purposes for learning a language, about the languages and skills they expected to use in their future jobs, and about their intentions to study further languages. First, the students were provided with a list of possible reasons for learning a language and were asked to tick the ones that motivated them. Altogether 21 statements were provided: six general statements, seven statements referring to academic, and eight referring to professional reasons. Space was left for additional comments. In Table 4 the reasons for learning a language are shown according to the percentage of respondents who referred to them.

Out of the 2,195 respondents, 2,053 (94%) said they were studying a particular language because that was the most important one in their professional field. Other professional reasons were also widely referred to, which corresponded to the researchers' expectations, since the target population study economics and business, fields in which good foreign language skills are basic requirements (cf. secondary school pupils' plans in Vágó, 2006). 75% of respondents claimed that they would need more than one language in their future jobs. 86% said they were willing to do extra work to improve their skills, and 72% even said they were prepared to pay for tuition.

Table 4. The rank order of learning purposes

General purposes: *I would like to …*	Academic purposes: *I have to/I would like to ...*	Professional purposes: *I will have to/would like to …*	%
		1. use L2 because it is the most important language in my field.	90-100
2. use the language when travelling abroad. 4. understand media for entertainment. 5. interact with foreigners I meet in every day situations. 8. read texts for entertainment.		3. meet foreign clients/ guests. 6. write and read business letters in L2. 7. interact and cooperate with foreign partners. 9. read in L2 because most written material will be available in L2 only. 10. work in the target country for a while.	70-89
11. live abroad for a while. 14. write private letters to friends.	13. study abroad for a while.	12. take part in trainings and conferences in L2. 15. convey information available in L2 to people who do not speak the language.	50-69
	16. understand lectures in L2. 17. pass subject exams in L2. 18. read textbooks in L2. 19. write papers/essays in L2.		40-49
	20. consult tutors in L2. 21. write a thesis in L2.		20-39

*L2 refers to any foreign language

Respondents were aware of the importance of foreign language competences in their academic and professional development, which may become a source of motivation. They were asked to predict how often they would carry out language activities in their future jobs which involve the different language skills. More than 50% of the students with English as their main language think that they will have to read, speak and listen to others in English on a daily basis. Writing tasks are ex-

pected on a daily basis by one third of the students, and mediation by a quarter of the respondents. There are only 23 students who think they will be either never or only a few times per year expected to use their foreign language knowledge. The students with German as their main language expect less language use on a daily basis, but on the whole agree that language use will be an integral part of their job accomplishment (Table 5).

Table 5. The expected frequency of using different language skills in respondents' future jobs

			Reading	Speaking	Listening	Writing	Mediation
English	N	Valid	1,444	1,438	1,438	1,438	1,438
		Missing	4	10	10	10	10
	Mean*		4.38	4.31	4.37	4.03	3.67
	Std. Deviation		.764	.826	.792	.842	1.008
German	N	Valid	597	597	596	597	593
		Missing	1	1	2	1	5
	Mean*		3.86	4.01	4.04	3.65	3.39
	Std. Deviation		.926	.932	.896	.908	1.029

*The frequency of language skills was indicated on a 1-5 scale where 1=never, 2=a few times a year, 3=a couple of times a month, 4=a few times a week, 5=daily. The means were calculated from these values.

The respondents were also able to articulate their need for improvement, and tried to identify the skills areas in which they perceived their main weaknesses (Table 6). The main finding is that remarkably more students think they need skills improvement to face academic and professional challenges than for general purposes. The paired samples *t*-tests indicated significant differences at the .001 level in the case of each skill. The other finding is that the respondents generally think they need least improvement in reading, and most in speaking. It is quite obvious that reading, which is a receptive skill and is done at the reader's own pace, usually does not require prompt reactions, and thus does not involve the same level of communication risk as speaking or interaction. On the other hand, speaking performance is more spectacular and may lead to quick judgements concerning the speaker's abilities to a much greater extent than in the case of performance in other skills. This perception is reflected in the respondents' opinion when they agree that speaking is the most important skill (80% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with this statement). It is also interesting that instead of writing, which is also a productive skill, it is rather mediation and listening skills that require improvement. The authors' tentative suggestion is that this might be related to testing procedures that

the respondents are familiar with: Listening skills, for example, are often identified with the ability to understand recorded material in class or at an examination.

Table 6. Number of respondents who need improvement in the different skills

Language	Skills	Reason for improvement			
		Occupational/academic		General	
		Number of respondents	Percentage	Number of respondents	Percentage
English	reading	767	34.9	420	19.1
	speaking	**1,065**	**48.5**	**727**	**33.1**
	listening	948	43.1	553	25.2
	writing	865	39.4	488	22.2
	mediation	947	43.1	499	22.7
German	reading	303	13.8	150	6.8
	speaking	**485**	**22.1**	**283**	**12.9**
	listening	417	18.9	226	10.3
	writing	352	16.0	186	8.5
	mediation	398	18.1	214	9.7

Anecdotal evidence and statistical figures (Loch, 2006) show that business students expect to need two or more languages in order to find a good job and accomplish tasks properly in their future jobs. Therefore, the respondents were asked whether they were willing to study any further languages. The majority indicated willingness. Especially Spanish (16%), English (14%) and Italian (14%) were favoured. Figures are remarkably high if we consider that three quarters of the students studied two languages. Students' preferences and ambitions may provide the Foreign Language Department with important information for planning new courses and introducing new languages.

Preferences

In the last section, students were asked to give their opinions on different classroom activities and on learning methods. As the number of contact hours was reduced, more efficient time management in class on the one hand, and self-study on the other grew in importance. Therefore, it was interesting to find out how students evaluated learning methods such as pair work or individual work. Results

show a clear preference for individual study, and much less enthusiasm for any other form of learning in which cooperation with either the teacher or the other students is included. Neither whole class work (10%), nor small group work (31%) or pair work (33%) matched the popularity of individual work, which was preferred by 45% of respondents. This is quite remarkable if we consider that foreign language studies are basically communication studies, and communication is basically interaction. It is all the more interesting because teachers tend to think that many of their students are not willing to do any homework. The respondents' claim seems to contradict this assumption: they report that the ratio of classroom work and home assignments is 49.7 vs. 50.3%.

It was also found that the more they liked a format, the more useful they considered it. Although this may reflect a general human behaviour when we automatically attach positive attributes to a thing that we like; in this case it is reasonable to assume that motivated learning situations work more efficiently. However, there is one exception: the overwhelming majority of the students (93%) considered learning from teachers' presentations very useful, whereas only 33% of them indicated clearly that they liked this method. It is important to note that teacher's presentation is not identified with frontal class work, which is considered to be the least useful and is rejected by 47% of the respondents. To sum up the findings, in a situation where self-study is to be promoted, it is promising that students do not reject working individually and discovering things for themselves. In fact, many of them prefer this way of learning a language to other learning methods that are more related to classroom work.

Besides learning methods, language activities were also surveyed. Altogether 48 classroom activities were listed, and the respondents were asked to indicate if they liked them very much, moderately or not at all. They were also expected to mark if – regardless of their likes and dislikes – they found the activities useful. Likes were quite moderate in the sense that no activity was liked by more than 50% of the respondents, whereas dislikes were expressed much more strongly. Quite surprisingly, the most preferred activities included traditional and quite mechanical tasks as well, such as practising exam tasks (43%) and grammar tests (32%). It is promising, however, that activities involving more language production also appear on the top list of preferred activities (Appendix). It is also important that all the activities are recognized as useful tasks: even dictation was considered useful by almost 40% of the students. It is also interesting that opinions about task types and activities related to the students' specialisation differed as well: whereas business correspondence is regarded as useful, preparing adverts, leaflets, etc. is not preferred and is labelled as relatively useless. These opinions are probably related to the traditional content of business language courses and to examination practice.

The last question in the preference section referred to a specific feature of language teaching in higher education. Students usually have two 90-minute language classes a week. Pair teaching is rather common where the two classes are often administered by two different teachers. In addition, partly for organisational and partly for conceptual reasons, students often work with a new teacher or a pair of

new teachers each term. This means that, assuming an extreme case, a student with four semesters of language classes in the same language may have to work with eight teachers. Many teachers disagree with this practice for professional reasons, but then there are others who strongly claim that it is advantageous for students to see many different teaching styles. In order to support or refuse the suggestion that this routine should be changed, we decided to explore students' opinions (cf. Vágó, 2006). Results clearly show that most students would insist on having one and the same teacher with the group for either the whole four-term course, or at least for two terms, that is, one academic year (Table 7). This finding should definitely lead to changing course organisational routines in higher education.

Table 7. Students' preferences about timetable organisation

	Advantageous (%)	Disadvantageous (%)
One teacher instructs the group for the whole course.	79	5
One teacher instructs the group for minimum two terms.	72	4
One teacher instructs the group for one term.	46	20
Occasionally two teachers instruct the group in a term.	20	39
Two different teachers instruct the group in each term.	5	76

It would be interesting to compare the results of the present survey with the findings of the national needs analysis survey conducted in 1992-1993 by the Ministry of Culture and Education. However, it is only partially possible because in 1993 the data were analysed from two perspectives: by level and by field. Profiles were described for college level, and for specialisations, such as commerce and catering and management/administration, separately. Unfortunately, it is not possible to combine data from specialisations and from college level statistically. However, as the college where the present research project was conducted had participated in the project in 1992-1993, and their data were processed as part of the data set, we attempted to trace any changes in students' attitudes to language learning. In 1993 less than 20% of college students expected to use any of their language skills on a daily basis either for vocational or general purposes, and more than 10% thought they would never have to use a foreign language in the future. Their most important reasons for study included five general purposes and two academic purposes. Vocational purposes were also mentioned but the percentage remained below 15%. Students in 1993 indicated small group work as the most preferred learning method, and individual work came only second. The most highly appreciated ac-

tivities concerning their usefulness were listening and summarizing (94%), role plays and simulations (94%), listening comprehension practice (93%), reading authentic texts (92%), reading and summarising (92%), and speaking practice in small groups (91%). It is remarkable that these activities are more on the productive side of language use than some of the activities on the top list in the present study. Opinion on memorising seems to have changed dramatically: whereas in 1993, 81% of students regarded it as useful, though they were not enthusiastic about it, in 2005 only 41% were in agreement. As for preferences, language games (85%), vocabulary development (77%), songs (71%), role-plays and simulation (70%), and translation practice (70%) were ranked highest, which shows a more general approach to language learning. In general, likes were marked higher (thirteen activities reached 50% or more) than in the present study, in which even the highest ranking activity was not preferred by more than 43% of respondents.

CONCLUSION

The students have extensive language learning experience, and are aware of the importance of developing their language competences. They have many purposes for language learning, including clear occupational purposes. They have clear preferences concerning the teaching aspect of course work. The fact that individual work seems to be preferred may help develop responsible language learner behaviour, which is a prerequisite for efficient self-study. Although classroom activities are liked to a varying degree, they are accepted as a useful means of language improvement. The data from the activity section of the questionnaire can be further exploited, because it is possible to examine the data in relation to the students' specialisation and year of college studies. In the final section of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the available language training at their college. They were asked to make suggestions on improvement, which supplied particularly valuable information, and which may help to better cater for the needs of the different student populations.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF TOP ACTIVITIES IN FIVE CATEGORIES (%)

	Most liked	Least liked	Most disliked	Least disliked	Most useful	Least useful
1	Exam practice (43)	Memorising (6)	Memorising (70)	Exam practice (10)	Exam practice (97)	Dictation (37)
2	Reading authentic texts (42)	Writing papers (7)	Dictionary work (64)	Working from course books (11)	Vocabulary development (97)	Memorising (41)
3	Vocabulary development (38)	Writing compositions in class (9)	Oral reporting (63)	Working with photocopies (11)	Grammar exercises (96)	Preparing adverts / leaflets/etc. (49)
4	Working with photocopies (38)	Oral reporting (9)	Dictation (61)	Reading authentic texts (13)	Working with photocopies (95)	Listening and repeating (52)
5	Speaking practice in pairs (36)	Dictation (9)	Writing compositions in class (59)	Vocabulary development (14)	Listening comprehension tasks (94)	Writing compositions in class (53)
6	Language games (34)	Listening and repeating (10)	Listening and repeating (58)	Topic discussion with teacher's instruction (18)	Writing CV, motivation letter, etc. (94)	Working with pictures/graphs (59)
7	Topic discussion with teacher's instruction (32)	Dictionary work (10)	Preparing adverts / leaflets/etc. (55)	Summarizing L2 text in L1 (19)	Writing business letters (94)	Dictionary work (59)
8	Grammar tests (32)	Working with pictures/graphs (11)	Writing papers (52)	Oral translation from L2 to L1 (21)	Written translation from L1 into L2 (93)	Listening to teacher's presentation (60)
9	Speaking practice in small groups (32)	Preparing adverts / leaflets/etc. (12)	Preparing presentations (52)	Language games (22)	Working from course books (91)	Reading and taking notes (60)
10	Summarising L2 text in L1 (30)	Reading and taking notes (12)	Working with pictures/ graphs (47)	Reading comprehension questions (23)	Oral translation from L2 to L1 (90)	Preparing presentations (62)

"WORDS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN MY LEGS" LEARNING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE AS A RESILIENCE FORTIFIER IN COPING WITH DIFFICULTIES: THE EFL TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVE

Mariann Barabás

INTRODUCTION

I often feel that I would not be the same person without English as a second language. Indeed, great EFL teachers had a profound influence on the way I view the world, on the way I cope with difficulties, on my resilience, on my whole personality, the way I am. Was it them as role models or was it rather the gift they unfolded, the ability to master a foreign language? My best teachers disclosed the secret that even I was able to acquire English as a foreign language, and through mastering it a new level of achievements and personal fulfillment could be gained. These inherited positive domains survived in my out-of-classroom real life, too.

These connections, the chains of passing on knowledge, reverberate in the narrative of successful language learners, who may have felt unsuccessful in some other field of life. Less resilient students often experience their first success story in language learning. In something as instinctive, yet awfully complex knowledge that can offer such a wide range of positive reinforcements and even a restructuring of previous self-image of being less resilient into "I could learn it, I can use it, and I am able." I often feel that my students change during the successful acquisition of English just as I did.

The transactional psychology of the language teaching and learning process has great potential. Learning a foreign language broadens the mind and influences the psyche as well. Great minds think alike. The learning process, the influence of the process on the students' psyche viewed from the learners' individual perspective or from a group dynamics approach, has a lot to teach us about specifying more effective learning for less resilient students, simultaneously affecting their cognitive portfolio, just as their psychological well-being, in a positive way. EFL techniques can be used in cognitive behavioral therapy.

In this interview study I give insight into five practicing Hungarian EFL teachers' perspective of the influence of learning English as a FL on their personality. I also tap into the way they view this influence on their learners' identity.

PERSONALITY AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING (FLL)

Learning a foreign language has a deep impact not only on the cognitive portfolio but also on the psyche of the learner. In this study successful language learning is dealt with from the perspective of possible changes it might cause in participants' psyche. The semi-structured interviews gave an opportunity to reveal EFL teachers' personal accounts of their views, feelings, and interpretations on how becoming multilingual via learning EFL affected their lives, their selves.

"'Modelling' is held to be one of the most powerful ways of teaching; it involves setting an example that learners find worthy to follow" (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 126), but the teacher's influence and the psychological effects of the FLL process reveal a lot more. "Second language attitude refers to acquirers' orientations toward speakers of the target language, as well as personality factors" (Krashen, 1982, p. 9). Krashen explains that such factors relate directly to acquisition and only indirectly to conscious learning. In his view the "right" attitudinal factors produce two effects: they encourage useful input for language acquisition and they allow the acquirer to be "open" to this input so it can be utilized for acquisition. Therefore, apart from the psychological predispositions that are important for the learner, the learning process has also been investigated with an emphasis on the learner's personality. In this study the language learning/acquisition process is examined from the EFL learner's – who in this case is also an EFL teacher – perspective focusing on personality traits.

Dörnyei (2005) mentions the difficulties measuring personality achievement contingencies related to FLL and underlines that personality factors are heavily implicated in the learning process in general and in FLL in particular. Nagy and Nikolov (2007) discuss perfectionism in connection with willingness to communicate in the FL as an influencing affective constituent of learners' self-perceived success in EFL, together with competitiveness. Their study sheds light on the peer related psychological processes in learners' willingness to communicate, consider-

ing the psychological outcomes of interaction not only of the teacher-learner but also of the learner-learner.

Dewaele (2012) lists several personality traits that have been researched so far and mentions the empirical studies on these constructs. The study deals with personality variables; apart from the prevalent dimensions of the "Big Five", risk-taking, tolerance and intolerance of ambiguity, perfectionism and even musicality are mentioned. Yet for me, the most striking and recent personality trait among the many discussed was emotional intelligence (EI), also mentioned as emotional self-efficacy. Dewaele (2012) explains that individuals differ in the extent to which they attend to, process, and utilize affect-laden information of an intra-personal or interpersonal nature. He refers to research which shows that emotionally intelligent participants are more likely to engage in conversations in L2 English. Dewaele links these findings to an earlier study (Dewaele, Petrides & Furnham, 2008), which reported that emotionally intelligent multilinguals are less anxious when speaking their different languages, including their L1, probably because of their better ability to gauge the emotional state of their interlocutor (Mercer, Ryan & Williams, 2012, p. 51).

Concerning research on a personality's pedagogical implications on SLA – and here the author talked about instructed SLA or FLA, as he discussed classroom context – Dewaele gave voice to his feelings that these implications are limited, i.e., the direct influence of one prominent personality trait in FLA & SLA, because no single personality trait has been identified that can fully explain the proportion of variance in successful SLA. Teachers need to be aware of different personality types in their classrooms, but since any classroom will contain a wide variety of personality types, it is impossible for teachers to cater for specific types. Dewaele emphasized the importance of a positive emotional environment and enhancing learners' motivation. The teachers should help learners realize that whatever their personality is, they are capable of attaining a high level of proficiency in a FL (Mercer et al., 2012, p. 54).

Regarding the therapeutic use of FLL, psychotherapeutic use is not present, and although pedagogical resilience therapy (Kersting, 2005) exists in the L1, it is not connected to FLL. Although various speech therapies in L1 and FLL therapy of multilinguals with aphasia exist in the medical treatment of aphasia, they are not yet related to psychotherapy. "An important issue regards the language in which therapy is provided. Hence, therapy in both languages is often not available, and thus, researchers have focused on the transfer of therapy effects from the treated language to the untreated one" (Ansaldo & Saidi, 2013, p. 1). The studies reviewed show that training, i.e, language therapy or treatment in the less proficient language before or after the onset of aphasia – and not the dominant language, as it was customary earlier – resulted in bigger transfer effects on the untreated language, towards which no language therapy was directed, in this case the dominant language (Ansaldo et al., 2013).

Psychological resilience has not been researched extensively in connection with FLL (Barabás, 2012), but resilience as a pedagogical construct has been investigated from a socio-economic approach by OECD. The study

> explored the factors and conditions that could help more students succeed at school despite challenging socio-economic backgrounds. It does this by studying resilient students and what sets them apart from their less successful peers. Understanding how educational systems can support disadvantaged students and help them "beat the odds" to succeed in school is a central challenge facing education policymakers, school administrators and teachers today (OECD, 2011, p. 22).

THE AIMS AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

FLL could also offer learners a resilience fortifying tool to beat the odds. In this study I examine whether FLL offered such psychological tools to the participants and whether these participants could transmit them implicitly or explicitly to their learners. The study examines the psychological implications of learning a FL. The aim of the study is to explore how practicing EFL teachers view their FLs as part of their identity and whether the knowledge of FLs helped them in any way to overcome difficulties in their lives. The five interviewees are practicing EFL teachers in Hungary from five different regions.

Research questions

1. What role do FLs play in the participants' lives?
2. In what ways would their lives be different without English as a FL or as a monolingual person?
3. Did they face any difficulties during the acquisition of English as a FL?
4. Could they draw a parallel to these and other difficulties they faced in their lives?
5. When recalling traumatic life events, would their solution have been different if they were not multilingual speakers?
6. Did being a multilingual person help them in any way then or in other difficult situations?
7. Would their personality, confidence, resilience and ability to cope with difficult situations be different without English as a FL? Is it a part of their personality / identity?
8. When teaching English, what "other things" (skills, knowledge, meta-knowledge) do they think they teach implicitly to their students / learners?
9. Are these in relation to their students' personality and their resilience, i.e., to the way they cope with difficulties?
10. What other things do they teach explicitly that is not "language" itself?

Participants

The five participants[1] are all practicing multilingual EFL teachers, with Hungarian as their mother tongue, all five residing in Hungary. Four women and one man were interviewed. Two teachers are in their twenties, two in their thirties and one teacher is in her early fifties. They are all proficient users of English and their other FLs are German (4) Spanish (1) and French (1). One of the subjects had spent more than one year abroad in an English speaking country and she reflected on the experience in her interview. Their teaching experience ranges between 2 and 24 years. Three are employed by state schools and two are freelance teachers in private language schools. Four teachers taught several age groups from children to adults, whereas one participant taught adolescents and adults but not children.

All participants confirmed – not surprisingly – that English as a FL is important in their lives as they all chose teaching English as their career. As motivated and enthusiastic learners and then teachers, their attitudinal factors were treated as similar. These similarities arose from high proficiency in English as a FL, a university degree, a teaching career, experience in teaching different age groups, high motivation, and Hungarian as their mother tongue. There were differences in terms of age, gender (only one was male, which is a valid representation of gender in the FL teaching profession in Hungary), teaching experience in years, as well as individual differences.

Data collection instrument

The data collection instrument was a semi-structured questionnaire including 13 questions. One of the questions was repeated twice so that the participants could add or reformulate their views on the topic, based on the personal experience. Eleven questions were compiled to focus on personal rather than universal FLL and ELT experience. Two questions did not have a connection to professional career but only to personal experience. Participants were asked to recall traumatic life events and explain how they could solve or overcome them in two questions. The questions: *Would your solution have been different if you were not a multilingual speaker? / Did being a multilingual person help you in any way then or in other situations?* inquired about the relationship between multilingual identity and coping strategies.

[1] I would like to thank the participants for sharing their innermost feelings and life experiences, and for the opportunity to get to know them better. I appreciate their courage that they openly talked about their vulnerabilities. Indeed, they taught me a lesson.

Procedure

I collected the data via conducting personal (2) and Skype (3) interviews. The five interviews were recorded on iPad. The interviews were transcribed and the transcripts were coded according to their content, related to the emerging themes, and then analyzed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RQ 1: What role do FLs play in your life?

All participants emphasized that English played an important role in their lives and it was a means of earning a living. "It is my job to teach English." The word "job" was mentioned in three cases, "work" in two cases in the contexts: "French was love and English was work" (P4). "I work with languages and I really enjoy using the languages" (P3). P1 also remarked that "it is a form of art" that he liked to use, as writing poetry in English was a way of expressing himself and "a way to feel fulfilled in". It is a "sanctuary" to be able to express thoughts in a foreign language. Other expressions and metaphors in connection with FLs were "challenge", "taming a wild horse", "part of my life", "the means of transferring knowledge", and a "landmark in my life".

RQ 2: In what ways would your life be different without English as a FL or as a monolingual person?

> P1: I think that the way I look at the world now, the channels through what I can understand culture, for that I think that it is (English) indispensable. I think it makes you…I don't want to use the word value, but I think you have a certain additional feature that you cannot experience if you speak only one language. I think my mind would be narrower in a way, I think I developed a different set of thinking, you know, I feel that my personality has been extended. I don't know if I could understand the world in its fullness if I didn't speak English.
> P2: I would be unemployed or I would work in an absolutely different field, I can't really imagine my life without being able to speak English. It's important to communicate with people from other countries (via English).
> P3: I don't know what I would do… I think I am more open, open-minded, more communicative when I use my English. Yes, definitely I would (be different).
> P4: I would be really different…I was confident, I knew nothing can happen to me as I possessed this proficiency, so it means a lot to me because it influenced the following 25 years in my professional work and I can say in my private life as well.

P5: I would be totally different.

RQ 3: Did you face any difficulties during the acquisition of English as a FL?

This question was answered with a definite *no* by three participants, whereas two of them said that they had experienced difficulties and mentioned minor language related or linguistic difficulties in learning prepositions or vocabulary. No problems were mentioned beyond linguistic issues.

RQ 4: Could you draw a parallel to these and other difficulties you faced in your life?

This question had to be reformulated into *Were these in any way similar to any difficulties you faced in your life?* because the original question proved to be either meaningless or forced, and none of the participants gave a positive answer to it.

Even though learning English did not pose any difficulty for P1, he claimed that

> the easiness I acquired it was the fact that I had wanted to learn it (English). Prior to English I had learnt German which I didn't like at all, which they had inflicted on me as it was the only language I could choose and I always intended to learn English and when I finally had the chance in the fifth grade it was a breakthrough, it was really a dream-come-true. If you face your dreams and you're into them I don't think that you need any constraints, the willingness to learn is the greatest motivation you can ever achieve.

RQ 5: When recalling traumatic life events, would your solution have been different if you were not a multilingual speaker?

All participants could recall such traumatic life events. Two participants mentioned divorce, one mentioned the death of a family member, one of the participants recalled an operation at the age of three, and another one did not specify anything, which was acceptable in the case of such a sensitive personal question. The solutions came from "asking for help from the family" "talking about it". P1 even answered that these impediments could not be overcome, but he was sturdy.

RQ 6: Did being a multilingual person help you in any way then or in other difficult situations?

P1 mentioned that he was not multilingual at the age of three when the traumatic life event happened, so he could not answer the question. But he then admitted that he could not walk until the age of five, he had to develop language capacity very early, he was lip-syncing in Italian as an oral air guitar pretending to sing in Italian, since the family had an Italian friend. He even constructed his own language; before he could speak a "real language", he was "experimenting" with language and

later mastered English and became an EFL teacher. "I think that words have always been my legs and words have always been my hands in a way, I think language in my case is literally a carriage, a vehicle." "English is true love", adding that mastering English was a personal choice.

P2 and P5 answered that their solutions would not have been different; being multilingual did not influence their coping strategies explicitly. Apart from what has already been mentioned, writing poetry has helped in dealing with difficulties for P1. P3 stated that after a wrong choice of profession in the financial business, her life regained balance in teaching English for specific purposes. P4 also emphasized that her whole life had changed as she had travelled abroad and learnt English after the traumatic event of a divorce in her own life. Acquiring English fortified her confidence and gave her a tool to literally make a living after coming back to Hungary.

RQ 7: Would your personality, confidence, resilience and ability to cope with difficult situations be different without English as a FL? Is it a part of your personality / identity?

All participants replied with a definite yes, meaning that their personalities would be different; they would not be the same people without EFL.

RQ 8: When teaching English, what "other things" (skills, knowledge, meta-knowledge) do you think you teach implicitly to your students / learners?

> P1: Actually it depends on the age group…on the whole you cannot teach language itself, because language itself on its own does not exist so if you want to see the skeleton of the language then you will have grammar books that have no meaning so what I try to give them or show them (is)…to find the same kind of myth that I have been after…a means of conveying yourself in communication…decipher the way of thinking encoded in that language…I encourage them to tell me what they think. I am interested in what they think and how they process it.
> P2: I try to teach them to always being able to communicate, always stand up for themselves, always be confident, even if they can't say things properly they have to say something.
> P3: Communication. Empathy.
> P4: Some kind of confidence and willingness to communicate and cultural implications of language and maybe everyday use of language.

RQ 9: Are these in relation to your students' personality and your resilience, i.e., to the way you cope with difficulties?

> P1: Yes, in a way everything is connected to resilience…language is like drama, you have your students who are actors preparing for a part, what you have to do as a teacher is I think is mostly listen to them.

P2: Yes, absolutely. If they're in a situation they have to defend themselves, they have to speak up. Does it help them? Learning English as a FL? Yes, absolutely.
P3: (mentioning empathy) I hope yes.
P4: Well, I have never been thinking about this…I think it is absolutely in relation with their confidence, with their self-confidence.

RQ 10: What other things do you teach explicitly that is not language itself?

P1: A student asked, 'When will the time come when we don't have to learn any more words?' I had to be honest with him. That day will never come. It is an illustration of the infinity of the teaching-learning process, life-long learning. Medgyes (1999) wrote about the NEST/ non-NEST discrepancy – that harks back to native Hungarian teachers in this study. He also differentiated teacher training from teacher education, that is life- long learning: raising teachers' self-awareness about what they are consciously doing. That is what needs to be done about resilience enhancement in the FLL classroom.
P2: How to debate, how to write, how to act.
P4: You just can't avoid teaching some cultural aspects explicitly… maybe and it is also implicit, a lot of things through or via personal experience.

CONCLUSION

The ability to switch between speech communities and imagined communities (Kramsch, 1998) has an effect on transforming not only the cultural knowledge of the language learner but their vision of themselves, too. Successful learners in this study reported undergoing a psychological development.

The fact that all participants replied that their personalities would be different without their English language competence shows that learning a FL can have a strong influence on the learners' psyche. In this case it was not a groundbreaking finding as all participants chose English language teaching as their profession, thus the research was biased towards successful language learners. Yet this finding suggests that learning a foreign language can have a great impact not only on one's professional life but on one's private life as well, which in turn influences their personality in a strong and positive way, giving individuals confidence and a tool for resilience. It is worth researching and exploiting this potential in foreign language teaching for pedagogical and psychological therapeutic uses.

All teachers in the study use implicit ways to teach skills and competencies to their students (i.e., being confident, showing confidence, standing up for themselves, trying to express their needs even when they do not know how to do it properly), which might influence the psychological resilience of the learners. If we manage to detect how this can be done and how such a complex system as one's

resilience can be fortified via foreign language learning, transforming the unconscious, instinctive techniques of successful teachers into techniques that can be trained and applied by other teachers, foreign language teaching may more effectively deal with individual differences and resilience training. To achieve this, the nature of the language acquisition process in the classroom environment and parallel psychological development need to be further researched and analyzed.

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READING, WRITING AND VOCABULARY

THE LEXICAL DEMANDS OF READINGS IN ENGLISH STUDIES

Magdolna Lehmann

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Corpus linguistics has become a widely researched and established field of applied linguistics within a decade due to immense developments in IT technology. Its achievements have largely contributed to the success of research on language description (Andor, 2003; Csomay, 2005, 2006, 2013; Hyland & Tse, 2007; Mackenzie, 2003; Martsa, 2007), language pedagogy for setting targets (Doró, 2008; Henry & Roseberry, 2007; Horváth, 2001; Tribble, 2002; Webb & Rogers, 2009), language assessment for establishing basic and advanced levels (Laufer, 1992; Moris & Cobb, 2003; Quian, 2002), or even translation studies to establish the characteristics of translated and original texts in comparable or parallel corpora (Baker, 1995; Laviosa, 1998).

Academic English (EAP) has been widely studied; one specific application of a 3.5 million word corpus of academic texts is Averil Coxhead's (2000) 570-word family Academic Word List (AWL) compiled to aid the learning of core items in written academic vocabulary. Based on this list, Schmitt and Schmitt (2005, cited in O'Keefe, McCarthy & Carter, 2007, p. 216) designed each chapter of their book using words taken from the AWL for readers to self-test their vocabulary knowledge. More recently, Mark Davies developed the Academic Vocabulary List (AVL)

based on the 120-million word academic sub-corpus of Corpus of Contemporary American English (Gardner & Davies, 2013). Tim Johns' website, the Kibbitzer (lexically.net/TimJohns) and Horváth's JPU corpus (2001) are authentic examples of how concordancing can be applied in data-driven language learning in an EAP context.

AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of the study was to find out the vocabulary demands of compulsory readings in the Institute of English Studies, University of Pécs (UP), Hungary. The following research questions are hence explored in the study:

- What lexis do English majors at UP need to be familiar with to be likely to comprehend the required readings?
- To what extent may the knowledge of the words included in the Academic Word List (Coxhead, 2000) be beneficial for students in text comprehension?
- What low-frequency words are students likely to encounter in their compulsory readings?
- What are the keywords of the field?

INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURES

In order to compile a corpus specific to our English studies programme at UP that can later similarly serve as a basis for data-driven learning and assessment, each and every colleague at the three departments of the Institute of English Studies (English Linguistics, English Applied Linguistics, English and American Literatures and Cultures) was requested to provide a representative sample of authentic texts given as compulsory readings in their courses in the actual semester. According to the design rationale of the corpus, the authentic texts had to be representative of the courses in the sense that, based on the intuitive judgement of the tutors, all students attending the given course can rightfully be expected to be able to cope with the selected text language-, content- and vocabulary-wise in order to pass the course. In other words, those students who cannot understand the text are likely to be unsuccessful in completing the course.

Colleagues were asked to give a thorough consideration to their choice and provide one such text for each of their courses supplemented with detailed information on its source (name of author, title, date and place of publication) to be stored in a separate database. Ideally, this would have resulted in a much larger corpus than the one finally received. Some input texts came in electronic files of different format that had to be converted into Word and plain text formats suitable for computer analysis, others had to be scanned. All the texts were saved both in separate

files and into one of the three sub-corpora: applied linguistics (AL), linguistics (L), and literature and culture (LC). The size of each sub-corpus is, consequently, proportionate to the share each field represents in the curriculum. The resulting joint Corpus of Readings in English Studies (CORES) is monolingual, written, L1, dynamic and developing, as it is open for continuous expansion, and un-annotated, according to Horváth's matrix of corpus typology (2001, p. 44).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As analyzed by Cobb's VocabProfile function of *Lextutor* (2000), the specialized CORES corpus is made up of 118,808 word tokens (Table 1), stripped of proper names and numbers to exclude citation references to authors. It is small compared to large general combined corpora, such as the hundred million word British National Corpus (BNC), the one million word Brown corpus, the one billion word Cambridge International Corpus (CIC), or the 220 million word Macmillan World English Corpus (for a comprehensive overview of existing corpora see O'Keefe et al., 2007).

It can even be considered small among specialized corpora such as the Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA), a 500,000 word compilation of spoken English; the 1.8 million word Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE); or the 2.8 million words TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language Corpus (T2K SWAL) representing both spoken and written language use at four US universities. However, as O'Keeffe et al. (2007, p. 200) emphasize, small specialized corpora can give a unique insight into the linguistic features of specialized domains, in this case EAP vocabulary within the field of English studies at UP.

Lexical variation is the most widely used descriptor of the lexis of texts. Therefore, it is wise to begin the exploration by examining the type-token ratio of CORES. Although it does not indicate high lexical variation (T/t = 0.10), the ratio of content words and the total number of words in the text (lexical density= 0.57) shows that almost two out of every three lexical words are different, imposing a considerable lexical challenge on non-native readers.

The lexical profile of the corpus reveals that the first 2,000 most frequent English words (K1+K2) provide its main lexical basis totaling at 77 percent of all tokens in the text (Table 1). It means that knowing the words of the General Service List (West, 1953) would enable the students to understand over three quarters of the words in the compulsory readings required at the English Department. In numerous previous studies this figure exceeds 80 percent of all the words in any general text (O'Keefe et al., 2007).

This is not a sufficient proportion though, as successful text comprehension may take place provided that 95-98 percent of all the words in the text are familiar to the reader (Hirsch & Nation, 1992; Laufer, 2005; Nation & Waring, 1997). How-

ever, adding the 7.54 percent of academic words in the corpus that is advised to be learnt from the Academic Word List (Coxhead, 2000) by Nation (2006), the figure amounts close to 85% of all the words in the corpus. Although cognate effects may contribute to better word recognition and inferencing in reading comprehension, as the L1 of the students is Hungarian, a Finno-Ugric language, it does not help much in understanding English (Jones, 1995). Some students may gain a slight advantage in this lexical plight by speaking other languages of Germanic or Latin origin: 68.13 percent of the on-list words in the corpus have Anglo-Saxon origins, while the remaining 31.87 percent is a Greco-Latin or French cognate.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the frequency of lexis in CORES

CORES	Families	Types	Tokens	Percent
K1 Words (1-1000)	963	2,798	85,387	71.8
Function words			(50,658)	(42.64)
Content words			(34,727)	(29.23)
K2 Words (1001-2000):	733	1,479	6,296	5.30
1K+2K:	1,696	4,277	91,683	(77.17)
AWL Words (academic):	545	1,630	8,958	7.54
Off-List Words:	?	6,941	18,167	15.29
Overall	2,241+?	12,848	118,808	100

But even this leaves the learners with approximately 15 percent still a high proportion of low-frequency words supposedly specific to this discipline to be known to some degree in order to comprehend the texts they are required to read at UP. These words may either be acquired through the extensive reading of academic texts in this discipline or learnt consciously by intentionally focusing on the vocabulary items frequent in this corpus: the major questions in the ongoing debate on how vocabulary is most efficiently acquired. Krashen and his colleagues (Krashen, 1989, 2004), however, maintain that extensive free reading "can and does provide acquirers with sufficient resources to reach a high level of literacy development" (McQuillian & Krashen, 2008, p. 104) both in L1 and L2 acquisition and support their views by reading rate research (Fraser, 2007).

Advocates of conscious learning argue that uncommon words (off-list words in the CORES corpus, for instance) do not appear frequently enough in free reading only to reach the exposure frequency required for vocabulary acquisition to take

place (Cobb, 2007, 2008; Laufer, 1992, 1997, 2005; Nation, 2001; Nation & Waring, 1997). They claim that "the majority of learners in the normal time frame of instructed L2 learning" (Cobb, 2008, p. 109) are unable to build an adequate functional lexicon from free reading only, and believe that the explicit teaching of target vocabulary can bridge the gap. Without taking a stance for the time being, let us presume that some further analysis of the CORES corpus might help reveal what type of infrequent lexis our students need to be familiar with and this analysis of lexical needs may give the rationale for suggestions on the future applications of the corpus in the enhancement of student development and the design of corpus-based vocabulary test batteries.

The most frequent words in the CORES corpus are all function words, as shown in Table 2, although their rank orders slightly differ in the three sub-corpora. Similar rank orders were found in large written and spoken corpora such as the Cambridge International Corpus (CIC), the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE) (cited in O'Keefe et al., 2007, pp. 34-35), or Horváth's JPU student corpus (2001, p. 112), as indicated in Table 3.

Table 2. Rank order of word types appearing 1,000 times or more in the CORES corpus

TYPE	RANGE	FREQ	AL	L	LC
THE	3	8,526	2,000	3,424	3,102
OF	3	5,261	1,045	2,201	2,015
TO	3	3,526	934	1,460	1,132
AND	3	3,405	794	1,215	1,396
IN	3	3,400	768	1,596	1,036
A	3	3,341	858	1,480	1,003
THAT	3	1,864	553	813	498
IS	3	1,681	506	764	411
AS	3	1,336	240	623	473
FOR	3	1,099	254	517	328
IT	3	1,007	295	361	351

More informative about the lexis of a corpus, however, is a profile of lexical words in the texts. The first such word, *language*, comes only twentieth in the list. On closer examination, the distribution of the most common content words in the CORES corpus reveals that only K1 and K2 words appear over a hundred times in the corpus, as presented in Tables 4 and 5 (see in the Appendix). Not surprisingly, the

most frequent content word in linguistics and applied linguistics texts proved to be language, while it had considerably fewer occurrences in the Literature and Culture (LC) sub-corpus, where interestingly the words *new* and *people* appeared the most often.

Table 3. Rank orders and frequencies of the top 10 words in three corpora and the CORES corpus (based on O'Keefe et al., 2007, pp. 34-2-35; Horváth, 2001, pp. 112-115)

CORES	CIC	CANCODE	JPU
the (8,526)	the (439,723)	the (169,335)	the (32,231)
of (5,261)	and (256,879)	I (150,989)	of (14,754)
to (3,526)	to (230,431)	and (141,206)	to (11602)
and (3,405)	a (210,178)	you (137,522)	and (10,835)
in (3,400)	of (194,659)	it (106,249)	in (9,102)
a (3,341)	I (192,961)	to (105,854)	a (8,526)
that (1,864)	you (164,021)	a (103,524)	is (6,409)
is (1,681)	it (150,707)	yeah (91,481)	it (4,149)
as (1,336)	in (142,812)	that (84,930)	that (4,123)
for (1,099)	that (124,250)	of (78,207)	I (3,695)

Concerning the academic words (Table 6) *motivation* came first in the AL sub-corpus, with frequent occurrences of *attitude, individual, research* and *process*. In the LC sub-corpus *culture* and its derived forms were most frequent, together with the words *civil, immigrate, individual, complex* and *text*, while the linguistics (L) sub-corpus featured the words *tense, adult, input, principle* and *structure*. As the corpus contains 545 academic word families out of the 570 word families included in the AWL (Coxhead, 2000), it is legitimate to assume that the knowledge of these words may contribute to a better understanding of the compulsory EAP readings at UP.

It may be even more interesting to examine what low-frequency words constitute over twelve percent of the lexis in the corpus. As Cobb (2008, p. 109) notes, research has shown that a word needs to appear six times minimally for incidental learning to take place. Even the most frequent word (semantic) in this list appears only 93 times in the corpus, and the list involves a large number of technical terms, for instance *bilingual, pragmatic, phonological, suffix*, or *connectionist*, that need to be studied in specific courses in the curriculum. Others, such as *appeal, convey, prominent or entitled*, are less specialized in nature and may be useful items in the general mental lexicon of any advanced learner of English. Assuming that Cobb (2008) and other researchers are right in suggesting that six encounters with a word in reading

may result in some degree of word learning, these low-frequency items in the list may have the greatest chance to be acquired incidentally in the course of English studies at UP and, therefore, may be considered for vocabulary assessment purposes. However, the majority of the off-list words in the corpus occur only once in one of the three sub-corpora, raising the much debated question whether these items should be consciously dealt with or left for incidental vocabulary acquisition.

Table 6. AWL content word types appearing over 40 times in CORES

TYPE	RANGE	FREQ	AL	L	LC
MOTIVATION	3	91	89	1	1
ACQUISITION	2	75	22	53	0
CULTURAL	3	73	8	2	63
TENSE	2	73	9	64	0
INDIVIDUAL	3	72	38	16	18
PROCESS	3	70	28	30	12
CULTURE	3	68	6	2	60
SIMILAR	3	62	13	40	9
PRINCIPLE	3	61	7	45	9
ADULT	2	60	1	59	0
INPUT	1	57	0	57	0
ATTITUDES	3	56	50	1	5
EVIDENCE	3	56	8	44	4
STRUCTURE	3	55	2	48	5
COMPLEX	3	54	12	27	15
TEXT	3	54	7	30	17
THEORY	3	52	10	38	4
CONTEXT	3	50	15	28	7
RESEARCH	3	47	36	9	2
ROLE	3	45	14	16	15
SPECIFIC	3	44	5	31	8
CHAPTER	2	42	5	37	0
CIVIL	2	41	1	0	40

The keywords of the compilation were identified with the Key words function of *Lextutor,* a Canadian website developed and run by Tom Cobb. Keywords of a text are words that are more frequent in the text analyzed than in a general reference corpus. Cobb's software compared the frequency of words in CORES to a subsection of the British National Corpus (BNC).

Table 7. The 40 most frequent keywords of CORES

(1) 11510.00 motivate
(2) 2454.00 lexical
(3) 2228.67 phonology
(4) 1354.00 postmodern
(5) 931.00 ontological
(6) 931.00 morpheme
(7) 846.00 sibilant
(8) 846.00 medial
(9) 762.00 posit
(10) 762.00 salient
(11) 677.00 velar
(12) 677.00 phoneme
(13) 677.00 affix
(14) 677.00 sociolinguist
(15) 677.00 aesthetics
(16) 616.57 inflect
(17) 592.00 ontology
(18) 592.00 metonymy
(19) 508.00 synapse
(20) 508.00 combinatorial
(21) 508.00 weight
(22) 487.88 grammatical
(23) 423.00 historiography
(24) 423.00 modem
(25) 423.00 participle
(26) 423.00 trajectory
(27) 423.00 explicate
(28) 423.00 monograph
(29) 423.00 envision
(30) 423.00 confound
(31) 423.00 eclectic
(32) 423.00 preposition
(33) 381.00 protagonist
(34) 347.00 suffix
(35) 339.00 novella
(36) 339.00 tableau
(37) 339.00 bootstrap
(38) 339.00 metabolic
(39) 339.00 homologous
(40) 339.00 nominative

Although over two hundred keywords were found in the compilation, only the 40 most frequent ones are referred to here for restrictions of length of the present paper. The figures in Table 7 indicate how many times more frequent the words listed were found to be in CORES than they are in BNC. The majority of these keywords are technical words specific to the field of linguistics and literary and cultural studies.

CONCLUSION

Even though the CORES corpus is representative of the compulsory readings required in English studies at UP, it is also a cross-sectional collection of reading materials; consequently, first-year students may have encountered only a tiny fraction of these readings in their first two semesters, which greatly reduces their chances for a sufficient number of low-frequency word exposures. Another limitation of the present state of the CORES corpus is that it involves only one article per course, while, according to the syllabuses, students are required to read four articles on average to pass each course they take.

Furthermore, even though literature courses do not concern first-year students involved in the present study, the reading load greatly increases from the third semester on with the authentic British and American novels, short stories and poems, which are excluded from the CORES corpus but which may provide a rich and vast additional source of vocabulary acquisition from reading. Although the lexical analysis of such an immense corpus is beyond the aims and available resources of this study, its contribution to the vocabulary development of the students can by no means be ignored. Yet, even with these limitations, the possible applications of the corpus and the implications of the above reported lexical analysis may be multifold.

Frequency and keyword lists produced from the CORES corpus inform language teachers about what words to focus on in preparing students for reading academic texts in their field of studies. It has been suggested that besides a good knowledge of frequent and academic words, being familiar with specific lexis rare in general English texts but frequent in the discipline of English studies highly increases the potential of students in academic text comprehension. Therefore, seminars devoted to language development in the first year may benefit from exploiting the CORES corpus in many ways, not only at the UP.

Autonomous learning and exam preparation can be facilitated by further future applications of CORES. Frequency- and keyword lists produced from the corpus and made available for students on the departmental website may serve as guidelines for focused intentional vocabulary learning outside the classroom. Tools of corpus analysis such as concordancers run on the corpus may help students identify and remedy individual problem areas at all possible levels of language use. The corpus may be exploited and consulted for reference in the process of essay writing, for instance, by checking out typical collocations of words in academic language use that single word lists cannot provide, thus contributing to more sophisticated vocabulary use and enhancing conscious vocabulary development. Finally, the compilation was found to be beneficial in selecting lexical items for testing the vocabulary knowledge of the students with the purpose of filtering students with insufficient receptive vocabulary size in the first year of their academic study (Lehmann, 2009, 2010).

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Table 4. K1 content word types appearing over 100 times in CORES

TYPE	RANGE	FREQ	AL	L	LC
LANGUAGE	3	592	244	324	24
SO	3	344	62	199	83
CHILDREN	3	281	9	246	26
WORDS	3	259	25	219	15
NEW	3	245	47	62	136
CHILD	2	237	0	231	6
LEARNING	3	223	125	86	12
WORD	3	206	16	175	15
USE	3	199	65	112	22
ENGLISH	3	194	26	147	21
ONLY	3	191	38	90	63
EVEN	3	183	43	71	69
PEOPLE	3	180	68	26	86
FORMS	3	170	6	147	17
SEE	3	165	40	107	18
ALSO	3	138	41	58	39
WAY	3	138	40	62	36
AGE	3	133	6	114	13
MAN	3	131	4	93	34
FORM	3	128	17	89	22
PAST	3	128	15	61	52
LANGUAGES	3	125	13	111	1
TIME	3	125	48	43	34
VERY	3	119	56	37	26
EXAMPLE	3	115	19	85	11

TYPE	RANGE	FREQ	AL	L	LC
JUST	3	113	46	50	17
SAME	3	111	31	52	28
SPEECH	3	109	17	85	7
CHANGE	3	108	33	63	12
RULE	3	107	22	80	5
SAY	3	107	29	53	25
OWN	3	106	25	26	55
THEN	3	102	25	44	33
WELL	3	101	29	42	30

Table 5. K2 content word types appearing over 100 times in CORES

TYPE	RANGE	FREQ	AL	L	LC
SENTENCE	3	139	39	97	3
VERBS	1	127	0	127	0
REGULAR	2	120	2	118	0
VERB	2	116	2	114	0
IRREGULAR	1	108	0	108	0
SENTENCES	3	107	24	81	2

VERB TENSES AND HEDGING IN PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED APPLIED LINGUISTICS RESEARCH PAPER ABSTRACTS

Katalin Doró

INTRODUCTION

Abstracts are short summaries of longer academic papers. They include references to the research topic, aims and methods, and often also indicate previous research, own results and conclusions. It is important how these pieces of information are constructed linguistically to ensure clarity and unambiguity, to show the author's intentions and to indicate the certainty of their assertions. Lorés (2004, p. 281) concludes that "there seems to be general agreement on three ways in which research abstracts differ from RAs [research articles]. They differ in their function, in their rhetoric structures and in their linguistic realizations". In the last forty years many researchers have analyzed the structural and linguistic contents of RAs and other published or unpublished academic papers. Studies which have compared papers across disciplines have pointed to some universality, but mainly discovered discipline-specific rhetorical features (e.g., Pho, 2008; San & Tan, 2012; Stotesbury, 2003).

Due to this specificity it is difficult to compare results based on corpora drawn from different fields, journals, authors and languages. Relatively few studies have analyzed research article abstracts (RAAs) in applied linguistics and less is known about the differences between abstracts written by expert and novice writers. According to the APA manual, a research article abstract which is "accurate, succinct,

quickly comprehensible, and informative will increase the audience and the future retrievability" of an article (APA, 2003, p. 15). Gate-keeping bodies, such as editors, reviewers, conference organizers, may decide on the dissemination of a research project based on a quick screening of the abstract, and published articles also find their readers through the abstracts that are often open-access even when the articles themselves are not. It may be argued that thesis abstracts serve a different purpose as they do not exist independently from the main text, and their audience is restricted to the supervisors and in-house reviewers. Nevertheless, students are expected to follow academic conventions and summarize their thesis in an abstract similar to those of published papers. As Koutsantoni (2006) rightly points out, RAAs and thesis abstracts may be considered two similar but distinct genres, especially due to the status of the authors in the academic discourse community of their fields. She also backs up this proposition by showing the power asymmetry between student writers and supervisors.

However, I would argue that a similar kind of power asymmetry exists between authors of RAs who wish to publish and the editors or independent reviewers who may reject their papers. I believe that abstract writing is a marginal part of academic writing instruction at all levels, and both novice and experienced writers learn it implicitly while they read published articles. I assume that most authors pay less attention to abstracts compared to other sections, and that abstract writing remains the last step, often done with hustle due to final deadlines. For these reasons abstracts are good indicators of authors' target language academic writing skills and their ability to see and summarize the key points of their papers by following rhetorical and linguistic conventions (Doró, 2013a). Student writers are expected to follow these conventions in all sections of their papers, even when their writing reaches a very small audience and their experience as researchers and as academic text producers is very limited and often insufficient. For the reasons mentioned above, I believe that these two abstract genres are close enough to be comparable and their systematic review may shed light on the similarities and differences in the linguistic realization of abstracts written by professional and student writers. Applied linguistics papers have not been widely studied from this point of view, and a comparison of published papers and undergraduate EFL theses is hoped to serve as basis for a more explicit academic writing instruction of abstracts.

BACKGROUND

The next sections provide an overview of the literature concerning the following areas: (a) genres characteristics of abstracts and the differences between RAAs and thesis abstracts, (b) verb tense usage in RAs and (c) hedging in academic discourse.

Abstracts serve an important role in academic discourse and are considered a distinct genre. Studies such as Swales (1990) and Askehave and Swales (2001) point out that genre analysis should include both bottom-up (text based) and top-down (discourse community practices, values, beliefs based) identifications. Based on their information content, structure and communicative purpose, two main types of abstracts are distinguishable, namely descriptive and informative (Martín-Martín, 2005). The second one is more detailed and provides information also about the results, outcomes and conclusions of studies. The rhetoric structure of research articles and abstracts has been broadly studied in the past. In 1981, Malcolm Swales designed the so called Create a Research Space (CARS) model which consists of the following main moves: establishing the territory, establishing the niche and occupying the niche (Swales, 1990). This CARS model has been applied by a large number of studies to investigate the rhetoric structure of RA introductions (e.g., Hirano, 2009; Ozturk, 2007; Samraj 2002, 2005; Sheldon, 2011). Apart from research on the introduction sections, attention has also been paid to the analysis of RA abstracts. Santos (1996) created a model for RAA, which includes the following five moves: situating the research, presenting the research, describing methodology, summarizing the findings, and finally discussing the findings. This five-step model has formed the basis for the analysis of move structures of both published RAAs and theses written by student writers (e.g., Doró, 2013a, 2013b; Lon, Tan & Abdullah, 2012; Pho, 2008; Tseng, 2011). A similar framework, referred to as the IMRD or IMRaD, has also been used by researchers (e.g., Bhatia, 1993; Lorés, 2004; Serholt, 2012; Swales, 1990). These acronyms stand for the introduction, methods, result and discussion sections of abstracts. The CARS and IMRD frameworks are almost identical, but the first two moves in the CARS model are combined in the IMRD framework; this ensures the comparability of research conclusions of studies that use either of the two models or any of their modified versions. Lorés (2004) analyzed abstracts published in applied linguistics journals and compared the thematic distribution of moves according to both the IMRD and the CARS models. She found that 61% of the abstracts followed the IMRD model, 30.5% resembled the CARS structure and 8% of them a combination of the two.

Several studies have pointed out the variability in the number of moves and the order of these moves employed in RAAs. Not all moves are obligatory, but when major moves (aims, methods and results) are missing, the reader may feel that the abstract is incomplete or less informative. In an earlier study (Doró, 2013a) I compared BA-level thesis abstracts (BTAs) written on applied linguistics, literature and culture topics. While some kind of reference was given to the research topic in all the theses abstracts and methodology was introduced in at least 90% of the papers in the three sub-corpora, move 4 (findings) showed a significant difference between linguistic and non-linguistic theses. This means that results were not summarized in more than half of the literature, culture and history theses, while

90% of the authors of linguistics papers felt the need to indicate results in their abstract. The non-obligatory nature of referring to the findings in abstracts has also been reported in other studies (e.g., Doró, 2013b; Lon et al., 2012; Lorés, 2004; Santos, 1996).

Verb tenses in academic research papers

Compared to the boom in the move structure analysis of research articles, much less has been systematically reviewed in terms of the verb tense usage in research papers, and most of these analyses concentrated on a limited number of science articles. Malcolm (1987) reviewed studies from the 1970s and 1980s that point to the functional use of tenses in academic discourse. He highlights that the choice of tenses, on the one hand, reflects the genre traditions and, on the other hand, the rhetorical choices of authors to express their intentions. Moreover, he cites examples of obligatory and optional constraints of tense usage in various parts and sections of a paper. For example, references to past research are done in present simple, present perfect or simple past, while methods and results are explained either in the present or in the past. Research manuals often provide clear guideline as to which tenses and aspects should be used for certain sections or purposes. Nevertheless, they often fail to discuss the flexibility of tense usage found in research articles. For example, the fifth edition of the APA manual suggests the following:

> Use verbs rather than their noun equivalents and the active rather than the passive voice. Use the present tense to discuss results with continuing applicability or conclusions drawn; use the past tense to describe specific variables manipulated or tests applied (pp. 12-13).

Salager-Meyer (1992) pointed to a close relationship between rhetorical functions (moves) and finite verb forms and modals used in medical RAAs. He reported that the three most common tenses (simple present, past and present perfect) made up 89.8% of all finite verbs. Within these, past dominated with 51.4%, while the present constituted one-third of all verbs (32.8%). The purpose, methods, results and case presentation sections used mainly the past tense, while general truth, introductory notes, conclusions, recommendations and data synthesis were predominantly referred to in the present. The present perfect was used to refer to previous research. Tseng (2011) analyzed 90 applied linguistic abstracts and concluded that the present tense was applied mainly to present the background, aims and conclusions, while the past tense was used to discuss the methodology and results. This is in line with the results of the Salager-Meyer (1992) study. Tseng also reported some variation across the three journals he used. Authors accepted for *Applied Linguistics* referred to their methods and results more often in the present than in the past. While analyzing differences between native and non-native English speaking

first authors, Tseng concluded that native speakers used the present tense more for aims and results than did non-natives.

Li and Ge (2009) reviewed the structural and linguistic changes in medical articles in a 20-year time span and found that the frequency of tenses in the various sections of articles had significantly changed. The overall frequency of the four most frequent tenses had not changed much, but their roles had shifted. Simple past increased in the presentation of new research, while the use of simple present increased in the discussion sections.

In a recent study de Waard and Pander Maat (2012) examined how readers classify statements taken from various sections of biology research articles (problems, hypothesis, methods, results and implications). Their aim was to see what happens if verb tenses are modified in these sentences. Their results demonstrate that verb forms serve as markers of intention and segment types of research papers, and by changing verb tenses the reader may classify the same sentence differently. For example, fact statements and hypotheses used with the past tense are interpreted as results. Result sections, in contrast, are understood by and large as results either in the present or in the past. The authors of this study found that modal auxiliaries also have a crucial role, as hypothesis-type statements without modals are understood as facts or results, whereas results with modal auxiliaries may be interpreted as hypotheses or weak statements.

Hedging in academic discourse

While academic writing is often referred to as impersonal and objective, especially when it reports on facts and results, research papers go beyond the mere recitation of definitions or general truths. Authors analyze previous research and interpret their own results. While doing so they take personal responsibility for their claims, show their attitudes or the strength of their claims. Hyland (1994, p. 240) states that "effective academic writing actually depends on interactional elements which supplement propositional information in the text and alert readers to the writer's opinion". This does not mean a highly individual or subjective voice, but is treated as a natural part of academic writing. Authors provide tentative analyses through the use of epistemic modality which refer to their (lack of) confidence in their propositions. The degree of confidence is most often expressed through hedges (e.g., *suggest, seem to, likely*) and boosters (e.g., *strongly, clearly*). Hedges are one form of metadiscourse that authors use to modify their arguments in accordance with the needs and expectation of possible readers (Hyland, 2004). Indeed, hedges have been found to be the most frequent category of metadiscourse in a large corpus of doctoral and masters level dissertations (Hyland, 2000). Hyland (1996a, 1996b, 2000) warns us that the usage of hedges is troublesome for most authors, especially non-native researchers, who do not clearly feel the meaning and function of hedges or boosters. He states the following:

> Effective academic writing always carries the individual's point of view. Writers also need to present their claims cautiously, accurately and modestly to meet discourse community expectations and to gain acceptance for their statements. Such pragmatic aspects of communication however are vulnerable to cross-cultural differences and L2 students are rarely able to hedge their statements appropriately. (2000, p. 477)

Milton and Hyland (1999) compared native and non-native students' essays written in English and concluded that non-natives used epistemic modifiers (such as *usually, actually, may*) less often and that 75% of such words were restricted to the ten most often occurring ones. On the contrary, Koutsantoni (2006), while analyzing engineering journal articles and theses, found that student writers hedge more often than experienced authors, but also documented that students use different types of and a more restricted repertoire of hedges. Abdollahzadeh (2011) compared the conclusion sections of applied linguistic RAs published in English by native and non-native, Iranian researchers. He pointed to a "remarkable tendency by both writer groups towards hedging their propositions" (p. 288), but found no significant differences in the overall number of hedges between the two groups. Nevertheless, the Iranian researchers used fewer attitude markers (e.g., *I feel it is even more important, it is interesting*) and emphatics (e.g., *certainly, truly)*. He concluded that the "differences are attributed to the degree of rhetorical sensitivity to and awareness of audience, purpose, cultural leanings, and the proclivities of the disciplinary genre" (p. 288). Variability in the reviewed research results are partly due to the categorization problems of metadiscourse markers, the proficiency level of the authors, and the section of articles under review in the different studies. Another important reason could be the fact that most studies concentrate on predetermined lists of markers (e.g., Hyland, 2000, 2010; Serholt, 2012), while others do a manual search of their corpora and include all signs of hedges or boosters (e.g., Abdollahzadeh, 2011).

THE STUDY

Research questions

Based on the literature reviewed above the following main research questions were formulated:

1. What is the proportion of finite verb tenses used in published and unpublished applied linguistics research papers?
2. What are the hedges used in these abstracts and what is the frequency of their occurrence?
3. Are there significant differences between applied linguistics research article abstracts and BA thesis abstracts in terms of verb tenses and hedging?

Corpus and methods

For this study English studies BA level theses, written and defended by students at a large Hungarian university in the years 2011 and 2012, were considered. Since a previous study using these papers (Doró, 2013a) found results similar to those voiced by other authors, namely that marked differences exist between research papers written in various disciplines, only one field of studies was chosen. Applied linguistics paper abstracts were found to adhere more to the rhetoric structures and linguistic conventions of research papers than theses written in other fields (Doró, 2013a) and showed the most consistency, therefore they were chosen to be the ones used in parallel with published RAAs. The first corpus for this study consists of 30 applied linguistics BA thesis abstracts and the second one of 30 RAAs. The 30 student papers cover the majority of theses written on various applied linguistic topics in these two academic years. The RAs were published in 2012 and randomly retrieved from three journals (*Applied Linguistics, Journal of Second Language Writing* and *System*). All three are peer reviewed and prestigious, but cover slightly different topics and include different authors. These selection criteria resulted in a thesis corpus (referred to as BTA) of 6,046 words and a RA abstract corpus (referred to as RAA) of 5,333 words. This shows that, on average, the student abstracts are slightly longer. All student authors used English as a foreign language and wrote their papers as a final step for the completion of their 3-year BA English studies. As the native/non-native dichotomy was not the target of this research, it was not a selection criterion, although most of the published articles have at least one non-native author.

The two corpora were first manually screened for finite verb phrases and were categorized in the following tense and aspect combinations: present simple, past simple, present perfect, past perfect, present continuous, past continuous and future *will*. Cases of unusual or infrequent verb form choices were also screened for the move functions they perform in order to better understand the authors' intentions. As a second step the corpus was searched electronically for twenty items which commonly perform hedging functions in academic writing (see Table 1 for the list) using AntConc, a text analysis and concordance program. With the help of the concordance function, all instances were carefully analyzed individually to ensure that they were performing metadiscoursal functions. Results were normalized per 1,000 words to allow comparison across the two corpora of slightly different sizes. Final figures were calculated as number of occurrences, percentages, and also as proportions.

Table 1. Linguistic devices of hedges used in this study

Based on Hyland (2000) and Serholt (2012)	Taken from the BAT and RAA corpora
can	tend
may	try
could	seek
might	relatively
seem	sometimes
appear	mostly
assume	generally
believe	
speculate	
indicate	
likely	
possible/possibly	
probable/probably	

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Verb tenses

The frequency counts show the ruling position of simple present, followed by simple past. This is in line with the research reviewed above (e.g., de Waard & Pander Maat, 2012; Li & Ge, 2009). Table 2 shows the different patterns of verb use. Simple present and simple past together accounted for 90% of the finite verbs in the BTA corpus and 98% of the RAA corpus. Five published articles and one student paper used the present tense exclusively. Present perfect was identified much less often (accounting for 5% and 3%, respectively) and the other tenses occurred only rarely. There is, however, difference in the number of finite verb phrases and the distribution of verb forms between the two corpora. The BTAs used between 9 and 27, overall 453 (75/1000) finite verbs, while the RAAs employed between 7 and 19, overall 366 (69/1000) finite verbs. This suggests that on average, student writers did not only write longer summaries, but while doing so they used fewer non-finite verb phrases and subordinate sentences than the RAAs.

Table 2. Finite verb usage in the two applied linguistics corpora

Tenses	Simple present	Simple past	Present perfect	Past perfect	Presents progressive	Past progressive	Future will	Total
BTAs	295	123	23	2	1	2	7	453
	65.1%	24.6%	5%	0.4%	0.2%	0.4%	1.5%	
RAAs	212	139	11	0	3	0	1	366
	57.9%	40%	3%		0.8%		0.3%	

When taking a closer look at the functions of these verbs, results indicate that students use tenses logically and systematically and show good knowledge of the academic writing conventions of abstracts. This was also found in an experimental study (Doró, 2013a) in which ten applied linguistics student abstracts were compared with non-linguistic abstracts. No unclear verb choices were detected in the RAAs and only a few cases are problematic in the BTAs. These include the sudden switch from simple past to simple present or present perfect in the results move, and the use of present perfect to refer to methods (see sample sentences 1 and 3). Tense mixing may cause confusion in the reader, especially if it becomes unclear whether the reference is made to previous investigations or to the project in question, as in samples 1 to 3. Sudden changes may be the result of students' shift between general English language conventions and academic writing practices or the influence of some noun phrase/verb phrase collocations used as fixed expressions (e.g., *studies have shown*) without considering their functions in the specific sections of the abstracts. These uncertainties are more typical of students who are weaker in their English language proficiency.

1. … Differences between gender groups and faculties have been examined more specifically. The results show evidence for the initial hypothesis according to which age is the most determining variable in the Hungarian address system. Numerous differences have been found between…
2. Color-naming has been investigated among…
3. … I have identified and revealed numerous beliefs and practices …. More precisely, I have showed the differences … The results showed that …

Hedges

The frequency of the various types of hedges is illustrated in Table 3. The 20 epistemic modifiers that indicate uncertainty appear 50 times in the BTA corpus, while only 36 times in the RAA corpus. Only three of them do not occur in the two corpora. Their distribution is very much uneven, with the auxiliary *can* leading both

abstract groups (with 44% for BTAs and 28% for RAAs), of which the past form *could* is also used by students, but not by researchers. The word *may* occupies second position, with *might* appearing only once. Altogether the four most frequent hedges are *can*, *may*, *indicate* and *tend*.

Table 3: Occurrences of hedges in the two corpora

List of hedges	BTAs	RAAs	Total
can	22	10	32
may	4	6	10
could	4	0	4
might	1	1	2
seem	2	0	2
appear	1	2	3
assume	0	0	0
believe	0	0	0
speculate	0	0	0
indicate	3	2	5
likely	2	2	4
possible/possibly	1	0	1
tend	4	1	5
try	1	0	1
seek	0	2	2
should	0	2	2
relatively	0	3	3
sometimes	0	1	1
mostly	2	1	3
generally	3	3	6
Total	**50**	**36**	**86**

Hedges are frequently used to indicate results. Some illustrations for the cautious interpretation of results in the thesis abstracts are provided below. Examples 5 to 7

are more academic and elegant and could also come from published abstracts, while the use of *can* is superfluous in sentence 4.

4. Findings of this paper can be useful not only in …
5. Findings presented in this paper may contribute to further research …
6. This might be the reason why…
7. Results seem to indicate that …

To compare, Salager-Meyer (1992) reported the leading position of *may* in medical RAs; other modals had a marginal position in his corpus. In contrast, the four most frequent hedges in the Serholt (2012) Swedish student abstract corpus are *might*, *seem*, *could* and *suggest*. These differences in the results also point to the importance of using small, specialized corpora to illustrate linguistic choices in different genres, specific fields and various author groups. Large corpora may yield impressive results, but mask the individual and group differences.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study analyzed two small, specialized applied linguistics corpora to reveal the linguistic realization of abstracts written by expert writers and novice, BA student writers. It focused on the similarities and differences found in the linguistic realization of 30 abstracts published in applied linguistics journals and 30 BA level applied linguistics thesis abstracts written by Hungarian students of English. The results indicate that thesis abstracts incorporate more finite verb clauses, but students are aware of the genre conventions. The few instances of misuse were discussed in context and in terms of the rhetoric functions they have. The concordance analysis of 20 epistemic modifiers revealed that modals have a major role in indicating uncertainty in both groups of abstracts, while other hedges appear only marginally.

The literature has called for the need for a careful selection of texts to be compared, and these two groups of abstracts, although having different functions, proved to be good choices. The analyses of verb tenses and hedges in humanities papers have not been in the center of attention of researchers, therefore this study aimed to fill this gap. A future direction of research may be the extension of analysis to non-linguistic thesis and to the interview and questionnaire methods used by Hyland (2000) and de Waard and Pander Maat (2012). Hyland (2000) rightly pointed out that the analysis of specialized corpora is a valuable tool to assist novice writers and teachers to take control over disciplinary-sensitive writing practices. Only this way can students fully explore the meaning of word choices and learn the acceptable and appropriate means to engage with their readers, to mark their attitudes and to appear confident and expert writers. As there is no time for the explicit teaching of all tricks and steps of good academic writing in the few hours of academic writing classes or thesis consultations, students should be shown

ways and tools to extract academic texts written about the topics they wish to explore, analyze them with easy-to-use tools such as *AntConc* or the *Complete Lexical Tutor*, so that they can check word choices in context and discover solutions that are typical of experienced writers. This way it is hoped that student writers do not plagiarize sections of texts merely due to language shortcomings, but find good alternatives for academic vocabulary boosters.

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"SOMETIMES STUDENTS CANNOT BE BLAMED FOR THAT": INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' THOUGHTS ON PLAGIARISM

József Horváth

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, I have become more and more interested in that one feature of writing that many people aspiring for new challenges seek in their work: originality. Together with my colleague in Zagreb, Lovorka Zergollern-Miletić, I started a research project in 2007 that is still going on. In it, we have aimed to untangle the intricate web of how in writing pedagogy teachers can encourage their students, at various stages and different levels of proficiency, to strive to establish their works as original pieces. As we have become increasingly aware of the theoretical and practical issues involved, we also have come to realize that in the EFL writing pedagogy scene in particular, studies that have attempted to analyze textual, educational and cognitive aspects of the issue have tended to deal with originality in the context of plagiarism – that is, with problems arising from situations when originality was lacking to some degree (Zergollern-Miletić & Horváth, 2009; Horváth & Zergollern-Miletić, 2013).

Obviously, one cannot discuss these qualities without considering how the influence of the other shapes processes, awareness, and use of standards associated with what is expected of students – and teachers, that is, how a discourse community is formed and what roles and rights the participants have in it. In our case, this has meant the continued exploration of originality in Hungarian and Croatian universi-

ty students' writing in English, and how these students view the notion of originality. In this paper, the emphasis will shift to the negative aspect of the theme as I report the results of part of a questionnaire survey I conducted in 2012 among international university students that aimed to collect data on views of and attitudes toward writing from a variety of perspectives. (Some of the results have appeared in Hungarian and a study related to the current investigation has been published in English; see Horváth, 2012, 2013).

THEORIES, PROBLEMS AND CONCEPTS

Current thinking and solutions offered for dealing with what appear to be different attitudes to the notion of and respect for intellectual property consider the individual, the institutional and the wider cultural context in which plagiarism may occur. We need to recognize, however, that although studies will necessarily have to restrict the scope of investigation, these three levels are interlinked in many different ways. As for the individual focus, Ferrari (2005), Bolin (2004) and Underwood and Szabo (2003) have investigated the ways in which one can come to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty and how various forms of cheating act as predictors. (See also Horváth & Reif, 2010, for a study that shows the overlap between the individual and the institutional.)

The next level of the investigation, then, is that of the institute: the narrower or wider community into which the novice scholar, the student, is initiated. This introduction, this gradual awareness raising process has been the theme of many an exciting exploratory study, perhaps the most original of which written by Angélil-Carter (2000), who used the metaphor of the dance to describe and understand the steps participants take in this process. The work of Wheeler (2009), Wajda-Johnston et al. (2001) and, among others, the guidance developed by Carroll (2002) and the Center for Academic Integrity (1999) all emphasize the responsibility of the community (the faculty, the larger social context) in providing not just codification but also examples that can and should be followed. That the two factors, that is, what an institute preaches and what it practices, do not always match is seen all too often.

The cultural and social framework represents the third layer of the phenomenon. Lupton and Chapman (2002) investigated whether Russian or American students were more likely to commit acts of academic dishonesty and found some evidence that cultural factors played a role. And throughout these three distinct levels of investigation, we are confronted with the choices we make and the choices we teach others to make in identifying and citing useful sources, becoming professional users of paraphrase, and, with all of these, respecting other authors' originality while being original in our own ways (see, for example, Pecorari, 2003, 2008; Shi, 2004).

Some of the thinking about plagiarism can be regarded as evergreen. Others are new developments brought about by advances in digital literacy or the lack thereof. How one can construct meaning and stay abreast of the development of a scholarly field can be a dilemma not just for the student being initiated. Martin (2005) and Sutherland-Smith (2008) have attempted to show some of the ways in which technology can work in both directions: making it harder for us to choose materials in a valid way but also facilitating the learning that can take place when confronted with the sheer volume of the information available.

It is in this context that the study reported here is set: it targets primarily the individual sphere but will necessarily involve discussing institutional and social-cultural domains, too.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHOD

I conducted a questionnaire study in 2012 to discover and categorize features of international students' thinking about plagiarism. It was part of a project that investigated students' views of and attitudes toward writing in English as a foreign language (see more details about that larger-scale project in Horváth, 2012). For the current study, responses to one of the open-ended questions of the survey were analyzed. Students were invited to share their thoughts on plagiarism. The wording of the question was as follows:

> Plagiarism sometimes happens at various levels of education. What are your thoughts about plagiarism?

BA, MA and PhD students were targeted with the survey. To be able answer the research question, I conducted a content analysis after reading the questionnaire response data several times, complementing it with the use of the qualitative data analysis software *Atlas.ti*, which was employed to validate the categories that emerged initially. In addition, to reveal quantifiable differences characterizing student responses according to educational level, corpus linguistic techniques were also used (see their description after the qualitative report).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Of the 334 students responding to the survey, as many as 296 responded to the open-ended item about plagiarism, showing the importance the students attached to this issue. This number included BA, MA, and PhD students alike. As the number of PhD respondents was low, the present paper reports the results of the BA and MA (or equivalent) corpus only, a total of 271 students' answers, which represents the majority of responses. The BA cohort was made up of 147, the MA of 124 students. 145 responses came from Hungary, 192 from other European countries (including Austria, Poland, Croatia, Slovakia, Germany, Romania, UK, Serbia, France, Netherlands, Russia, Spain, and the Czech Republic) and a few non-European countries. The survey, while relatively large-scale, could not claim to be comprehensive and representative of the international student body. Still, it was hoped that useful information would be collected that would inform future endeavors in the field.

Qualitative analysis of students' comments

Throughout the various phases of the categorization process, it was obvious that for the overwhelming majority of respondents the issues related to plagiarism meant a problem they had to be able to deal with. It was refreshing to see the educational and social concern that students reported when sharing their thoughts about the question. Both the depth and the breadth of responses were beyond my expectations, supporting the relevance of the research question. As a result of both the subjective reading and content analysis approaches, as well as of the application of the *Atlas.ti* tool, four major themes have been identified. These appear to be the most representative types of responses in terms of explicit content and implicit allusions. They center around the themes of definitions, contexts, attitudes, and narratives, which were captured as the thematic and discourse hot spots in the comments. Let us investigate each one in turn.

Definitions

As indicated in the foregoing, in designing the wording of this item in the questionnaire, I avoided the use of the term *definition* as I aimed to be able to collect data about the thoughts the students themselves regarded as the most relevant for them. Even though a definition was not sought, many respondents chose to provide one. Reading the answers, I was able to form a picture of the kind of situations that students found themselves in with regard to plagiarism, which often were situations involving a need to be able to understand abstract notions of intellectual property and how they were brought to bear on specific learning and feedback events. In short, the comments show a wide range of educational experiences that have

shaped the way in which those students who chose to discuss the issue of defining the term interpreted it.

Of the many attempts that respondents made, this MA student's version seemed the one that best summarized the essence of the majority of those definitions where the respondents had a clear concept of the term:

> Plagiarism is an inability to transform other people's words in your own way.

This definition seems to capture an essential element of personally dealing with requirements of texts and tasks, and focuses on what is regarded as the most distinct version of plagiarism, namely inappropriate textual borrowing.

Besides the most obvious cases of plagiarism that students as well as teachers often identify plagiarism with, there are other, less straightforward instances, as well. The dilemmas arising from the situations when people find it hard to put to practice what they may have learned have appeared in the respondents' answers, too. They elaborated on the questions, such as whether it was always possible to determine how conscious the plagiarist may have been. The subject of intentionality needs to be addressed in defining the act, and the students in the survey have grappled with how hard this often turns out to be. In the words of an MA student,

> What is plagiarism is hard to define. It can be an accident which means in that case that I do not think it plagium. But some students abuse it. Whether or not they do it on purpose or by chance is difficult to decide. In most of the cases, it can be realized easily (how the thought has been put down; how similar it is to the original text). But sometimes, students cannot be blamed for that.

How complicated this may be is clear from the quote above: on the one hand, it is assumed that plagiarism is nothing more than an accident, something we cannot fully control, but the respondent goes on to acknowledge that some people (students, in this case) may abuse the perception that both teachers and students have formed of its problematic nature.

Contexts

So far we have seen representative examples of students' attempt to define plagiarism. To make the discussion more concrete, we now arrive at the theme of contexts that respondents have identified in the survey. Two major types of contextualized discussion have emerged: the educational and the social domain. As regards the former, students have shared their thoughts and experiences related to specific classroom events, whereas in the latter, they have shown their ability to connect the dots between what happens in the wider community and how social, economic, and political acts and trends determine what we think about plagiarism. In other words:

how decisions about and ethical attitudes toward honest and dishonest behavior shape the way we think about concrete examples of plagiarism. A BA student, among others, explained an idea that is relevant in the educational context:

> For me it is the necessary evil. Of course it is bad and should be frowned upon but when students are expected to write 5-6 papers varying in length from a couple thousand characters to even 20-30 thousand, students often turn to, what I would like to call, creative writing – plagiarism that is.

Here, we are confronted with the perceived primacy of the quantity of the work assigned (a large number of characters required) as opposed to qualitative aspects, such as focus on constructing meaning, identifying needs of an audience, decisions about what would be the best genre for a piece of work – as well as the whole notion of why it is that we even write a "paper." In such cases, plagiarism may become just one of the many "necessary evils," realities, the student seems to imply, that we have to accept and find the best way of dealing with. That plagiarism is equated with creative writing sounds like an ironic twist in a tongue-in-cheek sort of way.

The social and cultural sphere appears less often in the responses, but it is present, mostly in MA students' accounts. The digital natives that they are, many of them seem to be intimately aware of the changes in the way privacy and copyright issues are handled in the Web 2.0 universe, in social media for example. We need to find ways in which we can reconcile students' eagerness to play a role in the culture of sharing all manner of content with the need to stay within the bounds of what is considered legal. To quote an MA student on the issue,

> Text, graphics, music, movies and software products on the internet are all digital data, therefore, they can be accessed somehow. If a file or data is online, it can be copied or redistributed for free or for a copyright fee. If texts, excerpts, and ideas are used in other written works without marking the original source and there is no permission for copyright, we call it plagiarism. Learners use plagiarism as an alternative solution instead of ..... work.

Never has it been easier to find and use a source for our work – but also: never has it been so difficult for many to ensure that such use is perfectly acceptable academically. Perhaps a solution would be the increased use of the web itself for students to publish their own work. If a public website, rather than a teacher's virtual or actual mail box, acts as the forum for students' works, the authors will experience the act of sharing that they are familiar with – combined with an academic purpose. There are, of course, such examples already, and it may be that their numbers, and thus their effectiveness, will keep increasing.

Attitudes

After an attempt at defining plagiarism and understanding its various contexts, we can look at the attitudes the respondents reported. It was not surprising that a large number of students provided an insight into the strategies they have developed for dealing with tasks that require independent research. In the comments that contained an element of advice, evaluation or strategy, students tended to focus on the positive, the effective, such as this MA student who explains how a teacher's consistent way of dealing with the problem has been learned and applied:

> Our teachers and professors are very strict when it comes to using someone else's words and materials. And I agree with them. You should always put quotation marks when using words and ideas that are not your own.

Most comments in this group condemned any form of plagiarism. But besides this type of positive approach, there was another type, too: the one that questioned the stance of the plagiarist. In such comments, students expressed bafflement at the criticism levelled against plagiarism:

> I completely agree with it. I hardly understand why people dramatize its formula. (BA student)

Whether this is a serious remark or one made in jest we do not know. "Completely agreeing" with plagiarism is hardly the stance to recommend, but as we have no more information of this particular opinion, we cannot but acknowledge its existence.

Narratives

The final group of comments are those that provide a detailed account of personal attachment to the issue. Even when the narrative is compact, such as this remark by a BA student, the images in it and the dramatic narrative provide an emotional dimension communicating that for this student an ungrounded accusation is a matter taken to heart:

> Being accused of plagiarism is one of the worst feelings ever. Rip out my guts, but don't accuse me of not being original enough to use my own thoughts to create.

We have seen in other studies, too, that such cases of blaming someone for a presumed breach in academic integrity can be most devastating in the short term as well as in the long term (Horváth & Reif, 2010). The student here does not

explicitly states that he or she was accused, but the emotionally charged choice of imagery implies a personal experience. It goes without saying that such events should never take place: no one should be blamed for committing plagiarism unless the accusation is based on solid evidence.

Fortunately, such painful memories were not in abundance in the data for this study; most students related far less dramatic incidences, such as this one by an BA student:

> Once I included some notes from the internet (just googling some data about a book) and because of this I received a grade 1 for my essay. Basically my tutor could not know who wrote those things because it was not indicated on that site, but she could also find it with google so I failed. Otherwise, the essay was really fine, but this little borrowing from the net meant its "doom". In this case the tutor could have given me for example a 3, but definitely not a 1.

We have seen four groups of comments, showing us the way of thinking students have formed about various aspects of confronting plagiarism. In the following, I will report the results of the quantitative part of the study, using the same comments but applying another technique.

Quantitative analysis of students' comments

For the quantitative analysis, first I produced an edited backup version of the comments to be able to work with a clean text. That is, I corrected words with transposed letters and other typing mistakes to be able to run the texts through corpus linguistic tools. It was after that procedure that the texts were submitted to quantitative analysis.

As far as this stage of the analysis is concerned, we can see the following patterns. The 147 BA students shared 6,110 words (tokens) in their comments, resulting in an average comment length of 41 words and a type-token ratio of 0.15, whereas the 124 MA students 4,821 tokens, giving an average length of 39 words per response and a type-token ratio of 0.18. Both sub-corpora are small, but given the context of the research and the fact that this question was one of two open-ended items in the questionnaire, the volume of the corpus represents a marked willingness to share views and attitudes (see also Horváth, 2013). To capture trends not readily discernible via qualitative categorization techniques, I ran the two sets of data through one of Cobb's (2013) *Lexical Tutor* tools, the keyword analyzer.

A keyword analysis enables us to compare corpora against a subset of the *British National Corpus*. By computing relative frequencies of lexemes in these corpora, the tool provides a measure of keyness that characterizes various texts, representing a statistically significant quantitative feature of those texts. In the case of the BA and

MA sub-corpora, I hypothesized that there would be common elements in both keyword lists. Tables 1 and 2 provide the details.

Table 1. Rank order of keywords in the BA sub-corpus

(1) 99059.00 plagiarise
(2) 776.94 thesis
(3) 495.30 paraphrase
(4) 485.59 cite
(5) 330.20 scholar
(6) 261.54 steal
(7) 244.59 Hungary
(8) 198.12 paste
(9) 181.76 origin
(10) 159.77 punish
(11) 155.39 author
(12) 148.96 academy
(13) 98.86 tutor
(14) 95.56 source
(15) 93.45 theft
(16) 93.45 lazy
(17) 89.42 student
(18) 78.62 text
(19) 74.04 grade
(20) 72.35 assign
(21) 71.50 topic
(22) 67.11 unique
(23) 64.59 avoid
(24) 60.16 opinion
(25) 59.39 cheat
(26) 58.08 strict
(27) 56.93 essay
(28) 43.45 accuse
(29) 25.74 crime
(30) 25.70 copy
(31) 25.20 idea

Note: After the rank order, the keyness measure appears before each word.

Table 2. Rank order of keywords in the MA sub-corpus

(1) 120318.00 plagiarise
(2) 1046.24 cite
(3) 313.85 disrespect
(4) 251.73 academy
(5) 248.61 steal
(6) 236.25 punish
(7) 221.55 author
(8) 191.97 origin
(9) 118.44 lazy
(10) 118.43 theft
(11) 113.33 student
(12) 98.08 stem
(13) 97.21 avoid
(14) 94.20 source
(15) 90.62 topic
(16) 81.52 text
(17) 72.01 opinion
(18) 68.79 research
(19) 66.69 assign
(20) 51.26 quote
(21) 47.55 inevitable
(22) 46.65 intent
(23) 41.23 essay
(24) 32.57 copy
(25) 26.09 prevent
(26) 25.91 concept
(27) 25.73 harm

Both lists contain words that appear to belong to the semantic field of the theme, such as *cite*, *copy*, and *punish*. What is more surprising is that terms like *lazy* (as in *lazy student*) also appear, and often, when viewed in the full corpus, the cause of unintentional plagiarism is in the context of what the respondents think.

CONCLUSION

It is obvious from the students' answers that the majority of respondents were aware of the importance of the issues of academic honesty in general and in their particular contexts, as well. With their serious thinking, they demonstrated high levels of willingness to share their ideas about these issues, which provides clear evidence that they are concerned with this problem and are aware of the many problems that they, their fellow students, and their teachers need to deal with in both BA and MA programs. This being a study involving an international student body, we can see in it a reflection of a wide range of social and educational practices that share some common features. As we have seen, the ways students define plagiarism, the difficulties they recognize in applying those definitions to individual cases, the specific manifestations in which the related social and educational values and contexts shape students' thinking, together with the personal narratives these responses have revealed, all point to the need for continued theoretical and practical work in the discourse of academic integrity. Formed by educational and social activities, ideas about ownership of intellectual property have kept recurring in the comments. The digital era we live in has given students and teachers the tools with which to collect a vast array of data that we can apply in study. In the process, we are facing old and new problems of communicating and understanding standards.

The most obvious limitation of this study is the lack of sufficient generalizability. This could be ensured in a follow-up project that would investigate issues by inviting BA or MA students' participation. It would also be necessary to do research in the field among PhD students – as well as *by* them.

If one thing is clear, it is that a continued, genuine interest in what is original and a trust that the student can and will produce original, creative work will probably achieve as much as, if not more than, plagiarism detection tools.

Maybe the time has come to develop "originality detectors".

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ASSESSMENT AND EXAMINATIONS

APPLYING OBJECTIVE MEASURES OF TEXT DIFFICULTY IN THE COMPARISON OF TEXTS IN READING COMPREHENSION TASKS

Gábor Szabó

INTRODUCTION

Language examinations all over the world intend to present themselves as reliable and valid measures of foreign language proficiency. Some target no particular level; instead, they claim to measure proficiency at a variety of levels and produce some score to express the results. Most examinations, however, target specific levels, and the results indicate meeting or failing to meet the minimum requirements for those levels. Level descriptions had varied considerably until the publication of the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001), but since then exam providers have increasingly used the CEFR labels to identify their examinations' levels. Although a major step in guaranteeing the testability of such claims was taken with the publication of the *Manual for Relating Examinations to the CEFR* (Council of Europe, 2009), providing guidance for aligning tests with the CEFR, the proverbial question "Is my B1 the same as your B1?" still seems as relevant as ever.

In Hungary language examinations which intend to offer nationally acknowledged certificates are required to go through a process of accreditation, which includes an evaluation of how successfully exam providers have linked their examinations to the CEFR. What this means is that all examinations with the same CEFR label are supposed to be testing the same CEFR level. Although accreditation involves rigorous procedures described by the *Accreditation Manual* (Educational Authority, 2012, Chapter 2), to date there has been relatively little empirical

research (e.g., Szabó & Kiszely, 2010) on whether actual examinations do provide tests of equal difficulty.

In this paper an attempt will be made to present empirical data on the comparison of eight nationally accredited language examinations in order to find out how similar or different they are in terms of the difficulty of texts they use in reading comprehension tests.

First, a brief overview of the relevant concepts will be provided, followed by the description of research design for this study. Next, data collection and analysis will be presented. Finally, tentative conclusions will be drawn.

READING COMPREHENSION AND TEXT DIFFICULTY

With the dissemination of information concerning the CEFR, increasing attention has been paid to the notion of levels in language learning and language testing alike (see, e.g., Kecker & Eckes, 2010). This is not to say that levels, especially in terms of how difficult tasks are, were not discussed before the emergence of the CEFR (see, e.g., Bachman, Lynch & Mason, 1995). With the appearance of a system with an unprecedented degree of detail concerning levels, however, the notion of task difficulty has become more emphatic. This has been so in the case of reading comprehension as well.

The difficulty of a reading task, however, is a multi-faceted concept and is often interpreted as a function of the interaction between text, task and reader (e.g., Castello, 2008, p. 16). Indeed, as to the process of reading comprehension itself, based on the notion of meaning potential (Halliday, 1978), i.e., the view that texts have no meaning per se, but rather have potential for meaning realized by the reader, it has even been argued that each individual reader constructs a unique understanding of a text (Alderson, 2000, p. 6).

In this sense it may even be possible to argue that, though texts may have particular characteristics, they have no level as such, as the unique interpretations do not allow for such a limitation. This may be further supported by a somewhat more practical argument. Texts may not only be interpreted differently by different readers but may also be comprehended to differing degrees. Understanding the gist of a text, for instance, is clearly different from understanding all the supporting details as well. This interpretation of text difficulty is reflected in the CEFR descriptors, too. In descriptors referring to comprehension, a difference is made between understanding the main points and detailed understanding of a text (cf. Council of Europe, 2001).

Despite this apparent uncertainty, various attempts have been made to construct objective measures for indicating text difficulty, and thus, indirectly, text level. This was usually done by quantifying text characteristics and summarizing results in some index of, most typically, readability. Probably the best known ones are the *Flesch Reading Ease* and the *Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level* indices, which are based on a

supposed relationship between number of words, number of sentences and number of syllables (Klare, 1974-1975).

These indices, however, suffer from several deficiencies, especially in the field of language testing. Brown (1998) points out, for instance, that such measures of readability are not sufficient in an L2 reading context. Also, a single measure of text difficulty may be misleading, as Alderson (2000) warns that identifying variables causing text difficulty is far from being simple.

Accordingly, recent developments in measuring text difficulty have focused on a multi-faceted approach, attempting to identify a variety of aspects contributing to text difficulty. A prime example of this trend is the construction of the *Coh-Metrix readability formula* (Graesser, McNamara & Kulikowich, 2011). Coh-Metrix uses 53 measures to describe the characteristics of texts, which, using principle component analysis, have been reduced to eight principal components: narrativity, referential cohesion, syntactic simplicity, word concreteness, causal cohesion, verb cohesion, logical cohesion, and temporal cohesion. In turn, the eight principal components have been successfully mapped to the five-level theoretical model proposed by Graesser and McNamara (2011): Genre (narrativity), Situation model (causal cohesion, verb cohesion, logical cohesion, and temporal cohesion), Textbase (referential cohesion), Syntax (syntactic simplicity), and Words (word concreteness). Thus, Coh-Metrix results can be expressed along these five dimensions, making interpretation more user-friendly.

Based on Coh-Metrix results, a specific L2 readability index has also been developed, based on a lexical, a syntactic and a meaning construction index (Crossley, Greenfield & McNamara, 2008). Indeed, it has been demonstrated that the Coh-Metrix L2 reading index performed significantly better compared to traditional formulas used for measuring readability (Crossley, Allen & McNamara, 2011).

As has often been emphasized (e.g., Alderson 2000), ultimately the level of a text will inevitably be dependent on the reader as well. Indeed, apart from the characteristics mentioned earlier, background knowledge is also identified as a potential factor. While this idea may sound alluring, it needs to be noted that, first, there is evidence that background knowledge may not significantly influence text difficulty (Clapham, 1996). Second, if background knowledge is a significant factor, then this fact could also be interpreted as a manifestation of test bias, and therefore a test construction issue rather than a text difficulty facet.

In light of the above, it seems safe to claim that from a test construction perspective, where texts need to accommodate readers of different backgrounds with potentially different individual interpretations, it is reasonable to concentrate on objectively measurable text properties in deciding the suitability of texts for particular testing purposes. Accordingly, in the following analysis Coh-Metrix readability measures will be used for comparing texts in a specific testing context.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The current study is intended to find out about how the texts used for measuring reading comprehension in various examinations relate to one another in terms of difficulty. Specifically, the focus is on accredited language examinations in Hungary, offering examinations in English at level B2. The reason for this is that English is by far the most frequently chosen language for examinations in this context, just as B2 is the most popular level.

Data were to be collected from the sample materials made available by exam providers on their web pages. Specifically, texts from reading comprehension tests were to be selected where the text was available in a complete form. Thus, gap filling tasks, sequencing tasks and the like were not included. The reason for this was that text processing in tasks where the text was not available in its complete form was judged to be different. In accordance with this, the selected texts all came from multiple choice and short answer tasks.

The actual analysis was to take place by using the *Coh-Metrix Common Core Text Ease and Readability Assessor* (TERA) web tool, as well as the *Coh-Metrix Web Tool* (McNamara, Louwerse, Cai & Graesser, 2013). These two web tools provide a number of measures of text ease and readability, of which the following were to be used in the analysis:

- narrativity
- syntactic simplicity
- word concreteness
- referential cohesion
- deep cohesion
- Coh-Metrix L2 readability.

The first five of these measures were to be accessed by using TERA, with results expressed as percentile figures, as exemplified in Figure 1. The last measure is only provided by the Coh-Metrix web tool in the form of a score.

At the next stage of the analysis the measures above were to be compared across the texts, including an independent samples Kruskal-Wallis test in order to check for significant differences across the texts. This last procedure was to be conducted on grounds that all readability measures feed into the same construct, hence they can be treated as different facets of the same quality of the texts. Accordingly, different measures can be treated like scores, even though on an ordinal rather than on an interval scale.

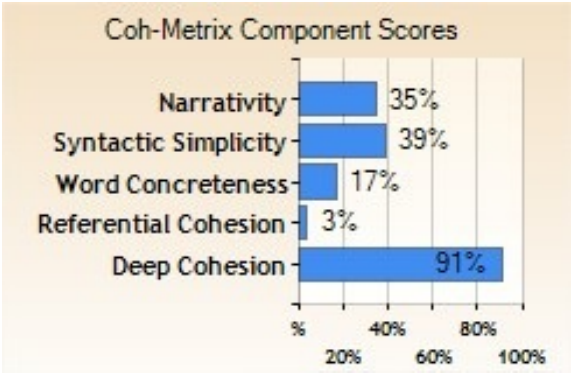

Figure 1. Sample TERA output

DATA COLLECTION

The data for the analysis were collected from the reading comprehension sample materials made available by exam providers on their web pages. Initially, it was planned that all accredited B2 level English examinations of general language ability would be part of the study, but this could not be accomplished for two reasons. First, not all exam providers offer complete tasks as part of the sample materials. Thus, as short excerpts from actual texts could not have been compared to complete texts in any meaningful way, such sample materials could not be included. The other reason was that, again, not all exam providers offer sample tasks that meet the criterion of including complete texts. Rather, these tasks include gap filling, sequencing, matching headings with passages, etc. Arguably, candidates are likely to approach such tasks differently from those where complete texts are available to read.

As a result, the final selection included eight complete texts from sample materials of eight examinations: BME, City, Euro, FCE, Origó, Pannon, TársalKODÓ, and TELC. In the subsequent discussions examinations will be referred to by a number assigned to them at random.

ANALYSIS

As a first step, let us examine the actual figures the analysis yielded category by category. Figure 2 presents the results of the TERA analysis for "Narrativity".

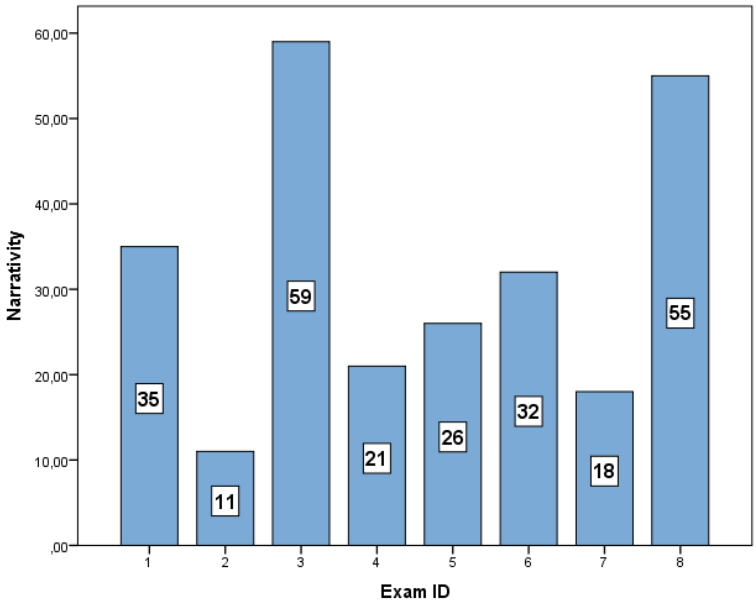

Figure 2. TERA results for narrativity

As can be observed, the texts examined show considerable variation in terms of narrativity. The actual figures range from 11% to 59%. Based on TERA narrative descriptors it can be claimed that figures below 25% can be considered low in narrativity and thus more difficult to comprehend, while the rest of the texts are average in narrativity. What this seems to indicate is that three of the texts (numbers 2, 4, and 7) were comparatively difficult, one (number 5) was on the verge of being so, and four (numbers 1, 3, 6, and 8) were of average difficulty concerning narrative quality. It needs to be noted, however, that there is no reason to consider narrativity to be the most important aspect of text difficulty. Thus, texts of differing degrees of narrativity are not necessarily different in overall level of difficulty. On the other hand, they do seem to differ in terms of an important text property. This, however, is not particularly surprising, as texts of various degrees of narrativity may all qualify as B2 level texts, as can be inferred from the CEFR's B2 level descriptor of overall reading comprehension: "Can read with a large degree of independence, adapting style and speed of reading to different texts and purposes, and using appropriate reference sources selectively" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 69.). In other words, different styles for different reading purposes may well be represented by texts of different degrees of narrativity. Since all examinations have a variety of reading tasks, they may represent different levels of narrativity as well. Whether this is actually so, however, would need to be checked by further research.

The second aspect of readability in this analysis is syntactic simplicity. Figure 3 presents the results produced by the TERA analysis for this category.

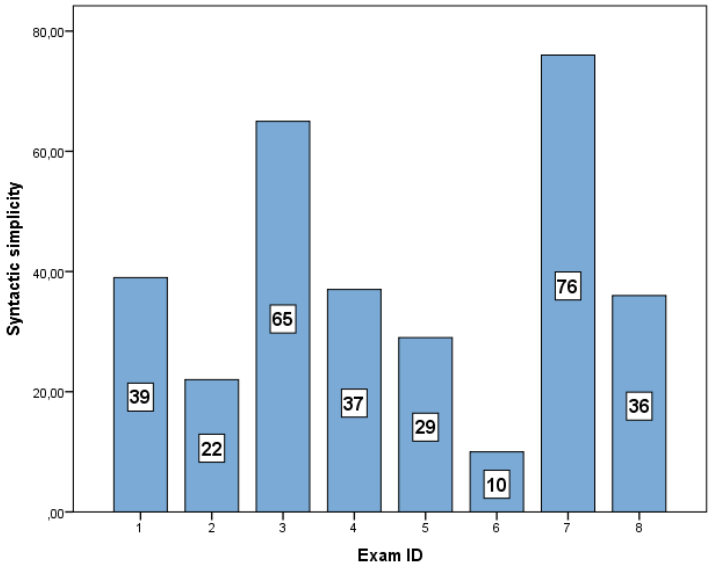

Figure 3. TERA results for syntactic simplicity

While this argument may be plausible, it does not work in the case of text 2. Here both the narrativity and the syntactic simplicity results indicate a high degree of difficulty, once again questioning the appropriacy of this text for measuring the same CEFR level as the others. Yet, at this point this seems too early to conclude, as other aspects of readability may again compensate for the extreme values examined so far.

The next measure to investigate is word concreteness. Figure 4 presents the results of the relevant analysis. Interestingly, there is only one text (number 1) appearing to be difficult, three (numbers 2, 3, and 7) seem to be of average difficulty and four (numbers 4, 5, 6, and 8) are found to be easy. The patterns, however, are worthy of attention again. The highest scoring text (number 4) appeared to be difficult in terms of narrativity and of average difficulty in terms of syntactic simplicity. One potential explanation to this is text characteristics balancing out one another, compensating for extreme difficulty or simplicity. Text 6 shows a similar pattern: with average narrativity and low syntactic simplicity, the text is characterized by high word concreteness.

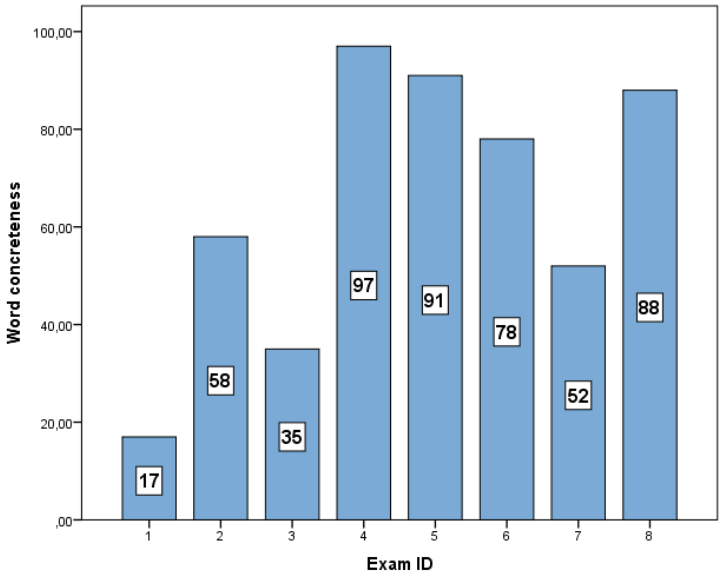

Figure 4: TERA results for word concreteness

It is worth examining how word concreteness as a category can be interpreted in relation to the CEFR. Arguably, while there is no direct correspondence between CEFR descriptors and word concreteness, one may attempt to identify links between the two. Table 1 presents an extract from the Vocabulary range scale of the CEFR, including the descriptors for level B2 and the two adjacent levels.

Table 1: B1-C1 descriptors for vocabulary range (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 112)

C1	Has a good command of a broad lexical repertoire allowing gaps to be readily overcome with circumlocutions; little obvious searching for expressions or avoidance strategies. Good command of idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms.
B2	Has a good range of vocabulary for matters connected to his/her field and most general topics. Can vary formulation to avoid frequent repetition, but lexical gaps can still cause hesitation and circumlocution.
B1	Has a sufficient vocabulary to express him/herself with some circumlocutions on most topics pertinent to his/her everyday life such as family, hobbies and interests, work, travel, and current events.

Clearly, the most important aspect of vocabulary from a CEFR perspective is related to the topic discussed. Also, at level C1 a "good command of idiomatic expressions" appears, indicating, although not explicitly stating, that idiomatic expressions and similar figures of speech pose too much of a challenge for a B2 level learner. This interpretation is further supported by the following element of the B2 descriptor for the "Overall reading comprehension" scale: "Has a broad active reading vocabulary, but may experience some difficulty with low frequency idioms"

(Council of Europe, 2001, p. 69). In light of word concreteness, all this could be interpreted as more concrete topics requiring more concrete vocabulary, while more abstract topics requiring less concrete vocabulary. Also, idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms are likely to represent less concrete vocabulary, especially because idiomatic language use is characterized by attributing meanings to expressions that are different from their surface semantic content (e.g., "cold feet").

In light of the above, the average values for the texts examined appear to be fitting the CEFR description for level B2, while the high and low values may indicate some degree of inadequacy concerning vocabulary, which may potentially be compensated for by other text characteristics.

The fourth measure yielded by the analysis is referential cohesion. Figure 5 presents the results. As can clearly be seen, the distribution is fundamentally different here compared to the other categories. Only one text (number 5) qualifies as average, and the rest of the texts are all classified as difficult. The qualitative descriptions provided by the TERA analysis indicate that "… low referential cohesion indicates there is less overlap in explicit words and ideas between sentences. These conceptual gaps require the reader to make more inferences"(TERA text comparison, 2013). Thus, these results seem to indicate that reading at this level is almost unanimously believed to involve the ability to cope with texts requiring inferencing of this kind. The only exception is text 5. On checking the profile of this text, it can be observed that in all other measures examined it falls into the average category. Hence, an average score in this category can be interpreted as a mark of consistency.

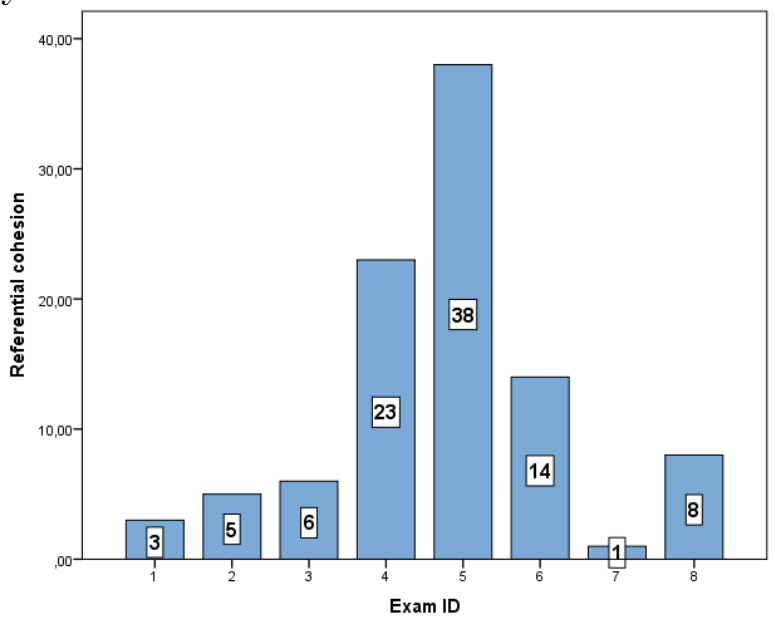

Figure 5. TERA results for referential cohesion

But how can referential cohesion be interpreted in the framework of the CEFR? Cohesion, while clearly a significant element of text difficulty, is not mentioned in CEFR descriptors related to reading comprehension. There is a "Coherence and cohesion" scale in the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 125), but it refers exclusively to production, not to comprehension. Inferring meaning does appear, on the other hand, in the C1 level descriptor in the "Reading for information and argument" scale: "Can understand in detail a wide range of lengthy, complex texts likely to be encountered in social, professional or academic life, identifying finer points of detail including attitudes and implied as well as stated opinions." (p. 70). Yet, the comprehension of implied messages seems to be different from the inferencing referred to in the TERA analysis. However the description is interpreted, the fact remains that the greatest similarity across the texts has so far been found in this category.

The fifth aspect of the analysis was deep cohesion, the results of which are offered in Figure 6. As can be observed, the results show more similarity to other categories than to referential cohesion. Four of the texts (numbers 2, 3, 6, and 7) are classified as average, while the other four (numbers 1, 4, 5, and 8) as easy, owing to more explicit causal relationships.

It is worth noting how dissimilar the results are compared to those of referential cohesion. In the case of text 1, deep cohesion appears to be extremely high, while referential cohesion extremely low. The pattern is similar in the case of text 8 as well, although the actual figures are less extreme. But even when differences are not as striking, there appears to be a general pattern of deep cohesion being higher than referential cohesion, not only in terms of the sheer numbers, but also in the categories (easy/average/difficult) the numbers represent. This is particularly noteworthy in light of the fact that such a uniform tendency cannot be observed in relation to any other pair of variables in this data set. Moreover, as we have seen, the texts appear to be fairly varied along the other criteria, indicating that the apparent similarity in the relationship of the two variables in question cannot be the result of the similarities of text characteristics.

Of course, it is appealing to explain this relationship on the basis of the relatedness of the two categories in question: both are aspects of cohesion. Indeed, this may well be the answer, provided that the same pattern can be observed in the case of texts other than the ones examined in this study. Further research is needed to clarify this point.

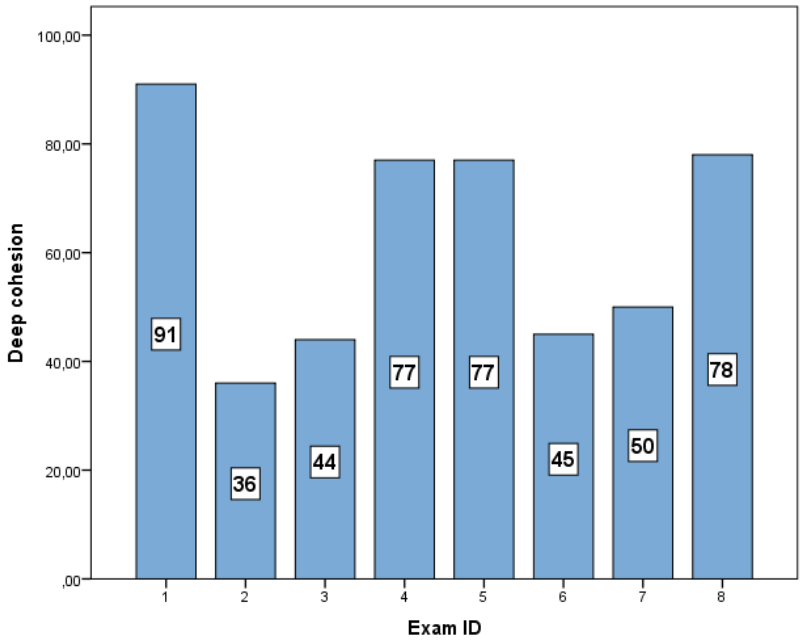

Figure 6. TERA results for deep cohesion

The last category along which the texts were compared is L2 readability, as measured by Coh-Metrix. The results of this comparison are presented in Figure 7.

Once again, the texts appear to be quite different, suggesting that they may not necessarily belong to the same level. While the magnitude of the differences varies a great deal here as well, the difference between the most difficult text with a score of 6.56 (text 5) and the least difficult one with 15.47 (text 3) suggests a meaningful difference. Besides this difference, it is particularly curious that the two texts which seem to be almost exactly the same in terms of L2 readability (numbers 2 and 5) appear to be quite different in light of the TERA measures, not only in terms of nominal results but also concerning category labels (easy/average/difficult). The reason for this is not at all clear, but it is possible that since TERA measures refer to readability regardless of the reader's native language, while the Coh-Metrix L2 readability index is emphatically not a measure of native speakers' ability to read these texts, differences emerge on these grounds.

In any case, the observations made so far have all been based on apparent similarities and differences without any specific statistical tests applied to check for the significance of differences. Accordingly, the next – and last – stage of the analysis was to see whether the differences detected can be verified through statistical means. Deciding what test to use was based on data considerations discussed in the research design section.

The independent samples Kruskal-Wallis test found that despite the apparent dissimilarities, the texts were not significantly different ($p \leq 0.851$) when all measures were considered to represent different facets of a common underlying variable.

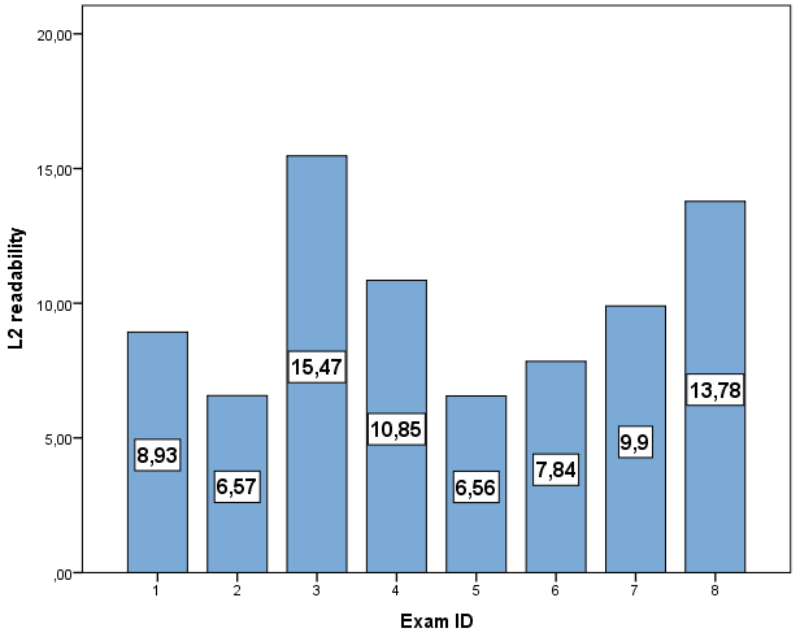

Figure 7: Coh-Metrix L2 readability results

What this seems to imply is that, while texts' characteristics may vary a great deal within particular measures of readability, if these measures are to be interpreted as different facets of the same construct, even texts with spectacularly different characteristics may be considered to be of the same level of difficulty. In turn, this may also mean that CEFR level compatibility requirements may be satisfied with texts of very different characteristics.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study it seems safe to claim that the texts included in the sample tasks show several differences along a variety of dimensions. This could mean either of two things. First, as indicated above, it is possible that texts with different characteristics may still be suitable for measuring B2 level reading ability. Alternatively, it may mean that, although the texts are claimed to be suitable for essentially the same purpose, not all of these claims are equally well founded.

Deciding which option is a reflection of reality, however, is not possible on the basis of the information available. Also, there is yet another important factor to consider. As has been indicated earlier, task difficulty does not equal text difficulty. In other words, texts that differ from each other in terms of difficulty may still be used for measuring the same CEFR level, provided that the items' level of difficulty compensates for the differences in text level.

A further consideration, and a potential limitation of the study, is the fact that tasks in reading test batteries are bound to differ in terms of their focus. Different tasks are typically designed to tap into different components of reading ability. As there is no publicly available information on the specific elements of reading targeted by the tasks and connected to the texts examined, a potential explanation to the differences revealed may lie in the different focuses of the tasks.

In any case, the measures provided by Coh-Metrix seem to be suitable for identifying characteristics of texts used in reading comprehension tests, making it possible to use analyses of this kind both for diagnostic purposes and for potentially assisting test development. Clearly, both of these applications could further attempts to improve the quality of testing – the ultimate goal for any professional in language assessment.

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LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT LITERACY IN ENGLISH TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMMES IN HUNGARY

Ildikó Csépes

INTRODUCTION

Language teachers' professional development in the area of assessment has received considerable attention in the literature for the last decade, which can be explained by language testing researchers' increased focus on classroom-based language assessment (Rea-Dickins, 2001; Davison & Leung, 2009; Poehner, 2009; Hill & McNamara, 2012). As a result, there has been a growing concern to define the role of assessment in language learning and what it is that teachers need to know about the theory and practice of language assessment. In order to refer to the latter, the term Language Assessment Literacy (LAL) was introduced by Stiggins in 1991 (as quoted in Inbar-Lourie, 2013, p. 301). However, perceptions of what classroom assessment should be targeted at seem to be changing: instead of measuring learners' achievements, teachers are more and more encouraged to use various assessment tools in order to facilitate learner's progress in learning. The term assessment *for* learning has been put forward (Black & Wiliam, 1998) to complement traditional assessment practices that emphasize target achievement, or assessment *of* learning.

Suggestions as to what teachers should be skilled at in the area of assessment were already proposed in the 1970s and 1980s (Schafer, 1991; Stiggins, 1991), but a comprehensive framework, called *Standards for Teacher Competence in Educational*

Assessment of Students, was developed only in 1990 by the American Federation of Teachers, the National Council on Measurement in Education and the National Education Association. *The Standards* were intended to guide pre-service and in-service teacher education programs in the area of assessment as teachers had been perceived to be poorly prepared for handling assessment issues. Altogether seven standards were recommended that teachers were expected to be trained in: (1) choosing assessment methods that are appropriate for instructional decisions; (2) developing these methods; (3) administering, scoring, and interpreting externally produced and teacher-produced assessment results; (4) using results of assessments in making decisions for individual students, planning teaching, developing curriculum, and making school improvements; (5) developing valid, assessment-based grading procedures; (6) communicating results of assessments to student, parent, and other lay audiences, and educators; and (7) recognizing methods and uses of assessment that are unethical, illegal, or otherwise inappropriate.

The Standards got translated into topical areas that could be used in classroom assessment courses at that time, and according to Schafer (1993), most textbooks for teachers included the following topics:

- uses of assessment in the classroom
- test formats
- levels of educational objectives
- how to sample objectives to be tested
- types of assessments (e.g., rating scales, supply formats, selection items)
- test construction and scoring
- criteria for test evaluation (e.g., reliability and validity, ways to assess them)
- methods for test improvement (e.g., items analysis)
- descriptive statistics for interpreting and communicating test information
- types of standardized tests
- norms
- interpreting scores (e.g., percentile ranks, derived scores, grade equivalents)
- grading
- program evaluation
- traditional assessment

There seem to be certain topics missing from the list that would cater for teachers' actual needs; for instance, using results of assessments in making decisions for individual students (see Standard 4 above). Furthermore, Schafer (1993) also pointed out that when looking at survey reports on the content coverage of assessment courses in teacher education programmes, most of the courses failed to cover adequately assessment processes and only in half of the programmes surveyed was there a course offered in assessment skills at all. Schafer noted that if teacher education was lacking in this area, it was reasonable to ask how well assessment was actually being done in classrooms.

Ever since its first appearance these standards have not been questioned, nevertheless there has been an important change in perceptions of what assessment in the classroom should also focus on: assessment *for* learning (formative assessment) instead of assessment *of* learning (summative assessment). The evidence that convincingly supported the effectiveness of formative assessment in promoting learning was highlighted by Black and Wiliam (1998), who revealed in their investigations how teachers can teach well and also get good scores on tests when they choose their questioning techniques carefully, or give feedback without grades, employ peer assessment and self–assessment, and use summative tests for formative purposes. Black and Wiliam, for example, pointed out that

> self-assessment by pupils, far from being a luxury, is in fact an essential component of formative assessment. When anyone is trying to learn, feedback about the effort has three elements: redefinition of the desired goal, evidence about present position, and some understanding of a way to close the gap between the two. All three must be understood to some degree by anyone before he or she can take action to improve learning. (1998, p. 143)

Their findings considerably influenced the evolving conceptualisation of LAL, along with Stiggins's proposals (2002), who argued that overreliance on summative assessment approaches makes it virtually impossible for teachers to adapt teaching and learning to meet individual student needs. Stiggins contended that assessment *for* learning involves, among other things, that teachers should

- inform students about the learning goals in terms that students understand;
- become assessment literate and thus able to design assessment exercises and scoring procedures that accurately reflect student achievement;
- use classroom assessments to build students' confidence in themselves as learners and help them take responsibility for their own learning;
- translate classroom assessment results of students into descriptive feedback instead of judgmental feedback, providing them with specific insights as to how to improve;
- engage students in regular self-assessment, with standards held constant so that students can watch themselves grow over time and thus feel in charge of their own success.

Earl and Katz further refined the concept of assessment *for* learning by distinguishing it from assessment *as* learning, whereby the former is "designed to give teachers information to modify and differentiate teaching and learning activities" and the latter is "a process of developing and supporting metacognition for students" (2006, p. 13). According to Earl and Katz (2006, p. 43), the teacher's role in promoting assessment *as* learning involves

- modelling and teaching the skills of self-assessment;
- guiding students in setting goals, and monitoring their progress toward them;
- providing models of quality work that reflect curriculum outcomes;
- working with students to develop clear criteria of good practice;
- guiding students in developing internal feedback or self-monitoring mechanisms to validate and question their own thinking, and to tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty that characterises learning anything new;
- providing regular and challenging opportunities to practise, so that students can become competent self-assessors;
- monitoring students' metacognitive processes as well as their learning, and providing descriptive feedback;
- creating an environment where it is safe for students to take risks.

Formative assessment as presented above seems to challenge classroom teachers in terms of their ability to create learning environments where students and teachers are both active assessors. The view of the learner as an assessor for him- or herself and others is in contrast to traditional perceptions of who should act as an assessor in the language classroom, which suggests that teacher education programmes should put special emphasis on changing pre- or in-service teachers' existing views. Teacher training, for instance, could involve actual experience in assessing and interpreting the development of student competence. As a result, learner gains may become more visible: when self- and peer assessment is used on a regular basis, students are likely to become more confident and more motivated for learning, they can learn to monitor their own success and may become critical of their own learning, which skills are assumed to be essential to promote life-long learning.

Language teachers' assessment literacy, however, is likely to vary depending on the social context in which language evaluation is carried out. Brindley (2001) was among the first to emphasise that besides helping teachers learn what to assess and how to assess, they also need to become critical of the role of language tests in their society. The need for teachers to learn to become more critical is underscored by the assumption that for many lay people examinations are automatically valid and have authority (Alderson, 1999). Inbar-Lourie incorporated this need for critical awareness into LAL by proposing that teachers should be able to "ask and answer critical questions about the purpose for assessment, about the fitness of the tool being used, about testing conditions, and about what is going to happen on the basis of the results" (2008, p. 386). Furthermore, she proposed that the process of acquiring assessment literacy should be based on a constructivist learning approach that engages teachers in discussing, critiquing and questioning fundamental issues relevant to their context.

The most recent working definition of Language Assessment Literacy, offered by Fulcher (2012), has a historical, political, and ethical perspective added to the skills and knowledge areas suggested previously. His expanded definition of LAL is the following:

> The knowledge, skills and abilities required to design, develop, maintain or evaluate, large-scale standardized and/or classroom based tests, familiarity with test processes, and awareness of principles and concepts that guide and underpin practice, including ethics and codes of practice. The ability to place knowledge, skills, processes, principles and concepts within wider historical, social, political and philosophical frameworks in order understand why practices have arisen as they have, and to evaluate the role and impact of testing on society, institutions, and individuals. (2012, p. 125)

To summarise the discussion so far, there seems to be an agreement among professionals on at least some areas that language teachers' assessment literacy in the 21st century should definitely include. These are often labelled as teacher-based assessment, alternative assessment, formative assessment or assessment *for* learning. Davison and Leung claim that all of these are a "teacher-mediated, context-based, classroom-embedded assessment practice, explicitly or implicitly defined in opposition to traditional externally set and assessed large scale formal examinations used primarily for selection and/or accountability purposes" (2009, p. 395). However, our understanding of how teachers' classroom assessments should be related to students' learning is still in need of further development (Cumming, 2009), but studies exploring this issue are on the increase (Poehner & Ableeva, 2011; Hamp-Lyons & Tavares, 2011; Doe, 2011). Unfortunately, it appears that opportunities for teachers to learn about classroom-based assessment are far from being satisfactory. Clearly, this seemed to be the case in the past (cf. Schafer, 1993). If there was opportunity for teachers to get training, it had a questionable scope, which was highlighted by Alderson (1999), who claimed that in his experience a lot of training in testing gave teachers only a taster, and the courses were more relevant to professional testers responsible for designing and validating high-stakes tests. He pointed out that classroom testing, or alternative assessment, was rarely discussed during the training sessions. Language teachers in Europe, however, were ready to articulate their own needs, as was shown in the survey by Hasselgreen, Carlsen, and Helness (2004). Teachers expressed their need to learn about portfolio assessment, preparing classroom tests, peer and self-assessment, continuous assessment, or giving feedback on work. These needs were complemented by more traditional concerns in language testing, such as validity, reliability, statistics, item writing and item statistics, interpreting test results, interviewing, and rating. Teachers' training needs thus were made evident. However, as will be discussed below, testing courses did not and still do not seem to fully address these needs.

Brown and Bailey (2007) examined the content coverage of language testing courses around the world in 1996 and in 2007. On comparing the answers given by language testing teachers as respondents in the two surveys, they found that the range of topics had expanded with 20 additional ones compared to the first survey (the list of topics can be seen in Table 1.)

Based on the reported frequencies for different topic areas, the investigation has also brought to light that emphasis continues to be placed upon the same topics: critiquing and analysing tests, measuring the four skills, validity (particularly a more traditional "types" approach), item analysis (facility value, discrimination index, and content analysis), and basic test statistics including descriptive statistics, reliability, and error. Furthermore, students' attitudes about tests after taking a course in language testing were claimed to be positive as "empowering" was the most frequently used adjective by the respondents (Brown & Bailey, 2007, p. 369). The studies on the content coverage of testing courses around the world by Brown and Bailey, however, did not include Hungarian respondents, thus it seems timely to examine what training in language testing is like in Hungary and how that reflects current conceptualisations of LAL.

THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION

Hungary appears to be a traditional examination-dominated culture, where foreign language certificates have high currency. For instance, applicants for admission to higher education can earn bonus points if they have a state accredited language certificate (see www.nyak.hu for more information on this), specified as B2 level of the *Common European Framework of Reference* (Council of Europe, 2001), but for students graduating from tertiary education the state accredited language certificate is part of their study requirements. In the public education sector, target attainments in foreign languages are also clearly defined and measured in the school-leaving exams. As a result, teacher education requirements also include a strong focus on training teachers in language assessment.

The training of English teachers has been conducted in the framework of MA programmes since 2009. According to the 15/2006 (IV.3) Government Decree (*Az alap- és mesterképzési szakok képzési és kimeneti követelményeiről*), participants of teacher training MA programmes must acquire competence/ knowledge in the following areas:

- designing classroom assessment tools
- assessing students' progress and achievement using a variety of tools
- interpreting and using the results of the assessment
- test development: item writing, moderation, piloting, item banking
- qualities of good tests: validity and reliability
- state accredited language exams
- the requirements of the two-level school-leaving examination
- the Common European Framework of Reference *(*CEFR)

Table 1. Topic areas covered in language testing courses as reported by Brown and Bailey (2007, pp. 356-359, p. 361)

Hands-on experiences	**Item analysis topics**	**Descriptive statistics topics**
Item writing	Item writing	Mean
Test administration	Item writing for different skills	Mode
Test scoring	Item content analysis	Median
Test score interpretation	Item quality analysis	Midpoint
Test revision	Item facility	Range
Test critiquing	Item discrimination (traditional)	Standard deviation
Test taking	Biserial correlation	Variance
Test analysis*	Item agreement	Stanines
	Item beta	*z* scores
	Distractor efficiency analysis	*T* scores
	One-parameter item response theory (IRT)	College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) scores
	Two-parameter IRT	Computer-based TOEFL (CBT) scores*
	Three-parameter IRT	Internet-based TOEFL (IBT) scores*
	Rasch analysis*	

General Topics:	**Sources of testing error**	**Test validity topics**
Norm-referenced testing	Reliability and test length	Content validity
Criterion-referenced testing	Reliability and ranges of talent	Item-objective congruence
Achievement testing	Test-retest reliability	Item-specification congruence
Aptitude testing	Parallel forms reliability	Construct validity
Diagnostic testing	Internal consistency reliability	Criterion-related validity
Placement testing	Standard error of measurement	Correlational analysis
Proficiency testing	Split-half adjusted method	Simple regression analysis
Measuring attitudes	Spearman-Brown Prophecy formula	Standard error of estimate
Measuring the different skills	Kuder-Richardson formula 20	Principal components analysis
Assessment at different levels	Kuder-Richardson formula 21	Rotated factor analysis
Critiquing published tests	Cronbach alpha	Confirmatory factor analysis
Alternative assessment procedures*	Rulon	Multi-trait/multi-measure
Washback*	Flanagan	Consequential validity*
Test bias*	Guttman	Values implications in validity*
Testing in relationship to curriculum*	Interrater	Multiple regression*
Standards (cut-point) setting*	Intrarater	Structural equation modeling*
Critical approaches to language testing*	Phi coefficient	Analysis of variance (ANOVA)*
Language program evaluation*	Phi(lambda)	Many faceted Rasch (FACETS) analysis*
Classroom testing practices*	Agreement coefficient	Validity as a unitary concept*
	Kappa	
	Generalizability coefficient	
	Generalizability theory*	

Note: Items marked with * were included only in the 2007 survey.

Altogether, there are ten MA in English teacher training programmes in Hungary. Since the above requirements apply to all of them, the structure of their training programme must include elements that cover language assessment with respect to at least the topics mentioned in the Government Decree. In order to explore topic coverage in language assessment, information about programme structure on each institution's website was carefully checked. Unfortunately, full programme description is not available on all the websites, thus only course titles were considered as an indication for topic focus on some of the programmes. Out of the ten MA programmes, four did not have a separate course on language testing, which does not necessarily mean, however, that language assessment issues are not dealt with on the given programme at all (see Table 2). The remaining six institutions offer separate courses in the form of seminars, with the exception of one. Although a lecture course can cover a potentially wide area of topics, developing expertise in testing is something that requires a lot of hands-on experience (Alderson, 1999; Brown & Bailey, 2007).

Table 2. Language testing courses in MA in English teacher training programmes in Hungary

Institution	Is there a separate course on language testing? (Yes/No)	If there is a course, is it a lecture or seminar?	Is the course compulsory or optional?
Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)	YES	lecture	compulsory
University of Pécs (PTE)	YES	seminar	compulsory
University of Debrecen (DE)	YES	seminar	compulsory
University of Pannonia (PE)	YES	seminar	compulsory
University of Szeged (SZTE)	YES	seminar	optional
University of West Hungary (NYME)	YES	seminar	optional
University of Miskolc	NO	-	-
Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church	NO	-	-
Pázmány Péter Catholic University	NO	-	-
Eszterházy Károly College	NO	-	-

Based on the comparison of the MA programmes, it seems that only five out of ten English teacher training programmes in Hungary provide targeted practice for would-be-teachers in designing and evaluating test tasks. Out of the five institutions, however, in one institution the seminar course is optional, which means that students may graduate without receiving training in language testing. In order to further explore similarities and differences between the existing programmes, the syllabus for the six separate testing courses were examined with regard to content coverage. The findings are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. Topics covered on language testing courses in teacher training MAs.

Topics	ELTE	PTE	DE	SZTE	PE	NYME
Basic concepts (e.g. validity, reliability)	x	x	x	x	x	x
Test types	x	x	x	x	x	x
Testing reading	x	x	x	x	x	x
Testing listening	x	x	x	x	x	x
Testing speaking	x	x	x	x	x	x
Testing writing	x	x	x	x	x	x
Testing vocabulary	x	x	x	x	x	x
Testing grammar	x	x	x	x	x	x
Test development cycle (test specifications, item moderation, piloting)	x	x	x		x	x
Test statistics (item analysis and interpreting test results)	x	x	x		x	
Test administration	x					
Alternative forms of assessment (continuous assessment, portfolio, self- and peer-assessment)	x		x			
Assessing young learners			x			
(International) English language examinations in Hungary	x				x	

Note: Some of the course syllabi are available online, others were sent to the researcher on her request.

The course syllabus in some cases was not very informative as it only listed the main topics of the course and it may be the case that although a certain topic was missing, the course tutor nevertheless covers it during his/her course. If the latter assumption holds true, for reasons of transparency the course syllabus needs to be made more explicit and detailed.

When comparing the range of topics on language testing courses in Hungary and around the world (Brown & Bailey, 2007), we have found that the technical aspects of test validation, especially those relating to statistical analyses, show a much narrower range, which is justifiable on the grounds that classroom teachers do not need expertise in high-level statistical operations as their day-to-day work does not call for this. On the other hand, it is reassuring to find that all the courses focus on basic concepts and assess the four skills as well as vocabulary and grammar. If we compare the course syllabi and the programme requirements as described in the government decree, most topics seem to be covered with the exception of two: the school-leaving exam and the CEFR. However, it is reasonable to assume that both the school-leaving exam and the CEFR are referred to on all the courses at least when discussing sample tasks and proficiency levels. This assumption can be confirmed, for instance, where course materials or session notes are also accessible online on a given institute website (e.g., ELTE, DE).

The topics chosen by course tutors are believed to reflect what they consider important for classroom teachers in terms of competency, knowledge and skills in language assessment. Thus, the course contents (partly) reflect their own conceptualisation of LAL. The question is to what extent these individual conceptualisations match the most recent conceptualisations of LAL. If we take Fulcher's (2012) working definition (see above), the most obviously missing elements include the historical, political and ethical considerations in language assessment. These, however, are not prescribed aspects by the regulations either. Furthermore, in order to engage in a discussion on politically or ethically correct practices, we suggest that one needs to have more than the basics in language assessment, and testing courses in MA programmes can only be regarded as introductory in their scope.

The lack of match between Hungarian language testing teachers' conceptualisation of LAL and that of leading researchers of the field can also be found in the approach to language assessment. Language testing courses in Hungary, as reflected in the syllabi examined, seem to focus more on assessment *of* learning, although it is evident that scores or grades on students' work may tell them about their success or failure, but not about how to make progress towards further learning. Among the ten courses, there are only two where alternative forms of assessment, including continuous assessment, portfolio, self- and peer-assessment, are discussed at all. This area is clearly in need of more attention from course tutors when updating their syllabi in the future. This necessary change in topic coverage is also prompted by the most recent Government Decree that details the requirements for the new, unified, so-called five-plus-one-year and four-plus-one-year teacher training programmes, which were launched in 2013. According to the 8/2013 (I.30) *Government*

Decree (A tanári felkészítés közös követelményeiről és az egyes tanárszakok képzési és kimeneti követelményeiről), there are additional competency areas that participants of the new teacher training programmes must be trained at:

- the ability to assess students in the classroom in a motivating way;
- familiarity with and the ability to use various forms of continuous / diagnostic / formative assessment (e.g., teacher's feedback, portfolio assessment, self-assessment);
- ability to evaluate learners' language development based on their individual needs, using a criterion-referenced assessment approach.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above requirements and the content analysis of current language testing courses in English teacher education programmes that the latter is in need of revision in order to fulfil the government's expectations for English language teachers of the future. The new requirements also seem to signal a transition in educational philosophy with assessment *for* learning being given a more prominent role. Whether learners' individual needs will be taken into account in classroom assessment practices in the future depends on English language educators, more specifically language testing tutors. They need to take the first step by recognising the value of alternative forms of assessment and by learning about their implementation. This, in turn, will result in a change in their conceptualisation of LAL. Without this change, English language teachers are likely to remain tied to practices reflecting assessment *of* learning rather than facilitating assessment *for* learning.

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RATERS' PERCEPTION OF EFL COMPOSITIONS

Katalin Bukta

INTRODUCTION

Performance assessment for measuring writing ability has been used both in first language (L1) and foreign and second language (L2) pedagogy for a long time. Although this direct method of language assessment allows candidates to demonstrate their writing skills, rating of their performance needs careful consideration. It is influenced by the raters' understanding of the texts and the rating criteria (McNamara, 1996). When reading the scripts, raters are trying to comprehend what writers intended to say. During this process raters interpret the text somehow, creating a certain image of it, which they rate afterwards (Wolfe, 1997). Raters play a decisive role in rating processes; therefore, their characteristics have to be considered in any rating exercise. Although rater training is important to arrive at reliable scores, the view of the role of the rater has changed recently. Earlier, training raters was considered to be the only guarantee for maintaining standards in scoring, but nowadays this ultimate trust in it has faded (Alderson, Clapham & Wall, 1995). Still, following raters' decision-making processes is crucial to see how they arrive at a score, and it can contribute to designing rater training courses.

Earlier studies on raters' decision-making processes focused on compiling frameworks for processes they go through during rating (Lumley, 2002; Milanovic & Saville et al., 1966; Wolfe, 1997). Data for these studies were collected in the course of language examinations with raters of different variables and on different written samples. The 37 raters of the present study have no previous experience in written performance assessment and they have received the same rater training.

The written samples they assessed are the same, which makes comparisons of the rating processes easier. The present study centres on the relationship between raters' rating behaviour and student performance. It tries to shed light on processes raters go through and aims to contribute to rater-training course design and to more reliable rating of written performance (Bukta, 2007, 2013).

RESEARCH DESIGN

To follow raters' decision-making processes, Hungarian EFL learners' compositions were collected and benchmarked. Then, ten scripts were selected from a pool of compositions based on the benchmark scores: two top, two weak ones and six compositions, which were in the medium range. In the present study I intend to look at the rating processes of the weakest script (see Appendix B). In order to understand how raters interpret this particular script, verbal protocol analysis is employed. I analyse the rating processes and compare the scores awarded, focusing on raters' script and scale interpretation. Starting with the pre-scoring stage, raters' rating sequences are detailed. The four rating criteria of task achievement, vocabulary, accuracy and organisation are dealt with separately in the order as they appear in the analytic rating scale (see Appendix A).

Tracing the way raters arrive at a score is an intriguing issue. As Lumley puts it, "it is clear that we only get fragments of what raters think, but there is still no reason to suppose that they did not think what they describe" (Lumley, 2000, p. 66). We can get valuable data from raters' verbalisations. Each research employing think-aloud protocol is different, but data collection methodology and ways of data processing are characterised by distinctive principles based on firm theoretical considerations. The most appropriate technique for following mental processes is borrowed from psychology and is called introspection, which means the observation of mental processes via analysing verbalised thoughts. Ericsson and Simon (1993) argue that observation of cognitive behaviour results in data as valid as from the observation of any other type of behaviour, contrary to concerns that some researchers share in connection with verbal data as a basis for empirical research.

PARTICIPANTS

Participants were all novice raters, divided into a competent and a proficient group according to their rating performance. The scores they awarded were compared to the benchmarks and those raters whose scores were similar to the benchmarks were allocated in the proficient group. Those raters whose scores were somewhat different from the benchmarks belong to the competent group. Thirty-seven EFL teacher trainees in their last year at university were involved in the rating exercise

for this study; they assessed the same set of ten compositions and awarded scores using an analytic rating scale.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Procedures comprised rater training for written performance assessment, as well as training for the rating task, including the think-aloud data collection methodology. The data was collected when raters evaluated the ten scripts with an analytic scale and verbalised their thoughts which they audio recorded and transcribed. The verbal dataset of the protocols was transformed into analysable data. First, a coding scheme was developed, and then transcript segmentation followed to make raters' utterances countable. Rater strategies in the coding scheme are grouped in four main categories of rating and reading focus, own criteria, and comments on the rating process. The rating and reading categories are further subdivided into strategies raters referred to when dealing with the four rating criteria of task achievement, vocabulary, grammar and organisation as in the analytic scale.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Rating script N2: benchmarks and total scores

Scores express raters' decisions in numbers, and are assigned according to descriptors in a rating scale. An analytic rating scale comprises descriptors included in bands to distinguish between performance levels. Descriptors are devised by test designers on the basis of their knowledge about the construct in question and test design principles. Raters go through a rater training before the rating takes place and carry out the rating task during which they choose scores from the scale. Each element in performance assessment has its own characteristics and plays a role in raters' decision-making processes. The relationship between the scores awarded, rating processes and raters' thinking is examined in detail to find out more about the way raters make their decisions.

According to the benchmarks for the ten scripts, script N2 was ranked last with a total of nine points. It was one of the weakest performances for all 37 raters; however, competent raters awarded somewhat higher scores than proficient ones, as it appears in Table 1.

Table 1. Benchmarks and mean scores on four rating criteria

	Task achievement	Vocabulary	Grammar	Organisation	Total
Benchmarks	2	3	3	1	9
All raters' mean (sd)	2.58 (1.31)	3.71 (1.33)	3.50 (1.22)	2.61 (1.17)	12.39 (4.20)
Competent raters' mean(sd)	2.77 (1.31)	3.95 (1.46)	3.95 (1.40)	2.82 (1.18)	13.14 (4.56)
Proficient raters' mean (sd)	2.33 (1.35)	3.40 (1.12)	3.40 (.99)	2.40 (1.12)	11.53 (3.60)

Six competent raters ranked this script last and twelve decided another one as the weakest. They all agreed that task achievement was the weakest of the four criteria, which can be partly justified by comments on relevance in the pre-scoring stage of rating. In order to find out more about the reasons for these differences, I examine the rating processes in the next sections. The analysis follows the sequence most raters went through: first the pre-scoring stage and then the four rating criteria one by one.

Comments in the pre-scoring stage

Some raters started assessment with making overall comments with different foci. This first, initial stage in rating is referred to in earlier studies as pre-scoring stage (Milanovic & Saville, 1966; Lumley, 2000). When rating the script, seven competent and ten proficient raters started with overall comments. They focused on surface features, such as layout and legibility; for example, "this composition is short, I think", or "and it is difficult to read" (R1). All thought that the composition was short and difficult to read due to its messy layout.

The overall impression, however, represents two extremes in both groups. There were two raters, one from each group, who expressed their appreciation of the content and made positive comments, such as "starts pretty well" (R8); still, when later looking at each criterion she awarded moderate scores (2, 4, 4 and 4).The other extreme was making negative comments: some raters remarked on irrelevance of the content saying that they did not understand the text. There were three raters, one competent and two proficient ones, who gave a 0 for task achievement and said that the student had misunderstood the task. For example, a competent rater stated at the beginning that the text was irrelevant: "I think he misunderstood the task totally" (R5). Then she went on and made comments on relevance before awarding a 0 and finished rating at this point.

Another competent rater first compared the script to the previously rated ones, then meditated on student's proficiency and concluded: "as far as the letter is concerned, my first impression was that the student had been to the US, or watched a lot of movies, his style reminds me of American English, he writes in a very casual and colloquial style" (R4). Other comments regarding script content were similar: apart from comments on student's misunderstanding of the task, raters referred to style, saying that it was too informal, or said that the text was strange or it was difficult to make sense of. Apparently, the first overall impression did not seem to affect the raters, as those who made positive comments initially finally awarded low scores.

Rating task achievement

Task achievement was rated first of the four rating criteria by most raters. Competent raters chose a score from a wider range than proficient ones: they chose a score from the whole range, from 0 to 6. However, they mostly chose a 2, which was the benchmark (eight raters), or a 3 (seven). Two proficient raters found the text irrelevant and awarded a 0. Two competent raters gave the script much higher points than did the others.

The achievement of communicative goal seemed to be less important than the number of content points covered. Almost all competent raters checked the number of content points: they did so 18 times, whereas eight proficient raters made at least one explicit comment in this category. As Table 2 shows, the strategies competent and proficient raters turned to are somewhat different.

Table 2. Rating focus comments when rating task achievement

Behaviour category	Rating (mean)	Reading (mean)	Own focus (mean)	Total (mean)
Competent	75 (3.4)	83 (3.8)	40 (1.8)	198 (5.3)
Proficient	41 (2.7)	19 (1.3)	22 (1.5)	82 (2.2)
Total	116 (3.1)	102 (2.8)	62 (1.7)	280 (7.6)

The distribution of reading strategies demonstrates that competent raters relied on reading much more in their evaluation than their proficient counterparts. Competent raters read considerably more, while proficient raters read on fewer occasions. Five competent raters referred to the rubric (19 times), so their rating pattern for task achievement was different from the other group's rating patterns, as they compared parts of text to the rubric. These raters followed a kind of an inventory pattern; they checked which content points were covered and compared the rubric to the text.

Regarding own focus, the main concern for both competent and proficient raters seemed to be content relevance, which in this case meant irrelevance, as all raters referred to this: eight competent raters mentioned content relevance eleven times and five proficient raters pointed at text irrelevance: "the writer didn't write about what he had to, but he wrote some jokes" (R1).

In addition to comments on relevance, raters' concern about the content was expressed in a high number of own focus comments. Competent raters made eleven such comments, and some proficient raters expressed their own feelings eight times, as the example from a competent rater's protocol shows: "[he] is rather meditating, and … communicating different thoughts instead of concentrating on things prescribed in the instructions" (RR14).

Two raters seemed to contradict the rating scale content: one read out a scale descriptor for the band of four points and a negation of the top band and still awarded two points: "so he almost covered all the content points, but he could not achieve the communicative goal I think, it's not really comprehensible … And nothing is mentioned about his plans about future and about the places they would visit and the part about this water all around is messy and it cannot be comprehended I think, it wants to be humorous but I do not really think so, I gave two for…" (R16). Another rater stated twice that the student totally misunderstood the task, which is the descriptor for the bottom band of 0 and, still, awarded two points: "It seems that he did not understand the task at all…So 2 points for task achievement" (R2).

In contrast, it seems as if a competent rater had a completely different idea of the script, as he awarded the top score for task achievement and read out both descriptors saying: "… after the first reading, it seems that the content points here also … all four … all five content points were covered and the communicative goal was also achieved in this case, so for task achievement it is 6" (R9). Similarly, R18, who gave 5 points, verbalised her evaluation and said that all content points were covered and she did not refer to content. These two raters obviously did not pay attention to the content of the script; they treated the text as if it corresponded to the rubric requirements, so they considered the task accomplished.

The observation in connection with rating task achievement was that raters paid more attention to the fulfilment of content points than to the achievement of the communicative goal. It is especially so with competent raters, who awarded scores without an attention to the content: they evaluated the scripts on the basis of comparison of the text with the content points regardless of what it was about. However, frequent reference to students' misunderstanding of the task shows that raters seemingly tried to do their best to interpret the text in a way so as to match it to the rating criteria.

Rating vocabulary

After rating task achievement, raters dealt with the second criterion: vocabulary. Most proficient raters' scores were distributed within the range of two and four points. Fewer proficient raters' scores were very different from the benchmark (three points) than those of competent raters. Altogether nine raters awarded a three: four competent and five proficient raters' score was identical with the benchmark. Competent raters' vocabulary mean score was higher than that of proficient raters. Rating patterns of competent and proficient raters differed, as shown in Table 3: competent ones paid less attention to rating and proficient ones to reading strategies. Raters paid attention to scale descriptors similarly; however, several raters provided evaluation of vocabulary in their own words.

Table 3. Focus when rating vocabulary

Behaviour category	Rating (mean)	Reading (mean)	Own focus (mean)	Total (mean)
Competent	54 (2.5)	64 (3)	23 (1.1)	141 (6.4)
Proficient	59 (3.9)	50 (3.3)	21 (1.4)	130 (8.7)
Total	113 (3)	114 (3.1)	44 (1.2)	271 (7.3)

The comments related to errors were either error identification, which was classified within rating decisions, and error correction, which was among own focus comments. Four competent raters identified errors and three proficient raters said that a mistake or mistakes were made. R16 referred to problems with the content when evaluating vocabulary, although content evaluation belonged to the criterion of task achievement: "how could a friend come from England for next Friday – he should ask about next holiday".

Raters often read the scale descriptors: twelve competent raters read the scale 16 times and seven proficient raters did so ten times. Text parts were read out by ten competent raters in 21 cases, and eight proficient raters read a total of 23 text extracts, which means that those proficient raters who read out text, read more than competent ones. When providing examples to support rating decisions, ten competent raters read out 24 examples and eight proficient raters read out 17 examples. Although the same number of competent and proficient raters read out parts of text and one-word examples, they were not the same raters. There is no identifiable pattern in this respect: some raters read only text parts, while others read both parts and examples. Ten competent and four proficient raters employed neither strategy.

When raters read out a word, they seemed to concentrate on it regardless of context, but when they read out text parts, they focused on context: "And there are words which don't belong to basic vocabulary like *gorgeous*" and "*Say hi to everyone at*

work and give my love to your family there are sentences which are difficult to understand" (R1).

The own focus comments were different for the two groups: there was a total of 23 remarks by competent and 21 by proficient raters with different foci. Competent ones mentioned text comprehensibility three times, one expressed uncertainty, and four meditated on students' intention, for example: "But still there's motivation in the student to use these words and phrases appropriately" (R11).

The word *gorgeous* in the script appeared in many comments, but its interpretation was different. Rater R12 in her evaluation cited the word to exemplify that the text corresponded to the band descriptor for four points. Others referred to this word as an example for a wide range of vocabulary, which was the descriptor for the top band, and they gave vocabulary six points. On the other hand, some raters noticed that the writer could not spell some words correctly and that *gorgeous* was among them. They awarded a score of two points, as the example of a proficient rater illustrates: "…as far as vocabulary is concerned, I gave it a 2, because there are problems with spelling, for example he cannot spell *was, gorgeous*" (RR13).

These verbalised decision-making processes indicate that both competent and proficient raters had different ideas of what constituted a wide and appropriate range of vocabulary, and what words belonged to basic vocabulary items, as they referred to the same word differently. In addition, they frequently referred to spelling, even though this criterion was not included in the vocabulary descriptors of the scale.

To summarise, raters' focus seemed to be different when dealing with vocabulary: competent ones paid less attention to rating strategies and they used more own focus comments than their proficient counterparts. Competent raters turned to reading strategies more often: the most reading comments were made when reading the text and there was almost no attention paid to the task rubric. Raters paid attention to scale descriptors similarly; however, several of them provided evaluation in their own words.

Rating grammar

The third rating criterion in the rating scale was grammar and the raters' evaluation was somewhat different: competent raters' mean score was 3.95 and proficient ones' was 3.4. The difference between competent and proficient raters' choice of scores and the benchmark (three points) is apparent: more raters chose a 4, a score one point higher than the benchmark and ten chose a 3. The distribution of competent and proficient raters' scores shows different patterns: more competent raters chose the benchmark score and more proficient raters chose the score one point above it. The range of scores was wider in the case of competent raters; they awarded scores from the whole range, whereas proficient raters chose scores between two and five points. (See Table 4.)

Table 4. Rating foci for grammar

Behaviour category	Rating (mean)	Reading (mean)	Own focus (mean)	Total (mean)
Competent	65 (3)	40 (1.8)	16 (.7)	121 (5.5)
Proficient	50 (3.3)	32 (2.1)	18 (1.2)	100 (6.7)
Total	115 (3.1)	72 (1.9)	34 (.9)	221 (6)

Raters focused on rating strategies the most frequently. They made 115 rating comments, as shown in Table 4, which was considerably more than reading and own focus comments: 72 and 34 comments, respectively. Raters paid the most attention to rating strategies when they were evaluating grammar. Their reference to the scale descriptors could be observed by looking at the comment occurrences. According to the comment distribution, raters' attention to the two scale descriptors was similar (16 and 15 comments, respectively); however, competent raters paid more attention to accuracy and made more comments (11) than on the evaluation of structures, which was remarked on six times. Proficient raters' attention was different: they paid less attention to accuracy (five comments) compared with structures (nine comments).

As for reading focus, competent raters read less than proficient raters: competent raters 40 times, whereas proficient raters 32 times. Raters mostly referred to reading scale descriptors and reading out text parts when rating grammar and they rarely read out one-word examples. Competent raters read the scale descriptors more frequently than they read text parts and made 20 and 16 comments, respectively. Proficient raters' comments were similar in this respect; they read the scale descriptors 16 times and text parts 15 times.

Comment distribution shows that proficient raters evaluated grammar in their own words more often than competent ones. The example from proficient raters' protocols illustrates how raters worded the evaluation of grammar in their own words: "he has very basic usage of grammar, very simple sentences" (RR15).

When raters noticed an error, they either identified it (11 and 3 comments, respectively), or they corrected mistakes (2 and 5 comments, respectively). In addition, they often switched to evaluation of vocabulary when dealing with grammar, as an example from a proficient rater protocol shows: "…but this is only one thing, and it doesn't count here, as we are not looking at vocabulary now – seems that uses *glass* in the meaning of bottle" (RR8). He elaborated on confusion between the rating criterion of vocabulary and grammar.

Proficient raters paid less attention to grammar than competent raters did, although they verbalised their evaluation in their own words more often and seemed more concerned about structures than about the accuracy of text. Even if all raters paid considerable attention to grammar and used different strategies for evaluation, their scores show different patterns. Competent raters mostly chose a score of three

or four, but three of them awarded the highest score, whereas more proficient raters chose a score of four more often than a three and none of them gave a score of six, but four raters gave a score of two. A competent rater said that she could not differentiate between grammar and vocabulary: "Grammar: I would give 3, because there are inaccuracies, as I've already mentioned, I cannot separate grammar from vocabulary" (R11). Raters seemed to interpret the features of grammar of the script differently, they often referred to the variety of tenses used by the writer and some of them considered whether structures were used correctly, while others did not.

Rating organisation

The last criterion was organisation and it was scored considerably higher by all raters than the benchmark (one point). Five raters (14%) chose a score similar to the benchmark: a competent rater and four proficient ones. Others mainly chose higher scores; most competent raters awarded a score of three and quite a few awarded a score of two or four.

Table 5. Raters' focus when rating organisation

Behaviour category	Rating (mean)	Reading (mean)	Own focus (mean)	Total (mean)
Competent	61 (2.8)	36 (1.6)	6 (.4)	103 (4.7)
Proficient	50 (3.3)	30 (2)	13 (.9)	93 (6.2)
Total	111 (3)	66 (1.8)	19 (.5)	196 (5.3)

When dealing with organisation, 111 rating comments were made, as shown in Table 5. Raters made much fewer (66) reading behaviour related comments, and even fewer own focus ones (19).

Raters did not comment on all subcategories: they did not revise their decisions and they never identified errors. In addition, proficient raters never added a reason for choosing the score and only one of them added new criteria or referred to lack of detail. Competent raters rarely used these latter comments. Raters hardly ever changed focus; they made three such comments altogether. They compared scripts to the first two scale descriptors similarly; however, there were somewhat more comments made on the second descriptor, especially by proficient raters. Comment occurrences show that some raters used own comments to evaluate text organisation. As a proficient one said, "This piece of writing is somewhere halfway between a letter and a draft. He fails to structure his thoughts into paragraphs" (R3).

The distribution of reading comments represents different patterns. Competent raters mostly referred to reading the scale and made 27 comments, while they did

not read more words from texts but read out eight one-word examples. Proficient raters, on the other hand, made 13 comments related to reading the scale; they read texts seven times, summarised scripts five times, read one-word examples four times and there was one reference to the rubric.

A proficient rater who gave one point for organisation spent a lot of time with evaluation and mentioned several different features before choosing the score. For example: "There are a couple of sentences, 4-5, which are written in separate lines, so it is not transparent at all, why he wrote them the way he did" (R2). One competent rater, R13, arrived at a score of two after hesitating between a one and a two, referring to the layout and reading the descriptors for four and two points.

Two raters gave five points for organisation, one of them saying that the elements were linked well and the text reminded her of a letter and finally decided on a score between the top score and a 4: "…4 points by all means, maybe 5, it is a between a 6 and a 4" (RR6).

To summarise rating processes when evaluating organisation, there was considerable disagreement. The range of scores was wide and proficient raters' scores were evenly distributed between a score of one and four points. Although they seemed to pay equal attention to both the layout and linking of scripts, they mostly focused on paragraphing. They referred to reading strategies less and their perception of scale descriptors was different from each other.

CONCLUSION

This study is meant to contribute to a better understanding of written performance assessment and provide an insight into raters' decision-making processes. The raters with similar background received the same training and still, even if they awarded similar scores, their interpretation of the script and of the rating scale shows sometimes different patterns. The distribution of raters into a competent and proficient group made comparisons possible and thus, the differences in interpretation of rating can lead to a better understanding of the decision-making processes raters go through when dealing with written performance assessment. Further research could be conducted into score and scale descriptor interpretation, which is a focal point in rater training sessions.

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APPENDIX A: ASSESSMENT SCALES FOR THE DEAR PAT TASK

points	TASK ACHIEVEMENT	VOCABULARY	GRAMMAR	ORGANIZATION
6	• Achieves communicative goal • All 5 content points covered	• Wide range of words and expressions	• Only one or two inaccuracies occur • Structures correspond to the task	• The layout fully corresponds to the task • There is clear logical link between all text levels
5				
4	• Communicative goal mostly achieved • Almost all content points covered	• Good and appropriate range of words and expressions	• There are inaccuracies but the whole text is comprehensible • Some variety in structures	• The layout reminds of a letter • There is some link at most text levels
3				
2	• Strain on the reader to comprehend • 2 or 3 content points covered	• Basic words and expressions	• Basic mistakes hinder comprehension • No variety in structures	• The layout is not properly organized • There is no clear logical link between the elements of the text
1	• Communicative goal is difficult to comprehend • 1 content point covered	• Very limited range of words	• Only little is comprehensible • Most structures inaccurate	• The layout is messy • There is little logic between the different elements of the text
0	• Did not write anything or just some words • Misunderstood the task			

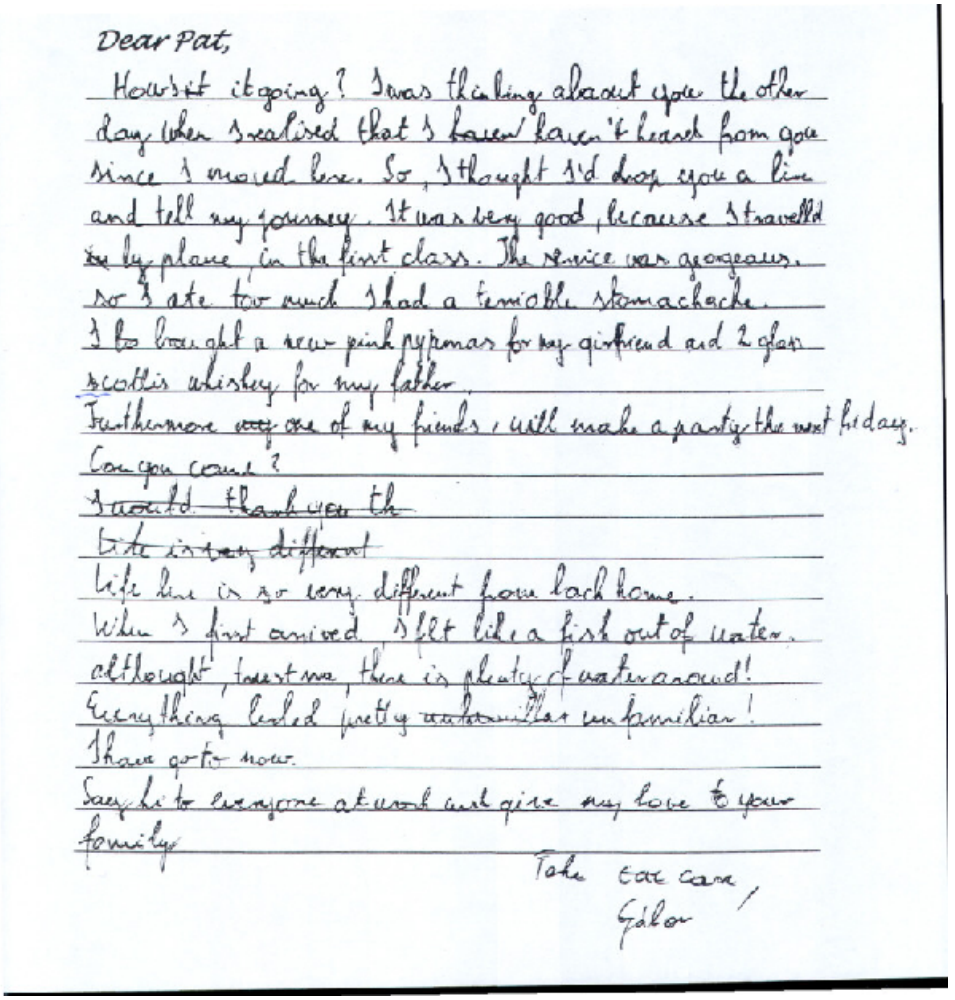
APPENDIX B: SCRIPT 2

You spent your holiday in Britain and stayed with a British friend. You arrived back home last week and now you are writing a letter to your friend.

In your letter:

- thank your friend for the time you had together
- write about the journey home
- write about what presents you brought and for whom
- invite your friend for the next holiday
- write about programmes you are planning for his/her stay in Hungary

Write a letter of about 150 words to your friend.



Dear Pat,

How's it going? I was thinking about you the other day when I realised that I haven't heard from you since I moved here. So, I thought I'd drop you a line and tell my journey. It was very good, because I travelled by plane, in the first class. The service was gorgeous. So I ate too much I had a terrible stomachache. I bought a new pink pyjamas for my girlfriend and 2 glass scottish whiskey for my father.

Furthermore my one of my friends, will make a party the next friday. Can you come?

~~I would thank you th~~

~~Life is very different~~

Life line is so very different from back home.

When I first arrived I felt like a fish out of water. although, trust me, there is plenty of water around!

Everything looked pretty ~~unfamiliar~~ unfamiliar!

I have go to now.

Say hi to everyone at work and give my love to your family.

Take care care,

Gábor

LINGUISTICS AND TRANSLATIONS

THE INTERFACE BETWEEN LEARNING AND ACQUISITION IN A CONNECTIONIST MODEL

István Ottó

INTRODUCTION

The research presented in this paper was inspired by a joint effort with Marianne Nikolov to model the phenomenon that has been termed the *Adult Language Learning Paradox* (Ottó, 2000; Ottó & Nikolov, 2009, 2012; Sokolik, 1990).[1] Working in the connectionist paradigm (for a review see Li & Zhao 2013), we developed the *Extra Input Biased Learning* model, an artificial neural network that was able to provide one type of explanation for adults' initial advantage in foreign language learning, and at the same time it also offered a resolution of why adult language learner's advantage is diminished in the long run. While running various simulations, we noticed that our connectionist network exhibited an interesting interaction between what we called learning and acquisition modes. This paper is an attempt to further investigate this intriguing aspect of our model.

[1] Although the research presented here is original work, parts of this paper are taken from previously unpublished work (Ottó, 2000) supervised by Marianne Nikolov.

BACKGROUND

Connectionism, also known as parallel distributed processing, or the study of neural networks is an approach to modeling cognition (for an introduction see, e.g., Bechtel & Abrahamsen, 1991). Connectionist models rely on our current knowledge of the structure and functioning of the brain. As a rule, the artificial neural networks in this framework are made up of so-called units, and of connections which carry information between the units. These elements form a network which is in some ways similar to neural networks found in the brain. Although there are various questions that arise with regard to the biological plausibility of these networks, the performance of numerous models approximates that of humans, which makes them very attractive to those studying human behavior and cognition (McLeod, Plunkett & Rolls, 1998). The basic outline of a simple connectionist network is depicted in Figure 1 (NETWORK A).

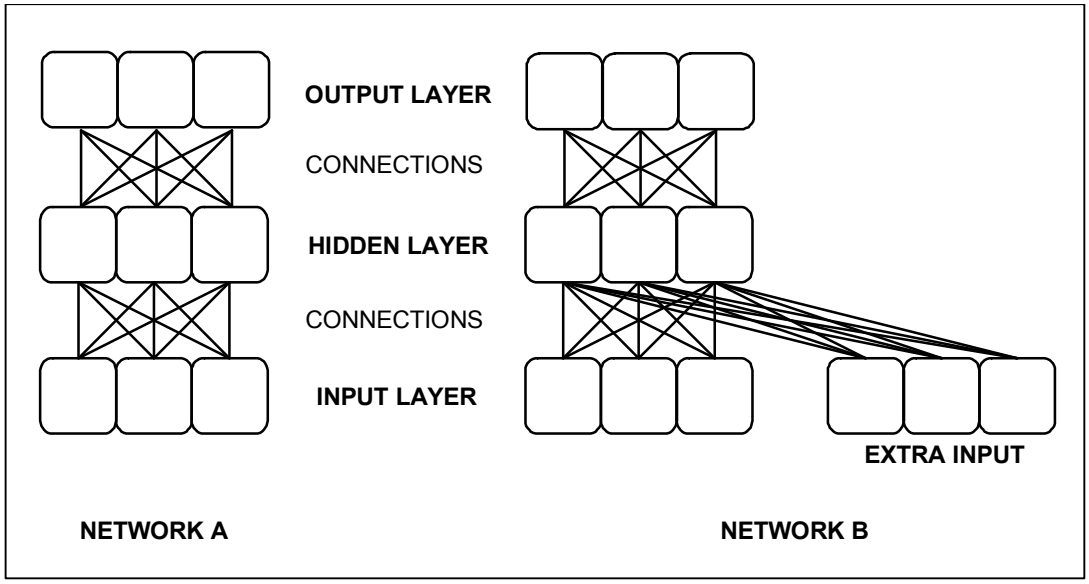


Figure 1. Schematic representation of an artificial neural network (NETWORK A) and the Extra Input Biased Learning model (NETWORK B)

Our Extra Input Biased Learning model derives its name from the fact that it is basically a modification of a general artificial neural network in a way that the input layer of the network is augmented by a series of extra units (see NETWORK B in Figure 1), representing the fact that the learning process in adults often relies on extra information in the form of explicit rules, categories most commonly made available by language teachers as part of pedagogical grammars. We called the information that appears on these extra input units *Target Language Descriptors* or, in short, TLDs. We showed that the activation on the extra units has a genuine effect on the performance of the network: when available, the learning process is speeded

up by the constraining and guiding influence of the extra input, but at the same time it biases the otherwise TLD-free acquisition process and leads to a different internal representation of the target language, resulting in deteriorated performance when TLDs are unavailable, as is the case during naturalistic language use.

As learning and acquisition happen in the same network, a reasonable question to ask is whether they interact or not. The problem is often formulated in the form of a question: "Does learning become acquisition?" This question represents one of the most crucial issues in SLA research and several positions have been available concerning the relationship between learning and acquisition, and the relationship between explicit and implicit knowledge.

The so-called *noninterface position* is related to the work of Krashen (1982), in particular to his *Acquisition/Learning Hypothesis*. One of the claims included in the hypothesis is that learning and acquisition lead to different types of knowledge: acquisition leads to competence that is called upon during spontaneous production, whereas learning results in knowledge about the target language, which can only be used to monitor the utterance initiated by the acquired system. Apart from this function, learnt knowledge does not interact with acquired competence, hence it cannot influence its development.

A direct opposite of the noninterface position is the *strong interface position*, which comes from the work of Sharwood-Smith (1981). In this version of the explicit/implicit learning distinction, the explicit learning of the L2 can affect the development of acquired competence without any constraints (Ellis, 1993). All that is needed for learning to become acquisition is sufficient practice.

As Ellis (1990, 1993, 1994) pointed out, the empirical evidence does not support either of the above positions, whereas a *weak interface position* can represent a suitable middle ground, which is consistent with the available findings. The weak interface position claims that although an interface exists between learning and acquisition, only those features are allowed to pass through the imaginary filter for which the learner is developmentally ready. In the case of features which learners are not ready to incorporate into their interlanguage system, explicit instruction of the L2 is bound to fail. It is interesting to note that this position is essentially very similar to the strong interface position, since it posits that all features are amenable to explicit teaching, albeit only at the appropriate stage of development. As for our own experience, during our previous research with the Extra Input Biased Learning model we noticed that the reliability of cues in the input patterns appeared to have a genuine effect on how we were able to answer the "Does learning become acquisition?" question. In order to investigate this vital question, a set of simulations were run, the details of which are presented below.

METHOD

The task

To investigate the interaction between learning and acquisition in the context of the Extra Input Biased Learning model, simulations were run to demonstrate the learning/acquisition of a morphosyntactic feature of a hypothetical language (denoted by X_f following Sokolik, 1990). X_f is expressed by adding one out of three possible suffixes to word stems based on the grammatical gender of the stem, which can be feminine, masculine, or neuter. Note that I am not in the least proposing this task as a model of SLA, but as a simple example of how learning and acquisition as defined in the Extra Input Biased Learning model might intertwine.

Also, it must be pointed out that the ecological validity of computer simulations is obviously very low and should not be overestimated. On the other hand, the main merit of such research is the level of control that one has over the variables of interest and variables whose effects would otherwise contaminate the results. I believe that computational models have a place in SLA research as they provide a piece of the puzzle to a converging understanding of how people acquire and learn second languages. With these limitations in mind, let us now turn to the details of the simulations.

Network architecture

For the simulations I used a simple feed-forward neural network with one layer of hidden units (see Figure 2), similar to the one used in our past work (for formulas and a more technical description of the network see Ottó & Nikolov, 2009, 2012). The input layer was made up of 34+3 units, 34 units representing the stem and 3 units representing an optional TLD, corresponding to explicit gender information about the stem. The output layer consisted of 3 units, each representing a certain suffix to be added to the stem. The hidden layer between the input and output layers included 20 units. There was full connectivity between the layers, that is, every unit in the input layer was connected to every unit in the hidden layer, and every unit in the hidden layer was connected to every unit in the output layer. The units in the input layer had a linear activation function (the activation of the units was simply the values assigned to the units, that is, either one or zero). The activation of the hidden units was determined by transforming the net input to the units, using the sigmoid function (cf. Ottó & Nikolov, 2009, 2012). Finally, the output units were similar to the hidden units with the exception that the resulting value after transforming the net input to the units using the sigmoid function was further converted by applying a threshold of 0.5 to the activity of the units. This meant that an output unit was considered active if its activation was above 0.5 and was considered inactive when its activity level was below 0.5.

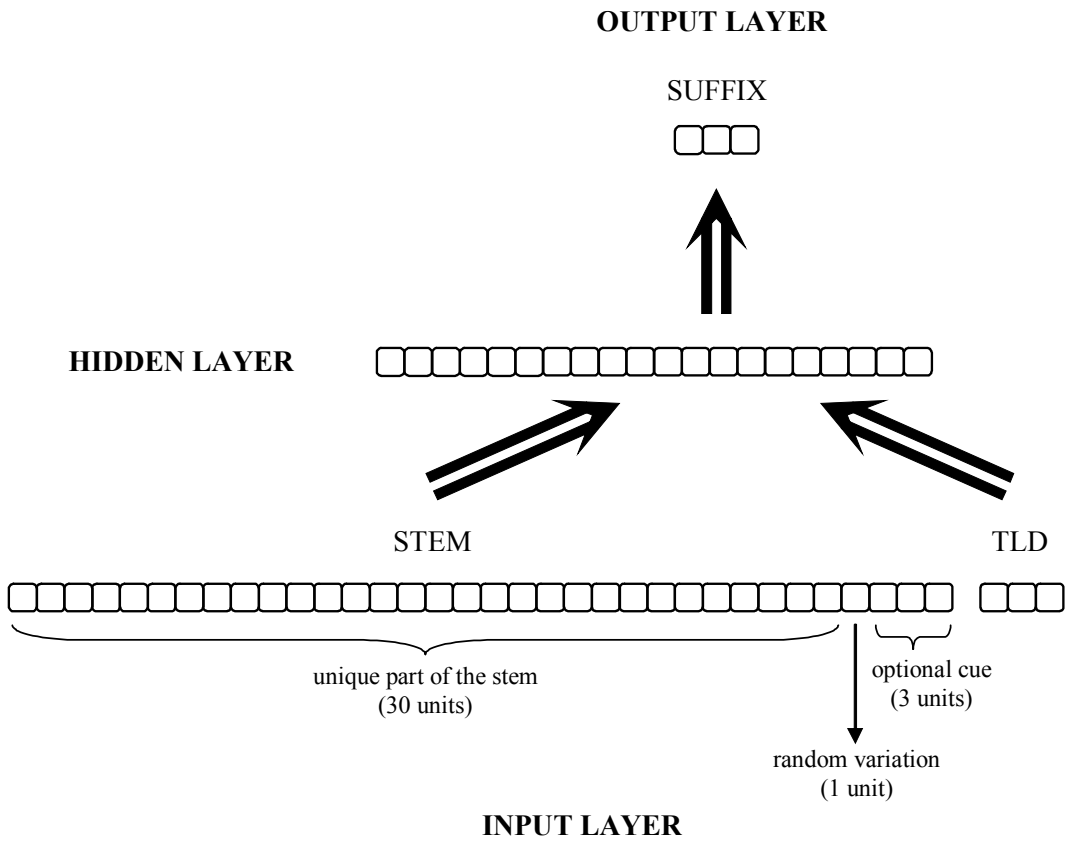


Figure 2. Network used in simulations (bold arrows represent full connectivity between layers)

Training patterns

The training patterns were binary vectors. A binary vector is a series of 1s and 0s, thus [0100000000000000000000000000001100100] (one of the input patterns from the training set) and [100] (one of the output patterns in the training set) exemplify binary vectors. A unit with a value of 1 represents an active neuron, while a unit with a value of 0 represents an inactive neuron. For both the output and input patterns I used a localist approach rather than an entirely distributed coding scheme. The 34 unit stems were made up of 30+1+3 units. 30 units represented a unique section of the stems, with each input pattern having exactly 1 active unit out of the 30 possible units. 1 additional unit represented an unreliable (random) variation in the stems, whose value was either 1 or 0, regardless of gender. That is, there were stems which shared this feature in spite of the fact that they belonged to different gender classes. It is a reasonable assumption that such variation exists in real life

tasks, which has to be tackled by the language learner. In addition, the last 3 units of the stem were used to model an optional reliable cue (for example, a certain word ending) which reflected the gender class of the stem. It is often the case that the items which form the bases for further learning (the stems in our case) carry some information about the category they belong to. By way of illustration, a rule of thumb in Italian is that nouns ending in *-o* are masculine, whereas nouns ending in *-a* are feminine. Such regular information was expected to have an impact on the learning task. The input pattern ended in three more units which held the TLDs. There were three different gender classes, thus there were three different TLD patterns. Correspondingly, there were three different output patterns, one for each possible suffix. The two complete sets of training and test patterns can be found in Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix. The first set included random stems, while the second set included similar stems with the only exception that stems in the second set included reliable cues about their gender class.

Procedures

The connection weights (strengths) which represent the memory of the network were randomized before training. The network was trained, using the backpropagation algorithm (for a detailed description, see Ottó & Nikolov, 2009, 2012), whereby (1) the network is presented with a training pattern, (2) the activation from the input layer is propagated forward to the output layer, (3) the activation pattern that appears on the output layer is compared to the desired output pattern, and finally, (4) the difference is treated as an error term which is used to modify the connections between the units in a way that it becomes more likely that the network will respond correctly the next time it encounters the same training pattern. The network was trained in so-called epochs. The network encountered each training pattern the same number of times within each epoch. The network was presented with the training patterns in random order within each epoch to rule out the effect of the training order. After each epoch of training, the network was presented with the entire training set without TLD information, and the percentage of the correctly suffixed stems was used as a performance measure. In other words, after each epoch of learning, the network had to attempt to identify the correct suffix for each stem in the training set without relying on the extra input (TLDs representing explicit information about the gender of the stems) available during the learning process. Two simulations were run: one made use of the first training set including random stems, and another that made use of the second training set including cued stems.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Network performance

Figure 3 displays the results of the two simulations. The broken line represents the learning curve, which resulted from training the network to suffix random stems, while the solid line represents the learning curve, which resulted from training the network to suffix cued stems.

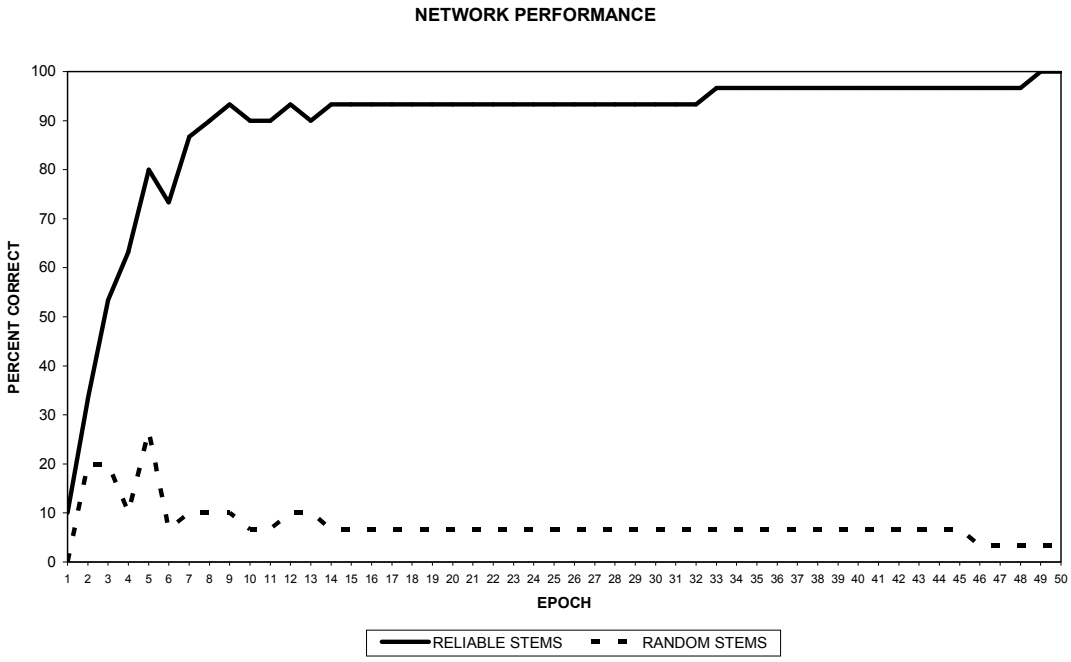


Figure 3. Network performance with random and reliable stems

Random stems

When the network was learning to suffix random stems with the help of TLDs, and was subsequently deprived of the TLDs during testing, the performance of the network remained close to zero. Note that during the first few epochs network performance is jumping up and down at the lower end of the performance scale due to the random initial weight configuration, then the network quickly learns to focus on the TLDs alone and disregards the random input from the stems. The fact that without the explicit information about gender class (TLDs) the network is unable to classify the stems shows that the learning process was not able to produce TLD-independent, acquired competence. The reason for this is that the network is not actually learning to suffix stems, rather it is learning to identify which suffix belongs to which TLD regardless of the stems. In other words, the network was

learning to pair up the three TLDs with the three possible suffixes, and did not accomplish to form appropriate connections between the thirty stems and their corresponding suffixes. Therefore, when the TLD was missing the network was clueless, just like the language learner who is unable to add the suffix because s/he cannot identify the gender of the stem.

Note that this is not a problem for children who acquire the language. During the acquisition process the stem-suffix pairings are acquired without the TLDs influencing how connections are formed. To put it in artificial neural networking terms, in the case of children, training and testing patterns are the same. Accordingly, our network was able to acquire the random stem-suffix pairs when trained without TLDs, as shown in our previous work (Ottó & Nikolov, 2009, 2012).

Cued stems

A different picture emerges when we train the network using the cued stems as shown by the ascending solid line. In spite of the fact that during the testing sessions we deprived the network of the information provided by TLDs available during training, the network is still able to improve its performance, although performance levels off after a while and remains impaired for an extended number of learning trials before it reaches error-free performance. That is, in the case of cued stems the TLD-supported learning process alone was sufficient to enable the network to later operate without TLDs. In other words, it appears that learning cued stems led to a competence that is similar to what would have resulted from acquisition.

Why does this happen? With cued stems, the network has access to gender information from two sources: (1) the reliable cues included in the stem and (2) the TLDs. When learning stem-suffix pairings, the network is able to make use of both sources of information at the same time. Because of the reliable correlate in the stems, the network still has enough information for it to successfully tackle the task of finding the correct suffixes even when part of the information (the corresponding TLD) is not available. This result is compatible with the observations of Kempe and MacWhinney (1998), who investigated the acquisition of Russian and German as second languages by 44 native speakers of English. Although Russian has a more complex inflectional paradigm than that found in the German language, Russian inflectional cues are far more reliable. Due to this fact the acquisition of case marking was faster in the case of learners of Russian than in the case of learners of German.

In addition, there exists at least one study of implicit versus explicit learning which has shown that reliable cues in the linguistic input facilitate language learning. Green and Hecht (1992) examined 300 German EFL learners using an error-correction task. The participants were provided with samples of incorrect English sentences and were asked to state the rule that was violated and to correct the mistake. Green and Hecht (1992) found that there was some variation in the extent to

which the different error-types were corrected; in other words, some features turned out to be easier than others. Easy rules were those that (1) referred to easily recognized categories, (2) could be applied mechanically and (3) were not dependent on large contexts, for example, morphological dichotomies like the distinction between *a/an*. Difficult rules were those that "did not allow simple exhaustive descriptions" or were "not always governed by features of the immediate linguistic context" (p. 180), for example, features that involved aspect.

Internal representation

When a neural network similar to the one used in this experiment is presented with an input pattern, some units in the hidden layer will become active, while others will stay inactive as activity is propagated forward through the connections between the layers. If two input patterns cause similar patterns of activity in the hidden layer, it means that the network "believes" that the two input patterns are alike in some way and will treat them accordingly (e.g., the network will select the same suffix for stems from the same gender class).

Therefore, to get an idea of the workings of the model, I performed a hierarchical cluster analysis of hidden unit activations saved after training of the network was completed. Hierarchical cluster analysis is an exploratory technique which searches for similarities in the data and joins the cases (or variables, or both) based on some distance measure. As a rule, the joined cases form several clusters, which are then further compared and joined until the whole dataset is joined by a single link. By this time the links between the various cases and clusters have formed a tree-diagram, often referred to as a dendrogram (see, e.g., Woods, Fletcher & Hughes, 1991, p. 256), which reflects the underlying similarity structure of the data. Cases on the same branch are more similar to each other than cases that are to be found on separate branches.

The network was presented with all the stems both in acquisition (i.e., without TLDs) and in learning mode (i.e., with the appropriate TLDs). After the presentation of the input patterns, activity was propagated to the hidden units, and the pattern of activity that appeared in the hidden layer was saved. This meant that after the procedure was completed there were 60 different patterns, the network's internal representation of the 30 input patterns in acquisition (TLD-free) and 30 input patterns in learning mode (TLDs included). This procedure was followed for both simulations.

The results of the hierarchical cluster analysis appear in Figures 4 and 5. The tree in Figure 4 is the network's idea of the training data which was made up of random stems. The labels at the bottom of the tree (often called the *leaves*) refer to the individual stems (see also Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix). The codes consist of two letters and a number. The first letter is either an A(cquisition) or an L(earning), depending on which mode the network was in. The second letter refers

to the grammatical gender of the stem, which could be M(asculine), F(eminine), or N(euter). Finally, each of the 30 stems had a numerical identifier, which appears at the end of the labels to make each code unique.

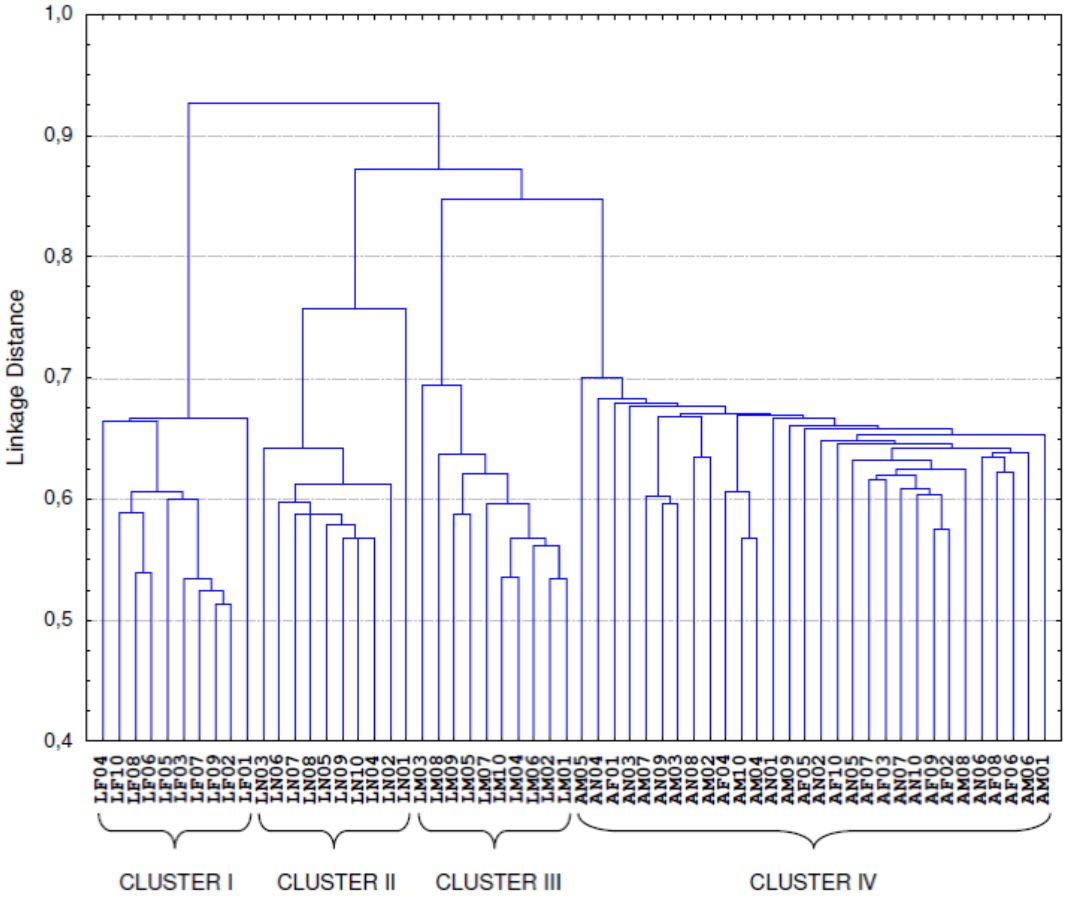


Figure 4. Internal representation of patterns with random stems

As can be seen in Figure 4, the networks' internal representation of the random stems with and without TLDs is made up of four large clusters. The patterns with TLDs (learnt knowledge) are nicely divided up into three clusters, each cluster holding patterns corresponding to a given gender class. CLUSTER II, for instance, holds learned patterns exclusively from the neuter gender class (patterns LN01 to LN10). As a result, when explicit information is available, the network is able to correctly classify the stems. On the other hand, patterns lacking TLDs (acquired competence) are grouped into a fourth cluster detached from the other three clusters (cf. CLUSTER IV in Figure 4 holding all the patterns with code names, starting with the letter "A"). However, patterns within this fourth cluster are in visible disorder. There are no sub-clusters to be seen according to gender, the TLD-free patterns form one big random mass without any meaningful structure. That is, the network not only separates acquired and learned patterns, but it fails to develop an

appropriate internal representation of TLD-free stems. Without reliable cues in the stems learning clearly did not turn into acquisition.

In contrast, the tree in Figure 5 which shows the networks' internal representation of the cued stems with and without TLDs is made up of three main clusters. Each cluster holds patterns corresponding to a single gender class only, regardless of the availability of the explicit gender information (TLDs) in the patterns. CLUSTER I, for instance, holds learned *and* acquired patterns exclusively from the neuter gender class (patterns LN01 to LN10, and patterns AN01 to AN10). That is, the network developed an ability to classify patterns without TLDs, even though TLD information was available during the learning process all the time, that is, learning also led to some implicit acquired competence. Furthermore, the distances between acquired and learned patterns are mixed within each cluster with many TLD-free patterns pairing up directly with their counterparts, which include TLDs. For instance, the internal representation of the network for patterns LN03 and AN03 (the same stem with and without the corresponding TLD) are more similar than LN03 and LN04 (two different stems with the same TLD), that is, the boundary between TLD-based and TLD-free patterns is blurred.

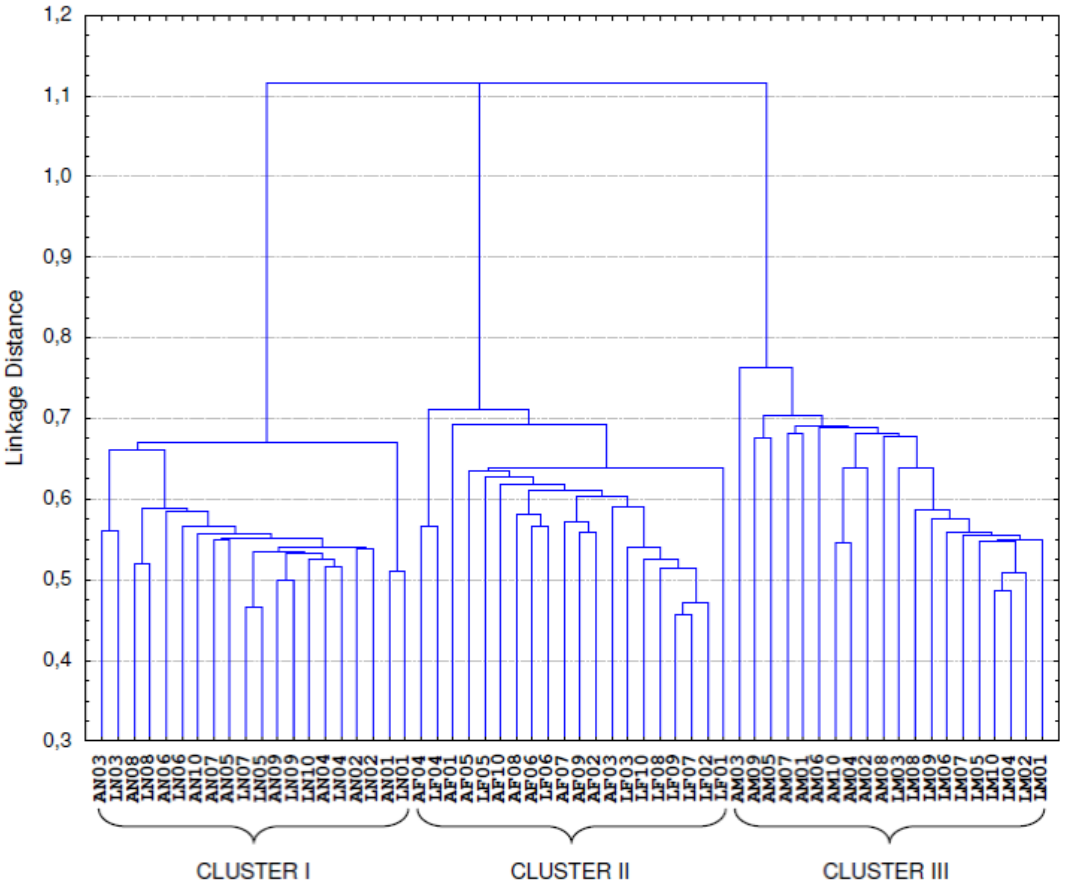


Figure 5. Internal representation of patterns with cued stems

Apparently, when using reliably cued stems for training, operating in learning mode alone was sufficient for the network to develop an acquired competence-base that made it possible for the network to improve its performance even when tested without TLDs. All this points to the conclusion that using reliable cues in the training material allowed for one type of interface between learning and acquisition.

The Extra Input Biased Learning model provides support for a weak interface position, but for a different one than that specified by Ellis (1990, 1993, 1994). What follows from the model might best be termed as the *partial interface hypothesis*, to distinguish it from Ellis's conceptualization of the relationship between learning and acquisition. The partial interface hypothesis makes two predictions concerning the interaction between learning and acquisition: (1) learning will interact with acquisition in the case of some L2 features only, and (2) the possibility of this interaction will increase with the availability and reliability of cues in the immediate learning context.

Thus, the interface is partial since it only allows for limited interaction between learning and acquisition, and also because it favors certain types of features. It must be noted that the interface might consist of a double filter, meaning that only those features are acquirable through learning for which the learner is both developmentally ready and which have high cue reliability. As the simulations modeled the acquisition of a single feature, it is impossible to answer this question at the moment, but future research will surely shed light on this important point. To provide a visual summary of the relationship between the partial interface hypothesis and other views on the interface between learning and acquisition, the positions are depicted in Figure 6 with broken lines denoting no transfer from explicit to implicit knowledge (i.e., learning does not become acquisition) and solid lines indicating a facilitative effect.

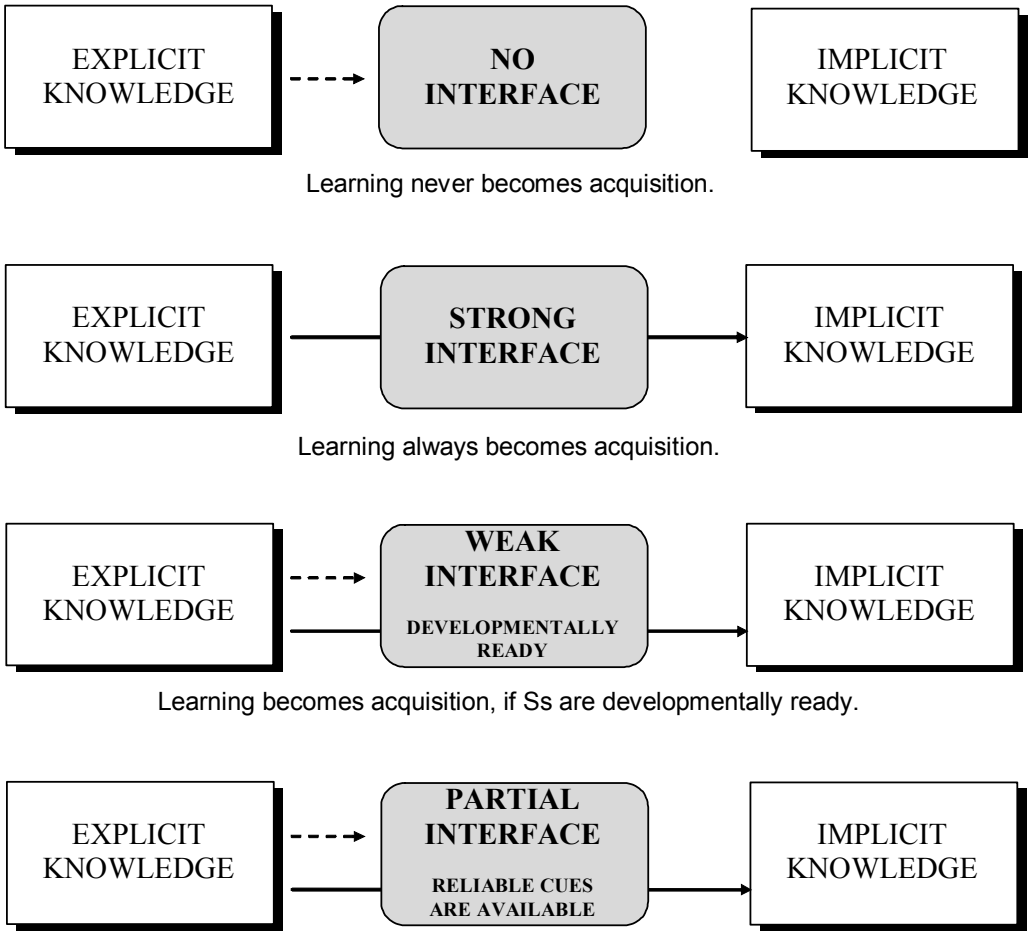


Figure 6. The partial interface hypothesis and other interface theories

FINAL THOUGHTS

In a review of various approaches to language pedagogy, Celce-Murcia (1991) described the history of language pedagogy as a swinging pendulum between direct and analytic approaches to language teaching, which either rejected any role for the teaching of grammar or voted for the usefulness and necessity of the inclusion of grammar teaching as part of foreign language instruction.

As Larsen-Freeman (1995) pointed out, despite the diverse positions, some learners had been able to emerge successfully from language courses, regardless of the particular methods used:

> As much as we are reluctant to admit it, it is not true that the grammar-translation method or ALM failed to produce communicatively competent individuals. Certainly some students were successful. Why they succeeded when they did needs to be explained in any comprehensive theory of SLA (p. 142).

According to Long and Robinson (1998), however, such success is exceptional and probably reflects the abilities of students rather than the appropriateness of the particular instructional approach:

> Grammatical syllabi, linguistically "simplified" teaching materials, explicit grammar explanations, immediate forced student production, pattern practice, translation, error "correction", and other widely used teaching devices are often asserted by their advocates to account for classroom language learning success. As attested by the ratios of beginners and false beginners to finishers, however, the same phenomena are more frequently associated with failure, suggesting that the successful learners may learn through them or in spite of them, not necessarily because of them (p. 20).

At any rate, neither direct nor analytical approaches seem to have provided a satisfactory framework for the teaching of second languages as indicated by the perpetual vacillation of theory and practice between these two extremes.

The partial interface hypothesis supports a position similar to the proponents of the so-called *Focus on Form* (FonF) movement in language pedagogy who appear to have had enough of the endless debate, and argue for stopping the pendulum in midway somewhere between analytical and direct approaches (see the edited volume by Doughty & Williams, 1998).

FonF instruction is rooted in the belief that a communicative approach to language teaching where the primary focus is on meaning is fundamental, but such an approach is not incompatible with some type of explicit focus on linguistic forms. In other words, FonF instruction opposes the mindless and outright rejection of all types and forms of grammar teaching. It incorporates a variety of positions on what type of focus of form is necessary and justifiable, while some researchers argue for meaningful drills reminiscent of earlier methods (see, e.g., DeKeyser, 1998). As a result, FonF instruction is yet far from being the cure-all approach to language pedagogy and research questions abound: what types of forms to focus on, when explicit intervention is necessary, how to focus on form, to name but a few (Doughty & Williams, 1998). Before these questions are seriously examined by advocates of FonF instruction, it is doubtful whether we can talk about a principled approach to language teaching at all (for a recent meta-analysis of the interaction between type of instruction and type of language feature see Spada & Tomita, 2010). The research outlined in this paper might aid such research by specifying the features which may be the most amenable to explicit teaching.

The position advocated here that different features of the L2 might be more or less affected by instruction is not new. Hulstijn (1995) argued that "not all grammar rules are equal", some of them being more suitable for explicit instruction than others. The partial interface hypothesis suggests that features which are based on reliable cues in language forms might be the best candidates for explicit teaching. The requirement that the feature be formally reliable in fact coincides with one of Hulstijn's criteria for "easy" and therefore teachable rules. Support for explicit teaching of simple as opposed to complex rules comes from the Green and Hecht's (1992) study discussed above, and a study by DeKeyser (1995), who found in a computer controlled experiment that explicit instruction benefited the learning of simple abstract morphosyntactic rules of an artificial language, while participants performed better on probabilistic (i.e., less reliable) rules under an implicit training condition. These results are consistent with the predictions of the Extra Input Biased Learning model and an approach to language pedagogy which differentiates not only between direct and analytic approaches but also between different types of linguistic features, based on whether they are best taught using implicit or explicit teaching strategies.

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APPENDIX

Table 1a. Training patterns (TLDs on) with *random* stems

	INPUT		OUTPUT
CODE	STEM (30+1+3 units)	TLD (3 units)	SUFFIX (3 units)
LM01	100000000000000000000000000000**000**	100	100
LM02	010000000000000000000000000001**000**	100	100
LM03	001000000000000000000000000000**000**	100	100
LM04	000100000000000000000000000001**000**	100	100
LM05	000010000000000000000000000000**000**	100	100
LM06	000001000000000000000000000001**000**	100	100
LM07	000000100000000000000000000000**000**	100	100
LM08	000000010000000000000000000001**000**	100	100
LM09	000000001000000000000000000000**000**	100	100
LM10	000000000100000000000000000001**000**	100	100
LF01	000000000010000000000000000000**000**	010	010
LF02	000000000001000000000000000001**000**	010	010
LF03	000000000000100000000000000000**000**	010	010
LF04	000000000000010000000000000001**000**	010	010
LF05	000000000000001000000000000000**000**	010	010
LF06	000000000000000100000000000001**000**	010	010
LF07	000000000000000010000000000000**000**	010	010
LF08	000000000000000001000000000001**000**	010	010
LF09	000000000000000000100000000000**000**	010	010
LF10	000000000000000000010000000001**000**	010	010
LN01	000000000000000000001000000000**000**	001	001
LN02	000000000000000000000100000001**000**	001	001
LN03	000000000000000000000010000000**000**	001	001
LN04	000000000000000000000001000001**000**	001	001
LN05	000000000000000000000000100000**000**	001	001
LN06	000000000000000000000000010001**000**	001	001
LN07	000000000000000000000000001000**000**	001	001
LN08	000000000000000000000000000101**000**	001	001
LN09	000000000000000000000000000010**000**	001	001
LN10	000000000000000000000000000011**000**	001	001

Table 1b. Test patterns (TLDs off) with *random* stems

	INPUT		OUTPUT
CODE	STEM (30+1+3 units)	TLD (3 units)	SUFFIX (3 units)
AM01	100000000000000000000000000000**000**	000	100
AM02	010000000000000000000000000001**000**	000	100
AM03	001000000000000000000000000000**000**	000	100
AM04	000100000000000000000000000001**000**	000	100
AM05	000010000000000000000000000000**000**	000	100
AM06	000001000000000000000000000001**000**	000	100
AM07	000000100000000000000000000000**000**	000	100
AM08	000000010000000000000000000001**000**	000	100
AM09	000000001000000000000000000000**000**	000	100
AM10	000000000100000000000000000001**000**	000	100
AF01	000000000010000000000000000000**000**	000	010
AF02	000000000001000000000000000001**000**	000	010
AF03	000000000000100000000000000000**000**	000	010
AF04	000000000000010000000000000001**000**	000	010
AF05	000000000000001000000000000000**000**	000	010
AF06	000000000000000100000000000001**000**	000	010
AF07	000000000000000010000000000000**000**	000	010
AF08	000000000000000001000000000001**000**	000	010
AF09	000000000000000000100000000000**000**	000	010
AF10	000000000000000000010000000001**000**	000	010
AN01	000000000000000000001000000000**000**	000	001
AN02	000000000000000000000100000001**000**	000	001
AN03	000000000000000000000010000000**000**	000	001
AN04	000000000000000000000001000001**000**	000	001
AN05	000000000000000000000000100000**000**	000	001
AN06	000000000000000000000000010001**000**	000	001
AN07	000000000000000000000000001000**000**	000	001
AN08	000000000000000000000000000101**000**	000	001
AN09	000000000000000000000000000010**000**	000	001
AN10	000000000000000000000000000011**000**	000	001

Table 2a. Training patterns (TLDs on) with *cued* stems

	INPUT		OUTPUT
CODE	STEM (30+1+3 units)	TLD (3 units)	SUFFIX (3 units)
LM01	100000000000000000000000000000000**100**	100	100
LM02	010000000000000000000000000000001**100**	100	100
LM03	001000000000000000000000000000000**100**	100	100
LM04	000100000000000000000000000000001**100**	100	100
LM05	000010000000000000000000000000000**100**	100	100
LM06	000001000000000000000000000000001**100**	100	100
LM07	000000100000000000000000000000000**100**	100	100
LM08	000000010000000000000000000000001**100**	100	100
LM09	000000001000000000000000000000000**100**	100	100
LM10	000000000100000000000000000000001**100**	100	100
LF01	000000000010000000000000000000000**010**	010	010
LF02	000000000001000000000000000000001**010**	010	010
LF03	000000000000100000000000000000000**010**	010	010
LF04	000000000000010000000000000000001**010**	010	010
LF05	000000000000001000000000000000000**010**	010	010
LF06	000000000000000100000000000000001**010**	010	010
LF07	000000000000000010000000000000000**010**	010	010
LF08	000000000000000001000000000000001**010**	010	010
LF09	000000000000000000100000000000000**010**	010	010
LF10	000000000000000000010000000000001**010**	010	010
LN01	000000000000000000001000000000000**001**	001	001
LN02	000000000000000000000100000000001**001**	001	001
LN03	000000000000000000000010000000000**001**	001	001
LN04	000000000000000000000001000000001**001**	001	001
LN05	000000000000000000000000100000000**001**	001	001
LN06	000000000000000000000000010000001**001**	001	001
LN07	000000000000000000000000001000000**001**	001	001
LN08	000000000000000000000000000100100**001**	001	001
LN09	000000000000000000000000000010000**001**	001	001
LN10	000000000000000000000000000001100**001**	001	001

Table 2b. Test patterns (TLDs off) with *cued* stems

	INPUT		OUTPUT
CODE	STEM (30+1+3 units)	TLD (3 units)	SUFFIX (3 units)
AM01	10000000000000000000000000000000**100**	000	100
AM02	01000000000000000000000000000001**100**	000	100
AM03	00100000000000000000000000000000**100**	000	100
AM04	00010000000000000000000000000001**100**	000	100
AM05	00001000000000000000000000000000**100**	000	100
AM06	00000100000000000000000000000001**100**	000	100
AM07	00000010000000000000000000000000**100**	000	100
AM08	00000001000000000000000000000001**100**	000	100
AM09	00000000100000000000000000000000**100**	000	100
AM10	00000000010000000000000000000001**100**	000	100
AF01	00000000001000000000000000000000**010**	000	010
AF02	00000000000100000000000000000001**010**	000	010
AF03	00000000000010000000000000000000**010**	000	010
AF04	00000000000001000000000000000001**010**	000	010
AF05	00000000000000100000000000000000**010**	000	010
AF06	00000000000000010000000000000001**010**	000	010
AF07	00000000000000001000000000000000**010**	000	010
AF08	00000000000000000100000000000001**010**	000	010
AF09	00000000000000000010000000000000**010**	000	010
AF10	00000000000000000001000000000001**010**	000	010
AN01	00000000000000000000100000000000**001**	000	001
AN02	00000000000000000000010000000001**001**	000	001
AN03	00000000000000000000001000000000**001**	000	001
AN04	00000000000000000000000100000001**001**	000	001
AN05	00000000000000000000000010000000**001**	000	001
AN06	00000000000000000000000001000001**001**	000	001
AN07	00000000000000000000000000100000**001**	000	001
AN08	00000000000000000000000000010001**001**	000	001
AN09	00000000000000000000000000001000**001**	000	001
AN10	00000000000000000000000000000011**001**	000	001

CONCEPTUAL MAPPINGS UNDERLYING ENGLISH CONVERSION

Sándor Martsa

INTRODUCTION

English conversion is usually defined as a kind of morphologically unmarked category-shifting word-formation process. While the output of conversion is always an open class word, its input may be an open class word as well as a closed class item: cf. *house*N > *house*V, *spy*V > *spy*N, *clear*A > *clear*V, *down*PARTICLE > *down*V, *tut*INTERJECTION > *tut*V. Conversion in contemporary English is a widely available word-formation technique accompanied by remarkable formal (morphological) simplicity. Because of this simplicity Jespersen (1954) calls conversion a "'noiseless' machinery" (p. 85) which plays an important role in vocabulary enrichment and language acquisition. The formal simplicity of conversion, however, does not mean that its treatment as a word-formation process is a simple matter. Indeed, the said simplicity goes together with an astonishing diversity of often mutually exclusive interpretations of its nature. While most linguists consider conversion as a kind of word-formation, on a par with derivation and compounding, others deny this on grounds that what takes place during conversion is not (rule-governed) word-formation, but occasional duplication of certain words. In the first part of this paper some of the interpretations of conversion will be briefly compared. Then, in the second part it will be argued that the mechanism of conversion is best captured by cognitive semanticists who take it to be a kind of word-formation based on conceptual operations called mappings. The discussion of these mappings will be based mostly on the findings of Kövecses and Radden (1998), Radden and Kövecses (1999), Dirven

(1999) and Martsa (2013). Due to constraints on space, in this part only selected groups of N>V, V>N and A>N conversions will be examined.

CURRENT INTERPRETATIONS OF CONVERSION

Conversion as word-formation

Marchand (1969), Kiparsky (1982, 1983), Kastovsky (2005) and a number of other authors consider conversion a kind of morphological derivation, whereby a covert element, a zero-suffix is added to the converting base. A zero suffix, or if we take into account various types of conversion, zero suffixes are claimed to possess the same features as overt suffixes, namely they are class-changing and assign features like [Agent] or [Patient] to the output base, as in *spy*$_{V}$ > *spy*+Ø$_{N[Agent]}$ or *swap*$_{V}$ > *swap*+Ø$_{N[Patient]}$. As in conversion the meaning of the output is directly inferable from the meaning of the input, there is every reason to suppose that zero suffixes also have the same meaning or meanings as overt suffixes. It is first of all because of this supposition that the notion of zero elements in derivation and particularly in conversion has been strongly criticized and rejected by a number of authors, including, among others, Pennanen (1971), Aronoff (1976), Lieber (1981, 1992, 2004), Bauer (1983), Katamba (1993), Štekauer (1996) and Martsa (2012).

During conversion the output word assumes inflections that are different from those of the input word, which entails that the former must occur in another syntactic position or role than the former. Therefore some linguists, including Biese (1941), Smirnickij (1953, 1956), Myers (1984) and Szymanek (1993) have come to the conclusion that conversion arises not from morphological, but from syntactic derivation. More specifically, they suggest that conversion takes place owing to a paradigmatic shift caused in turn by a change in the immediate syntactic environment of words involved in conversion. It goes without saying that this change is really crucial from the point of view of conversion, but as we shall see presently, it must at best be seen as a marker or result of conversion and not as its cause. The interpretation of conversion as semantic derivation will be discussed in the second part.

Among non-derivational approaches to conversion three are of special significance. In Leech's (1981) opinion conversion, along with derivation and semantic transfer, is a kind of lexical rule operating in the mental lexicon. Conversion is different from derivation in that in the latter the obligatory change of word class is morphologically unmarked. Although semantic transfer is also morphologically unmarked, it does not involve change of word class (cf. *school*$_{N}$ 'institution for education' → *school*$_{N}$ 'students and staff'). In Štekauer's (1996) onomasiological approach conversion is also treated as an independent word-formation technique, different from derivation. Štekauer argues that conversion results from the intellectual re-analysis or recategorization of extralinguistic objects or entities to be named. For

example, the recategorization of substance as action gives rise to conversions such as *water*N > *water*V or *butter*N > *butter*V. Syntactic recategorization, i.e., a change of word class, follows from conceptual recategorization. This is what the cognitive semantic view of conversion also states (see below), and this is where the zero-derivational and syntactic derivational views seem to have gone wrong: they mistake the result of conversion for its cause. Within the framework of natural morphology (Manova & Dressler, 2005), conversion is considered an independent process of word-formation, different from addition or affixation (e.g., *lion* → *lion-ess*), substitution (e.g., *nomin-ate* → *nomin-ee*), modification (e.g., *to increase* → *(an) increase*) and subtraction (e.g., *lazy* → *to laze*).

Conversion as non-word-formation

To further prove the diversity of interpretations mentioned above, mention must be of interpretations according to which conversion is not a word-formation process. In a number of publications Lieber (1981, 1992, 2004), for instance, claims that it often happens in English that for communicative (pragmatic) reasons a word belonging to a word class, say a noun, is relisted in the lexicon as a word belonging to another word class, say a verb. Re-entering a word into the lexicon as another word, so Lieber (2004) argues, is not an instance of word-formation (zero-derivation), but "just one form of coinage of forming novel lexical items" (p. 94). Farrell (2001), on the other hand, claims that whether a word surfaces as a noun or a verb depends on the syntactic position in which it is inserted by syntactic rules. This is so because words are stored in the lexicon with underspecified categories, which become fully specified only in the sentence, in which the words are used. It seems that, similarly to the aforesaid derivational approaches, the relisting hypothesis also suffers from mistaking the result for the cause: relisting does not cause but only marks conversion. As Štekauer's (1996) and cognitive semanticists suggest (see below), syntactic recategorization, that is, change of word class is always preceded by the conceptual re-analysis or recategorization of real-world entities. A possible criticism that can be raised against Farrell's view is that if words are listed in the lexicon without (sufficiently explicit) lexical category specification, it is not clear how syntactic rules can find and insert them in the appropriate syntactic slots (cf. Plag, 2003).

Conversion as semantic derivation

In cognitive semantics different types of conversion are viewed as semantic derivation determined by conceptual shifts or mappings. Generally speaking, conceptual mapping "is the projection of one set of conceptual entities onto another set of conceptual entities" (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 12). Mappings project conceptual

entities onto other conceptual entities across idealized cognitive models (ICMs) or domains or within one ICM. An ICM is the mental representation of the world embodied in human experience (Lakoff, 1987). From the point of view of N>V and V>N conversions discussed in this paper the Action ICM is especially important. Different constituent of this ICM, such as agent, patient, location, instrument, can stand for the action designated, or, vice versa, the action can be conceptualized in terms of one of its constituents. For example, within the ICM of cutting an instrument of cutting (knife) can stand for cutting (e.g., *knife*$_{N>V}$), and, conversely, the action can stand for the instrument of that action (e.g., *cut*$_{V>N}$). Technically speaking, we can say that one constituent of the Action ICM can be mapped or projected onto the action itself, or, vice versa, the action can be mapped onto one of its constituents. This conceptual mapping is metonymic in nature, for it creates a 'stand-for' relationship between the constituents of Action ICMs. Metonymic mappings taking place in Action ICMs are usually demonstrated in terms of conceptual metonymies of the form *'X for Y'*. Kövecses and Radden (1998) identify the following generic conceptual metonymies underlying denominal verbs and deverbal nouns, respectively: INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION: *ski*$_V$, *shampoo*$_V$ (one's hair); AGENT FOR ACTION: *butcher*$_V$, *author*$_V$ (a book); ACTION FOR AGENT: (a) *cheat*$_N$, (a) *pry*$_N$.

As regards A>N conversions (e.g., *poor*$_A$ > (the) *poor*$_N$, *unexpected*$_V$ > (the) *unexpected*$_N$), they emerge from another ICM, called the Category-and-Property ICM (Radden & Kövecses, 1999), that renders it possible for a salient (i.e., defining or essential) property to stand for the category it defines or it is part of. In other words, this ICM makes it possible for a property to stand for its bearer. The generic conceptual metonymy reflecting the conceptual mapping characteristic of this ICM is DEFINING PROPERTY OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY (Radden & Kövecses, 1999).

Along with metonymic mappings, metaphoric mappings between domains or ICMs are also possible, and they motivate a subclass of verbs converted from names for animals. These mappings are commonly demonstrated in terms of conceptual metaphors of the form *'X is Y'*. In *The boys wolfed the sandwiches down and then started on cakes* (CIDE), for example, *wolf*$_V$ is underlain the conceptual mapping expressed by the conceptual metaphor A PERSON EATING QUICKLY, SWALLOWING BIG PIECES OF FOOD IS A WOLF (Martsa, 2001).

As we have seen in the previous section, in most interpretations the result of conversion, i.e., the obligatory change of word class is apparently confused with the cause, i.e., with the conceptual (or as Štekauer (1996) put it: intellectual) reanalysis of extra-linguistic entities. The cognitive semantic interpretation of conversion based on the working of metonymic and metaphoric mappings appears to avoid this mistake, since it clearly states that the change of word class, a typical property of all conversion processes, is the consequence of the said conceptual mappings. Moreover, this interpretation also offers a plausible explanation how the meaning of the output word is predictable from that of input or parent word. The discussion of this issue, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

Before turning to the discussion of conceptual mappings underlying individual types of conversion, another approach to conversion needs to be mentioned within the cognitive grammar framework. Based on Langacker's (1987) tenets, Twardzisz (1997) proposes that conversion (zero-derivation) is a complex cognitive mechanism of semantic extension triggered by the interaction of landmarks and trajectors with temporally segmented processes. In Langacker's (1987) theory the distinction between the trajector and the landmark, or rather, the trajector / landmark asymmetry, as a special case of figure-ground alignment, is fundamental to relational predication and it underlies the universal subject / object distinction. Twardzisz (1997) demonstrates that conversion of nouns to verbs can be regarded as an extension of things, i.e., trajectors and landmarks (subjects and objects) to processes, whereas conversion of verbs to nouns is an extension of processes to things.

To conclude this section, a quick glance at the types of English conversion is in order. In the corresponding literature various classifications of conversion have been suggested (Martsa, 2013), among which Quirk et al.'s (1985) classification is perhaps the most comprehensive ever to be made, including the total of 22 types of conversion. The types of conversion presented in Table 1 are generally acknowledged by linguists with different theoretical persuasions.

Table 1: Types of conversion

Full	N > V	*referee*$_{N}$ > *referee*$_{V}$
	A > V	*calm*$_{A}$ > *calm*$_{V}$
	CL.CLASS > V	*down*$_{PREP/ADV}$ > *down*$_{V}$
	V > N	*catch*$_{V}$ > *catch*$_{N}$
	PHRASE > N	*shut down*$_{V}$ > (a) *shutdown*$_{N}$
	PHRASE > A	*up in the air* > *up-in-the-air*$_{A}$
Partial	A > N	*lucky*$_{A}$> *(the) lucky*$_{N}$
	CL.CLASS > N	*must*$_{AUX}$ > *must*$_{N}$
	ADV > N	*up*$_{ADV}$ *down*$_{ADV}$ > (the) *ups and downs*$_{N}$

CONCEPTUAL MAPPINGS MOTIVATING N>V, V>N AND A>N CONVERSIONS

N>V conversions

In the discussion of N>V conversions we shall rely for the most part on Clark and-Clark's (1979) now classic taxonomy. In the discussion of a subclass of agent and experiencer verbs, called animal verbs, Martsa (1999, 2013) will also be taken into account. The discussion of conceptual metonymies and metaphors mentioned in this section draws on Kövecses and Radden (1998), Martsa (1999, 2003, 2007, 2010, 2013). Unless indicated otherwise, examples are taken from the aforesaid works, predominantly from Clark and Clark (1979).

Clark and Clark (1979) set up the following subclasses of denominal converted verbs, out of which the first three will be considered here: locatum verbs (e.g., *blanket*$_{N>V}$, *tunnel*$_{N>V}$), location and duration verbs (e.g., *kennel*$_{N>V}$, *summer*$_{N>V}$), agent and experiencer verbs (e.g., *jockey*$_{N>V}$, *witness*$_{N>V}$), goal and source verbs (e.g., *orphan*$_{N>V}$, *letter*$_{N>V}$), instrument verbs (e.g., *nail*$_{N>V}$, *towel*$_{N>V}$).

Locatum verbs

For the description of the conceptual mapping characterizing verbs belonging to this class, Kövecses and Radden (1998) propose the generic conceptual metonymy OBJECT OF MOTION FOR THE MOTION, indicating that these verbs arise from the metonymic mapping of a thing or object designated by the converting parent noun onto the action of putting that thing onto another thing. The putting of a thing onto another thing occasionally involves motion both in the concrete and figurative sense. Concretely, a locatum verb refers to an action, whereby a thing is either put on / in / around / along / over / etc. another thing or, conversely, removed from (the surface of) it. Considering verbs pertaining to this class, further conceptual metonymies can be postulated that can in fact be seen as derivations from the above generic metonymy. So verbs in (1) and (2), representing alternating construals of covering, seem to unanimously evoke the metonymies A THING (USED FOR) COVERING AN OBJECT FOR THE ACTION OF COVERING and A THING (USED FOR) COVERING AN OBJECT PARTIALLY FOR THE ACTION OF PARTIAL COVERING. (For the interpretation of construal in cognitive grammar, see Langacker, 1987).

(1) *blanket the bed, slipcover the cushion*
paper the wall, spray-paint the door
roof the house, tarmac the road
marmalade the toast, grease the pan
powder her nose, talc the baby
chrome the knife, silver the dish

(2) *ice over, fog up, cloud over*
glove her hands, fig-leaf the statue
saddle the horse, muzzle the dog

The conceptual mappings underlying verbs in (3) a., b., c. and d. evoke the following metonymies: (3) a. PEOPLE FOR THE ACTION INVOLVING THOSE PEOPLE; (3) b. A THING ATTACHED TO AN OBJECT FOR THE ACTION OF ATTACHING THAT OBJECT; (3) c. A THING USED FOR DECORATION FOR THE ACTION OF DECORATING WITH THAT THING; (3) d. AN OBJECT (BROUGHT) IN SPACIAL CONTIGUITY WITH ANOTHER OBJECT OR OBJECTS FOR THE ACTION INVOLVING THAT OBJECT.

(3) a. *man the ship, people the earth*
b. *date the check, licence-plate the car*
c. *festoon the room, tin-can the wedding car*
d. *fence the yard, bridge the stream*

The metonymy evoked by verbs in (4) is A THING REMOVED FOR THE ACTION OF REMOVING THAT THING.

(4) *skin the rabbit, shell the peanuts*
pit the cherries, pip the grapes

Finally, the following conceptual metonymies can be postulated for verbs in (5) a. and b.: (5) a. A THING ADDED TO A FOOD OR DRINK FOR THE ACTION OF ADDING THAT THING; (5) b. A THING APPLIED TO A PERSON OR ANIMAL FOR THE ACTION INVOLVING THAT THING and A MEASURE TAKEN AGAINST A PERSON FOR THE ACTION INVOLVING THAT MEASURE.

(5) a. *spice the food, cream the coffee*
b. *dope the horse, subpoena the president*

Location and duration verbs

Clark and Clark (1979) argue that the rationale for grouping these two types of verbs into one class is that the corresponding parent nouns of both types typically occur in prepositional phrases. The generic conceptual metonymies expressing the conceptual mappings characterizing this complex class are DESTINATION OF THE MOTION FOR THE MOTION and TIME PERIOD FOR A CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY IN THAT TIME PERIOD (Kövecses & Radden, 1998). Accordingly, a location verb refers to an action, also involving some kind of a motion, whereby a thing is put either on a thing functioning as a surface or in a thing functioning as a container

designated by the converting parent noun. A duration verb, on the other hand, refers to an action of staying in a place for a period of time designated by the parent noun. Verbs belonging to this class seem to evoke four conceptual metonymies, all of them being derivations from the first generic metonymy mentioned above. Thus, the conceptual mapping at work in verbs in (6) is demonstrable in terms of the metonymy A PLACE FOR THE ACTION OF PUTTING SOMETHING IN OR ON THAT PLACE.

(6) *ground the planes, beach the boat*
bench the players, floor his opponent
headquarter the troops, room at the Waldorf
cellar the wine, file-cabinet the letters
pot the begonias, sack the potato

Verbs in (7), (8) and (9) are respectively underlain by the conceptual mappings expressed by the metonymies A PLACE FOR THE ACTION OF REMOVING SOMETHING FROM THAT PLACE, IMAGE FOR THE ACTION OF PRODUCING THAT IMAGE and PRINTED MATTER FOR THE ACTION OF PRODUCING THAT PRINTED MATTER.

(7) *mine the gold, quarry the gold*

(8) *chart the route, map the area*
picture the man, film the action

(9) *list the participants, book the flight*

No further metonymies are derivable from TIME PERIOD FOR A CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY IN THAT TIME PERIOD illustrated in (10).

(10) *summer in France, honeymoon in Hawaii*

Agent and experiencer verbs

Kövecses and Radden (1998) postulate the following generic conceptual metonymies expressing the underlying conceptual mappings in this complex class of converted verbs: AGENT FOR A CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY OF THAT AGENT and EXPERIENCER OF AN EVENT FOR THE EVENT. The conceptual mapping expressed by the first generic metonymy appears to motivate verbs in (11) a., b. and c., whereas the conceptual mapping underlying verbs in (11) d. is expressed by the second generic metonymy. Verbs in (11) a. and b. further evoke the metonymy A PERSON WITH A SPECIFIC JOB FOR THE ACTIVITY CHARACTERISTIC OF THAT

PERSON, which in fact is a paraphrase of the generic AGENT FOR A CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY OF THAT AGENT.

(11) a. *umpire the match, police the park*
b. *monitor an exam, escort the ambassador*
c. *fox the people, dog the escapee*
d. *witness the accident, boycott the store*

Verbs in (11) c. will be further considered in the next section.

Animal verbs

As was pointed out in the foregoing discussion, animal verbs are converted from names of animals (e.g. *carp*$_V$, *pig*$_V$ (on), *parrot*$_V$). As regards their underlying conceptual mappings, three types of animal verbs can be identified. The first type is illustrated in (12):

(12) About September they take their Mares into the house again where they keep them till they *foal*. (OED2)
The dogs went *ratting*. (LDELC)
Consult the vet about *worming* your puppy. (COBUILD)

In Clark and Clark's (1979) taxonomy, these verbs belong to goal verbs, not discussed here, and their motivating conceptual mapping can be described in terms of generic conceptual metonymy RESULT FOR THE ACTION THAT BRINGS ABOUT THAT RESULT (Kövecses & Radden, 1998). In addition, *foal*$_V$ in the first sentence evokes the metonymy YOUNG ANIMAL FOR BRINGING THAT ANIMAL FORTH, whereas the verbs in the other two sentences evoke the metonymy ANIMAL FOR CATCHING / EXTERMINATING THAT ANIMAL. Other animal verbs similar to *foal*$_V$, on the one hand, and *rat*$_V$ and *worm*$_V$, on the other, include *calf*$_V$, *cub*$_V$, *kitten*$_V$, *lamb*$_V$, *puppy*$_V$ and *fish*$_V$, *flea*$_V$, *seal*$_V$, *whale*$_V$.

The conceptual mapping underlying animal verbs belonging to another group can be described in terms of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. This mapping is also called zoomorphization, i.e., the mapping or projection of instinctual animal traits onto human behavioural traits. Examples in case are *beetle*$_V$, *carp*$_V$, *cow*$_V$, *drone*$_V$, *duck*$_V$, *ferret*$_V$ (out), *hare*$_V$ (off), *parrot*$_V$, *rabbit*$_V$, *squirrel*$_V$ and *weasel*$_V$.

Animal verbs of the third type, belonging to the class of agent and experiencer verbs in Clark and Clark's (1979) taxonomy, include, among others, *beaver*$_V$ (away), *monkey*$_V$ (about), *pig*$_V$ (on), *fox*$_V$, and *wolf*$_V$ (down). The conceptual metonymy expressing the underlying conceptual mapping in this case is ^{1}ANIMAL FOR THE ACTIVITY / BEHAVIOUR (PERCEIVED AS) TYPICAL OF ^{2}ANIMAL, where ^{1}ANIMAL metaphorically designates a person with an attribute or attributes of ^{2}AN-

IMAL (=real-world animal) projected onto him. So what we can see here is that the metonymic mapping giving rise to conversion is only possible if the parent noun designating a human agent (or experiencer) first undergoes the metaphoric mapping of zoomorphization. This then means that during conversion the metaphoric sense of the noun (e.g., *beaver*$_N$ 'a person working hard'; cf. *eager-beaver*) is metonymically mapped onto the verb (e.g., *beaver*$_V$ (away) 'to work hard at sth').

V>N conversions

It was suggested earlier that V>N conversions also emerge from Action ICMs due to the reversibility of metonymic mappings operating in them. Occasionally conversion nouns may also arise from the combination of Action ICMs and Causation ICMs (e.g., *cut*$_N$, *ruin*$_N$) or Action ICMs and Production ICMs (e.g., *rattle*$_N$, *whistle*$_N$). Kövecses and Radden (1998) propose three conceptual metonymies reflecting three kinds of metonymic mappings underlying V>N conversions. They are given in (13):

(13) ACTION FOR AGENT: *snitch* (slang: 'to inform' and 'informer')
ACTION FOR THE OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION: *Give me one bite*.
ACTION FOR RESULT: *a deep cut*

On the basis of conversion nouns obtained from (OALD4), further conceptual metonymies underlying conversion nouns can be postulated (see also Schöneveld, 2005). They are given in (14):

(14) ACTION FOR THE PATIENT INVOLVED IN THAT ACTION: e.g., *bore, buy, dropout, love, suspect, swap*
ACTION FOR THE INSTRUMENT THAT IS USED TO PERFORM THAT ACTION: e.g., *clip, lock, pull, rattle, whistle*
ACTION FOR THE EVENT INVOLVING THAT ACTION: e.g., *break-in, shoot-out, take-off, talk, walk*
ACTION FOR AN INSTANCE OF THAT ACTION: e.g., *flick, kick, punch, repeat, save, spin*
ACTION FOR THE LOCATION OF THAT ACTION: e.g., *flyover, hideout, sink, stand, stop, turn*
ACTION FOR THE TIME OF THAT ACTION: e.g., *breakup, countdown, finish, kick-off, start, stop*
ACTION/PROCESS FOR THE SENSATION CAUSED BY THAT ACTION/PROCESS: e.g., *feel, smell, taste, touch*
PROCESS FOR THE STATE CAUSED BY THAT PROCESS: e.g., *delight, hangover, hate, surprise, worry*

A>N conversions

Nouns, plural animate nouns as well as inanimate singular nouns, converted from adjectives represent partial types of conversion in the sense that they do not fully assume nominal inflection, i.e. they do not take the plural suffix (e.g., *(the) *luckies*, *(the) *poors*, *(the) *unexpecteds*). Moreover, whereas these nouns collocate with the definite article, as most other nouns do, they may also retain adjectival inflection and collocate with adverbs (e.g., (the) *luckiest*, (the) *extremely poor*). By contrast, animate nouns converted from colour adjectives are marked for plural and they rarely occur in the singular (e.g., (the) *blacks*, (the) *greens* vs. ?(a) *black*, ?(a) *green*). As was pointed earlier, A>N conversions emerge from the Category-and-Property ICM (Radden & Kövecses,1999), which makes it possible for a salient (i.e., defining or essential) property to stand for the category it defines or it is part of. To demonstrate the conceptual mapping at work in the Category-and-Property ICM, Radden and Kövecses (1999) propose the generic conceptual metonymy DEFINING PROPERTY OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY. As expected, further conceptual metonymies can also be postulated; those presented in (15) reflect mappings motivating animate and inanimate nouns converted from adjectives designating various properties except colour; conceptual metonymies in (16), on the other hand, reflect conceptual mappings underlying animate nouns converted from colour adjectives.

(15) INTELLECTUAL/MENTAL PROPERTY FOR (THE GROUP OF) PEOPLE SHARING THAT PROPERTY: e.g., *the clever*, *the stupid*, *the insane*
PHYSICAL/PHYSIOLOGICAL PROPERTY FOR (THE GROUP OF) PEOPLE SHARING THAT PROPERTY: e.g., *the dead*, *the handicapped*, *the bedridden*
SOCIAL STATUS FOR PEOPLE SHARING THAT SOCIAL STATUS: e.g., *the rich*, *the poor*, *the deprived*
PROPERTY FOR THE THING THAT HAS THAT PROPERTY: e.g., *the beautiful*, *the eccentric*, *the unknown*

(16) COLOUR OF SKIN FOR PEOPLE HAVING THAT COLOUR OF SKIN: e.g., *the blacks*, *the yellows*, *the whites*
COLOUR FOR PEOPLE SHARING POLITICAL VIEWS ASSOCIATED WITH THAT COLOUR: e.g., *the Greens*, *the Reds*, *the Whites*
COLOUR OF DRESS FOR THE SPORTS TEAM THE MEMBERS OF WHICH WEAR THAT DRESS: e.g., *the Reds* (Liverpool), *the Blues* (Chelsea)

SUMMARY

It has been demonstrated in this paper that conceptual mappings proposed by cognitive semanticists are particularly suitable for the description of the "'noiseless' machinery" (Jespersen, 1954, p. 85) of English conversion. The mechanism of conceptual mappings, that is, "the projection of one set of conceptual entities onto another set of conceptual entities" (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 12) helps to account not only for the underlying semantic (conceptual) processes operating during conversion, but also for the fact that conversion requires an obligatory change of word class. Conceptual mappings can be metonymic and metaphoric, depending on whether they operate in a single ICM or across ICMs. Although most conversions in English are motivated by metonymic mappings, metaphoric mappings are also detectable in denominal conversion.

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HAVING VS. TAKING TEA: AN EMPIRICALLY BASED CASE STUDY OF LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

József Andor

INTRODUCTION: THE FUNCTIONAL CHARACTER OF LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

One of the hottest topics in current theorizing about grammar and linguistic representation concerns the nature, function, as well as the relation between phenomena of grammaticalization vs. lexicalization in linguistic structure. Functionally, lexicalization refers to the lexical representation, fusion of both semantically and syntactically salient information and, simultaneously, its representation in the mental lexicon as part of a conceptually based (usually conceptual frame dependent) lexical network from which it is easily accessible and extractable if needed in usage. Thus, lexicalization as a process is dependent on the interaction, interfacing of three major components of linguistic representation: semantics, morphosyntax, as well as lexical pragmatics. The opposite process, grammaticalization is understood as a form of delexicalization, loss of lexical meaning as a gradual process, wherein high frequency of occurrence and usage as well as conventionalization play a critical role. Both types of functionally based meaning change are gradable processes as pointed out historically by Brinton (2011, pp. 561-568). She also diachronically characterised the role expressed by both of these processes in the development of complex predicates in English. Typologically, complex predicates, also termed by some as light verb constructions (which term, perhaps most frequently used in cur-

rent descriptions, is thought to originally have been coined by Jespersen, 1942), periphrastic expressions (Matsumoto, 2008), composite predicates (Cattell, 1984), stretched verb constructions (Allerton, 2002), or function verb constructions (Nickel, 1968), show variation in their morphologically represented distribution. (As a matter of fact, Jespersen was the first linguist to use a linguistic term successfully to identify the verbal component of the construction, but he was not the first one to discuss the constructional issue structurally and functionally. In outlining the phenomenon in theoretical as well as descriptive terms, he was preceded by the American linguist and anthropologist Edward Sapir who, in his contribution to the famous early 20th century debate concerning the possibilities of finding an international auxiliary language used by human beings in communication, studying the suitability of English for such purposes, was researching the (to him) interesting phenomenon of having parallel expressions conveying the same meaning expressed either by full verbs or nouns derived from them. His key examples were the expressions *take a ride* vs. *ride*, and *give a kick* vs. *kick*. Trying to identify the function of the verbal expression in the construction, in lack of a more suitable term, he called *take* and *give* 'vague verbs', Sapir, 1925/1931, pp. 6-7).

Languages show agreement concerning the occurrence of a delexicalized, grammaticalized verb, a light verb, in construction with a noun (typically, such as in English and Hungarian) or with a verb (for instance, in Japanese). Usually the noun in construction with the light verb is deverbal concerning its origin and it has the same root as the full verb semantically and grammatically related to it (see, for instance, the constructions *take/have a walk* vs. *walk* in English, and the corres-ponding pair *sétát tesz* vs. *sétál* in Hungarian). Wierzbicka strongly argues for the functionally verbal counter to the nominal status of *walk* (and dozens of other deverbal lexical items) in the *have a …* construction (1988, pp. 295-297); however, in my view, the occurrence of the indefinite article and the potential of the deverbal element to take attributive premodification in the construction (*He took a fairly long walk in the park.)* clearly support argumentation for the nominal status of the deverbal expression. Let me note the frequently occurring possible absence of the indefinite article as a constructional variant in expressions such as *have/take lunch*, or its variable presence or absence in examples such as *have steak for lunch* vs. *have a steak for lunch*. The light verb set used in various languages also shows considerable variation. In periphrastic expressions of English the following delexicalized verbs are frequent: *have*, *take*, *get*, *give*, *do*, *make*. As already mentioned, the process of delexicalization and grammaticalization is gradational. Light verb constructions were already frequent in Middle English (Matsumoto, 2008), some of the light verbs retaining their frequency of occurrence in Early Modern and Modern, Present-day English, others having had a high degree of frequency in ME having totally disappeared from usage in our current usage. Diachronically, the set of light verbs in English (and in other languages as well) is in a constant change of state. New words are added to the store, gradually changing or losing their primary and literal

meaning in their occurrence in phrasal or idiomatic expressions (for instance, *catch* in *catch sight of*, or *draw* in collocational patterns such as *draw the conclusion*).

Researching the process of the meaning and functional change of such lexical items has to include a query about the possible conceptual frame-internal or -external sources and the nature of the process of delexicalization. Another important and typical feature of periphrastic constructions is variability of the occurrence of different light verbs with the same nominal lexical expression, as in *have dinner*, *take dinner*, *do dinner*. Certainly, there has to be a semantically and/or pragmatically, functionally based difference in the meaning expressed by these constructional variants and their full verb partner *dine* to be grasped and interpreted by the linguist analyst. Not to say about the language learner, who would have to acquire all of these lexical variants and use them rationally and relevantly in the process of communication. Yet another interesting feature of the construction is that not only deverbal nouns can co-occur with light verbs, as in *give a scream* (Andor, 2010, p. 195), but also nouns which have never been or are not used verbally (*have/take bean goulash for dinner*). In such cases parallel full verb variants to the construction simply do not exist. Light verbs constituting constructions with (typically) deverbal nominals undergo simultaneous grammaticalization as well as lexicalization (Los et al., 2012, p. 18), and the resulting construction by way of the ongoing process of conventionalization – if successful – gradually acquires a non-compositional character.

The variability of occurrence of light verbs in construction with the same nominal element may be influenced by regionally based factors. It has been pointed out by recent corpus linguistic investigations that the occurrence of *take* in expressions like *take a rest* is overwhelmingly preferable to *have* in the same lexical construction in the usage of speakers of American English, whereas the usage of *have* is preferable in British or Australian English (Wierzbicka, 1988). Finding the causes requires further, statistically relevant and precise investigations.

Valuable results of studying the functional character of light verb constructions over their parallel full verb partners have been gained and presented in detail by Wierzbicka (see Chapter 5 titled Why can you 'have a drink' when you can't *'have an eat'? 1988, pp. 293-357). She observed that the difference in the meaning of the two lexical representations is primarily aspectually based. Expressions of light verb constructions are more biassed towards conveying atelicity rather than telicity. Similar results were gained by Andor (2010) in his empirical (corpus-based vs. native speaker intuition-based investigations used as a control) study of a set of light verb constructions.

Wierzbicka (1988) also observed that aspectual and semantically-pragmatically based factors, according to which the meaning expressed by the constructional variant dominantly conveys positive polarity, expresses pleasurable attitudinal tones and a lower degree of purposefulness than expressions with full verbs, which represent more deliberate, purposeful, usually externally targeted actions (1988, p. 339). Such differences can even be observed within the realm of constructional

variants. For instance, *having a ride* expresses a considerably less purposeful action, more limited in time-space than the expression *taking a ride*, which typically refers to a more deliberate, definitely planned, controllable unitary action, which has a naturally occurring beginning and end (Wierzbicka, 1988, pp. 339-340). In her extensive research project investigating the semantic nature as well as the morphosyntactic behavior of complex predicates, Wierzbicka managed to point out that although a certain degree of similarity can be observed in specific groups of verbal domains (verbs of perception or those of motion) occurring in a certain variant of light verb construction types possibilities and frequencies of such types of constructional manifestation have to be investigated verb by verb, even in a semantically-pragmatically seemingly coherent and unified domain. For instance, within the domain of verbs lexically belonging to the lexical-conceptual frame of eating, such as *eat*, *chew*, *bite*, there are harsh differences of constructional behaviour, whereas *have a bite* is fully acceptable, but **have a chew*, **have an eat* remain unacceptable, ungrammatical (Wierzbicka, 1988, pp. 315-316). Concerning the morphosyntactic behavior of members of a synonymic domain, one would assume that they reveal commonality of facets, which, as conditions of commonality, would be supportive of identification of group membership. However, investigations carried out on such bases seem to reveal major differences. Verbs like *try* and *attempt*, sharing numerous semantic-pragmatic and lexical features, behave differently in their deverbal nominal constructional occurrence, whereas *have a try* is fully idiomatic, **have an attempt* is rated unacceptable by most native speakers of English (Wierzbicka's examples, 1988, pp. 309). Consequently, it can be stated that constructional meaning has to be investigated in terms of conceptually well-circumscribed semantic domains with each member tested for facets of a complex of feature-based criteria rather than in purely lexical terms.

All in all, researching the conceptually as well as linguistically based parallel and different features between the usage factors of lexical expressions using full verbs and their constructional variants with light verbs has to give answers to the following questions:

- Can we find expressions represented by full verbs and parallel constructional variants with light verbs in the language studied?
- Is the principal lexical expression of the construction deverbally, verbally, or purely nominally based?
- Can we identify a variable scale of light verbs occurring in the construction? If so, what exactly are the meaningful differences of the constructional variants in the set? Are the differences identified semantically and/or pragmatically based?
- What kind of morphological representation (or variability) is characteristic of each constructional variant?

INVESTIGATING THE CONSTRUCTIONAL CHARACTER OF HAVING TEA VS. TAKING TEA

Based on the theoretical framework of analysis presented in the introduction, in the second part of the paper I will provide a case study investigating constructional similarities and primarily pointing to relevant differences of usage in a single lexical domain, that of drinking, that is, *having* versus *taking tea*. The analysis will present data deriving from three sources: the representation of constructional meaning in (primarily learners') dictionaries of English, the occurrence of the two constructional variants in the British National Corpus (BNC), and finally, testing the intuitively based judgement of native speakers of two regional varieties of English: British and American. Data gained from these three sources will be interpreted as a control over each other, providing a multi-faceted basis to the analysis.

Representation of constructional meaning of having *vs.* taking tea *in dictionaries*

Nine dictionaries (among them five standard learner's dictionaries (CALD 3, COBUILD 7, LDOCE 5, MEDAL 2, OALD 8), two dictionaries of collocations and thesauri (LCDT and OCDSE 2), and two specifically compiled for usage by native speakers (the electronically based Franklin's LM-4000 and AHD)) have been used in the investigation. Seven of these sources (the dictionaries representing British English) were corpus based editions using large, well known corpora, whereas the two American sources (AHD and Franklin's LM) were large enough but were not corpus-based. The full title of the dictionaries has been given at the end of the paper in section "Sources used".

The purpose of the investigation was to see if these sources included information about the two constructional variants with the light verbs observed. Another aim was to see how the relation between the construction and the basic senses of the lexical item *tea* gained representation in these sources. Yet another aim was to observe the order of representation of the basic senses of *tea* given in the dictionaries.

Quite surprisingly, none of the dictionaries tested gave any account of possible constructional occurrence of the nominal as a separate sense description or as part of their definition. This is a surprising fact, as (to be discussed in the next section) both variants of light verb construction have a definite rate of occurrence in the corpora that served as background for including a sense and usage factor in the corpus-based dictionaries. At best, only a random occurrence of LV constructions could be found in some of the dictionaries tested, and only as examples given for illustration, without any clarification of the meaning carried by the construction: *have tea* as in *They were having afternoon tea in the garden* (MEDAL, 2007, p. 1533), *You can have your tea as soon as you come home from school* (OALD, 2010, p. 1586), *I'll have tea – white, no sugar, please* (OCD, 2009, p. 848), *take tea* exemplified by *Don't you take*

your tea with milk? (LCDT, 2013, p. 1272), *How do you take your tea?* OCD (2009, p. 848). In their definition of the senses of *tea* as a noun, the primary sense given by each of the nine dictionary sources referred to the notion of a *drink*, (implying reference to an action or process if predicatively used) and secondarily to that of a *meal*, that is, an *event*. Interestingly, concerning the second sense, most of the dictionaries consulted outlined some sort of culturally based difference between a light afternoon meal vs. an evening meal "eaten in the late afternoon hours or early in the evening" with a cup of tea. There was no mention of *tea* categorized or used as a verb in any of the dictionaries, which suggests (in spite of the very poor representation of the constructional variant with a light verb) that the noun can at best be used in predi-cative expressions as an object of transitive verbs, implying (but not stated directly) that the verb would possibly be *drink*. Underrepresentation of constructional variants with light verbs certainly poses a problem for developing the vocabulary of EFL (and even ESL) learners, as the learner's dictionaries consulted will not provide them with idiomatically based, authentic knowledge about how to use the lexical item *tea* to express predication. Therefore, rather than using the item in constructions like *have/take tea*, learners would be prompted to use merely *drink tea* collocatively. Mere occurrence, mention of the constructions *have* vs. *take tea* only given on a random basis in some examples would imply the sameness of constructional meaning to the student (those few who would trace the possibility of using the nominal lexical item in complex predicate structures), disclosing any possible differences in authentic uses of the two constructional variants.

Corpus-based investigations of have *vs.* take tea

In this section of my study I will present data of the frequency of occurrence of *have tea* and *take tea* and interpret their meaning and morphological structure within the frame of their lemmatic appearance. A unique feature of these constructional types is that the lexical center of the construction (Algeo, 1995, pp. 203-204) is filled by a noun, which is (or, at least, is assumed to be) a pure and not a derived, action based (deverbal) nominal. (It may be interesting to note here that although the lexical item tea is acceptably used as a noun in present-day English, it could also be used as a verb in earlier periods of the history of the language. The following sense descriptions and examples have been taken from the Compact Oxford English dictionary (2nd edition, 1991, p. 2016): 1. trans: to supply or regale with tea, to give a tea to. 1812: Sir R. Wilson: General Tormanssow fed us, and the duke tea'd. 1844: J. T. Hewlett: I breakfast, tea, and sup my lodgers. 2. intrans: to drink tea, esp. to take the meal tea, to have one's tea. 1810: G. Betts Diary: Mr. Lee … came and tea-ed here. 1823: Spirit Pub Jnls: Twas moved to proceed to the hall of debate, where my Lady had tea'd! 1892: Furnivall: We dined on the bank opposite Hampton Court and teaed on Totham's island. Note the usage of *take the meal* and *have one's tea* used in the definition given for the intransitive sense of the verb! Ac-

tually, according to the authoritative, historically based dictionary, the occurrence of the construction *take tea* is stylistically characterized as colonial slang, dated as 1888, with an illustration taken from Kipling (1896 – Seven Seas, Lost Legion: "take tea with the giddy Masai", which usage can be interpreted ambiguously out of context: either expressing the literal meaning of dealings, a commercial act, or as referring to an event of tea drinking, a social event, and additionally, it may also refer to the actual act of drinking tea. Occurrence of the construction *have tea* is given a later date, 1914, with reference to G. B. Shaw's Misalliance (80): "He calls his lunch his dinner, and has his tea at half-past six.")

I have used the XML CD-ROM version of the *British National Corpus* (*BNC*), a standard general corpus with a volume of 100 million words as a source of my argumentation. My searches on the lemmatic forms included the items *have/has/had/having tea* as well as *take/takes/took/taking tea*. In addition to studying the constructions with the morphological specificity of lacking an indefinite article in the nominal phrase, I also collected the morphological construction types including them for comparison. After extracting the occurrences of the LV constructions from the corpus and taking note of the rate of frequency of their occurrence, I investigated their aspectual nature, whether they semantically referred to representing actions (that of tea consumption, drinking), events (tea drinking expressed as a social activity), or both of them jointly (and inseparably) in the concordances interpreted. Results are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. Frequency of occurrence of the morphological distribution of lemmatic forms of HAVE TEA in BNC

have tea					*has tea*					*had tea*					*having tea*				
TFO	A	E	AE	FV	TFO	A	E	AE	FV	TFO	A	E	AE	FV	TFO	A	E	AE	FV
70	25	25	18	2	4	1	1	-	2	56	23	14	19	-	65	36	9	20	-

Note. TFO: total frequency of occurrences; A: number of action-based occurrences; E: event-based interpretations; AE: conflated action and eventhood; FV: literal interpretations represented by the meaning of the full verb.

Table 2. Frequency of occurrence of the morphological distribution of lemmatic forms of TAKE TEA in BNC

take tea					*takes tea*					*took tea*					*taking tea*				
TFO	A	E	AE	FV	TFO	A	E	AE	FV	TFO	A	E	AE	FV	TFO	A	E	AE	FV
22	4	9	5	4	-	-	-	-	-	14	1	10	2	1	14	3	6	4	1

The BNC's data reveal the fact that the expression *have tea* exceeds the rate of occurrence of *take tea* in all forms of the morphological representation of the lemmas. This is not by chance, as – in accordance with the note mentioned above – usage of the LV *have* rather than *take* is more characteristic of and preferable by speakers of British and Australian English, whereas LV constructions with *take* have a higher rate of preference in semantic-pragmatic domains of American usage. Let me note, however, with reference to the results of native speaker testing presented in the next section, that (interestingly) my testees speaking American English without exception rejected using (and even accepting) usage of *take* in this particular lexical domain. The data of both Tables 1 and 2 point to the more extensive usage of present tense forms of the construction (with the exception of the 3rd person singular) than found in other forms of lemmatic representation. The most important finding based on the above data, however, refers to differences in the aspectuality, semantic load, and pragmatic force between the two constructional varieties. *Have tea* is more extensively used to express reference to the action of drinking, and is more subject oriented concerning cognitive content than expressions with the LV *take*, whereas constructions with *take* tend to be used more with reference to the expression of eventhood, that of the social and conventional cultural (and pleasurable) happening of tea drinking. Let me also note the importance of expression of the processual semantic load in the usage of both types of construction, with reference to the relatively high rate of occurrence of jointly interpretable action and event relatedness. The observed dominance of a more radically expressed actionhood (represented by constructions with *have* rather than those with *take*) in this lexical domain goes counter to Brinton's idea, according to which with the more expressed role of aspectuality of constructional meaning gaining ground in the course of the late Modern English period, complex predicates with *have* carried a more expressed stative meaning, whereas those with *take* (and also with *give* and *make*) were more dynamic (2011, p. 564).

BNC-based testing also reveals the fact that morphological variation with the presence of the indefinite article has an extremely low rate of occurrence (only four cases of *have a tea* (out of which two were action based, and in the other two examples *have* was used as a full verb) and three concordances including *take a tea* (two referring to the event, and the other occurrence of *take* being a full verb carrying its literal meaning), and that the lexical item *tea* only occurs in LV constructions or as the object of the transitive verb *drink*, and it is not used as a verb. Not a single occurrence of verbal usage of *tea* could be extracted from the corpus.

Native speaker testing

In the last section of the paper, I present the results of testing the intuitive judgement of native speakers on the usage and acceptability of the expressions *have* vs. *take tea* in their idiolect. The aim of the experiment was to gain data serving as a control over the corpus-based findings. I had 30 adult native speakers responding verbally to my query, 15 of them British, and another 15 speakers of American English, all 30 were intellectuals. I asked them to rate the acceptability of the following sentences:

1. Would you like to have some tea?
2. Would you like to take some tea?
3. We always had tea in our garden.
4. We always take tea in our garden.
5. Who will have tea?
6. Who will take tea?

Results of the testing are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Native speaker judgement of the acceptability of sentences including the expressions *take tea* vs. *have tea*

Sentence index	15 speakers of Br. English		15 speakers of Am. English	
	acceptable – unacceptable		acceptable - unacceptable	
S1	10	5	15	0
S2	2	13	0	15
S3	13	2	15	0
S4	5	10	0	15
S5	15	0	15	0
S6	9	6	0	15

The most outstanding and obvious fact observed from the data of testing is that usage and acceptability of *take tea* was rejected by American informants without exception, 12 out of the 15 noting that the construction seemed to be British English usage to them, and 7 of them adding that, possibly, this constructional variant would carry the meaning of expressing preference of choice or would refer to the social event of a meal in British English (never used that way in American English, as this type of social event was not customary in the United States). They also expressed without exception that for Americans the expression *have tea* always refers to the act of drinking tea.

The picture of eliciting acceptability of the two constructions was more complex with speakers of British English. They accepted the version with the LV *take* at a considerably high rate (with the exception of S6), all noting, however, that it was used more formally, and also that the expression was typically archaic, old fashioned (more characteristically used in the 19th or the 20th century), eight of them also adding that stylistically it was used in genteel registers by expectably posh people, and the usage was somewhat ritualistic. To them, expressions with *have* were more informally used. Nine of the informants also noted that *take tea* was more extensively used to express a form of social invitation, meaning that overwhelmingly it was considered to be event-based, contrary to an action-based expression. The findings of native speaker testing largely coincide in expressing semantic-pragmatic force with those of the corpus data outlined and interpreted in the previous section. Six of the British informants and four of the Americans also noted that in highly colloquial usage invitation to the act or event of drinking tea was verbalized largely differently from usage of LV constructions, for instance, as *Who is for tea?*, *Anyone for tea?*, or *Tea, anyone?* Identifying differences in the pragmatic force of such realizations of the illocutionary action of offerings and/or invitations with precision requires further investigation.

CONCLUSION

The study has revealed that although constructional representations of light verbs may show a high degree of similarity in their morphosyntactic appearance and behavior, considerable differences in their semantic and pragmatic load and force can be traced by empirically-based studies even within a single lexical domain, that of *having* versus *taking tea* in their usage in regional varieties of the language, British as well as American English. The specificity of such differences, or even the presence of LV constructions, is highly underrepresented in corpus-based learner's dictionaries which claim to represent (as editor-in-chief John Sinclair put it already on the book jacket of the first edition of the COBUILD dictionary) real English (1987). Bettering such dictionaries remains a future task in lexical computing and lexicography. A further research task could be extending the investigation of lexical representation of full verb vs. constructional variation with various light verbs in the direction of contrastive analyses as well as variational semantics and pragmatics with the aim of providing empirically based grounds for analyzing and interpreting the typological relevance and force of the lexicogrammatical processes studied here.

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QUALITY LEVELS IN TRANSLATION

Pál Heltai

INTRODUCTION

Over ten years ago I wrote a paper on minimal translation (Heltai, 1997), claiming that the quality of a translation cannot be assessed without taking into consideration the translational situation and that translation can be done at several quality levels. Hence, less-than-perfect translations may be perfectly acceptable in a given translational situation.

In that paper I also speculated that translators may tend to overtranslate, i.e., translate at a higher quality level than justified by the needs of the client (not to speak of remuneration), since they often do not receive sufficient information on the purpose of the translation, as well as the purposes and circumstances of its use. Therefore, they will tend to play it safe and do their best at all times.

These speculations may be misunderstood: they may sound as if I were encouraging translators to lower their standards and not to care about quality. Of course, I do not deny the importance of quality and quality assurance. I simply mean that translation may be done at several quality levels, and sometimes translations provided by highly qualified translators and suited for the purpose of the translation do not, and cannot, attain the highest possible level that could, in principle, be attained. Quality assurance in translation does not mean that all translations at all times must be perfect, but that any translation should fulfill the quality requirements that are expected and attainable under the conditions of the given translational situation. Translation, as a form of communication, should strive to conform to the principle of relevance (Sperber & Wilson, 1986), to achieve a balance be-

tween the value of information and the processing effort needed to recover it. This balance may vary, depending on the translational situation.

Quality assurance is needed to reduce the proportion of translations falling short of expected and attainable quality requirements. One can find vast amounts of poor translation on the market, especially because clients will often engage untrained, amateurish translators to reduce costs. Quality assurance is therefore primarily assurance against unprofessional bunglers who are *ab ovo* unable to provide translation at the expected quality level.

Services have several quality levels, among which customers may choose according to their needs and their financial background. There are one to five star hotels and one to five Michelin-star restaurants, as well as first, second (and in some places third) class railway compartments, and so on. All of these quality levels satisfy the fundamental requirements of the service: travelers get a bed to sleep in at all quality levels, diners get food in all restaurants irrespective of Michelin stars, and passengers get to their destination whether they travel first, second or third class. The quality of the service depends on the extras that provide greater comfort. In the case of translation, greater comfort is more or less equivalent to easier processing.

Starting from this premise, in this paper I will make an attempt to identify quality levels in translation and to explore whether quality level may be subject to agreement between client and translator, and if it may play a role in setting fees. My deliberations are based on personal experience as a translator and translator trainer over many years, supplemented by an informal survey of opinions among practising translators.

QUALITY LEVELS IN TRANSLATION

As you read a translated text, you will automatically note that "this is quite a good translation", or "it's not quite up to mark, but is still acceptable", or "it's stylistically rather heavy, but otherwise it's correct", and so on. In a similar way, practical experience in assessing translations in translator training will suggest that translation can indeed be done at several quality levels, even though (outside the classroom) these levels are seldom defined. In the following I will make an attempt to define these levels.

The fundamental requirements that a translation must satisfy follow from the principle of relevance: a translation must provide sufficient (and sufficiently reliable) information at reasonable processing cost. Poor translation is inconsistent with the principle of relevance: it fails to convey the information required and/or conveys the information in a linguistic form that compels the reader to make excessive effort in extracting it. Good translation satisfies both requirements: it conveys the information required and the information can be recovered at a reasonable processing cost.

However, in many situations a relatively poor translation may be acceptable and may suit the purpose. Poor translation, in terms of services, may be understood as one that does not ensure the maximum level of comfort. In relevance theoretic terms, it is a translation that is less than optimally relevant, i.e., in which relevant information is not conveyed or is distorted, or the processing effort needed to recover the information is too large. The client may not need a perfect translation, or s/he may not have enough money for high quality translation, and may feel happy with lower quality if s/he can still extract the information s/he needs, and may be willing to exert more effort in processing. In some situations the client's purposes may be satisfied even by machine translation.

The quality levels of translation can be determined in terms of the following variables: the translator's competence, the translational situation and the shortcomings of the translation.

Determinants of quality levels

Variables in the translator's competence:

- Bilingual linguistic (and cultural) competence;
- Qualifications and/or experience;
- Subject matter knowledge;
- General knowledge, education, personality traits.

Variables in the translational situation:

- Availability of information on the purposes and requirements of translation (translation brief), provision of background material (parallel texts);
- Availability of consultation with the client and/or experts;
- Availability of time and translation aids;
- Availability of time for research and formatting the document;
- Availability of checking and revision.

Variables in the shortcomings appearing in the translation:

- Inadequacy of information transfer; mistranslations;
- Deviations from target language norms: incorrect word order, minor grammatical mistakes, stylistic inadequacies, incorrect or inconsistent use of terminology;
- Inadequate appearance of the document, including spelling and punctuation, layout; data on source text, etc. missing.

PROPOSED LEVELS

Based on the above, I propose that the following quality levels could be identified in translation:

- Bungler level;
- Dilettante level;
- Professional level.

The latter can be broken down as follows:

- Instant translation;
- 'Normal' translation;
- Extra translation.

Description of the levels

The level descriptions provided below are based on experience; they represent tendencies rather than water-tight categories.

Bungler level

- The translator's competence: the bungler translator's knowledge of the source and/or the target language is deficient, s/he has no knowledge of the subject matter; in addition, s/he does not realize his/her limitations, while pretending that s/he is fully up to the task;
- The translational situation does not have a decisive influence: poor quality is not due to lack of time or availability of translation tools (dictionaries, softwares, internet resources), but to the translator's lack of competence;
- Shortcomings: information transfer is inadequate, the text contains severe mistranslations; the language is inappropriate and difficult to process; the appearance of the text is unsuitable.

Dilettante level

- The translator's competence: the translator's knowledge of the source and/or the target language is satisfactory, but (in most cases) s/he has little or no knowledge of the subject matter; in contrast to the bungler, however, s/he will usually realize his/her limitations and inform the client about them;
- The translational situation: the dilettante is not always aware of the purposes and requirements of the translation, either because s/he receives no information on the client's needs (i.e., s/he is not given a *translation brief*), or

because – not knowing that it is available – s/he does not request such information; s/he may not have suitable background materials, or may not know that such materials should (and could) be used; however, s/he may have informal access to the client and may occasionally consult with them; the time available for translation, research and formatting is not a decisive factor, the translator could not provide higher quality even with more time available.
- Shortcomings: information transfer is unreliable, minor mistranslations do occur; the stylistic register is inappropriate; the appearance of the text may be deficient.

Professional translation

Instant (overnight) translation

- The translator's competence: the translator is a proficient bilingual and is highly qualified and/or has wide experience; s/he has (at least some) knowledge of the subject matter or has experience in dealing with less familiar subject matter;
- The translational situation: the time available is very short, practically it is on-the-spot translation, leaving no time for research (the translator works "out of his/her IQ");
- Shortcomings: information transfer is reliable even under these conditions; there may be minor mistranslations which, however, do not affect any relevant information in the text; attention is drawn to translation problems that could not be solved within the time allotted; the language may be somewhat difficult to process, but there are no pronounced language errors; the appearance of the text may not be impeccable.

This level could be broken down into several further varieties depending on the translator's linguistic competence, experience and subject matter knowledge.

'Normal' translation

- The translator's competence: the translator is a proficient bilingual and is highly qualified and/or has wide experience; s/he has (at least some) knowledge of the subject matter or has experience in dealing with less familiar subject matter;
- The translational situation: there is sufficient time available, background material (parallel texts) is provided, the translator has access to experts to consult and time for researching problems; there is provision for checking and revising the translation and for feedback to the translator;
- Shortcomings: there are practically no shortcomings; information transfer is reliable; there are no mistranslations, the language is fluent and easily pro-

cessed; the appearance of the translated text is in agreement with the translational situation (the client's requirements).

Extra translation

- The translator's competence: the translator is a proficient bilingual and is highly qualified and/or has wide experience; s/he has (at least some) knowledge of the subject matter or has experience in dealing with less familiar subject matter;
- The translational situation: there is sufficient time available; background material (parallel texts) is provided; the translator has access to experts to consult and time for researching problems and is able and has the time to satisfy all formal requirements; there is provision for multiple checking and revising (from both the language and the subject matter point of view); there is feedback to the translator;
- Shortcomings: there are no shortcomings; information transfer is reliable, faultless, multiply checked; the language and style are impeccable; the translated text satisfies the highest formal requirements (is suitable for a deluxe leather-bound edition with illuminated miniatures).

Obviously, all translations cannot be forced into these compartments: for instance, it is difficult to fit in translations done by subject matter experts with limited linguistic competence, or translations provided by professional translators outside their usual range of text types.

It is also likely that for practical purposes it is unnecessary to distinguish so many quality levels. The above classification may be modified and fine-tuned, but for the time being it may provide a convenient starting point.

As mentioned above, all the quality levels of a service must satisfy the fundamental requirements of that service. In the case of translation, it is difficult to determine these fundamental requirements without reference to the translational situation. In most cases, at least in the case of non-literary translation, the most important requirement is that information transfer should be reliable. However, the importance of various kinds of information in the text and the importance of the linguistic form and the appearance of the text vary according to the translational situation. Therefore, we may say that quality and acceptability (usability) are different concepts, and under given conditions even a poor translation (even a bungler translation) may be acceptable, while under certain conditions even a high quality professional translation may turn out to be relatively or absolutely useless (e.g., if a representative publication contains irritating stylistic and spelling mistakes). Absolute unusability is, of course, more common in the case of bungler translations.

SHOULD FEES BE MADE DEPENDENT ON QUALITY?

Drawing conclusions from this survey of quality levels may not be easy in the day-to-day practice of the translation business. The chief obstacle is that clients often do not know their own needs. A former student of mine who has been a freelance translator for twenty-five years (I will refer to him as T. T.) says that in state companies decisions on commissioning a translation are usually taken by the head, and departmental heads are more often than not unaware of possible quality levels in translation, the time and money needed to produce a high-quality translation; they may be unaware of their own needs and whether or not a high-quality translation is economically justified, or a low-quality translation is more economical.

It has been found that, in principle, clients insist on high-quality translation (preferably for a pittance). At the level of opinion, all clients require high quality (cf. Dróth, 2001, p. 34). Simultaneously, they may hinder the provision of high-quality translation by holding back information on the purpose and proposed uses of the translation, setting unreasonable deadlines or choosing untrained translators who are incapable of providing good translation.

This being the case, some system of payment based on quality is emerging on the translation market, although very often this simply means cutting down on expenses by not paying for checking and revision, which may or may not be justified. According to translators' experience, however, it is not the highest quality that carries the highest fees, but reliable instant translation. The translator who is in the greatest demand is one who can provide a consistently high level of translation even under extreme time pressure. As one respondent in my survey commented,

> A client will rarely say, "OK, a poor quality translation will do." They pay extra for getting a high-quality translation within a very short, and according to our experience ever shorter, and sometimes impossibly short, space of time. Well, perhaps some years ago you could meet clients with low requirements, but now they want good and very good translations, that is, they choose between 'plain' translation and translation revised by a native speaker.

It remains an open question whether, if translation fees were set according to quality, professional translators would be able or willing to work below their usual standard. Under conditions of time pressure they may fall short of perfection, but most professional translators would probably find it difficult, if not impossible, to deliberately provide a poor translation when there is no time pressure, even if the fee is low and the client does not expect high quality.

QUALITY LEVELS AND QUALITY ASSURANCE

Quality assurance must take into consideration the quality that can realistically be expected under the conditions of particular translational situations and must guarantee that *that* level is achieved. As discussed above, all translations under all conditions must satisfy some fundamental requirements. Beyond that, quality should depend on what additional requirements the translation is expected to satisfy. If the time available to the translator is too short, or the proposed use of the translation does not justify the effort, quality assurance should not aim to enforce some of the additional requirements (research, multiple revision, and so on).

Quality assurance is difficult to obtain without cooperation from clients. If a given quality level is to be attained, clients should be made more aware that they must supply the translator with information on the purposes and proposed uses of the translation and they must choose a translator according to the nature of the job. Quality assurance in translation, as elsewhere, is focused on the process of production, based on the assumption that consistently high quality may be achieved if certain pre-established steps are followed. The ISO standard for translation lists formal aspects of translation: it determines the data that translations must contain so that source texts can be identified, the procedures that must be followed in translating equations, symbols, titles for graphs and tables, transcription rules for words of languages not using the Latin alphabet, how to translate abbreviations, geographical names, dates, and general rules for translating terminology.

Quality assurance in translation, however, must go well beyond this. It must set down the informational, linguistic and formal requirements that a translation should satisfy at the different quality levels. In the process of translation it is also important to pay special attention to human relations (Thomson-Wohlgemuth & Thomson, 2004). Accordingly, quality assurance in translation must provide answers to the following questions:

- How well is the translator (and/or the translating agency) informed about the exact expectations of the client?
- How realistically can a translator assess whether s/he has the ability and skills to do a given translation job, and how reliably a translating agency can assess which translator to assign to which job?
- Can the translator obtain the information necessary for the job at hand, or can the agency obtain and pass on such information to the translator (information on the client, the purposes and proposed use of the translation, the client's [quality] requirements, experts who can be contacted, background material, etc.).
- Can the translator or the agency convince the client to pay for revision where revision is needed? Can the agency provide a suitable reviser?
- Does the translator receive regular feedback?

A SURVEY OF TRANSLATORS' OPINIONS ON QUALITY ISSUES

An informal survey on quality levels was conducted by email in September 2009. The questionnaire was sent to 87 translators, including freelance translators, translators working for an agency, translator trainers who translate regularly, and graduate students of postgraduate translator training courses who translate regularly. 21 translators responded. The survey was not representative, yet it did yield some interesting and instructive information. The survey was supplemented by an oral interview with a freelance translator with 25 years of experience (T. T.).

Results

The results are shown in the tables below. Because of the small sample size, percentages would not be more informative than the raw figures. The number of responses in the different columns does not always add up to 21, since some respondents missed some questions or in some cases gave multiple responses. The most interesting figures are in bold. The option "untypical" means that the answer is *usually no*, but *sometimes, sporadically, it may be so.*

Table 1. Responses to the first set of questions (information for the translator, feedback, fees, quality assurance)

Set I.	Yes	No	Not typical
1. Do you receive a translation brief, i.e., written information on requirements of the translation?	5	***7***	***7***
2. Does someone check the quality of your work?	**13**	3	5
3. Do you receive feedback on the quality of your work?	9	4	8
4. Does remuneration depend on the quality of your work?	4	**14**	2
5. Should we have quality assurance in translation?	**11**	2	3

Table 2. Responses to the second set of questions (translators' opinions on factors influencing the quality of their work)

Set II.	Yes	No	Not typical
1. Do you always translate at your maximum highest quality level?	**11**	8	1
2. Do you aim at top quality even if			
the translation has no real importance (it is not needed, and will not be read)?	**16**	1	*4*
the translation will not appear in print (it is a working translation)?	**18**	1	1
the time available for the translation is too short?	**16**	3	
the text is very uninteresting?	**19**	1	
the original text is poor quality?	**15**	2	3
you do not agree with the text?	**18**		1
the fee is too low?	18	1	1
3. Does it ever happen to you that you know that you settle for a less than optimal solution because you have no time (or are too tired) to find a better one?	**9**	3	8
4. Do you ever translate word-for-word?	*7*	6	6
5. Is the difference between your best, average and worst translations very great?	1	**13**	6
6. Are you always satisfied with your work?	2	**16**	2

Table 3: Responses to the third set of questions (on tolerance to errors)

Set III. What errors may be tolerated if there is time pressure?	
inconsistent use of terminology	6
problems in word order*	**10**
inconsistencies/mistakes in spelling	6
minor mistranslations	3
other (please specify)	-

*Hungarian has a relatively free word order.

Discussion

The responses given to the first set of questions indicate that clients and agencies could do a lot more in the interests of quality assurance. Translators need all the relevant information they can get, including background material and feedback (which they very often do not get).

The responses given to the second set of questions show that most translators always aim at maximum performance, and there are no appreciable differences between their best and worst translations. Some respondents, however, admit that time pressure sometimes prevents them from doing as much research as needed, and it is no wonder that they are never satisfied with their work. Responses to the third set of questions reveal that translators think that errors are always bad, be they great or small.

One could summarize translators' opinions as follows. For skilled and conscientious professional translators there are no quality levels: they always try to do their best, and there is no appreciable difference between their best and worst translations. In general, they steer clear of literal translation, and have a very low tolerance margin for any error.

This result is inconsistent with the widely held belief and my own personal experience that there are vast amounts of poor translations which do not match the expected quality level. To explain this contradiction, the following suggestions may be put forward:

- The sample surveyed was not representative, since it contained only trained and/or experienced ('good') translators. Poor translations come from a different breed of translators: those who are not trained (bunglers, dilettanti).
- Although translators always aim at top quality, they do not always attain that level. Nine respondents admitted that they did not always work at the highest quality level allowed by their competence, 11 said that sometimes they settled for a less satisfactory solution, and 12 said they sometimes resorted to literal transla-

tion, when there was no time for research. This explains why they are practically never satisfied with their work. Satisfaction simply means, as T. T. put it in the oral interview, "I have finished it at last, thank God it's over, in view of the conditions it's quite good, I can now go to bed."

- The reason why professional translators sometimes, or in most cases, fall short of their own standards is the translational situation, especially deadlines. Sometimes (or often) they have to work at night, and under such conditions absolute perfection is difficult to attain. Again, in the words of T. T. (in responding to question II/3), 'around dawn I do not necessarily double-check every problem'. In spite of this, however, a minimally acceptable translation provided by a good translator is usually high quality even under 'extreme' conditions (T. T.: "cruel deadlines, necessitating work at night").

All this supports the claim that one of the most important considerations in quality assurance must be the selection of the right translator. Any self-respecting translator, once commissioned, will usually – both instinctively and consciously – aim at the maximum within their competence. Quality may be limited by time pressure and lack of subject matter and terminology knowledge, but if a professional translator cannot hope to do the translation at the level s/he considers acceptable, s/he will not undertake it.

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TRANSLATION IN LANGUAGE TEACHING: A FEW NEW THOUGHTS

Lovorka Zergollern-Miletić

INTRODUCTION

Translation is a topic that has been widely discussed since the 1980s. These last decades have witnessed a significant development of translation theories. On the other hand, translation used to be the predominant method in foreign language (FL) instruction for centuries (or, as Vrhovac, 1995, puts it, it was the basic didactic activity in the teaching of FLs). Since the beginning of the twentieth century to the early 1990s, translation was shunned in FL classes (House, 2009; Malmkjaer, 1998; Vilke, 1995). In some countries teachers continued to use translation almost secretly (Carreres, 2006; Pym, Malmkjaer & Gutiérez-Colón Plana, 2013). Interference of one language with the other was considered to be the major downside of translation in FL instruction (reported in Carreres, 2006; House, 2009; Mehta, 2010). Nevertheless, positive sides of translation have been continuously pointed out. The most significant among the latter might be the development of language awareness – the awareness of similarities and differences between two languages and two cultures (Vilke, 1995). Language awareness is another well-researched topic, which started in the 1970s. The results of most studies show that language awareness helps in reducing the level of interference (Bagarić, 2001, 2003, 2005; Hawkins, 1999; Ross, 2000). In addition to raising the level of language awareness, translation has proved to inspire motivation for learning FLs, as well as for learning L1, and it has long been recognised that the beliefs and attitudes of learners constitute a key element in L2 acquisition (Mihaljević Djigunović, 2002, 2006;

Pym, Malmkjoer & Gutiérez-Colón Plana, 2013, p. 19). An additional benefit from translation in a language class might be motivation for obtaining a better insight into the topic that is being translated. Translation also enhances the development of reading skills, and the understanding of a text. It also helps develop learners' independence.

It is very important to decide when translation can be used in teaching, and it is not always an easy task to decide upon the source text. Another problem might be determining what exactly should be elicited or tested by the translation task. These are not easy decisions, so teachers are often reluctant to use translation in class. They are especially reluctant to use translation from L2 into L1, for which I suggest two basic reasons:

- Teachers are afraid that by using this type of translation they will deprive their students of the possibility to be exposed to the FL;
- Teachers may not be confident enough about their knowledge of the language they teach, even about their competences in L1.

A number of authors (Cook, 2010; Cordero 1984; Ellis, 1992; Harmer, 1991; Petrović, 1995; Ur, 1996) have been approaching the positive sides of translation in language instruction.There are also those experts who have suggested concrete solutions concerning translation in language teaching (Atkinson, 1993; Duff, 1989; Eadie, 1999; Mehta, 2010; Nadstroga, 1988; Popović, 2001; Ulrych, 1986; Urgese, 1989; Vilke, 1995; Vrhovac, 1995).

Vilke (1995) conducted a study in a Zagreb grammar school, including 100 advanced learners of English. The results showed that translation proved to be a more reliable test of the learners' knowledge and awareness about the tested language structures than the multiple-choice test that was also included in the study. Translation did not allow avoidance strategies, that is, the learners could not avoid the usage of certain vocabulary and grammatical structures.

In 2006, Carreres conducted research that included 31 students of modern languages at the University of Cambridge. Those were second and third-year students. The students were asked to answer a questionnaire containing 11 questions concerning their attitudes towards the use of translation in FL instruction. The students' answers showed their positive attitudes both towards translation into L2 and L1 (English).

It is important to tell the use of translation in FL teaching from teaching translation (Pym, Malmkjoer & Gutiérez-Colón Plana, 2013). This article will focus on the so called pedagogical aspect of translation. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958, pp. 24-25) wrote about three domains of translation. The first domain is the field of interest of translators, the second one is pedagogical, and the third one linguistic (belonging primarily to comparative linguistics). There are two types of translation in the pedagogical domain:

- Translation into a FL (*thème*), which serves to test the level of acquisition of the FL, and which is, according to the authors, very unwelcome in foreign language classes;
- Translation into L1 (*version*), which serves to test the understanding of a particular text written in a FL, and the learner's ability to transfer meaning from that foreign language into L1.

In translation theory there is an on-going discussion about the cognitive processes involved in translation: whether both directions entail the same processes (Carreres, 2006; Hatzidaki & Pothos, 2006). In her article about translation as a cognitive learning strategy, Mihaljević Djigunović (1995) does not distinguish between the two directions in translation. She presents translation as a constant cognitive process going on in language acquisition. Carreres (2006) views translation in language learning in a very similar way. He cites from Duff (1989, p. 6), who says that "translation happens everywhere, all the time, so why not in the classroom?" My position is also that translation happens all the time in the minds of FL learners. Nevertheless, in this article I focus on translation as an activity in FL teaching – translating texts from L1 into a FL and the other way round, with the aim of enhancing the acquisition of the FL, as well as L1.

Towards the end of 2012, Pym, Malmkjoer and Gutiérrez-Colón Plana started a comprehensive study on behalf of the Directorate-General for Translation of the European Commission. The study resulted in the report *Translation and Language Learning: The Role of Translation in the Teaching of Languages in the European Union* (2013). The study included seven European countries: Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom. In addition, it included Schola Europaea. Australia, China and the United States as comparison countries. In each country, a questionnaire was answered by an expert. In Croatia that expert was Mihaljević Djigunović. Another questionnaire was used to elicit opinions from teachers at various levels of instruction. I was among the latter, and I expressed my positive attitudes regarding translation in language learning. The input was received from 963 respondents, of whom 641 were from the member states targeted for this research, and a further 238 from the comparison countries.

The general conclusions about the relationship between translation and language learning identified, among other things, communicative activities, official curricula, intercultural competence and online interactive media.

In March 2012, without knowing that the above study was soon to be conducted, even less that I would be involved in it as a respondent, I conducted a survey in order to

- investigate in what way translation can enhance language production, language awareness and cultural awareness;
- test students' views about translation in language instruction.

THE STUDY

Having taught language courses to university students of English (future teachers and/or translators) for over twenty years, and using translation with those advanced learners of English, I started the study with the conviction that translation in both directions could develop the same skills, and they are as follows: understanding the source text, activating and using the learned vocabulary, activating and using the learned grammatical structures, understanding cultural differences.

In addition, when translating, learners acquire the habit and the skills of using dictionaries and grammar books. I based these conclusions on the analyses of students' translations, which I carried out each time a group of students had performed a translation task. As for students' opinion regarding translation tasks, for years I had only elicited students' comments in class, and watched their reactions when a translation task was announced. My study in 2012 was inspired by the fact that I had transferred to the Faculty of Teacher Education two years before, and was teaching a different kind of student population than before. At the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences I had taught students who could later on choose to be teachers, translators or scholars. At the Faculty of Teacher Education, on the other hand, students of English are trained to be primary-school teachers of English, along with being general teachers.

My aim was to establish whether my previously mentioned conclusions applied to those students.

Participants, instruments and procedure

The study included 25 second-year students at the Faculty of Teacher Education in Zagreb, Croatia. Their proficiency in English was approximately C1. The study was conducted within the course Integrated Language Skills in English, comprising two parts: In the first part the students translated a short English text (approximately 200 words) into Croatian, their L1. This was followed by the translation of a Croatian text into English. The two texts were about the same length. They had been thoroughly analysed so that they would be equally demanding. They were taken from the press, and did not contain any specific terminology. The participants did not have any theoretical knowledge about translation, and had never done any translation apart from translating sentences in vocabulary-building and grammar-acquisition exercises. They had never translated from English into Croatian. The students were divided into three groups. During the translation task they had access to monolingual, as well as bilingual dictionaries. They were allotted 90 minutes for the task. They were encouraged by the teacher's referring to them as advanced learners of English, who, apart from a good command of the two languages also possessed awareness of the differences between the two languages. What the teacher also pointed out was that the students had acquired certain

knowledge about Croatian culture, as well as of English-speaking cultures, and that this should be helpful in performing the task.

The second part focused on the students' perception of their own translation, and their attitudes towards this type of task.

The translation task

This part of the research served to establish the following:

1. Was the meaning of the target text altered owing to the misunderstanding of the source text?
2. Did any mistakes concerning vocabulary, grammar or syntax occur?
3. Did the students successfully translate elements of culture?

The English text

The parts in blue are those where students had problems in translating, and they will be analysed below.

> East Coker, TS Eliot's placid village, resists threat of housing invasion
> *The Observer*, Sunday 20th March 2011
>
> Fury as South Somerset council plans giant housing estates that would link East Coker, immortalised in Eliot's Four Quartets poems, to nearby town of Yeovil.
>
> It was the timeless quality of a pretty West Country village that persuaded the poet TS Eliot to immortalise it in his Nobel award-winning *Four Quartets*. But East Coker's charms are under attack from a huge housing development that would quadruple the local population.
>
> The Somerset farming village, famed for its thatched cottages built from the local stone and narrow country lanes, claims its rural tranquillity will be shattered if the local district council goes ahead with proposals to turn rich arable land over to construction of 3,700 new homes on the southern fringes of Yeovil.
>
> Eliot visited East Coker in 1937 after discovering a family connection: his forebears emigrated from the village to New England in the 1660s.

The analysis of the translation into Croatian

The students took the task very seriously. Only two translations might be assessed as inadequate. What can be noted about those two translations is that there were several occurrences of misunderstanding of the source text. In addition, there were serious mistakes concerning Croatian grammar and vocabulary (primarily collocations). The following were the problems that the students in general encountered in translating from English into Croatian:

Vocabulary: *fringes, housing development, lanes, go ahead*
We may link these problems with students' rather careless reading of the source text, and/or with their hasty and superficial use of the dictionaries.

Cultural elements: *cottage*
All the students decided upon the Croatian noun *koliba* (cabin, hut). It is interesting, because the English-Croatian dictionary they were using gives the right translation. This may mean that they all used the wrong translation that can sometimes be seen in the subtitles. It may also mean that they did not know what English cottages are. The latter was checked by showing the students some pictures of English villages. The conclusion was that the above supposition had been right.

Careless reading
Some students turned Yeovil in the last but one sentence into a mountain, village or county, although it was mentioned in the subtitle, which they had previously translated.

Grammar and syntax
There were grammatical mistakes in the Croatian translation. The structure "in his Nobel award-winning *Four quartets"* was understood, as well as the sense conveyed, but over half of the students produced very clumsy sentences in Croatian, not respecting Croatian syntax.

Eighteen students translated the structure "the Somerset farming village" as if the name of the village was Somerset. This mistake reveals two facts. Those students did not understand parts of the text well, and did not understand the English structure where the definite article turns the noun *Somerset* into an adjective. Seven students misunderstood the meaning of the phrase "the 1660s", and translated it as "the sixteenth century". To translate *West Country village* and *New England,* the students required some knowledge of geography. These parts gave us the opportunity to discuss some translation sources, as well as some translating strategies. The same opportunity was granted owing to the phrases *timeless quality* and *under attack*, which had to be paraphrased in Croatian.

The Croatian text

Since the present article is not aimed at Croatian readers, the Croatian text has been translated into English. All the accepted versions are cited, and the parts where the students encountered problems appear in blue.

> Maribor's lesson to/for Croatian cities/towns
> *Vijenac*, a journal for art, culture and science, January 26, 2012
>
> In 2012 Maribor carries/holds/is carrying/is holding the flattering title of the European Capital of Culture. It is a title that is given/awarded once a year/yearly to at least one European city/town for a period of one year/a one-year period, during which it/the city is given an opportunity /a chance to show its cultural life (-style) and its historical and cultural heritage in its best light.
>
> The second biggest/largest city/town in Slovenia / The second largest Slovenian town has been declared/was declared/proclaimed/named the European Capital of Culture together with the Portuguese city (of) Guimarães. This/The title has been awarded since 1985, when it was proposed /suggested by/ at the proposal of/ the then Greek Minister of Culture, Melina Mercouri.
>
> Up until now/Until now more than forty European cities have been declared/proclaimed/named the European Capitals of Culture.
>
> Project Maribor 2012/The Maribor 2012 Project was opened at a ceremony/ was ceremonially opened/formally opened on 14(th) January/ January 14 by the Slovenian President, Danilo Türk/ by Slovenian President Danilo Türk and the European Commissionner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism, Sport, Media and Youth, Androulla Vassiliou.

The analysis of the translation into English

In this translation the students encountered most difficulties in the usage of the English articles. This was not surprising, since learning to use the English articles has been considered a major problem in the acquisition of the English language (Zergollern-Miletić, 2010). The use of the present perfect tense posed another problem. Again, this was not surprising, since speakers of Croatian have difficulties understanding the meaning and use of that tense (Žic Fuchs, 2009). The third problem was vocabulary.

The questionnaire

A questionnaire, containing four questions, was administered after the translation part of the task. The aim was to test the students' language awareness, or, more precisely, their perception of their own knowledge of the two languages. The questions were also designed to elicit answers which would reflect their knowledge about and awareness of the processes of language teaching and language acquisition. The questions were in Croatian, and so were the students' answers.

1. What were the problems you encountered while translating the two texts?
2. Was it more difficult to translate from English into Croatian, or the other way round? Why?
3. Do you think it is good to include translation into language classes at university?
4. Which skills are developed with this kind of activity?

Seven students found most difficulties with syntax, six with the vocabulary, and twelve claimed that both syntax and vocabulary posed problems. Seven students also mentioned elements of culture as a challenge. What should be mentioned here is that some student answers (9) reflect lack of meta-language, even though second-year students are supposed to be well acquainted with linguistic terminology. Some of them did not use, for instance, the term *vocabulary*. Instead, they used the term *words*. Two students complained about 'not having been able to remember a word'. This is surprising, given the fact that they had dictionaries at their disposal. Instead of using the terms *syntax* and *sentence structure*, some described the procedures in their translation in a rather impressionistic way: "I had to add or avoid some words; One has to change one whole sentence in order for it to stay similar to the first" (the source text, that is).

Eight students considered the translation into English to be the more difficult direction; three of them said that this was due to the fact that English was not their mother tongue. Ten students thought that the opposite direction, that is, from English into Croatian was more difficult. Four of these respondents gave somewhat puzzling explanations, and two admitted that they had poor knowledge of Croatian grammar.

All the students responded positively to the third question, some even expressed enthusiasm. All except two supported their positive views by giving reasons. These reasons can be divided into four groups:

- The first group consists of general ideas, such as: useful, a good idea, can come in handy, of course it is useful, useful during the studies and later in life;
- The second group consists of answers focusing on language acquisition. Even those students who provided inadequate answers to question number one provided coherent answers to this question. The answers are as follows:

> Translations is good for the acquisition of both languages; for the development of language awareness; for the awareness about the cultural differences; for vocabulary-building; for reading comprehension; for the production of a text.

- The third group of answers reflects the students' awareness about and responsibility for their future calling:

> Teachers have to have broad education, therefore they must acquire at least the basics of translation.

- The fourth group consists of the answers by those students who consider the possibility of including translation into their professional lives. The most common answers to the question about developing skills are as follows:

> Close reading of a text, the skill of sentence-structuring, vocabulary-building, acquisition of new grammatical structures, revision of already familiar ones, translation helps in developing language skills in both languages.

CONCLUSION

The translations produced by second-year students of English at the Faculty of Teacher Education in Zagreb supported my previous findings and opinions about using translation in language classes at a high level of language learning. Translation enhances the understanding of the original text, helps in activating and using the learned vocabulary, as well as activating and using the learned grammatical structures, understanding cultural differences, and acquiring the skills of using dictionaries and grammar books. This applies both to the FL and L1.

The respondents described the problems they faced performing the translation task. Syntax and vocabulary problems dominated in their answers, whereas elements of culture were only mentioned by seven students. All respondents expressed interest in translating tasks and were generally aware of the skills developed in the process. Only in the answers of three students is it clear that they make a distinction between translation in the language class and translation as a separate skill. Nevertheless, others also see translating as a possible (additional) job.

Having conducted this research, and having learned about students' views and understanding of the translation process, I am even more convinced that it should form part of language instruction, especially at higher levels. In my view, students should also gain at least some basic insight into the nature of the translation process, as well as translation strategies.

In order to gain a better insight into students' views and understanding of the processes of translation and EFL learning, a more comprehensive study should be

conducted, one that would include university students of English at various levels of language development.

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AFTERWORD: A CONTRIBUTION TO SONG IN THE CLASSROOM

Andrew C. Rouse

It is the mid-seventies, more precisely, some time after May 1975 but before December 31, 1978, and in the summer months sometime.

It is also London, more precisely 93, New Road, Chingford, about as far as you can go north-east of the centre of London without hitting the commons and then the beech woods of Epping Forest. I was at home, so definitely the summer break. British students traditionally only return home for Christmas, Easter and the summer holidays, when they're skint and require their parents to feed them awhile before their return to academe.

It was also latish at night. Father was already in bed when the phone rang, so I picked it up to hear a woebegone yet familiarly central-European-contralto voice at the other end. "Hello. We are Hungarians from Pécs, we have just arrived in London and we have nowhere to stay."

I looked at the clock. Too late for a bus. I gave the voice instructions on how to get to Blackhorse Road on the last underground train, bundled father out of bed, and went, not for the first time, to pick up our ad-hoc stranded Huns, this time the newly-wed honeymooning Nikolov Marianne and her husband Jenő.

I don't think my parents ever really adapted to this optimistic, almost casual approach to arranging accommodation. Decades later, older, wealthier friends from Szeged turned up on their doorstep having taken "Do pop in" as a concrete, finalised invitation, rather than "Do come and visit us once you have made the proper overtures." The invitation was real enough, if not from the head of the

household – rather reminiscent of yesterday's arrival for the night of three young men my own student son had co-carted along from France for Christmas.

All things considered, the next day Marianne and my father got on famously once they had made professional contact – music in the classroom. As music advisor for a London borough, Dad had masses of materials and they were soon going through them. Meanwhile, in the indomitable sleight-of-hand organisational manner that any who have ever encountered Marianne will be familiar with – as though it was no effort at all – she had discovered Tent City in East Acton, a massive canvas compendium divided by gender, nationality, and/or what-have-you. She and Jenő had soon moved out of New Road to enjoy the rest of their stay independently.

A little time passed, and I found myself in Hungary, caught up in education but also in folk music. Marianne and I met up again, and I was introduced to her lovely younger sister, a gentle counterpoint to Marianne who became a close friend while she still lived in Pécs. My first Christmas Day in Hungary I spent with Marianne and her family in the flat where her mother and sister lived. I proudly brought along a gift box of Tokaji with presentation glasses, to discover I was celebrating with a teetotal family. Oops.

Marianne was yet to get onto the full-time staff of the Department, but she was already working marvels with primary-school children learning English at "kettes gyak", one of the city's practice schools. While my own boss, József ("Joe") Bognár, had in the late seventies fought to keep the college English department and primary English education in Hungary alive at all, Marianne was down at the grass roots, proving the efficacy of such an education, and that, far from requiring a more rudimentary kind of teacher (university students were planned to teach in secondary schools), utterly different and far more sophisticated tools were required to teach the young learner with the short behind-desk attention span. This was completely in line with what I had experienced at St. Lukes in Exeter, where the majority of honours students were specializing at the primary rather than the secondary level, and where preferred education subjects were child psychology and sociology. What was very different was the lack of back-up at the national level to assist primary teachers professionally at all. In the early eighties an ex-student begged to travel to see her teach primary groups in Zalaegerszeg, because the responsible county "subject school inspector" refused to visit primary schools. Thirty years on it is still impossible to overstress the immense advantage Pécs students and school English staff enjoyed through pioneers like Marianne and enablers like Joe Bognár who finally put primary school-teaching of English on the national map.

One of the ways in which attention could be held was (is) through song. The statement is practically a banal truism, it is so obvious. Not only with youngsters, either, but people of all ages and, I discover more and more, music of all types. In the case of Marianne, it was a ground-breaking moment when she persuaded the county council to finance a project involving primary school English education, the

local "chanson" (*énekelt vers*) group, Szélkiáltó, some of whose members had been students along with her, and myself. In 1989 we recorded "This is the Way", a selection of 20+ best-loved English nursery songs, in the Pécs Radio studio.

Meanwhile, Marianne was busy writing the accompanying instruction booklet. It is a sign of the times that this was written in Hungarian, presumably to embrace parents as well as staff. Szélkiáltó and I were kept busy for a few years with the musical part of the material, travelling all over the country, from a primary school visit in Szerencs sponsored by the chocolate factory, freshly bought out by Nestlé who were doing some PR with the locals, to the Hódmezővásárhely cultural centre, whose stage was actually raked, making it virtually impossible to put up a music stand, to a national teacher's conference in the capital. We even appeared on the immensely popular children's TV programme, Cimbora. Responsible for all this was Marianne's original concept that it was important to produce materials for younger learners of English, and that this could be done by exploiting local talent. "This is the Way" was sold out, and then under a new label sold out again, in the cassette favoured in the classroom, digital technology not having arrived at that stage. It is now available a third time, this time digitally and on the Web. While it would be false humility to deny that the performers did a very good job under crude recording conditions – if this wasn't such an erudite publication I would insert a smiley here – it must also be remembered that the original idea was Marianne's, and it was an idea of the 1980s still serving a purpose in the second decade of the following century.

Over the decades, many have had reason to be grateful to the dynamic if rough-cut diamond Marianne Nikolov. Among them I would list Mary and her lamb, Old Macdonald complete with farm animals, the Black Sheep with her threebagsworth, the Drunken Sailor, My Bonny…

"For she's a jolly good fellow,
And so say all of us."

József Andor
Mariann Barabás
Jenő Bárdos
Stefka Barócsi
Katalin Bukta
Ildikó Csépes
Kata Csizér
Ágnes Dévény
Katalin Doró
Judit Heitzmann
Pál Heltai
Gabriella Hild
Dorottya Holló
József Horváth
Krisztián Józsa
Robert B. Kaplan
Zoltán Kiszely
Edit H. Kontra
Judit Kormos
Stephen Krashen
Magdolna Lehmann
Ágnes Loch
Lucilla Lopriore
Sándor Martsa
Péter Medgyes
Zsófia Menyhei
Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović
István Ottó
Enikő Öveges
Katalin Piniel
Andrew C. Rouse
Gyula Sankó
Csilla Sárdi
Gábor Szabó
István Thékes
Zsuzsanna Tóth
Thomas A. Williams
Lovorka Zergollern-Miletić