

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

**EXPLORING ADVANCED ENGLISH
LEARNERS' MULTILINGUAL IDENTITY
CONSTRUCTION FROM MULTIPLE
PERSPECTIVES**

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ABSTRACT

In my doctoral dissertation I explore advanced English learners' multilingual identity construction from various perspectives synthesizing two traditions: research into L2 learners' identity construction and traditional SLA research into individual differences. The study of English as a lingua franca along with dynamic systems theory comprise the further theoretical frameworks. Despite the dominance of qualitative data, the relatively large number of the participants (N=42) allowed me to present and discuss some numerical data on trends and frequencies, thus making the dissertation a mixed methods study. The dissertation is also classroom research and action research, since the study was conducted in a classroom, and the teacher and the researcher conducting the study are one and the same person (Nunan & Bailey, 2009).

The participants of my study were 42 English majors studying at the Institute of English Studies, University of Pécs, Hungary who attended three Listening and Speaking Skills II courses that I taught in the spring semester of the 2014/2015 academic year.

The data collection instruments included a structured speaking task (a structured interview recorded by students), a structured writing task, and a questionnaire on individual differences comprising open-ended questions. The datasets of oral and written texts allowed the triangulation of data. To analyze the data, I performed qualitative content analysis to detect emerging themes, which was an iterative process characteristic of such research (Dörnyei, 2007). Having detected emerging themes, I counted frequencies to complement and support the qualitative results.

The findings confirmed that L2 learners respond emotionally to L2 learning and make SLA an embodied experience (Damasio, 1994; Kramsch, 2009). The findings also pointed out that learners utilize their L2 to create subjective meanings in the L2 as well as to create an inwardly generated multilingual identity reflecting their desire for self-fulfillment via the L2 (Kristeva, 1980). Their identity construction drawing on their imagination and their real-life experiences reflects their identification with other L2 speakers. Based on these findings, I coined the term of the language learner's imagined L2 habitus.

The data also revealed that the participants are shifting to using English as a lingua franca, and the emerging themes led me to revisiting Yashima's (2009) concept of international posture from the perspective of identity research. Finally, when investigating the students' individual differences drawing on traditional SLA research and identity research, I came to see that both identity construction and individual differences are best viewed as a complex dynamic system (Larsen-Freeman, 1997, 2017), in which horizontally and vertically interacting individual differences constitute the levels of the system, and the changing behavior of these levels shape the learner's identity construction as system-level behavior. Furthermore, the system also interacts with other systems (i.e. other L2 speakers) as well as with contextual factors.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CC	Communicative competence
CDS	Complex dynamic systems
CDST	Complex dynamic systems theory
CMC	Computer mediated communication
CT	Complexity theory
DST	Dynamic systems theory
EFL	English as a foreign language
EHL	English as a heritage language
EIL	English as an international language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ENL	English as a native language
ESL	English as a second language
FL	Foreign language
FLE	Foreign language enjoyment
GE/Globish	Global English
IC	Intercultural communication
ICC	Intercultural communicative competence
ID	Individual difference
LA	Language anxiety
LF	Lingua franca
L1	First language/mother tongue
L2	Second language
LSS II course	Listening and Speaking Skills II course
ML	Modern language
MLS	Multilingual subject
NEs	New Englishes
NES	Native English speaker
NNES	Non-native English speaker
NNS	Non-native speaker

NS	Native speaker
SDT	Self-determination theory
SLA	Second language acquisition
SLS	Second language socialization
WEs	World Englishes
WTC	Willingness to communicate

INTRODUCTION

When I think, act and speak in Hungarian (ways), it is another me...

Excerpt from my linguistic autobiography

Talking in foreign languages helps to improve imagination, creativity and self-understanding.

Excerpt from interview with Katherine

If I communicate with myself in English, it's like talking to another person.

Excerpt from interview with Sandra

I have given many thoughts over the years to how I have felt speaking English as a foreign language and Hungarian, my mother tongue. I have been wondering why I have preferred speaking English in certain situations, why I have felt more or less confident saying and doing the very same thing in English and in Hungarian, and why I have sometimes behaved differently when speaking in English or in Hungarian to different people. These troubling yet exciting thoughts have inspired me to dig deeper and to reflect critically on my identity as a Hungarian and English speaker. My experience of becoming an English speaker felt like a new start, a tabula rasa, liberating me from some of the emotional, psychological, and physical constraints imprinted in my mother tongue. A few years into learning English a new world opened up for me – physically (e.g. traveling to other countries and making international friends), emotionally (e.g. the joy of being able to communicate in another tongue), economically (e.g. making a living as a teacher and as a translator) while some possibilities remained impalpable in my imagination. Consequently, I began observing how learning and speaking English have shaped my trajectory in life as well as my identity. Later on, intrigued by my own experiences, I started observing other people paying heed to their experiences and narratives so as to shed light on how English has shaped their identity, originally constructed in and via their mother tongue,

and what experiences, factors, or circumstances may produce similar or different ways of identity construction in English.

The present inquiry was inspired by two PhD courses that I attended. The first course Language and Identity was taught by the renowned scholar of the field Professor Claire Kramersch in the spring semester of the academic year 2012/2013, when Professor Kramersch, in a truly captivating manner, elaborated on thought-provoking ideas about how language, thought, and culture shape the identity of multilingual subjects (MLSs) through lived and imagined experiences. This course gave me the incentive to wrap my head around the subject in the first place. The second course was Language and Learner in Context: Anthropological and Sociocultural Perspectives taught by Professor Sándor Martsa in the spring semester of the academic year 2014/2015. The course provided me invaluable insights into the cultural, social and anthropological aspects of language learning, multilingualism, and identity at the intersection of language and culture.

As a requirement of Professor Martsa's course, students were asked to write their own linguistic autobiographies. The first excerpt comes from the introduction of my linguistic autobiography, and the other two excerpts are from the structured speaking task (structured interview recorded by students) that the participants of this study completed. All three excerpts give evidence of how significantly learning an additional language may transform our life, shape our identity, and act upon our imagination as well as the reality in which we live. As a teacher I frequently encourage my students to reflect on their linguistic identity to facilitate their understanding of who they are and who they wish to become in an effort to further their motivation in their studies and in the life-long journey of language learning as English majors and advanced-level users of the English language. Recognizing and nurturing the students' Ideal- and Ought-to Self (Dörnyei, 2005) promote the understanding of the linguistic, psychological, and emotional processes they experience. Moreover, pondering over their

multilingual identities and the transformative potential of language learning helps them to understand how language learning has made them the person they have become and where they may be heading. Kramsch (2009, p. 4) stresses that even English as a foreign language (EFL) learners who learn English in isolation from the target culture also develop multilingual identities:

Precisely because they learn the foreign language in isolation from the real world, they project onto it their dissatisfactions with their own and their dreams of a better world. Language for them is not just an unmotivated formal construct but a lived embodied reality.

Understanding these subjective and often idiosyncratic language learning experiences brings teachers closer to understanding their students' needs, desires, fears, and anxieties that shape their identity. Therefore, in my doctoral dissertation I explore advanced English learners' multilingual identity construction drawing on four overarching theoretical frameworks: (1) Kramsch's (2009) multidisciplinary approach of identity research, (2) traditional second language acquisition (SLA) research into individual differences (IDs), (3) research into English as a lingua franca (ELF), and (4) complex dynamic systems theory (CDST). Although my research questions only focus on the participants' multilingual identity construction and IDs, I analyze and interpret the findings from the perspective of ELF and CDST.

As for research into identity, I drew on Kramsch's (2009) multidisciplinary approach of identity research which follows the post-structuralist tradition. According to this tradition, understanding one's identity means understanding the Self in relation to the Other (Hall, 1996); thus, capital letters are used when referring to these constructs. Studies (Kramsch, 2002, 2009; Norton, 2013) drawing on the post-structuralist or language ecological approach are usually case studies or interview studies and focus on the individual and their idiosyncratic experiences. By contrast, traditional SLA research into IDs (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000) mostly follows the psychometric tradition that employs statistical procedures to calculate averages and to make generalizations about the

constructs under scrutiny. Consequently, this tradition does not focus on the individual but rather on large groups and investigates the relationship between the self-concept and other IDs. Hence, the self, viewed as only one factor among many other variables, is not capitalized. In my dissertation I follow this distinction depending on which tradition I draw on. Concerning the terminology of other language-related issues, I draw on the following definitions. When referring to the term second language (L2) I adopt Kramsch's (2009, p.17) concept of learning and using any additional language besides one's mother tongue or first language (L1) irrespective of the context of learning and the attained proficiency level. Therefore, EFL, ELF, English as a second language (ESL), or English as a heritage language (EHL) are conceived of as an L2. The term multilingualism refers to the individual's knowledge of at least two languages regardless of the context of learning the languages, the age of learning or the attained proficiency level. Thus, according to this definition, the individual capable of using more than one language is multilingual.

In my dissertation I wish to explore the benefits of employing multiple perspectives and research traditions, because, in my view, such an approach broadens and enriches the researcher's understanding of the phenomena under study (Creswell, 2003; Dörnyei, 2007). Kramsch's (2009) multidisciplinary identity research looks at learners in their entirety and complexity as individuals without separating the learner from the learning experience. Her concept of successful learning does not address L2 attainment or language proficiency level; instead, it refers to how transformative language learning is in learners' life and how meaningfully it is lived by them.

We are fooling ourselves if we believe that students learn only what they are taught. While teachers are busy teaching them to communicate accurately, fluently, and appropriately, students are inventing for themselves other ways of being in their bodies and their imaginations. Success in language learning is an artifact of schooling, of the need by institutions to demarcate those who know from those who don't, but the language learning experience itself is neither successful nor unsuccessful. It can be lived more or less meaningfully and can be more or less transformative, no matter what level of proficiency has been attained. Without an understanding of what they associate with the music of the new language, its sounds and rhythms, shapes and

syntaxes, we cannot grasp the identities students are constructing, consciously or unconsciously, for themselves. (Kramersch, 2009, p. 4)

The above quotation highlights the paramount role imagination plays in L2 learning when learners creatively and subjectively create their own associations, feelings, emotions, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts about the new language, its culture, and the people speaking this language. Learners' creative and subjective meaning-making practices and resonances about the new language are unconventional from the perspective of native speakers (NSs), which makes learners MLSs and language learning a symbolic activity (Kramersch, 2009). In the process of SLA learners create an inwardly generated identity based on their imagined and real-life experiences, which reflects their desire for self-fulfillment in an via the L2 (Kramersch, 2009; Kristeva, 1980). Kramersch (2009) proposes that some learners embrace the transformative potential of L2 learning whereas others feel threatened by the magnitude of the threat that the L2 poses to the integrity of the learner's identity. Since language and culture are interwoven in L2 learning (Kramersch, 1998), SLA can shape not only learners' linguistic identity construction but also their cultural and social identity construction, because with the new language comes a new consciousness as well (Lacan, 1977).

The second research tradition that I draw on in the dissertation is traditional SLA research into IDs that usually follows the psychometric approach and looks at various aspects of the learner and the different factors involved in SLA in isolation from one another. This tradition is seemingly irreconcilable with the holistic approach of post-structuralist identity research. However, my study is an attempt to reconcile these two traditions so as to enrich data and to complement the findings of these two approaches. Therefore, I also study the participants' IDs such as their self-perception, competitiveness, perfectionism, language anxiety (LA), motivation, and willingness-to communicate (WTC) in English from the perspective of traditional SLA research as well as that of identity research. In my dissertation the aforementioned IDs are construed as follows. Due to feasibility issues I had to narrow down

my focus on the self-concept to self-perception subsuming two dimensions: perceived language aptitude and perceived language proficiency level. Competitiveness refers to learners' "desire to excel in comparison to others" (Bailey, 1983, p. 96) and perfectionism denotes learners' expectations of themselves in L2 learning. Language anxiety refers to a specific type of social anxiety that is triggered by L2 use (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). Motivation in L2 learning denotes the various reasons for language learning. Finally, WTC reflects learners' willingness to use the L2 across different contexts, with different L2 speakers, and in different modes of L2 production (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998).

In addition to the aforementioned two research traditions, there are two additional theoretical frameworks that I draw on in my study. I analyze the data and interpret the findings from the perspective of ELF and CDST. English as a lingua franca is understood as a common linguistic denominator between speakers of various lingua-cultural origins (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011). Since English has become a world language spoken in all corners of the world, non-native English speakers (NNESs) greatly outnumber native English speakers (NESs) (Crystal, 2003); therefore, English language interactions are more likely to take place between NNESs than between NESs and NNESs (Jenkins, 2015). As a consequence, traditional EFL speakers are shifting to using the language as a lingua franca (LF) instead of a foreign language (FL) (Widdowson, 2012). This phenomenon is also true for my research context, providing the rationale for including an ELF perspective in my inquiry. Furthermore, the study of ELF addresses how ELF speakers are exempted from having to conform to the native speaker norm (Medgyes, 2001, 2017; Subtirelu, 2011; Widdowson, 2012) and how ELF speakers can gain ownership of English (Holliday, 2005; Widdowson, 2012) through successful language use even when their language proficiency level does not approximate that of NESs. Finally, ELF is linked to international posture that refers to L2 speakers' predisposition to relate

themselves to an international community where English knowledge is valued rather than to a specific L2 community (Yashima, 2009, p. 145).

The fourth framework I utilize in my dissertation is complex dynamic systems theory (de Bot, 2017; Larsen-Freeman, 2017; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) that has gained momentum in social sciences and in language education alike. Since I take a complex and holistic view of identity construction, I look at language learners and the learning process in their entirety and complexity, which calls for a more dynamic and complex framework afforded by CDST. Complexity theory in SLA sheds light on how language learners and their language learning process can be perceived as a complex dynamic system (CDS) in which various factors constantly interact with one another, constituting the lower levels of the system and shaping the system's behavior that also responds to stimuli coming from the environment in the form of interaction with other L2 speakers.

Drawing on the above described four theoretical frameworks, I conducted an empirical study to explore advanced English learners' multilingual identity construction. The present inquiry is exploratory in nature, since it aims to bring under one roof two seemingly incompatible research traditions to explore multilingual identity construction. To my knowledge, there are no other empirical studies that merge these two traditions to explore L2 learners' multilingual identity construction. Most inquiries draw on either the post-structuralist/ecological tradition or traditional SLA research. In addition to the four theoretical frameworks described above, my study also draws on the multiple perspectives of other disciplines such as cultural studies, literary and language theory, neurology, psychology, philosophy, narrative inquiry, and communication studies. Furthermore, my study is also classroom research and action research (Nunan & Bailey, 2009), because my research was conducted in the classroom, and the teacher and the person carrying out the research was one and the same person (Nunan & Bailey, 2009, p. 226). In action research, the teacher-researcher

seeks to better her teaching practice by conducting classroom research with the intention to also publish her findings.

As for research methods, although my inquiry is dominantly embedded in the qualitative research approach, the relatively high number of participants (N=42) allowed me to present and discuss some numerical data on trends and frequencies, thus making the dissertation a mixed methods study (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 45). In line with Creswell (2003) and Dörnyei (2007), I do not view the two research traditions as antagonistic or exclusive positioned at the far ends of a scale but rather as reconcilable and complementary, rendering a more complex and reliable picture of a studied phenomenon. The use of mixed methods is beneficial, as it combines the strength of quantitative and qualitative research while neutralizing their weaknesses by providing insights where one research method cannot (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 45).

In my dissertation I seek to answer the following research questions (Table 1).

Table 1.

Research Questions, Instruments, Employed Methods of Analysis, and the Numbers of Students

Research questions	Instruments	Methods of analysis	Number of participants
1. What characterizes the participants' multilingualism?	Structured speaking task	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	38
2. What characterizes the participants' multiculturalism?	Structured speaking task	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	38
3. What characterizes the participants' identity construction in their various languages?	Structured writing task	Qualitative content analysis	31
4. What characterizes the participants' self-perception, competitiveness, perfectionism, motivation, language anxiety, and willingness to communicate in English?	Open-ended questionnaire on IDs	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	30

5. In what ways do the above individual differences shape the participants' identity construction in and via English?	Open-ended questionnaire on IDs	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	30
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To gather data for my inquiry, I designed three instruments that served two purposes: they served as data sources in my study whereas they also served as meaningful home assignments for the students participating in the research. I employed convenience sampling (Dörnyei, 2007) to recruit participants. The 42 students who attended three Listening and Speaking Skills II (LSS II) courses that I taught in the spring semester of the academic year 2014/2015 became the informants of my study. The pedagogical objective of the courses was to improve students' English language skills at C1 level, with a special focus on their listening and speaking skills. Since the courses were skill development courses, I, as the teacher, had more freedom to select the teaching materials aimed to improve students' language proficiency at C1 level. The number of students completing the three home assignments also serving as data sources for my study varied, since students were allowed to be absent from seminars on two occasions and because not all students completed all assignments for the course. Knowing that my research was classroom research, I had expected to face such difficulties during the semester. Nevertheless, these hiccups did not impede my research.

The three instruments I utilized to gather data for my inquiry included (1) a structured speaking task (a structured interview recorded by students) exploring the participants' multilingualism and multiculturalism, (2) a structured written task mapping their multilingual identity construction, and (3) a questionnaire on IDs comprising open-ended questions. The datasets of oral and written texts allowed the triangulation of data. To analyze the data I gathered, I performed qualitative content analysis to detect emerging themes, which was an iterative process characteristic of exploratory qualitative research (Dörnyei, 2007). Having detected emerging themes, I counted frequencies to complement and support the qualitative results and to achieve the triangulation of data.

The instruments were also meaningful home assignments for students as part of the course requirements. The themes raised by these home assignments served further pedagogical purposes. First of all, addressing and discussing topics such as multilingualism, identity construction, or individual differences were awareness-raising for the dominantly first-year students. Second, these themes were in line with the curriculum of their degree program, as there were overlaps with other compulsory courses in the field of cultural studies, linguistics, and applied linguistics. In these courses the topic of cultural, social, ethnic, and linguistic identity, culture, narrative, multilingualism, SLA, and individual differences are discussed in greater depth. Third, the home assignments serving as data sources were also incorporated in the syllabus of my courses as in-class discussions during which students were offered the opportunity to voice their opinion on the topics and further expand on their experiences in various communicative tasks such as staged debates and group or pair discussions. To sum up, the written home assignments along with the related in-class speaking activities aimed to improve students' English language proficiency at C1 level, which was in keeping with the expressly stated aim of the three courses.

Regarding the structure of the dissertation, it consists of two parts comprising three and five chapters, respectively. The first part is devoted to the overview of the literature and the second part presents and discusses the findings of the empirical study included in the dissertation. Chapter 1 elaborates on the literature of identity research I draw on in the empirical study and discusses ELF and CDST perspectives on identity research. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on L2 learners' individual differences including motivation, language anxiety, willingness to communicate, self-perception, competitiveness, and perfectionism. Chapter 3 presents the findings of empirical studies on L2 learners' multilingual identity construction and IDs. Chapter 4 details the empirical study included in the dissertation. In Chapter 5 I present the findings on the participants' multilingualism and multiculturalism; therefore, I revisit

Yashima's (2009) concept of international posture from the perspective of identity research and I present a case study on different language socialization and enculturation processes based on these findings. In Chapter 6 I elaborate on the findings on the participants' multilingual identity construction drawing on Kramsch's (2009) multidisciplinary approach of identity research. In Chapter 7 I present and discuss the results on the informants' individual differences and how they shape the students' multilingual identity construction. Finally, in Chapter 8 I draw the main conclusions along with the pedagogical implications of my study and I outline limitations and areas for further research.

CHAPTER 1 – EXPLORING IDENTITY IN SLA FROM MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

1.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 I provide the theoretical framework of the identity research that I draw on in the study constituting my dissertation. The approach that I utilize in my inquiry is multidisciplinary that synthesizes various disciplines such as identity research in SLA and cultural studies, literary and language theory, neurology, psychology, philosophy, narrative inquiry, communication studies, the study of English as a lingua franca, and complex dynamic systems theory. This multidisciplinary approach is in line with Kramsch's (2009) multidisciplinary approach of identity research which was a major source of inspiration for my inquiry. Due to the limitations on the length of a doctoral dissertation, I review theories and disciplines that are relevant in my multidisciplinary inquiry.

1.2 Views on the Self in Philosophy

The self has been theorized from a myriad of perspectives such as philosophy, psychology, neurology, sociology, culture, and literature (Thagard, 2012), and several concepts of the self has been devised (Northoff, 2014, pp.142-8). From a philosophical stance, the mental self, the existence of which is debated, refers to the mind and the self as a mental entity, a so called metaphysical matter. The concept of the empirical self or the self-model denotes the inner model of the self based on the brain's and the body's functioning which is linked to higher-order cognitive functions such as working memory, making the self empirical in nature and thus subject to scientific investigation. The phenomenal self is inherently part of our experience and thus of our consciousness that can be grasped by the term self-consciousness. The minimal self, which is also part of our experience, is a "basic sense of self at any particular given moment in time" (Northoff, 2014, p.147) without providing continuity across time; therefore, individuals

are not aware of their minimal self and cannot reflect on it. It precedes linguistic and conceptual expression, making it a pre-verbal and pre-conceptual entity.

1.3 The Neurobiological Foundations of the Embodied Self

From a neurological stance, Thagard (2012) views the self as a complex multilevel system operating on four levels: social, individual, neural, and molecular, which is crucial in connecting the innate stratum of the self with the social and individual sphere in a complex way. The psychologist, Csíkszentmihályi (1993, pp. 22-3) calls it the realm of the consciousness that constitutes the self and the reflective capacity of the self emerges in response to brain mechanisms embedded in neural networks. Once the reflective consciousness develops, it is capable of taking charge of the domain of consciousness that orchestrates feelings. Csíkszentmihályi's (1993) argument points out that brain mechanisms are responsible for generating emotions and feelings that are orchestrated and reflected on by the self. In the same vein, the neurologist Damasio (1994, pp. 224-38) argues that conceptualizing the brain and the body separately is erroneous because people's responses to the environment engage not only the brain or the body of the individual but the whole organism, as well. He explains that the mind depends on the brain-body interaction, since the mind arises from the neural activities of the brain that is linked to the body. Representations of the world external to the body can only come into the brain through the body that is mapped by the brain, and the mapping of the body contributes to the development of consciousness that constitutes the self (Damasio, 2010, pp. 76-7). The self is a biological state that is connected to the body and the brain, and if this connection is disrupted, the person's state of mind drastically changes. Both the mind and the body are linked to generating emotions and feelings, which means that cognition is embodied and thus the mind and the self are also embodied (Damasio, 1994, 2010).

With regard to emotions, Damasio (1994, pp.131-39) differentiates between primary and secondary emotions. Universal emotions such as happiness, anger, fear, sadness, and disgust

are what he calls primary emotions that are unconscious representations of the body generated by the brain that trigger bodily changes. They are recognizable across cultures because they are neurologically and genetically grounded. Primary emotions are linked to an external object that triggers a bodily reaction, and feeling the emotion makes the experience conscious for the individual. Secondary emotions are variations or differentiations of primary emotions that are linked to a specific object or to the individual's memory or experience of the specific object. For instance, excitement or frenzy are variations of happiness. Secondary emotions are not innate but learnt through previous experience or memory of the external object inducing the emotion and they are the result of the individual's evaluation of the object and the related previous experience. Similarly to primary emotions, secondary emotions also trigger bodily changes such as a racing heart, dry mouth or sweating. Secondary emotions include social emotions such as frustration, embarrassment, envy, guilt, or compassion that are triggered in social situations. Feelings are, however, different from emotions. All emotions generate feelings as described above denoting the first variety of feelings but not all feelings generate emotions. The second variety of feelings are variations of universal emotions, for example euphoria and ecstasy are variations of happiness. The third variety of feelings is what Damasio calls background feelings that are not too positive or negative and which correspond to body states between emotions, reflecting the image of the body landscape not perturbed by emotion (Damasio, 1994, p. 150-1). Damasio's (1994, 2010) findings are crucial in pointing out that cognition which is involved in language learning is embodied; therefore, language learning triggers emotional responses in learners that also guide their cognition. Schumann's (1997, 2004, 2017) contributions elaborating on the neurobiology of affect in SLA, the neurobiological process involved in SLA, or the neural complexity of L2 learning, pinpointed the link between brain mechanisms and affect, also confirming the embodied nature of language learning.

1.4. The Self in Psychology

1.4.1 Types of Self Knowledge

In psychology, the self is an entity given to people at birth that is to be discovered and sustained over time in life (Kramersch, 2009, p. 17). Neisser (1988, pp. 37-53) differentiated five types of self-knowledge that Kramersch (2009, pp. 70-73) adopted in her understanding the functioning of the learner's various selves. Neisser being a psychologist does not capitalize the word self, whereas Kramersch (2009) when talking about Neisser's self-constructs capitalizes the word, because she follows the post-structuralist understanding of the Self. When talking about these self-types in my dissertation, I will capitalize the term in keeping with the post-structuralist approach. The Ecological Self is created through perceptual experience and the body's responses to internal and external stimuli. The Ecological Self more or less coincides with the biological body but it can also refer to objects linked to the body such as the clothes one is wearing or the car one is driving. In language learning the Ecological Self is active when learners become aware of their bodily reactions to the language and the foreignness of the L2 (Kramersch, 2009, p. 70). "The Interpersonal Self is the self as engaged in immediate unreflective social interaction with another person" (Neisser, 1988, p.41). The interactants' mostly kinetic behavior creates an instance of intersubjectivity that can be perceived by themselves as well as by outside observers and their interactive responses define the Interpersonal Self. Therefore, the learner's Interpersonal Self understands and defines itself through its responses to other Selves (Kramersch, 2009, p.70). "The Extended Self is the Self as it was in the past and as we expect it to be in the future, known primarily on the basis of memory" (Neisser, 1988, p. 46) comprising episodic and semantic memory. In the case of foreign language learners, they can rely on their episodic memory that stores specific events but they cannot fully draw on their semantic memory that stores general knowledge of concepts (Kramersch, 2009, p. 71) because they were not encultured and socialized in an L2 environment. The Private Self has and

remembers conscious experiences that are not accessible to other people such as dreams and fantasies. The experience of the Private Self can be independent of the Ecological Self or the Interpersonal Self. In my view, the learner's Private Self is crucial in creating fantasies, dreams, fears, and expectations associated with learning the L2. Related to the concept of the Private Self, Neisser (1988, p. 51) notes that this Self is capable of attending to the experience of doing and seeing things, which Kramersch (2009, p. 71) refers to as the Reflexive Self (instead of the Private Self). The Reflexive Self is conscious of the other Selves, the outside world, and its experience of the outside world, allowing for the Self to reflect on these experiences. The Conceptual Self has a concept about the individual in a familiar world, for example, my Conceptual Self knows that I am Hungarian, I am a woman, and I am a researcher. The Conceptual Self operates similarly to the "idealized cognitive models" (Lakoff, 1987) that are based on observation and the stories we are told about things in the world. For instance, my notion of what I am as a language learner draws on a cognitive model that I am aware of through my observations and the stories I have been told or written by others. This Self utilizes concepts, categories, and symbolic systems to make sense of the world and how to relate to others based on the theories and concepts the Self has gathered. The language learner's Conceptual Self draws on the stories it has been told and written about itself and others in the process of language learning (Kramersch, 2009, p. 72). Kramersch (2009) added two more Selves: the Narrational Self (see section 1.8) and the Virtual Self. In computer mediated communication (CMC) writing becomes a social-virtual activity in which the number of intended readers along with the speed of transmission increase, the text along with the self become open to evaluation by others, and the Self is co-constructed in dialogue with others, thus creating the Virtual Self (Kramersch, 2009, p. 155-85). In virtual communication historical time is suspended and time becomes reversible with the click of the mouse. Furthermore, the genre boundaries as well as the boundaries of space and time become blurred and reality becomes hyperreality. Kramersch stresses that if there

are no boundaries that MLSs can subvert in order to create subjective meanings, there can be no multilingual subject in virtual communication.

1.4.2 Understanding the Self as a Complex Dynamic System

People's feelings, memories, values, beliefs, fears, and worries appear when they interact with their environment (i.e. with other people) and when they self-reflect (Strawinska, 2013, p. 36). Consequently, people need to process all sorts of information about themselves. Some pieces of self-relevant information they encounter are conflicting or contradictory, whereas others are confirmatory and reassuring. Despite the abundance of versatile information, people can create and sustain a stable self-image by filtering incoming information. Some people seem more prone to changes upon external influences, whereas others seem to maintain a more stable self-perception (Strawinska, 2013, p. 36). The dynamic model of the Self, the so called Society of Self (Nowak, Vallacher, Tesser, & Borkowski, 2000) approaches self-theory from the perspective of dynamic systems. Similarly to a society, "the Self can be viewed as a complex dynamical system, with interactions among the system elements promoting the emergence of macro level properties that cannot be reduced to the properties of the elements in isolation" (Nowak et al., 2000, p. 39).

Even in the absence of external influences, changes may be observed in the system due to its vastness. The large number and range of thoughts, feelings, and memories are continuously reflected on in an effort to make incoherent areas coherent. Having processed varied experiences, the Self is unique and acts as an agent in organizing and controlling important personal and interpersonal processes such as self-esteem maintenance, self-deception, identity maintenance or self-regulation. With this huge amount and range of incoming information about the Self, a sense of self can only emerge if the information is characterized by coherence to some degree (Nowak et al., 2000, p. 40). Self-organization provides integration for other psychological structures. Self-schemas, for instance, influence

what we notice about other people and how we organize our judgments about them (Nowak et al., 2000, p. 41). If an element is well integrated with neighboring elements, it can better withstand external influences and becomes less susceptible to changes. As a result, evaluative coherence helps to organize self-concept as well as social judgments. Good integration of elements in the system is more capable of providing immunity to incoming and often conflicting stimuli than the same elements in isolation (Nowak et al., 2000, pp. 41-2). Differentiation of the self-concept is triggered by the need for evaluative integration (Nowak et al., 2000, p. 42). Mechanisms such as selective recall, denial or confirmatory bias are employed to sustain evaluative consistency across situations and contexts. For instance, a student who is considered to be a high-achiever failing a test may dismiss the event as unimportant or might forget about it over time, or may put the blame on the teacher or the difficulty level of the test.

Finally, the discussion of attractors is vital, as they are core players in the self-organization and integration of the system. Strawinska (2013, p. 42) describes attractor states as follows:

An attractor is a state toward which a system evolves over time. In other words, it is a state preferred by the system. When the system is at its attractor state, this state is fairly stable; it does not change, unless external influences perturb the system. In case of sufficiently strong perturbations, the system will move away from the attractor state toward a state induced by the nature of external influence, but it will have a tendency to return to its attractor when external forces abate.

Usually, there are more attractors in a system. The systemic response to external influences is limited by the presence of an attractor and is “determined by the combined effect of the internal characteristics of the system” (Strawinska, 2013, p. 43). “Evaluatively coherent areas of the Self function as attractors for self-reflection”, therefore, “when self-reflection activates positive thoughts, other positive self-aspects are more likely to appear in the stream of consciousness than negative thoughts, and vice versa” (Strawinska, 2013 p. 43). Stability is understood in terms of static and dynamic equilibrium. The former state is characterized by resistance to incoming information, whereas the latter state is perturbed by the incoming information

temporarily but after a short while the elements and subsets return to their original state. Attractor dynamics is beneficial in linking structure and dynamism that brings about stability on a global level in a system that may exhibit changes over time. There is evidence now that the human body can be understood as a complex dynamic system with interacting subsystems that respond to stimuli from the environment. If the Self, which engages the mind, the brain, and the body of individuals, is perceived as a CDS, identity construction drawing on the Self, the mind, the brain, and the body of individuals can also be construed as a CDS and I argue that it is the researcher's task to find out what constitutes the subsystems of the system and what principles govern the identity construction of language learners and in what ways.

1.5 Perspectives on the Self in SLA

The concept of the self, which is not capitalized in SLA research, has been associated with other terms such as self-concept, self-esteem, self-efficacy, and self-worth which are often considered overlapping terms (Rubio, 2014, p. 42). Rubio distinguishes between self-concept and self-esteem, as self-esteem denotes the process of evaluation and the emergent evaluation of the self, while self-concept is the perceived entity that is evaluation; thus, unlike self-esteem, self-concept is domain specific. Self-concept is a complex entity that draws on a myriad of dimensions such as physical, social, familiar, personal, academic, or language learning (Rubio, 2014, pp. 42-3). Self-concept is also associated with self-efficacy which refers to “an individual's beliefs in his/her ability to perform a designated task or complete an activity, and may be used as a predictor of future performance” (Mills, 2014, p. 8), and it is linked to FL achievement, self-regulation, and LA (p.12). In SLA self-concept is also associated with linguistic confidence which is described as a state characteristic of a lack of anxiety and positive ratings of L2 proficiency (Sampasivam & Clément, 2014, p. 25). In the socio-cultural period of L2 motivation research, linguistic confidence determined by the quality and the quantity of contact between the L1 and the L2 culture was a socially defined construct (Clément, 1980, p.

151), whereas in the cognitive-situated period it encompassed what the learner thought they could do in a particular learning situation, making the construct cognitive in nature (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 80).

Drawing on CDST approaches to the self in psychology (see section 1.4.2), the complexity perspective has been endorsed by SLA researchers, as well (de Bot, 2017; Larsen-Freeman, 1997, 2017; Kramsch, 2002; Kramsch & Steffensen, 2017; Mercer, 2011; 2014; Rubio, 2014). Rubio (2014) contends that self-esteem is dynamic across the lifespan and neurological investigations have shown that self-concept is also dynamic because it is “developed newly in every evaluation, and it is formed dynamically throughout life” (p. 47), since “we create self-concept portraits every time competence and worthiness are in play” (p. 48). Mercer (2014, p. 161) conceptualizes the self “as composed of multiple, interconnected types of self-beliefs, motives and emotions, which are intimately connected with contexts and are differently dynamic across time and place”, which is a description in line with CDST. She argues that the individual can be perceived as a CDS in its own right and the language learner in the classroom becomes a system within the larger system of the classroom in which it co-adapts and co-evolves along with other systems in the classroom. This dynamic and complex conceptualization of the self is in line with the post-structuralist interpretation of identity being temporally changing and socially co-constructed.

1.6 Identity in Social Sciences and Cultural Studies

Identity construction is vital in recognizing oneself as distinct and different from others as well as in realizing similarities and differences between oneself and others (Rummens, 2003). Identity can be understood on various levels such as national, collective, social, communal, professional, and individual identity, while different types of identity such as cultural, gender, ethnic, and linguistics identity may be distinguished in social sciences (Rummens, 2003). Identity which is inherently linked to the individual is connected to identification that links the

individual to other people or groups. Identification, which indexes relationships of difference and similarity, is important because people live in groups such as family, school, or professional organizations; therefore, identification is linked to collectivity and history. (Jenkins, 2008, pp. 2-10). Consequently, identity is produced and reproduced in discourse and in the practical and material consequences of identification (Jenkins, 2008, p. 201). Furthermore, identity is not independent of context and situation, rather it emerges and is constructed and shaped in and via social interactions; therefore, identity may be perceived as social behavior characteristics of an individual or a group (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, pp.156-59).

In principle, identity and the Self are the same but in cultural theory identity refers to the consciousness of the Self found in the individual (Longhurst et al., 2008, p. 141). (In cultural studies the term Self is capitalized as it refers to and focuses on the individual.) “Identity is about how we define who we are” (Longhurst et. al., 2008, p. 142) as individuals who are thought to be autonomous, self-critical, and self-reflexive. Hall (1996, p. 2) also links identity to identification that reflects one’s “common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance” associated with it. Identification, Hall (1996, p. 2) continues, is a construction “a process never completed – always-in process”. He argues that identity and identification are constructed through difference signaling who we are not in relation to others. Identification is multiple and discursive, it draws on symbolic boundaries, and it is rooted in fantasy, projection, and idealization. Identity is not stable and unchanging throughout life and nor is it unified or homogeneous. Instead, identity is fractured, fragmented, “never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions” (Hall, 1996, p. 4). Hall’s definition of identity and identification reflects the constantly changing and socially constructed nature of identity that is linked to the use of symbols such as language and other cultural practices. Furthermore, he pinpoints that identity

is inwardly created and a product of the individual's imagination and consciousness as well as the unconscious functioning of the Self.

Language use entails symbolic power and Bourdieu (1991, pp. 43-65) proposed that one becomes a legitimate speaker when one says the appropriate words to the appropriate person using appropriate language under the appropriate social conditions, thus creating a legitimate discourse. Consequently, symbolic forms such as language or other cultural symbols play a significant part in identity construction, since language entails a symbolic power to include, exclude, or to discriminate against certain individuals, groups, or communities owing to differences in language use, for instance (Butler, 1997; Hall, 1996). Identity construction through difference signals one's relation to the Other, causing the exclusion of certain individuals or groups, which establishes or maintains a social order and hierarchy (Butler, 1997, pp. 3-41; Hall, 2000, pp. 17-8). Moreover, identity is also racialized and genderized (Butler, 1997), which, in the context of SLA, may be capable of thwarting any learning achievement. As an example, in the Hungarian context a Roma student is less likely to be motivated to learn English if teachers are prejudiced against Roma students and use discriminative teaching practices. No doubt this individual will object to SLA and adopt an identity of resistance. Such teaching practices are indicative of a social group's social hierarchy and social order as well as its discriminative practices that sustain social order. Consequently, learners' social identity is influenced by institutional practices established in homes, schools, and workplaces as well as available material, cultural, and symbolic resources (Norton, 2013, p. 2). Norton (2013) coined the sociological construct of investment to complement the psychological construct of motivation in SLA, which explains why motivation to learn an L2 may not lead to successful SLA. She argues that learners' investment in L2 learning is also an investment in their social identity, since, in exchange for their investment in learning, they expect to gain access to imagined communities as well as material (e.g. a new job, higher salary, or higher living

standards), cultural (e.g. access to a culture, or access to cultural and social practices), and symbolic (e.g. language, education, or friendship) resources that, in turn, shape their identity construction (Norton, 2013, p. 6).

1.7 Identity in SLA

Researchers (Block, 2007; Butler, 1997; Duff, 2015; Hall, 1996; Jenkins, 2008; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2013; Ricento, 2005; Pavlenko, 2003; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009) from various disciplines such as sociology, cultural theory, literary theory, and SLA all agree on a poststructuralist understanding of the individual's identity and identification that they are not considered coherent, unchanging, constant, and homogeneous concepts but rather diverse, heterogeneous, constantly changing and often contradictory entities. In what follows I focus on a multidisciplinary approach of identity research with regard to language learners' identity construction in the process of SLA.

1.7.1 Kramsch's Multidisciplinary Approach of Identity Research

Kramsch (2009, p. 4) perceives language learning not as successful or unsuccessful in relation to language attainment or language proficiency level like most SLA researchers do but as an experience that is more or less meaningfully lived by the learner and which may be more or less transformative for the learner. To understand learners and their learning processes is to understand their idiosyncratic meaning-making processes, their subjective and creative associations, and their resonances related to learning an L2. Language learning triggers emotional responses in learners constructing their feelings, fantasies, desires, beliefs, fears or attitudes towards learning and using the new language, making SLA an embodied experience that involves the whole being of learners. Precisely these subjective meaning-making practices that are unconventional from the perspective of native speakers render learners multilingual subjects.

Kramersch (2009, pp. 6-7) views language learning as a symbolic activity and language learners as multilingual subjects. Kramersch explains that there are two types of symbolic language use by drawn on by L2 learners. First, language use is symbolic because language is made up of a set of symbols that represent the social and psychological reality of a speech community agreed upon by social convention. Language learners use the new language in a symbolic way by using the language as a system of symbols conforming to the linguistic and cultural conventions agreed upon by a speech community. Thereby, they are granted symbolic power to enter a historical speech community and become an accepted member in that particular community. By speaking a new language, MLSs may have ideas and thoughts they have never had before. Nevertheless, having to conform to linguistic and cultural rules may limit the realm of the sayable in the new language. The second type of symbolic language use by learners lies in the foreignness of the new language, which enables MLSs to find unconventional and subjective meanings they associate the language with that may not be in compliance with the way native speakers make meaning (Kramersch, 2009, pp. 6-7). This duality permits MLSs to get closer to and distance themselves from the L2 at the same time. Due to the first type of symbolic language use, language and culture are inseparable. Kramersch (1998, pp. 3-4) explains that language expresses cultural reality by referring to common experience and knowledge about the world. Language embodies cultural reality as people create new experiences and meanings via language. Finally, language symbolizes cultural reality as language becomes its speakers' symbol of their social identity.

In my dissertation I draw on Kramersch's (2009, pp. 16-21) interpretation of the following concepts. "Subjective" refers to the learner's idiosyncratic meaning-making practices associated with the L2 that involve the learner's brain, mind and body, generating emotional responses to SLA. "Subject" denotes the learner's subjective experiences of SLA and the transformation they experience in the process of learning and using the L2. "Multilingual

subjects” are language learners who use more than one language irrespective of when and how they learnt the languages and of the attained proficiency level. In the same vein, multilingualism describes the individual’s knowledge of more than one language irrespective of the context of learning and the attained proficiency level. Consequently, the term L2 in the dissertation refers to any language (e.g. foreign, second or heritage language, or ELF) that one has learnt and used besides one’s mother tongue. “Multilingual or linguistic identity construction” is the learner’s inwardly created identity in response to L2 learning which is often the construction of imagination and which involves the body and the mind of the learner. “Subjectivity” is the learner’s “conscious or unconscious sense of self mediated through symbolic forms. It is the symbolic meaning we give to ourselves, to our perceptions, reactions, and thoughts that orient our relationship to others. Subjectivity involves both the conscious mind and the unconscious body’s memories and fantasies, identifications and projections” (Kramersch, 2009, p.18). Subjectivity is sustained by the subject and it emerges and develops through symbolic forms. “Subjectivity-in-process” denotes the learner’s subjectivity that is “constituted and shaped in interaction with the environment through the discourse of others” (Kramersch, 2009, p. 18). Kramersch’s concept of subjectivity-in-process is in concert with the post-structuralist understanding of identity being socially constructed and constantly changing in which the individual understands itself in relation to others through language and via similarity and difference, which also reflects the individual’s identification with another person, group or ideal. “Intersubjectivity” is based on the individual’ subjectivity that is produced discursively, through symbols, and signification practices that are rooted in shared memories, connotations, projections, and inferences. From a post-structuralist stance, intersubjectivity is thus synonymous with intertextuality. Finally, “subject position” “refers to the way in which the subject presents and represents itself discursively, psychologically, socially, and culturally

through the use of symbolic systems” (Kramersch, 2009, p. 20). In the empirical part of my dissertation I draw on these terms to interpret and discuss my findings.

1.7.2 Imagination and Imagined Communities

Imagination plays a crucial role in the process of becoming a MLS, as L2 learners use their imagination to create their subjective and unconventional resonances and emotional responses to L2 learning that construct their multilingual identity. Learners’ inwardly created identity is often imagined but it becomes real when it guides and orients their thoughts, emotions, feelings, attitudes, and their behavior when using the L2 (Kramersch, 2009, p. 17). Learners’ identity is linked to their identification with other L2 speakers or groups of L2 speakers. In identifying with certain L2 speakers or groups of L2 speakers, learners draw on their imagination because they cannot get to know all L2 speakers; thus, they generate an image about them in their head.

Anderson (1983, p. 48) put forward that all citizens of a nation regardless of size regard themselves as members of the same community; even though, they will never stand a chance of knowing each one of them. This is because people live in an imagined community. They imagine being bound together by an unseen hand, an idea, an image that persists in their mind no matter where they live. This is what MLSs do, they imagine belonging to a new group, resulting in a desire to connect to it to varying degrees. Some learners only take more interest in a new culture, some adopt new customs or lifestyles, some wish to live among NSs, and some strive to develop a native-like accent in their endeavor to become indistinguishable from them. An extended version of Anderson’s imagined community is a community of practice (Pavlenko, 2003; Wenger, 2000) that individuals strive to be part of; therefore, they locate themselves (and others) in the world as members of certain imagined communities. For example, some MLSs seek entrance to the imagined communities of English majors, English teachers, or native British or American speakers, and they may feel uneasy to interact with gatekeepers to imagined

communities that they are struggling to join. When access to imagined communities is granted to only a selection of individuals based on prejudice, disdain, or discrimination, those whose desire to enter these communities has been denied are likely to opt out of the learning process. To facilitate MLSs' successful learning and to avoid nonparticipation, MLSs' imagined communities have to be recognized and acknowledged to facilitate their investment in language learning (Norton, 2001, pp. 166-168).

1.7.3 Desire in Language Learning

From the viewpoint of semiotics, Kristeva (1980, p. 23-35) proposes that language is much more than a social code embedded in the structure of the language, because such an approach separates the language from the speaker; therefore, she focuses on how the speaking subject uses the language. Consequently, she reasons that language is not to be studied in isolation from its user; instead, linguists ought to focus on what the speaking subject uses the language for and how. Drawing on Freud's (1920) psychoanalysis, she dubs semiotics *semanalysis* claiming that the subject is split between the conscious and the unconscious levels when using the language. Drawing on poetry and poetic language use, she makes a point that the speaking subject is capable of expressing more than what is overtly expressed by language.

With regard to learning the mother tongue, Kristeva (1984) puts forth that before the child develops language, it is in the realm of semiotics in which the child is capable of signifying things in the world without language. When the child learns the language, it enters the realm of the symbolic where it will be able to make significations using the language; thereby, the child will be able to develop an identity that is different from the mother in and via language; thus, the child becomes a speaking subject. By contrast, Lacan (1977, pp. 671-721) argued that when the child learns the language, it enters the realm of the father that is associated with the world of language through which it learns social and cultural laws, which marks the child's separation from the mother. Learning the language is a painful activity, according to Lacan, because the

child learns the language of the Other along with a consciousness that comes with it: “one cannot even speak of a code without it already being the Other’s code...since the subject constitutes himself on the basis of the message, such that he receives from the Other even the message he himself sends” (Lacan, 1977, p. 683). Entering the Lacanian world of the father is the only way for the child to become a subject. Unlike Lacan who understood these two stages as separate ones, Kristeva (1984, pp. 19-72) argues that the subject constantly positions itself between the world of the semiotic and the world of the symbolic, forming a continuum in the process of meaning-making and signification: “these two modalities are inseparable within the signifying process that constitutes language, and the dialectic between them determines the type of discourse involved” (Kristeva, 1984, p. 24). This is the meaning-making process that renders the individual a subject-in-process who constantly reconstructs and reproduces himself/herself drawing on these two modalities. Taking both Kristeva’s and Lacan’s views into consideration, the desire to identify with the Other in an effort to create one’s own identity touches the core of who the individual is, and it creates a powerful desire for self-fulfillment in and through language (Kramersch, 2009, p. 14).

Kramersch (2009, pp. 14-5) adopted the concept of desire in the context of SLA to denote the learner’s desire for self-fulfillment in and via learning an L2 by which the learner can create an inwardly generated identity drawing on imagination, fantasies, projections, and fears as well as real life experiences with the L2 and the speakers of the L2. According to the first type of desire, learners learn the L2 to provide themselves with a new mode of (self-) expression from a repertoire of more languages and thus can rid themselves of the linguistic, social, and cultural constraints of the L1, as language and culture are interwoven in language learning. By learning an L2 learners are capable of identifying with the Other to create new subject positions and a new subjectivity and thus an (often imagined) new identity for themselves using the L2. The Other they wish to identify with may be a native speaker or a non-native speaker of the L2, an

imagined representation inspired by real people, or an imagined version of the learner. The desired Other is oftentimes the product of imagination, for learners may create an imagined community (Anderson, 1983) or an imagined community of practice (Wenger, 2000) with other L2 speakers. Learners' infatuation with the L2 may manifest in their infatuation with a native speaker so as to identify with them or to become indistinguishable from them. Learners' infatuation with a native speaker in an effort to be loved and accepted as one of them reflects the child's desire to identify with the mother or the father in exchange for their unconditional love, which is a desire that remains unfulfilled because the language they speak is not theirs to begin with (Kramsch, 2009, pp. 94-5; Lacan, 1977). Such strong emotional involvement in language learning or learners' identification with a native speaker signaling their mighty desire to identify with the Other is recounted in linguistic memoirs such as Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* or Kaplan's *French Lessons: A Memoir*.

In the case of the second type of desire, learners refuse to identify with the Other in and through the L2 and thus return to the meaning-making practices afforded by their familiar mother tongue. This happens owing to the transformative potential of the L2 that poses a threat to the integrity of the learner's identity. Learners claiming that learning an L2 is simply giving different labels to things in the world is indicative of the magnitude of the threat experienced by learners in the process of SLA. By drawing on Kristeva and Lacan, Kramsch (2009) adopted the concept of desire in L2 learning and laid down the foundations to view language learning as a symbolic activity and language learners as MLSSs.

1.7.4 Language Socialization, Language Ecology, and the Learner's Habitus

Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1997, 1984; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) contribution to the field of sociology is multifarious and indisputable. In this section I focus on some of his concepts that are relevant in my study. Bourdieu sought to reconcile the objectivist approach (i.e. the social world in which individuals exist determines their actions) and the subjectivist approach

(i.e. individuals' actions are defined by themselves and not by the social structure) (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014). In his theory of practice he proposes that habitus combined with capital and the field determine the practice of individuals (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014, p. 123). In this theory, fields denote "relatively autonomous social microcosms" such as the field of art, religion, economics, or politics (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). These fields are occupied by individuals who have various resources, so called capitals. The concept of capital has three dimensions: (1) cultural capital can be internalized shaping the habitus and the tendencies of the individual, it can be objectified in the form of books and works of art, or it can be institutionalized in the form of education and schooling, (2) social capital refers to a network of permanent social relationships, and (3) symbolic capital is gained by the knowledge and use of languages (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014, pp.123-4). His controversial concept of habitus denotes "a socialized subjectivity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 126), "an objectively articulated system of predispositions and generative principles of practice... the unconscious, internalized schemata, the principles and values of the subject, which in the form of predispositions 'govern and guide' his everyday practice" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 133 cited in Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014, p. 124). It also refers to a physical predisposition describing the way we talk, walk, or our posture, because it is the body through which socialization is registered (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 141). The individual's predispositions refer to the way they feel, think, and perceive the world around them as a result of educational processes and socialization. Bourdieu distinguishes between primary and secondary habitus. The former one, which is more durable, is acquired in the family early on. The latter one is the result of education and other life experiences, and it is more likely to change over the course of life (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014, pp. 125-6; Bourdieu, 1997, pp. 164-66). On the one hand, the individual's habitus is structured by the codes of socialization; and on the other hand, it is also structuring because based on the principles of the system, an infinite number of solutions can be devised by the

individual, giving the individual free will to act on his/her conditions (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 170-3). This duality accounts for the stability of the system as well as its capability to change over time. However, if the conditions of the individual's social field change but the individual's habitus has not adjusted to this change, the individual might become clumsy and makes mistakes or does inappropriate things when acting in this social field (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78). Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and practice are drawn on in post-structuralist theories (Kramsch, 2009, 2013; Norton, 2013), and Darvin and Norton (2015) conceived a model of investment that they located at the intersection of identity, capital (as understood by Bourdieu), and ideology. Ideology is understood in the sense of language ideology in which economic, political, educational, and media practices are manifested.

Moreover, the concept of habitus points out the importance of socialization of young individuals in a community. Socialization hinges on the expectations of the members of a given community of newcomers to adopt and exhibit "appropriate forms of sociality and competence" as well as "familiar and novel ways of thinking, feeling and acting with others across the life span" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2017, p. 1). Language socialization plays a key part in the socialization process of novices in which "routine indexical associations between verbal forms and socio-cultural practices, relationships, institutions, emotions, and thought-worlds" are inferred (p. 1). Language socialization "transpires across households, schools, scientific laboratories, religious institutions, sports, play, media use, artistic endeavors, medical encounters, legal training, political efforts, and workplaces, among other environments" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012, p. 2). Language is also a powerful medium to construct the individual's personal and collective identity which are rooted in all kinds of socialization processes (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2017, p. 6).

Due to the spread of the ecological perspective in psychology, anthropology, and in L1 socialization, SLA was also linked to and studied from the perspective of language socialization

and linguistic anthropology (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2017, pp. 2-9). As SLA was gradually associated with the study of language ecology (Kramsch, 2002; Kramsch & Steffensen, 2017), the ecological perspective provided the bridge to link SLA to language socialization (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2017, p. 3). The major principle inherent in the language ecological approach is that the language, the learner/user of the language, and the environment are not separated from one another, nor are they scrutinized in isolation; instead, they are studied as an interactional and dialogic relationship (Kramsch, 2002; Kramsch & Steffensen, 2017). The main tenets of the ecological approach include the emergent nature of language and language use, the crucial role of the affordances of the environment, the mediating function of language in education, and historicity and the subjectivity of the L2 learning experience with the inherent conflict existing within it (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2017, p. 1).

Ecological linguists focus on how natural and social factors shape linguistic patterns and how these patterns, in turn, influence nature and society. It is an intriguing question how adolescent and adult L2 learners who have been socialized in their L1 culture experience second language socialization (SLS). The ecological view of SLA is dynamic, temporal and replete with changes. This view is also multiscale because it takes into account not only the individuals learning/using the language but also the educational, social and historical context, as well. In terms of the learner's biographical timescale, the learner being taught the L2 is also the former child having been socialized in the L1 and the future adult wishing to use his/her languages in various ways (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2017, pp. 5-6).

In this global world English language exchanges take place between NESs or between NESs and NNEs, resulting in the multicultural backgrounds of English speakers. However, the interactants in such conversations have various histories, goals, aspirations, dreams, and fears that also drive these interactions and shape the speakers' identity, which then further shapes their L2 learning trajectories. Studying the changing, emergent, and socially constructed

identity of immigrant women in Canada, Bonny Norton (2013) reinterpreted the process of SLA driven by these various identity constructions and she replaced the concept of motivation with the construct of investment, linking it to social and cultural experiences that shape L2 learners identity in and through the L2.

Language socialization plays a crucial role in the process of socialization, and in the case of SLA, the L2 socialization of one language learner is very different from that of other learners or native speakers. Consequently, L2 learners' identity construction based on L1 social, cultural, and linguistic experiences is not a tabula rasa; thus, their past experiences as former children shaping their social, cultural, and linguistic identity must be taken into account when teaching them the L2 which is interwoven with L2 cultural, social, historical, and ideological dimensions. The learner's habitus, which develops based on how the individual is socialized, is important in the process of SLA, because the learner's habitus acquired at home, in education and later in life constitutes a certain set of tendencies and predispositions that shape the person's thoughts, feelings, and perceptions. When learners interact with native or non-native speakers of the L2 that they learn, their interactant's habitus is different from theirs, which may cause misunderstandings and difficulties in their communication that derive from their very different socialization and habitus that shape their ways of thinking, speaking, and behaving with each other. In my dissertation I utilize Bourdieu's concept of habitus synonymously with the socialization of novices that involves but is not limited to language socialization and which causes individuals in a given community to adopt and display certain ways of thinking, speaking, and behaving.

1.7.5 Blended Space Theory

Conceptual blending is a subjective and symbolic activity that all humans do. However, in the case of L2 learners conceptual blending is magnified by the use of more than language. In their book Fauconnier and Turner (2002) elaborating on blended space theory argue that the mind creates meaning drawing on three operations: identity, integration, and imagination in a complex, emergent, and dynamic way that most of the time takes place unconsciously (pp. 6-7). The integration of identity and difference takes place in the imaginative mind through brain simulation. Biologically, the mind is metaphorical and is capable of matching and aligning the elements of two domains or two mental spaces, but people are not aware of the imaginative work that such integration entails (p. 12). Thus, thinking in terms of metaphors and analogies has been very fruitful for scientists, researchers, and artists in their creative discoveries, and linguists have analyzed metaphorical thought in children and adults alike. Conceptual integration of different domains is part of the way humans think and live to create new blended meanings that are the result of imaginative integration (pp. 389-91). Since conceptual blending and metaphorical thought are part of our everyday life, it is highly intriguing how MLSs blend various domains, concepts, meanings, and mental spaces drawing on their various languages to create new blended meanings in the process of becoming a MLS.

Furthermore, conceptual blending problematizes the transmission model of language that stems from structuralist approaches to language (Graddol, 1994, pp. 1-21). This model is associated with written and print texts that are sent by the transmitter and which convey encoded messages that are decoded by the receiver. This model focuses on grammar and lexical structures conveying information that can be analyzed and taught; thus, it is assumed that users of the language are in mutual agreement with regard to meaning. This view of language is highly problematic for L2 learners who are not in mutual agreement with native speakers with regard to meaning, and they tend to blend meanings derived from their various languages to

arrive at new conceptual blends. Furthermore, this approach completely disregards the social context in which interactions take place and in which meaning is socially negotiated and identity is co-constructed.

1.8 The Cultural Identity Model of the Sojourn

Sussman's (2002) cultural identity model of the sojourn is relevant in my study as I adopt her model in the context of SLA and SLS with regard to the findings of my inquiry. She argues that all individuals become cultural beings through the process called enculturation which refers to how people think and act similarly in a country. Family, friends, education, media, and hobbies teach the individual to prefer the ways of behavior, thinking, and speaking that other people in the country prefer. It settles on people like invisible glasses, shaping how they perceive and interpret things, people, and events around them. The process becomes complete by late adolescence, and these cultural perspectives, which become part of and shape the person's identity, are invisible to the individual. It is only during the sojourn (i.e. temporary stay in another country/culture) when the individual becomes aware of their L1 culture by comparing and contrasting the home culture and the host culture. The sojourner makes adjustments to differing degrees to be effective in the host culture. As the sojourner has incorporated aspects of the host culture, it has changed their self-concept, which causes a self-concept- or identity disturbance in the individual. The sojourner returns to the L1 culture with a disturbed self-concept and often experiences repatriation shock, which results in four types of identity response. To illustrate these identity responses, let me give a fictive example. In the case of a Hungarian person who has stayed in the States for six months, upon returning home, she may feel less Hungarian, and Hungarian values, traditions, and ways of thinking may become less important or less relevant for her. Such a response is called a subtractive identity response. If this Hungarian sojourner has adopted many aspects of American culture, she may start acting on these cultural perspectives in the home environment, resulting in an additive

identity response. Some sojourners do not experience a re-entry shock for several reasons. In the case of an affirmative identity response, the Hungarian sojourner embraces her newly emerged L1 identity which she became aware of by comparing and contrasting the home culture and the host culture. Other individuals may have international or global identities and they easily shift from one set of behavior and thinking to another either because they are used to moving in and out of their own culture and the dominant culture in their country or because their home culture demands fitting in for the sake of cultural harmony.

Since learning about culture is inherent in L2 learning and in L2 interactions, I propose that L2 learning causes the language learner to process and thus adopt or refuse aspects of the L2 culture, which results in a self-concept disturbance. Even EFL speakers without first-hand cultural exposure can experience self-concept disturbance using their imagination and by creating imagined communities with other English speakers. By comparing and contrasting their L1 culture and the L2 culture in the process of SLA, they become aware of the dimensions of their L1 culture and they may adopt one of the aforementioned identity responses to language learning. Consequently, I adopt Sussman's (2002) cultural identity model of the sojourn in the context of SLA and I focus on identity responses triggered by SLA instead of cultural exposure during sojourn. Thus, I dub my adaptation of Sussman's model the cultural identity model of SLA.

1.9 Linguistic Relativity

Linguistic relativity is a thought-provoking yet controversial topic in the field of social sciences and SLA (Kramsch, 1998, p. 13). The strong version of linguistic relativity or the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Carroll, 1956) claims that the language people habitually use determines their thoughts, behavior, and the way they perceive the world around them. A well-known example for the hypothesis is the dissimilar perception of time by English and Hopi speakers (Kramsch, 1998, p. 12). English speakers perceive time as an objective and linear

sequence of events expressed in present, future, and past tenses. By contrast, the Hopi view time in terms of intensity and duration when narrating an experience. Thus, Whorf claimed that English speakers cannot grasp time as a cyclic and unitary experience, whereas the Hopi are incapable of understanding time as an objective and measurable unit. This reasoning put forth that people are prisoners of their own language, which eventually led to deeming certain languages superior and others inferior, resulting in linguistic prejudice (pp. 12-3). Consequently, the strong version of the hypothesis was, for decades, subject to fierce debates (p. 13) and by now it has been refuted by researchers (Boroditsky, 2013; Deutscher, 2010).

Nonetheless, the weak version of the hypothesis has been backed up by empirical evidence. The weak version of linguistic relativity puts forth that languages differ in what meanings they must convey and not in what they may convey; therefore, speakers of a particular language can express thoughts they have no word or grammatical category for (Boroditsky, 2013, pp. 7-8; Deutscher, 2010; Salzman, Stanlaw, & Adachi, 2004, p. 64). In other words, languages cut up reality in different ways and categorize, distinguish, and encode experience in a different manner (Kramsch, 1998, p. 13). Boroditsky (2013) discusses in a detailed manner the findings of several studies that explored linguistic relativity, confirming the weak version of the hypothesis. For example, in some languages it is a must to specify whether one's brother or sister is a female or a male or whether this person is older or younger, whereas other languages can simply use the word 'sibling' without revealing gender or age (p. 2). Some languages do not have a word for 'blue', others distinguish between dark and light blue, while other languages have a color category that includes both blue and green (p. 2). Furthermore, European peoples utilize the relative concepts of 'left' and 'right' for orientation, whereas peoples relying on an absolute reference frame apply cardinal directions such as North or West. (pp. 9-12). Talking of grammatical gender, 85% of the personification of concepts such as victory, sin, life, and death in art is based on the grammatical gender of the particular language

(p. 20). Consequently, although people speaking different languages attend to the same reality, they think about it in different ways owing to linguistic differences. Boroditsky (2013, p. 7) stresses that languages guide people as to what to highlight or overlook in the world, change their mental representations, and shape their way of thinking.

The weak version of linguistic relativity is an intriguing topic in SLA when individuals learn an L2 and thus learn to semantically categorize events and experience differently when using the L2. Incomplete learning or understanding of how the world is perceived differently by native speakers can cause misunderstandings and frustration in L2 learners. However, understanding the different views and categories afforded by the L2 can be a liberating experience for L2 learners and can enrich their semantic and pragmatic repertoire when conversing with other L2 speakers.

1.10 Language Learner Narratives and Narrative Identity

Researchers from various fields such as cultural studies (Fodor, 2012, 2014, 2017), anthropology (Mattingly, 1998), linguistics (Labov, 1972), sociology (Bell, 1999), or psychology (Bruner, 1986) have studied narratives to explore various constructs in their fields. After the dominance of the quantitative approach in SLA, there was a need to incorporate the findings and research methods of the above fields such as ethnographic observation, the interview method, and narrative inquiry (Duff, 2015) in SLA research at the turn of the millennium to be able to shift focus from the macro-perspective of learning to the micro-perspective of the learner and their immediate learning environment (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 81). The length of a doctoral dissertation forces me to only provide an outline of the field of narrative inquiry, focusing on the constructs that I draw on in my study.

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012, pp. 1-3) provide a definition of narrative as being structured with identifiable units that contain a beginning, a middle, and an end, giving the story a sense of temporality and causality. Narratology, which is the study of narratives, focuses on

narrative as a text type, distinguishing it from other genres. Narratives are thought to have universal properties that can be detected by researchers across cultures. Other foci of narrative inquiry include, for instance, what is told in a story as well as how the story is told, what constitutes its surface structure and its deep structure, or what comprises the knowledge of how to tell a good story, and how stories are told, understood, and processed. Bruner (1986) espoused narrative as a mode in contrast with the logico-scientific mode dominated by scientific approaches such as hypothesis and testing. In the narrative mode human consciousness, drama, plights, emotions, and intentions prevail over reason and objectivity. Consequently, this interpretation of narratives captures human experience and consciousness as interpreted and recited by narrators.

In the field of linguistics and sociolinguistic, Labov (1972, pp. 362-72) studied the narratives of his interviewees and found that there are six elements that characterize everyday stories: abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and coda. The abstract summarizes the whole story, the orientation identifies and introduces the setting such as the time and place of events and characters, the complication elaborates on the plight or the problem in the story, the resolution sheds light on how the problem was resolved, the coda bridges the time between the time of the narrative and the present time, and in the evaluation part the narrator discusses why the story was told and what purpose it served. Nonetheless, Labov highlighted that not all narratives include all six elements, and he added that simple narratives tend to have only a beginning, a middle and an end, and they include at least one temporal juncture. Labovian narratives are also called prototypical stories or big stories that relate “personal past experience stories of non-shared events” (Georgakopoulou, 2006, p. 123), whereas small stories which occur in ordinary conversations “are non-canonical, dynamic and ongoing, not rehearsed, composed, or told before” (Fodor, 2014, p. 74). The stories that the participants related in the structured speaking task were big stories, since they related non-

shared, personal past events, and they had time to rehearse telling their stories before recording their answers to my questions. Based on the Labovian story elements, in the empirical part of my dissertation, I analyze some of the participants' narratives to cast light on how they perceive their language learning experience and how their narratives construct their multilingual identity.

Kramersch (2009, p. 122-3) points out that narrators choose the genre of their narrative very carefully, and they opt for a genre that is understandable for their audience which is a genre that they all can relate to. She adds that the genre in which narrators tell their story determines the kind of subject they construct for themselves in the story. Such identity construction influences their subject positions and their intersubjectivity in the story. Furthermore, in addition to the types of self-knowledge delineated by Neisser (1988), Kramersch (2009, pp. 73-4) conceived a new type of self-knowledge, the so called the *Narrational Self* with reference to published immigrant authors of linguistic autobiographies such as Hoffman, Kaplan or Rodriguez who, being conscious of their art, carefully and artistically reconstructed their experience to evoke in the reader the kind of feelings and emotions they had experienced themselves. With regard to ethno-cultural identity, Fodor (2012, p. 147), exploring the ethno-cultural identity of Hungarians who immigrated to the U.S., pinpoints that shared stories about historical events create and sustain both communities and ethno-cultural identities, as these stories shift focus from objective history to the interpretation of lived history and to the interpreter. Hence, the narrative analysis of L2 speakers' accounts about their lives can explore not only their linguistic identity but also their ethno-cultural identity. She also explains that the dynamics of the narrative construction of ethno-cultural identity can be best captured within the framework of CDST (p. 157), which is in keeping with my understanding of multilingual identity construction.

Nevertheless, in an EFL or ELF context it is L2 learners' narratives about their in-class and out-of-class L2 learning and L2 use experiences that construct their linguistic identities as

L2 learners and speakers. Dörnyei (2017) placed L2 learners' narrative identity in the limelight when he adopted McAdams's (2006) dynamic and layered conception of personality in the context of SLA. McAdams (2006) reinterpreted The Big Five Model (Costa & McCrae, 1985) consisting of openness, conscientiousness, extraversion-introversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism-emotional stability in his understanding of personality and labelled the redemptive self as "a narrative identity that captures important and valued life themes" and "the redemptive self is a story that links the individual person with culture" (McAdams, 2006, p. 280). McAdams and Pals (2006) contend that human individuality can be captured drawing on five levels of personality variables. (1) Evolution and human nature on the first level denote the idea that "human lives are individual variations on a general evolutionary design", and this level draws on biological sciences (p. 205). (2) Dispositional signature or dispositional traits situated on the second layer overlap with the dimensions of the Big Five Model. (3) Characteristic adaptations describe "what people want or value in life... in particular situations, during particular time periods, and with respect to particular social roles" and they involve a person's goals, strivings, and fears, and the methods they employ to attain or avoid them (McAdams, 2006, p.286). While the Big Five Model was not sensitive to cultural differences with regard to personality traits, this third level of personality is. (4) Life narratives on layer four denote the meaning that people attribute to their life, for humans make meaning out of their lives through stories. As McAdams (2006) put it, "we construct integrative narratives of the self that selectively recall the past and wishfully anticipate the future to provide our lives with some semblance of unity, purpose, and identity" (pp. 287-8). (5) The uppermost layer is the differential role of culture which is the largest context of the individual. Practices, discourses, and accepted behavior vary in different cultures, which influences the individual's personality and behavior. This adaptation of the original model resonates with the properties of CDS, because the five levels (functioning as

subsystems) interact with each other within their own level as well as cross-dimensionally, allowing for a dynamic, changing, and situated understanding of personality (Dörnyei, 2017).

Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) adopted the McAdams' personality model to describe language learner characteristics. In their framework the L2 learner's narrative identity is situated at the center of the framework as the main organizational mechanism for the whole system (Dörnyei, 2017, p.87). In this system narrative identity is surrounded by the other four layers from McAdams's conceptualization along with an additional dimension, the learning situation. Narrative identity reflects the ways individuals construct and make sense of their experiences and memories via various narratives such as stories, complaints, excuses, and explanations, placing autobiographical narratives in the heart of the self-concept (Dörnyei, 2017, p. 89). As Bruner (1987, p. 692) put it "we seem to have no other way of describing 'lived time' save in the form of narrative", as "narrative imitates life and life imitates narrative"; therefore, "'life' in this sense is the same kind of construction of the human imagination as 'narrative' is". In this case L2 learners' narrative identity is captured by their ongoing internal narrative reflecting on learning and using the L2. In my study the participants' narrative identity is captured by the stories they recounted about their language learning experiences and about the process of becoming multilingual through learning English.

1.11 Identity and Complex Dynamic Systems

1.11.1 Complex Dynamic Systems in Psychology and Social Sciences

Complex systems theory has its lineage in natural sciences. On the one hand, it is rooted in biology seeking to explain how a set of pre-determined variables (i.e. genes) produce processes that do not derive from those variables and why an entity is not the sum of its parts. On the other hand, dynamic systems theory originates in mathematics to study non-linear dynamics with the help of computer modelling. For instance, catastrophe theory strives to understand how small changes in the system can trigger changes in systematic behavior

associated with the butterfly effect. Today this line of study is referred to as chaos theory that is concerned with non-linear dynamic systems. (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, pp. 2-4). This theory posits that chaos is not total disorder but a behavior that emerges unpredictably in a non-linear system. Due to its intriguing implications, complexity science has gained momentum and has been applied in more and more domains such as in business management, economics, epidemiology, social sciences, and in developmental and social psychology (Nowak, Winkovska-Nowak, & Brée, 2013). Complexity theory (CT) and dynamic systems theory (DST) may be used interchangeably because despite the ontological differences between the two theories, they refer to the same phenomena described in this dissertation, and in line with Larsen-Freeman (2017) and de Bot (2017) I prefer the label complex dynamic systems theory as a general term to address these systems.

Complexity science, which in social psychology is often referred to as dynamic systems, puts forth that “any phenomena may be understood as a system of interacting lower level elements”, and the task of the researcher is “to identify the rules of interaction among elements and to investigate how these rules promote the emergence of macro level phenomena” (Nowak, Winkovska-Nowak, & Brée, 2013, p. 2) (see section 1.4.2). Due to its complex and dynamic nature this theory is suitable for investigating both interpersonal and intrapersonal phenomena. Hence, complexity theory is suitable for predicting and explaining social phenomena in social sciences, as well (Nowak, Winkovska-Nowak, & Brée, 2013).

1.11.2 Complex Dynamic Systems in Applied Linguistics

CDST was introduced in applied linguistics by pioneers in the field. Larsen-Freeman (1997) in her groundbreaking paper delineated how complexity theory can be applicable in SLA, Ellis and Larsen-Freeman (2006) shed light on language emergence and its implications in applied linguistics, the same two authors elaborated on language as a complex adaptive system (2009), de Bot and his associates (2007) addressed dynamic systems theory in SLA,

Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008) proposed ways complexity theory may be used and researched in the field, Dörnyei, MacIntyre, and Henry (2015) addressed the employment of CDSs in researching motivation, Dörnyei (2014) proposed a new approach to studying CDSs in the classroom, and Dörnyei and Ryan (2015; Dörnyei, 2017) conceptualized individual differences as a CDS.

Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008, pp. 9-11) pointed out that factors involved in L2 learning are dynamic. One reason for this is that language itself is dynamic. It is an open, evolving, growing, and constantly changing system in which an end-state for L2 learners is hard to find. Language is like an organism that “organizes itself from the bottom up in an organic way” (Larsen-Freeman, 1997, p. 148). It is a complex, dynamic system because the subsets (phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax etc.) are constantly interacting with one another, and change in one subsystem may result in change in other subsystems and/or in the whole language because of its interconnectedness. Therefore, behavior of the whole system emerges from interaction between the subsystems, making language emergent (Ellis & Larsen-Freeman, 2006).

Similarly to other systems, languages are sensitive to their initial conditions, which is associated with Universal Grammar (UG) that contains archetypical patterns and behaviors inherent in all languages determining the strange attractors of languages. However, languages do differ. Mohanan (1992, p. 650 cited in Larsen-Freeman, 1997, p. 146) proposed the fields of attraction of UG allow infinite variation in a finite grammar space; thus, changes in languages leave the basic principles of the language intact. Consequently, languages are fractals because they permit infinite variation in the system that is self-similar, and fractals are characteristic of CDSs.

Larsen-Freeman in her pivotal paper in 1997 drew seven parallels between complex dynamic systems and SLA, making SLA such a dynamic system. (1) SLA is dynamic, as the

rules the learner acquires change by use. Furthermore, there is no end point in language learning, as the target (language) is always moving. (2) SLA is a complex process, since there are many incessantly interacting factors: learner-internal and learner-external as well as situated factors that determine the trajectory of language learning which changes over time. (3) SLA is a non-linear process. As teachers, we often encounter situations when teaching does not always result in (so much) learning whereas learning may take place without teaching or with little teaching. The learning curve is characterized by hills and valleys, progress and backsliding. Therefore, the non-linear relationship between teaching and learning is hard, if at all possible, to grasp using static frameworks. (4) Furthermore, learning self-organizes. When learners learn something new (e.g. a new tense), sooner or later chaos erupts but restoration is achieved aided by positive or negative feedback on language use. Fossilization occurs when “learners’ grammar system becomes closed and settles down to a fixed point attractor” (p. 152.) (5) Language learners’ L2 learning is constrained by the strange attractors of their L1 to varying degrees. Sometimes the strange attractors of their L1 is bigger than that of their L2. This power relationship is evident in the English pronunciation of, say, Spanish people, German people or Japanese people, resulting in various non-native like pronunciation of English. This variation is further influenced by learners’ cultural background and their motivation to acquire native-like pronunciation. (6) SLA is adaptive, it adapts to the language, individual creativity, and the context in which the language is learned and used. (7) Because of the constantly changing and dynamic nature of languages what has been learnt in the L2 cannot be determined in a linear fashion (i.e. using pre-and post-tests). This can be explicated by self-organized criticality which is a point when a pile of pebbles collapses, it cannot be determined when it collapses when new pebbles are added. However, one prediction is certain, sooner or later it will collapse. Therefore, what has been learnt is never a steady state, so learners’ interlanguage is unstable, posing challenges to assessment.

As described above, learning is not only about learning rules and conventions to reproduce them but it also involves creation. Learning subsumes many factors in the classroom. For instance, tasks in language teaching are not static objects, because they evolve in creation via use by learners (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). Moreover, sensitive dependence on initial conditions plays an important part in education. Critical incidents may entail major consequences in the learning process that are unforeseeable at the time of the incident (Finch 2010, p. 424 cited in Kostoulas, Stelma, Mercer, Cameron, & Dawson, 2018, p. 8). Such experiences may be a conversation with a person, an ‘aha’ experience or a small problem or turbulence in class dynamics in the beginning when these dynamics are being formed. All in all, the language classroom can also be construed as a CDS, and all the processes taking place in the classroom are systems within the big system. Hence, processes characteristic of CDSs hold true for the classroom, as well.

To sum up, language learning and language teaching can be approached from a complexity perspective for several reasons. On the one hand, all levels of the functioning of a human are interacting complex systems. On the other hand, social, cultural, political, and institutional organization entails a complexity perspective. Consequently, everything in the classroom is connected with everything: students with other students, students with teachers, students and teachers with the learning environment embedded in a particular socio-cultural and institutional context, all interacting with one another. Furthermore, language is a pivotal factor in the classroom, and language is dynamic. “Even if a frozen or stabilized version of the language is used in a syllabus, grammar book, and test, as soon as the language is ‘released’ into the classroom or into the minds of learners, it becomes dynamic” (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p. 199). Furthermore, co-adaptation and co-evolution takes place between the systems of the classroom, From a complexity approach, teaching is seen as “managing the dynamics of learning”, thus, “patterns of classroom action might be changed to increase the

benefit to language learning by finding ways to perturb systems out of attractors into new trajectories” (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p. 199). Such an approach would be learning centered where learning would guide teaching and not the other way around. In lower levels of the classroom system, each action of each person in class “can be seen as trajectory of a complex system over a state space”, and engagement in action may stabilize or destabilize “attractors in the state space as learning emerges across timescales from use” (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p. 201).

1.11.3 Identity as a Complex Dynamic System

Kramsch’s (2002; Steffensen & Kramsch, 2017) language ecological perspective describes L2 learning in a dynamic fashion emphasizing the socio-cultural context in which learning takes place, and how language knowledge entails social and symbolic power, and how cultural memory and cultural identity shape the identity construction of L2 learners in a nonlinear fashion.

The ‘ecology’ metaphor is a convenient shorthand for the poststructuralist realization that learning is a nonlinear, relational human activity, co-constructed between humans and their environment, contingent upon their position in space and history, and a site of struggle for control of social power and cultural memory. (Kramsch, 2002, p. 5)

Kramsch (2002) also stresses the dynamics of interrelated factors involved in language learning:

The ecology metaphor, which captures the dynamic interaction between language users and the environment as between parts of a living organism, seems to offer a new way of bringing together frames from various disciplines to illuminate the complex relationship under investigation. (p. 3)

In a paper Kramsch (2012) examined the applicability of CDST in applied linguistics, in particular, in language learning. She concluded that language learning is a complex dynamic system for several reasons:

the open-ended and fractal nature of the experience, the relationality/interactivity of Self and Other and the reflexivity of the multilingual subject, the emergence of meaning in the process of meaning-making, and the iterability and recursivity of production and reception in time and space. (p.16)

In my dissertation I construe identity as a complex, dynamic system, since identity construction is a unique, changing, and co-constructed process. Consequently, identity is an open-ended fractal which has time scales as it changes and evolves over time, and it is connected to other individual processes such as cognitive, affective, and motivational mechanisms (i.e. IDs) both horizontally and vertically as well as the to the environment in various contexts and social interactions; therefore, it emerges from the interaction of sub-systems. It organizes itself into attractor states such as a coherent self-image, and repeller states are experienced when incoherent experiences force the system out of its attractor state. Identity is a non-linear system, as it responds incommensurately to internal and external influences, thus, no cause-and-effect relationships can be detected in the behavior of the system. This complexity perspective with regard to identity is in keeping with the post-structuralist understanding of identity (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012; Hall, 2000; Kramsch, 2009).

1.12 Identity Construction through English as a Lingua Franca

1.12.1 Shift from Native Speakerism to English as a Lingua Franca

Applied linguistics has long been influenced by the native – non-native dichotomy resulting in the fact that performance of English learners and English teachers, teaching materials, and language assessment are measured against the ‘native speaker norm’ (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Kabel, 2009; Medgyes, 1992, 2001, 2017; Subtirelu, 2011; Widdowson, 2012). According to this practice, unlike NSs, non-native speakers (NNSs) are considered deficient users of the language; thus, the ultimate goal of English teaching and learning is to achieve native-like proficiency. Consequently, English speakers’ non-native-like proficiency levels are judged negatively in comparison with NSs. However, severe problematic questions may be raised here. First, the performance of monolingual NSs cannot be compared to the linguistic and cultural knowledge of multilingual speakers who come from various, unique cultural, and lingual backgrounds. Second, successful English speakers who use the language to fulfill their

own communicative purposes cannot be regarded as deficient English speakers just because their L1 is not English. Third, EFL speakers' exposure to English is no longer limited to their formal instruction due to the omniscience of media, the Internet, and telecommunication devices, and study, work, and travel opportunities. Fourth, NNEs are not passive but active agents who utilize their knowledge in various ways thus can claim ownership of the language they use successfully (Dewey & Leung, 2010, p.4; Widdowson, 2012). Fifth, NNEs highly outnumber NESs (Jenkins, 2015, p. 11). Finally, due to the high number of NNEs interactions are more likely to occur between NNEs than between NESs and NNEs (Jenkins, 2007).

The ground-breaking work of Kachru (1992) replaces the old definitions with new terms according to which NESs belong to the 'Inner Circle', ESL speakers are part of the 'Outer Circle', and EFL speakers belong to the 'Expanding Circle'. Consequently, the conception of the Expanding Circle referring to ELF speakers sparked up the discussion and the study of ELF in SLA (House, 2003; Jenkins, 2007, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011). English has now become "a common linguistic resource for communication for many more speakers than native-speakers", a new way of "communication for people with diverse language backgrounds in all manners of cultural, economic, industrial, political, and scientific transactions"; thus, "this unprecedented internalization of English means that the language has long ceased to be the sole preserve of its traditional native speakers" (Dewey & Leung, 2010, p. 4). As a result, English is not the national language of a single country symbolizing national identity and political unity (Dewey & Leung, 2010, p.4). For this reason, English has become a LF, a contact language between English speakers whose mother tongue may be anything but English (Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011). Furthermore, using English in their own right would give ELF speakers the ownership of English, power, and native-like status, that is, all the things that NSs possess with respect to English (Widdowson, 2012). This new situation now questioned the validity and the acceptability of traditional labels such as native vs. non-native speaker, EFL, or ESL (Kachru,

1985, 1990, 1992; Widdowson, 2012). As a consequence, new concepts such as ELF, English as an International Language (EIL), World Englishes (WE), Global English (GE or Globish), New Englishes (NE) (Crystal, 2003; Firth, 2009, Graddol, 2006; Jenkins, 2006, 2009; Kachru, 1992; Seidlhofer, 2004; Widdowson, 2012), transnationalism (Duff, 2015) have appeared that conform to the current paradigm change concerning English in SLA. The elaboration of these new terms does not fit into the scope of this dissertation; therefore, I only focus on the dimensions of ELF in the next section.

1.12.2 English as a Lingua Franca

A good working definition of ELF is offered by Jenkins (2009, p. 200):

English being used as a lingua franca, the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds. In practice this often means English being used among non-native English speakers from the Expanding Circle, simply because these speakers exist in larger numbers than English speakers in either of the other two contexts (see e.g. Crystal 2003; Graddol 2006). However, this is not intended to imply that Outer or Inner Circle speakers are excluded from a definition of ELF. The vast majority of ELF researchers take a broad rather than narrow view, and include all English users within their definition of ELF. The crucial point, however, is that when Inner Circle speakers participate in ELF communication, they do not set the linguistic agenda. Instead, no matter which circle of use we come from, from an ELF perspective we all need to make adjustments to our local English variety for the benefit of our interlocutors when we take part in lingua franca English communication. ELF is thus a question, not of orientation to the norms of a particular group of English speakers, but of mutual negotiation involving efforts and adjustments from all parties. ... ELF involves both common ground and local variation. ELF's common ground inevitably contains linguistic forms that it shares with ENL [English as a native language], but it is also contains forms that differ from ENL and that have arisen through contact between ELF speakers, and through the influence of ELF speakers' first languages on their English.

Seidlhofer (2004, p. 212) calls it a 'conceptual gap' that ELF has not yet taken the established place in either applied linguistics or in people's mind along with other long-established concepts such as English as a Native Language (ENL) or NSs.

When talking of ELF, it is inevitably compared to ENL; however, differences from the native language are judged differently in an EFL and ELF context. In the former setting these differences are deemed errors, and EFL speakers are perceived as deficient users of the language who should aim at native-like proficiency, because EFL is traditionally taught for

communication with NSs. On the other hand, differences from ENL are not viewed as errors in ELF settings; even though ELF communication may involve NSs, differences are not considered errors as long as successful communication is achieved, because the primary aim of ELF for NNESs is to be able to interact with other NNESs (Jenkins, 2009). However, it should be borne in mind that not all ELF speakers are proficient speakers, which may cause a breakdown in communication (Jenkins, 2009). Therefore, in ELF communication speakers are to be in possession of accommodation skills, that is, they have to adapt their speech to meet the needs of the local context to be understood by other interlocutors as well as to understand others. Consequently, accommodation may entail code-switching, paraphrasing, repetition, and the echoing of utterances, things that would be regarded as errors in ENL and EFL contexts. Furthermore, ELF has to be differentiated from interlanguage (Selinker, 1972; Lakshmanan & Selinker, 2001) and pidgin (Leith, 1996) because both terms have a negative connotation of being ‘bad’ and erroneous language use compared to native English use.

Many researchers (Cates, 2011; House, 2003; Jenkins, 2006, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2004, 2011; Widdowson, 2012) work on the reevaluation of English teaching and English learning using new concepts and new perspectives to replace the monolingual bias found in English language teaching, language testing, and teacher training, as well. Cates (2011, p. 30) advocates teaching for world citizenship, cultural diversity, cultural sensitivity, and “bringing an international perspective into the classrooms through resources, materials, and activities”. Drifting away from the native-speaker norm, teachers should identify not “what is to be corrected, but what is to be encouraged – a genuine learner-centered approach” (Widdowson, 2012, p. 24). Therefore, to offset the judgmental nature of traditional labels, ELF researchers seek to identify distinct phonological, lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic features of ELF in an effort to standardize ELF varieties (Crystal, 2003; Dauer, 2005; Firth, 2009; House, 2003; Jenkins, 2004, 2009, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2004).

Finally, learning and using ELF is also linked to intercultural communication (IC) as well as to communicative competence (CC) and intercultural communicative competence (ICC) (Byram, 2008; Feng, Byram, & Fleming, 2009; Leung & Lewkowicz, 2013; Wagner & Byram, 2017). As opposed to cross cultural communication that compares communication patterns of individuals coming from two cultures, IC focuses on interaction between individuals coming from different cultures (Fries, 2002, p. 2). Hymes's (1972) definition of CC refers to producing and understanding utterances that are appropriately used in a particular context. Later the term was expanded to include sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence (Canale & Swain, 1980). The term ICC in applied linguistics investigates whether language learners use the L2 appropriately in an intercultural context (Byram, 1997); hence, this competence is even more crucial in ELF contexts. However, the further discussion of these terms is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

1.12.4 ELF and Identity

ELF has been criticized for threatening multilingualism and language diversity, as English has become a language of high "communication value" preferred over small languages as well as languages of low "communication value" (House, 2003, p. 560). Phillipson (1992, 2009), for example, deem the global spread of English linguistic imperialism preceded by political imperialism. By contrast, House (2003) and Jenkins (2007) contend that ELF is not detrimental to the use of other languages. House (2003) views the global spread of ELF as a facilitator to revive and preserve the local (L1) culture thus cultural and linguistic diversity.

Identity construction through ELF is linked to attitudes towards ELF (i.e. varieties of English in this context) (Jenkins, 2007, p. 197). This resonates with the sociocultural approach to SLA (Pavlenko, 2002; Norton, 2001, 2013) and the multidisciplinary approach of identity research proposed by Kramsch (2009), since multilingual speakers tend to identify to various extents with the languages they speak. Moreover, Kramsch (2002) makes a distinction between

using a language for identification and using a language for mere communication and information exchange. Jenkins (2007, p. 198) argues that identity and attitudes are inseparable, which is particularly true in the case of ELF. The shifting power relations after the paradigm change and the possibility to gain ownership of English through ELF provide a different kind of identity construction than what the native – non-native paradigm offered (Jenkins, 2007, pp 198-203). ELF empowers English speakers, as it offers them ownership of English, which changes their self-concept in favorable ways. NNEs no longer need to feel inferior to NESs, because their non-native-like language use is not deemed deficient and erroneous in ELF interactions. Instead, through successful language use, they are encouraged to feel competent and proficient English speakers who are successful communicators in English language interactions, which may shift their self-concept from being imperfect NNEs to multilingual speakers.

1.13 Summary

In this chapter I delineated the how the Self is construed in philosophy, psychology, neurology, and cultural studies, and how identity is perceived in social sciences and in cultural studies, which provided a multidisciplinary approach to the study of identity in SLA. The multidisciplinary approach I draw on in the dissertation was inspired by Kramsch's (2009) approach of a similar kind to which I added narrative inquiry and narrative identity espoused by Labov (1972), Bruner (1986, 1987), and Dörnyei (2017) as well as Sussman's (2002) cultural identity model of the sojourn that I adopted in the context of SLA. Furthermore, I discussed how ELF offers new ways of identity construction for ELF speakers that meaningfully shape their identity construction in English. Finally, similarly to Dörnyei (2017; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015), Kramsch (2002, 2012), and Larsen-Freeman (2017; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008), I embrace a complex and dynamic view of language learning and the language learner as well and I argue that identity construction should be construed as a CDS in

which the various IDs constitute the levels of the system, shaping the learner's identity as system level behavior that is also in constant interaction with the environment. Identity is not regarded as an ID factor in the various taxonomies of individual differences (Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Ellis, 1994, 1997; Ortega, 2009), which indicates the magnitude of the gap between traditional SLA research and identity research. However, I propose that in the study of individual differences, identity should be considered a core ID, as it is capable of transforming the language learner's life and learning trajectory in such unexpected and novel ways that traditional SLA research methods cannot account for. Furthermore, the complexity approach I draw on in my dissertation can bridge traditional SLA research and identity research, and my study is an attempt to reconcile these two seemingly antagonistic research traditions. Having elaborated on literature on identity, in Chapter 2 I review literature on the ID factors that I investigate in my inquiry.

CHAPTER 2 – EXPLORING INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN SLA

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 is devoted to reviewing literature on the individual differences that I draw on in the empirical study included in the dissertation such as motivation, language anxiety, willingness-to-communicate, self-perception, perfectionism, and competitiveness. I decided to include the aforementioned ID constructs in my dissertation for the following reasons. In traditional SLA research, self-concept is construed similarly to the concept of identity framed with a post-structuralist and CDST mindset. To make my research feasible, I narrowed down my focus with regard to self-concept to self-perception including two dimensions: perceived aptitude and perceived L2 proficiency. I disregarded other dimensions such as learner beliefs, self-confidence, self-worth, or self-efficacy which are inherently associated with self-concept. Nonetheless, self-concept is also linked to perfectionism and competitiveness, since L2 learners reflect on themselves and other L2 speakers when using the L2, which provides them with information to be integrated in their self-concept that is subject to change upon new stimuli over time. As for L2 motivation, it is linked to what learners wish to accomplish in the process of SLA as well as to their identification with other L2 speakers, which, in turn, shape their self-concept. Moreover, motivation is traditionally associated with both language anxiety and willingness-to-communicate in the L2. Incorporating in my inquiry other IDs such as aptitude, personality, language learning styles and strategies was not feasible; moreover, these constructs were not relevant for the main foci of my research. Since the literature on each of the IDs that I draw on is vast, the literature review needs to be limited to theoretical cornerstones relevant in my study.

2.2. Individual Differences in Neurobiology, Psychology, and Applied Linguistics

People show variation in each and every attribute they possess and in every way of their functioning (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 179). They differ in their response to environment, stimuli, experience and learning. Schumann (Schumann et al., 2004, pp. xi-xiii) called the attention of neuroscientists, psycholinguists, and SLA researchers to the fact that brain mechanisms and SLA are linked; hence, psychological models are to conform to their neuroanatomy and neurophysiology because learning is mediated by the brain. Schumann (pp. 1-3) also pinpoints that, contrary to common belief, every brain is unique both on micro and gross level; thus, brain mechanisms involved in SLA are similarly distinct. As a consequence, he puts forward that neurobiological variation is conducive to a large extent to individual variation in mental and psychological behavior.

Moreover, the study of individual differences plays a major role in psychology research too, as it seeks to achieve two seemingly contradictory objectives: “to understand the general principles of the human mind and to explore the uniqueness of the individual mind” (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 1). The second line of research is called referential psychology or it is shifting to being referred to as individual differences research these days. Bringing distinctness and universality into harmony may appear irreconcilable at first sight. However, it is not so. The tension between the individual and the collective may be relieved by the application of CDST that can addresses stability and change in dynamic ways (Larsen-Freeman, 1997, 2017).

In applied linguistics, research into IDs is a major field of study, as researchers have always sought to answer some troubling questions concerning L2 learning. The first major concern addresses the fact that whereas L1 acquisition seems to be universal and comes naturally to people, the opposite is true for L2 acquisition (Dörnyei, 2009; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). L2 learning is laden with considerable individual variation; therefore, language studies in SLA investigate the variation in both the quantity and quality of the L2 learning outcome in

terms of knowledge and skills (Dörnyei, 2009; Ellis 1994, 1997; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991). As a result, IDs have been shown to be predictors of L2 learning success (Dörnyei, 2005; Ellis, 2012). The extensive interpersonal variation in IDs is due to the constant interaction between heredity and the environment (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 181). Recent changes in what constitutes IDs have led to a shift in the way learners and their learning process are perceived. Learners used to be viewed “in absolute terms as innately endowed or lacking in language learning skills” (Ellis, 2004, p. 525). Thus, the major objective of SLA research was to decide which learners should be granted language instruction and to predict which learners would be successful. This ultimately led to the development of aptitude tests such as the Modern Language Aptitude Battery (Carroll & Sapon, 1959). Also, this trend added fuel to identifying the attributes of ‘good learners’, serving the basis for learner training and aptitude treatment interactions, which means “matching learners to different types of instruction so as to maximize learning” (Ellis, 2004, p. 526). Due to changes in how language learners are viewed, more relative terms came to be employed in the field such as ‘possessing different kinds of abilities and predispositions that influence learning in complex ways’ (Ellis, 2004, p. 525).

Due to heightened interest in IDs, there has been a proliferation of research in this area since the 1970s to determine core IDs contributing to successful learning (Ellis, 2004, p.526). Over time various lists of relevant IDs have been compiled, and what is common in all these lists is that they include core variables and optional ones, as well. Long and unmanageable lists have been simplified and confined to a dozen or so variables which still show some variation in the work of different researchers (Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Ellis, 1994, 1997, 2004; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991).

The length of a doctoral dissertation does not allow me elaborate on the historical development of ID lists; instead, I delineate two recent approaches in the field. In most recent years the role of IDs in SLA has been further refined and its changing and situated nature

increasingly recognized. Dörnyei (2009) claims to have drawn on the tradition of Peter Robinson and Peter Skehan when writing his book *The Psychology of the Language Learner* (2005) in which he identifies personality, aptitude/ability, motivation, learning style and learning strategies/self-regulatory capacity as core ID variables and anxiety, self-esteem, creativity, WTC, and learner beliefs as other or secondary ID factors. Later, in an attempt to break with this tradition, Dörnyei (2009; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015) proposes that “the learner contribution to the learning process can be understood within a dynamic systems theory paradigm” due to “the growing recognition of the process-oriented and situated nature of IDs in general” (Dörnyei, 2009, p.180). A dynamic systems approach seems to be better suited to describe IDs with “their lack of stability over time, their context-dependence, their multicomponential nature and their various interactions with the environment resulting in non-linear dynamics” (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 197). Complexity theory deals with phenomena at different levels and proposes that individual and social phenomena can be “understood as a system of interacting lower level elements”. Therefore, there are attempts to conceptualize individual variation from a CDST approach (Nowak, Vallacher, Strawinska, & Brée, 2013; Nowak, Vallacher, Zochowski, 2005).

None of the aforementioned lists of IDs include identity as an individual difference; however, I contend that identity is a core ID and it should be conceptualized and researched as such. As I see it, the reason why identity is excluded from these lists is that the study of identity requires a very different theoretical and methodological approach than traditional ID research utilizing statistical procedures to make generalizations about L2 learning and L2 learners. By contrast, post-structuralist identity research presented in Chapter 1 views learners in their entirety and as inseparable from the L2 they learn. Therefore, SLA researchers tend to utilize either one or the other approach in their research endeavors. My dissertation is an attempt to synthesize these two approaches to show that they are compatible if the researcher keeps an

open eye for novel perspectives. My second argument for considering identity an ID addresses the complex, dynamic, and emergent nature of both identity and individual differences. Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) put forth that IDs are best understood as a CDS, and I add to this reasoning that identity construction is the system level behavior of all interacting individual differences within the system of the learner that also responds to environmental stimuli. This complex and dynamic understanding of identity is in keeping with the current interpretation of identity being changing over time, situated, and co-constructed and reconstructed in social interactions (Hall, 1996; Karmsch, 2009). In the following sections of Chapter 2, I discuss the IDs I draw on in my dissertation.

2.3 Motivation

Motivation is a multifaceted construct consisting of several components in the various models that have been conceived. Due to length limitations I only elaborate the following constructs: integrative motive, self-determination theory (SDT), the L2 motivational self-system, and international posture.

2.3.1 Gardner's Integrative Motive

In his Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition (Figure 1), Gardner (1979, 1985, 2007, 2009) devised how various ID factors determine attainment in an L2 and he concluded that influenced by the social and cultural milieu in which language learning takes place intelligence, aptitude, motivation, and situational anxiety influence SLA in formal and informal contexts, which finally results in linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes. Furthermore, he emphasized that attitudes are closely linked to motivation thus to achievement in an L2. Attitudes group into educational and social attitudes: the former one subsumes attitudes towards the learning of the L2, the teacher, the course and so forth, whereas the latter one, which is independent of intelligence or language aptitude, includes attitudes towards another group and their culture or interest in interacting or identifying with them (Gardner, 1985, pp. 41-47). The

model paved the way to Gardner’s conception of the Attitude Motivation Test Battery (Table 2).

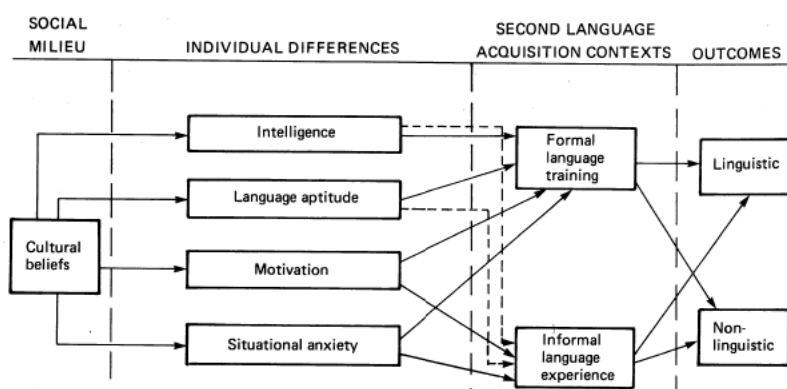


Figure 1. Schematic Representation of the Socio-Educational Model Adopted from Gardner (1985, p. 147)

Table 2

Constructs and Scales of AMTB Adopted from Gardner (2006, p. 246)

Construct	Scales
Motivation	Motivational intensity Desire to learn the language Attitudes towards learning the language
Integrativeness	Integrative orientation Interest in foreign languages Attitudes towards the target language community
Attitudes towards the learning situation	Language teacher evaluation Language course evaluation
Language anxiety	Language class anxiety Language use anxiety
Instrumentality	Instrumental orientation

As for Gardner’s (1985) conceptualization of integrative motivation or the integrative motive (Figure 2), the construct consists of three main elements that are further broken into several subcomponents. Gardner (1985) lists four components that are embedded in motivation: “a goal, effortful behavior, a desire to attain the goal and favourable attitudes to toward the

activity in question” (p. 50). The goal is not a measurable factor; rather, it acts like a stimulus leading to motivation and is manifest in the individual’s orientation to language learning. Therefore, motivation is made up of three constituents: desire to learn the L2, motivational intensity (effort), and attitudes towards learning the L2. To sustain conceptual clarity, he identifies reasons for learning an L2 as orientations and they are distinguished from motivation which involves the aforesaid three components. Besides motivation, the other main component is integrativeness which is made up of three subconstituents: integrative orientation, interest in foreign languages, and attitudes towards the L2 community. ‘An integrative orientation refers to a class of reasons that suggest that the individual is learning a second language in order to learn about, interact with, or become closer to the second language community’ (Gardner, 1985, p. 54). The third main element of integrative motivation/motive besides motivation and integrativeness is attitudes towards the learning situation which are composed of two components: evaluation of the L2 teacher and evaluation of the L2 course.

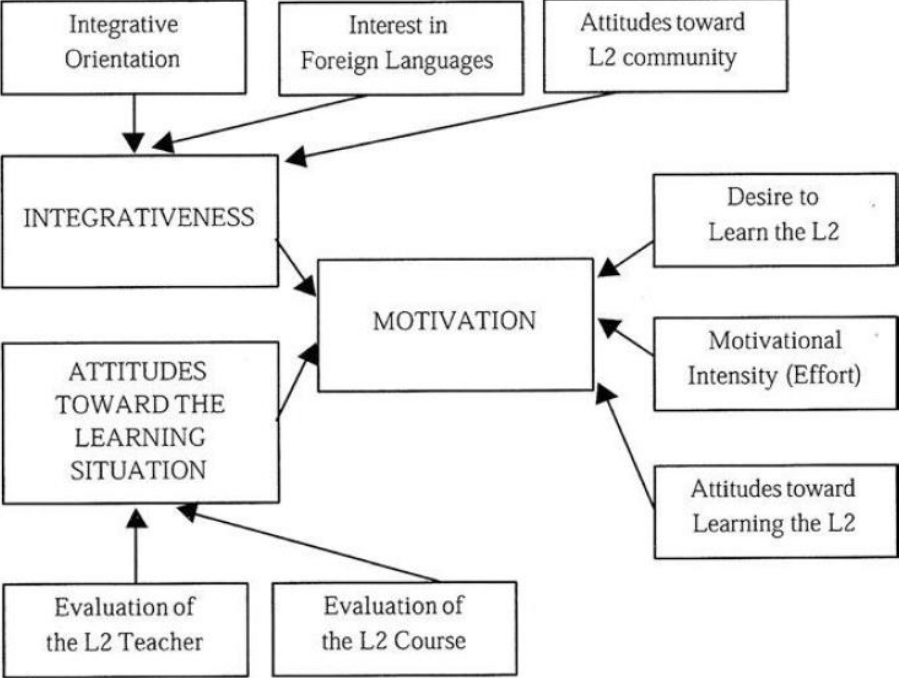


Figure 2. Schematic Representation of the Integrative Motive Adopted from Dörnyei and Ryan (2015, p. 74)

This model is posited in two coexisting contexts: the educational and the cultural context. The former one involves attitudes towards the learning situation whereas the latter one encompasses integrativeness (Gardner, 2007). All in all, motivation is a multifaceted construct that subsumes cognitive, affective, and behavioral (e.g. motivational intensity/effort) components (Gardner, 2007).

Employing and reinterpreting integrative motivation enjoyed heightened interest among researchers at the turn of the millennium; however, researchers tended to pay heed to only two aspects of Gardner's model: integrative orientation (focusing on attitudes) and instrumental orientation (highlighting practical/utilitarian reasons for learning an L2) (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 76). The construct of integrative motive has been criticized for a number of reasons (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). First, the model was developed in a French Canadian setting where French is taught as a second language in a context where two ethnolinguistic groups coexist; hence, this model may not be applicable in places where an L2 is taught as a foreign language, nor may it be fitting to describe motivation to learn English as a global language. Second, integrative motive describes the macro perspective of L2 motivation focusing on interaction with and contact between coexisting cultures with a disregard for the individual and the situated nature of L2 learning that oftentimes result in great inter- and intrapersonal variation in motivation. Third, the word 'integrative' appears at three levels of the model (the construct integrative motive, a main component integrativeness and a subconstituent integrative orientation), which may be confusing without a scrupulous study of Gardner's elaboration on the construct. Fourth, utilitarian reasons for learning a second language (for example to be promoted at work or to take a language exam as a prerequisite of university graduation) are not considered in the model; however, instrumentality appears in AMTB and instrumental motivation seems to be an important factor in learning an L2 as a FL. In his later research Gardner (2007) emphasizes instrumental motivation besides integrative motivation and

expands his research context to other countries such as Spain, Poland, Brazil, or Japan (2009) where instrumentality may play a more significant role in learning EFL or ELF. Fifth, language anxiety, present in AMTB, is missing from the construct of integrative motive, which may have several important implications. Since the model operates both in an educational context and in a cultural context, anxiety may be a relevant factor not only in classroom situations but also in interactions with other speakers of the L2, especially when considering the worldwide use of English by both NESs and NNEs. Despite all the criticism, the construct was widely used among researchers; however, after the turn of the millennium SLA researchers started to focus on new theories such as SDT, the L2 motivational self-system, or international posture. (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 78).

Integrative motivation is included in my inquiry on L2 learners' multilingual identities, since identity construction always involves relating the Self to the Other, which refers to identification with other groups of L2 speakers through similarity or difference in order to create or to refuse imagined communities with them. For such identifications to take place, learners do not need to meet in person native speakers of the L2, they can rely on their imagination to identify with them. Furthermore, as English has become a LF, English learners can interact with both NES and NNEs virtually and in real life too, which acts upon their integrative motivation to learn English as well as their identification with these individuals or groups of people.

2.3.2 Self-determination Theory

Ryan and Deci (2000a) posit that there are “three innate psychological needs – competence, autonomy and relatedness – which when satisfied yield enhanced self-motivation and mental health” (p. 68). They (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p.7) argue that intrinsic motivation and self-determination are necessary concepts for an orgasmic theory which suggests that “human beings act on their internal and external environments to be effective and to satisfy the full range of their needs”. It was a forward-looking recognition of the time that “not all behaviors are

drive-based, nor are they a function of external controls” (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p. 11). Intrinsic motivation is associated with other theories such as optimal stimulation and optimal arousal, effectance motivation, or Csikszentmihályi’s (1975) concept of the flow. The flow experience, postulating that flow is concomitant of true enjoyment which is an autotelic experience, refers to a state of concentration when there is complete involvement with the task at hand, which provides an optimal state for intrinsic motivation. When being self-determined, one has a choice if they want to be in control and they may choose to give up control; thus, “the need for self-determination is basic to intrinsic motivation” (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p. 31). In sum, “intrinsic motivation is based on the innate, organismic needs for competence and self-determination” and relatedness; hence, “it energizes a wide variety of behaviors and psychological processes for which the primary rewards are the experiences of effectance and autonomy” (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p. 32). Furthermore, it necessitates optimal challenge and results in excitement and joy. As opposed to it, extrinsic motivation refers to an activity that is performed to realize an outcome that is separable from the activity.

Within self-determination theory Ryan and Deci (2000b, pp. 72-74) introduced a sub-theory, the so called organismic integration theory which elaborates on the regulatory styles and the perceived locus of causality of intrinsic motivation, amotivation, and extrinsic motivation. According to this theory, amotivated people either do not act or act without intent or purpose. While intrinsic motivation entails an internal desire to perform a task thus intrinsic regulation and allows for the greatest autonomy, extrinsic motivation may be internally and externally regulated and promotes less autonomy to varying degrees. The first type of extrinsic motivation is external regulation controlled by rewards or punishments where the perceived focus of causality is fully external. The second type is introjected regulation where the desire to do something is perceived somewhat external to the self and is driven by the avoidance of guilt, shame or anxiety, or to enhance ego perspectives such as pride. The third type of extrinsic

regulation takes place through identification when one finds the regulating behavior personally important. In this case the perceived locus of casualty is somewhat internal. Finally, the most autonomous type of the four extrinsic regulatory styles is integrated regulation when the regulations are fully assimilated to the self, making it congruent with one's needs and values. Although in this regulatory style the locus of casualty is perceived as internal to the self, it is deemed external motivation, for the outcome is still separable from the activity.

The concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation have become major influencers in motivational psychology and attempts have been made to incorporate these findings into L2 motivation research (Noels, Clément, & Pelletier, 2001; Clément, Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000; Noels, 2009). This effort was aided by the accessibility of a free test battery, the Language Learning Orientation Scale designed by Clément, Noels, Pelletier, and Vallerand (2000). Consequently, attempts have been made to relate the existing constructs in Gardner's integrative motive to self-determination and the intrinsic-extrinsic components.

2.3.3 Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System

In this section I put under scrutiny Dörnyei's L2 motivational self-system (2005) which is one of the most influential and most frequently applied theories of motivation today. Dörnyei's model draws on several earlier theories such as Markus and Nurius's (1986) 'possible selves' theory and Higgins' (1987) self-discrepancy theory. Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954) refer to possible selves as a type of self knowledge pertaining to the way individuals think about their potential and about their future; therefore, future selves represent what they could become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming. These selves correspond to the concept of the ideal self, the ought-to self and the feared self, respectively. The ideal self involves attributions that one would like to have such as desires, hopes, or aspirations converging to the person's own image of herself/himself while the ought-to self denotes attributions that one ought to possess such as duties, obligations, or meeting requirements

(Higgins, 1987, pp. 320-21); therefore, it refers to “an image of self held by another” (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 957). These unrealized wishes, hopes, and desires “act as ‘future self guides’, reflecting a dynamic, forward-pointing conception that can explain how someone is moved from present toward the future” (Dörnyei, 2009, p.11). Notwithstanding, possible selves spring from representations of the self in the past and they include representations of the self in the future while evaluating and interpreting the now self (Markus & Nurius, 1986, pp. 954-62). Since possible selves provide impetus for action, change and development, the self-system is inherently linked to motivation. To be effective in reaching a possible self, one has to have a vision of the self, that is, the individual has to have a clearly envisioned possible self. Moreover, one has to possess beliefs about efficacy, that is, one has to believe that the person is capable of performing the required behavior (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 961). Markus and Nurius (1986) conclude their paper by raising the question of whether individuals seek to reduce the discrepancy between their now selves and their possible selves, which is a question answered by Higgins’s (1987) self-discrepancy theory.

Higgins’s self-discrepancy theory (1987) proposes that people seek to reduce the discrepancy between their actual and their ideal or ought-to self. Consequently, the discrepancy between one’s actual self and a future self provides incentive and impetus for action to reduce this discrepancy. Higgins (1987, p. 319) puts forth that the different kinds of discrepancies represent different kinds of psychological situations that trigger different kinds of discomfort and different kinds of emotions. There are two basic negative psychological conditions triggering various emotional states: the first one is the lack of positive outcome and the second is the presence of negative outcomes. Since self states are linked to motivation, different emotional and motivational conditions can be related to various self-state conditions. Both the ideal self and the ought-to self reflect a desired end-state; however, the ideal self has a promotion focus to attain something whereas the ought-to self has a prevention focus to avoid

a negative outcome (Higgins, 1998; Markus & Nurius, 1986). Higgins (1998) posits that this view is in line with the principle that people approach pleasure and avoid pain. Furthermore, it is beneficial if the ideal self is augmented by a feared self in the same sphere; therefore, the balanced combination of positive future selves and their negative counterparts can further action toward the desired end-state (Dörnyei, 2009; Higgins, 1986; Oyserman & Markus, 1990).

The third dimension in the model is the L2 learning experience which incorporates the context of language learning, the immediate learning environment and experience subsuming the impact of the teacher, the curriculum, and the peers. Furthermore, Dörnyei emphasizes the role of imagination and imagery in creating and visualizing the ideal-self. Dörnyei (2005, 2009) explains that imagination has always been a great motivational force. However, he also notes that not every individual has an elaborate vision of their ideal self; consequently, people show great variation in the extent they are able to activate and elaborate their vision of their future selves.

Dörnyei's self-constructs are often related to the learner's self-concept in traditional SLA research. This model overlaps and intersects with my approach to identity research; however, the post-structuralist stance I take in the dissertation offers a much broader, in other words, a more holistic view of the learner's identity that includes the dimensions of the ideal self and the ought-to self.

2.3.4 Yashima's Concept of International Posture

The last motivational construct I outline in this chapter is Yashima's (2009) concept of international posture. In contrast with Gardner's integrative motive which centers around a positive affective propensity towards the L2 community along with a desire to interact and/or identify with its members, international posture refers to a person's predisposition to relate oneself to an international community rather than to a specific L2 community (Yashima, 2009, p. 145). The concept is rooted in the LF nature of English when English speakers, who

traditionally learnt the language in an EFL setting, are now using the language to communicate with virtually anyone in any corner of the world. Therefore, for English speakers nowadays it may be challenging to relate themselves to a specific English-speaking community but rather to a global, virtual, or professional community where English knowledge is required or valued. Also, English being a world language entails numerous utilitarian reasons for learning the language such as the opportunity to have an international career, to study abroad or to travel abroad, just to name some. This utilitarian value includes ‘intercultural friendship orientation’ and instrumental orientation which predict motivational intensity thus higher language proficiency level (Yashima, 2009, p. 146). Openness to foreignness or non-ethnocentric attitudes through speaking English is linked other constructs such as IC, ICC (see 1.11.2), and WTC. Fundamentally, English speakers with international posture relate themselves to an international community, a community different from their own; they are concerned with international affairs and they are ready and willing to interact with people other than the members of their own ethno-linguistic community for both integrative and instrumental reasons. Hence international posture entails cognitive, affective, and behavioral characteristics of an individual and it has an impact on the frequency of communication thus on WTC, motivation, linguistic confidence, and ultimately on English language proficiency (Yashima, 2009, pp. 146-54). In sum, international posture seems to better describe the various motivational orientations of English in EFL/Expanding Circle countries. Hence, there is a heightened interest in researching international posture in EFL/ELF contexts in Asia and in Europe as well (Lockley, 2015; Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Pietrzykowska, 2011; Ockert, 2015; Yashima, 2009).

2.4. Language Anxiety

Language anxiety pertains to the broad scope of social anxiety, which is unsurprising as L2 use takes place in social interactions between learners and teachers, learners and other

learners of the L2 or native speakers. Although language anxiety stems from concerns about L2 use, the consequences of this specific type of anxiety are similar to those of social anxiety. However, psychologists distinguish between a specific anxiety reaction and general anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). Schlenker and Leary (1985) found that the experience of (social) anxiety results “from the prospect or presence of personal evaluation in real or imagined situations” (p.172). It is a “cognitive and affective response characterized by apprehension about an impending, potentially negative outcome that one thinks one is unable to avert” and it reflects an undesired evaluation (Schlenker & Leary, 1985, p. 172).

Davies (1969, p. 16 cited in Bailey, 1983, p. 69) links anxiety to learning in a formal environment: “learning is the acquisition of new responses, and the performance is emission of old (that is, well-learned) ones” and points out that in the classroom, learners are expected to publicly produce responses that are not yet learnt. Therefore, such premature demands to perform are likely to trigger anxiety in learners. In language learning this is exactly what happens. The teacher asks learners to talk about a topic using new structures and vocabulary in front of classmates that are not yet consolidated in their mind. Thus, perceived or real errors deteriorate learners’ self-image and confidence and/or may lead to competitiveness and anxiety (Bailey, 1983).

Scovel (1978) highlights the difference between state anxiety and trait anxiety. The former type denotes a temporary feeling of anxiety whereas the latter describes a more inherent characteristic pertaining to one’s personality. Scovel (1978) also notes that some level of anxiety, the so called facilitating anxiety, may be conducive to learning and enhanced performance while too much anxiety may lead to debilitating anxiety, hampering performance thus progress. Bailey’s (1983) diary study confirms the distinction between state and trait anxiety, and she points out that even non-anxious students (i.e. students with no trait anxiety) may experience state (i.e. temporary) anxiety due to not being caught up on a new topic due to

absence, for instance. It is now evident that anxiety is associated with affective factors that are intrinsic to the learner (Bailey, 1983; Scovel, 1978) which may be best studied by eliciting the reflections of L2 learners on their experiences.

People strive to make a positive impression on others in social situations and thus construct a favorable identity for themselves. Current understanding of identity puts forth that identity is continuously negotiated in and via social interactions (Block, 2007; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). Therefore, self-presentation is an important facet of identity construction and inadequate self-presentation causes anxiety. Anxiety emanates when individuals endeavor to make a favorable impression but doubt their ability to do so for reasons I scrutinize below. First, they do not know how to do it; second, they fear not being able to convey the desired images about themselves to their interactants; third, they are afraid that their projected self-image will not meet their personal standards or expectations, or they presume an external event might occur ruining their self-image (Schlenker & Leary, 1985). The level of anxiety may be determined by a myriad of factors (Schlenker & Leary, 1985). One component involves the identity of the audience, whether they are experts on a particular topic or not. In a language classroom, speaking to teachers or NSs perceived as “experts” by L2 learners may be a more frightful experience. Furthermore, the evaluation of whether one’s performance is a high-stake or a low-stake situation has an impact on the level of anxiety one experiences. In L2 learning exam situations, presentations in front of a bigger group or solving problems on one’s own using the L2 may evoke anxiety. In addition, individuals, seeking appraisal and positive feedback while dreading negative evaluations are more susceptible to feeling anxious in social situations. In an L2 learning context the lack of sufficient positive feedback and the presence of criticism may have negative effects on language learners. Furthermore, uncertainty about appropriate or accepted behaviors in novel and unfamiliar situations may also trigger anxiety in individuals. Language learners guessing at linguistic and cultural behavior in a novel

situation in or outside the classroom contributes to heightened levels of anxiety. Finally, negative self-perceptions, the perceived lack of ability to successfully accomplish a personal objective enhances anxiety in individuals with low self-esteem or low-confidence. Language learners who doubt their ability to make flawless or at least acceptable utterances when this is what they expect of themselves is an anxiety trigger.

Horowitz and her associates (Gregersen & Horwitz, 2002; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986) claim that there are three major facets of anxiety including specific L2 classroom anxiety. First of all, communication apprehension is a sort of shyness brought about by anxiety to communicate with people (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). L2 learners suffering from this type of anxiety tend to find it even more challenging to communicate with other speakers using an L2, offering even more opportunities to err than in the mother tongue. Students who have difficulty speaking in groups using their L1 tend to experience more hardships doing the same in an L2 when their performance is continuously monitored. Experiencing hardships when trying to understand others and trying to make one understood trigger anxiety in language learners, as only a limited set of knowledge is available to them compared to the teacher or more proficient peers in the classroom. Consequently, anxiety affects learners' identity construction in the L2, as talkative and sociable persons may remain silent in the classroom, resulting in the construction of an L2 identity that is very different from their L1 identity. Alternatively, shy and insecure people using an L2 may become more talkative and confident because by assuming a new role as an L2 speaker, they may leave behind facets of their L1 identity, and speaking the L2 may feel like another person talking – an experience also observable in acting.

Second, test anxiety originates in a fear of failure in test situations both in speaking and in writing (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). Failure may be experienced when students pressurize themselves with unrealistically high expectations that they are most likely to fail to

meet. Moreover, anxious L2 learners tend to perceive opportunities to use and practice the L2 as test situations where their knowledge and expertise are tested.

Third, fear of negative evaluation results from anxiety over potential, real, or imagined negative evaluation of one's performance in the classroom (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). Therefore, students suffering from this dimension of language anxiety try to avoid evaluative situations, which may be impossible as the teacher with superior L2 knowledge is always present in the classroom heeding and reflecting on students' performance. Anxiety may also stem from a clash between the learner's L1 and L2 identity. Adult learners perceive their L1 identity as intelligent and competent using the L1, whereas they may feel the opposite using the L2 due to limitations in their L2 abilities, which are in evidence in their social interactions in and outside the classroom. Furthermore, empirical studies (Bailey, 1983; Yan & Horwitz, 2008; Lyons, 2014; Nagy & Nikolov, 2007;) pointed out that L2 learners' anxiety is aggravated by competition with their peers in cases when they perceive their peers' L2 proficiency as better than theirs; hence, they fear being judged negatively by them.

The symptoms of language anxiety in reliance on learners' testimonials include reticence in classes, truancy, freezing when trying to produce L2 output or when not understanding others, going blank before tests as well as physical symptoms such as excessive perspiration, palpitation, dizziness or other psychosomatic ailments (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986).

In the Hungarian context, Nagy's (2007) study investigating English majors' WTC in English at UP revealed that LA is related to other IDs. Anxiety hinders WTC even in situations when students have positive attitudes towards interacting with other English speakers and have good perceived English skills. The study also pointed out that motivation, WTC, LA, and self-perception feed into and affect one another in complex ways. In summary, LA is a crucial factor in the study of IDs in SLA, for it affects self-perception (Horwitz, 2010) thus identity

construction, it negatively correlates with WTC in an L2 (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998), and it is associated with perfectionism and competitiveness (Bailey, 1983).

2.5 Willingness to Communicate in English

It is inherent in human nature that individuals verbally communicate with each other, especially for a specific purpose, such as for seeking assistance or cooperation or for relaying important information (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998). Initially, WTC was thought to be a trait-like characteristic, a personality-based predisposition toward being (un)willing to communicate, which is thus consistently characteristic of a person across different contexts and situations (McCroskey & Richmond, 1987). To measure WTC McCroskey and Richmond (1987) developed the WTC scale which includes items related to four contexts: public speaking, talking in meetings, talking in small groups, and talking to another person such as a stranger, an acquaintance, a friend, or a family member. They found that the data generated by their scale were valid and representative of the construct they investigated. Furthermore, they identified introversion, anomie, alienation, self-esteem, cultural divergence, communication skill level, and communication apprehension to be antecedents and/or consequences of WTC. With regard to cultural perspectives, McCroskey and Richmond (1990) studied cross-cultural communication to see how different cultures differ in terms of WTC, communication apprehension, self-perceived communication competence, and introversion. They found considerable differences in communication among the countries they studied; moreover, the relationship among communication orientations in the countries also differed.

However, when studying L2 learners' WTC, new factors needed to be put under scrutiny. The seemingly contradictory situation of advanced L2 learners' unwillingness to communicate in an L2 and beginner L2 learners' enthusiasm to communicate in the L2 classroom needed more clarification and a more specific approach. To this end, MacIntyre and Charos (1996)

included self-perception and affect in their model to examine WTC in a language classroom. According to their first path model of L2 WTC, perceived L2 confidence, L2 anxiety, integrativeness, and attitudes toward the learning situation trigger L2 WTC and motivation, and the latter two result in L2 communication frequency. Further to this novel approach, MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1998) argued for the situational nature of WTC and conceived a heuristic model of the construct consisting of multiple layers of variables. The top of the pyramid is made up of WTC and L2 use which represent behavioral intention and communication behavior, respectively. These two are acted upon by two situated antecedents: desire to communicate with a specific person and state communicative self-confidence. The fourth layer consists of motivational propensities such as interpersonal motivation, intergroup motivation, and self-confidence. The underlying affective-cognitive context involves intergroup attitudes, social situation, and communicative competences. Finally, the broadest bottom layer denotes the social and individual context resulting from intergroup climate and personality.

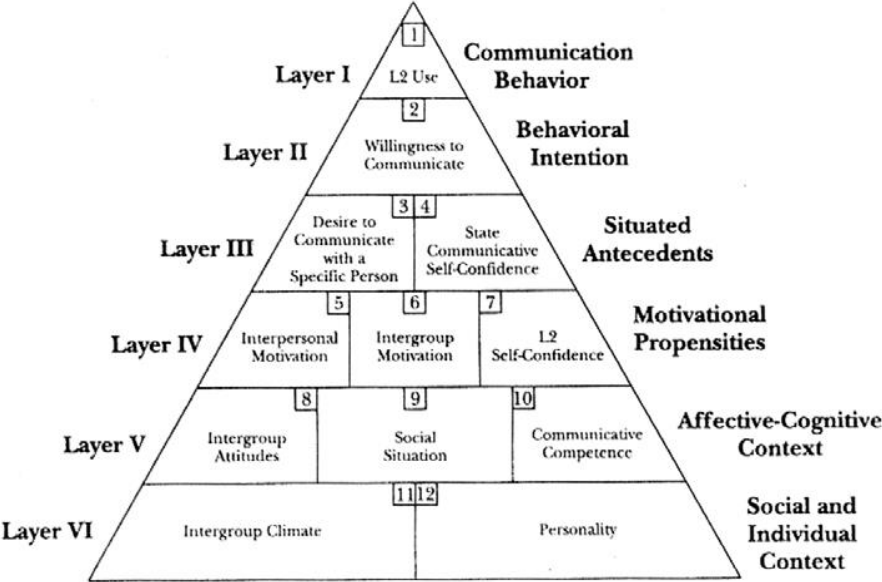


Figure 3. Heuristic Model of WTC Adopted from MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, and Noels (1998, p. 547)

The model demonstrates the interplay between several variables bearing in mind personality- and cognition-bound factors as well as affective, contextual, situational, and interpersonal variables, thus allowing temporal and context-dependent changes in motivation, affect or self-confidence. Moreover, MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1998) propose that WTC is manifested in modes of language production other than speaking, such as in writing and in comprehension of language input. Broadly speaking, communication behavior in an L2 subsumes not only speaking in class, but also speaking in other contexts outside the classroom such as to tourists, at the workplace as well as reading newspapers or watching movies or TV in the target language. Further to this point, the authors make a distinction between WTC in L1 and in L2, as the disparate relationship between the two languages may significantly change one's WTC in an L2 due to the limitations the L2 imposes on the individual. Hence, WTC was put in the limelight and its study in classroom gained momentum (Arshad, Shahbaz, & Al-Bashabsheh, 2015; MacIntyre, 2007; Kang, 2005; Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Mickiewicz, 2016; Peng, 2007; Yashima, 2002).

With regard to the Hungarian context, Nagy (2007) studied Hungarian English majors' WTC in English at UP; therefore, her results provide valuable insights into the Hungarian situation and a basis for comparison. Nagy (2007) found that motivation, including integrative/affective factors, contributes to willingness to initiate or sustain contact with other L2 speakers. Another noteworthy finding was that perceived language skills were significant determinants in L2 WTC. In other words, self-perception of language proficiency is more prominent than actual/measured proficiency level. However, despite good perceived language skills and positive attitude towards communicating with other English speakers along with positive attitude towards English language cultures, WTC can be impeded by anxiety-producing environments and situations. Her study in the Hungarian context confirmed the influential role self-perception plays in WTC as well as the cyclic relationship between WTC,

motivation, self-perception, and language anxiety, which are the ID factors I also investigate in my inquiry.

2.3 Self-perception

Self-perception or self-concept encompasses all the thoughts and beliefs that individuals have about themselves as language learners in the process of L2 learning. Although not widely researched, self-perception is an important ID, since it characterizes all L2 learners irrespective of the years of language learning or attained language proficiency level. Learners' self-image as L2 learners has an impact on other learner characteristics such as WTC, LA, perfectionism, or competitiveness. In SLA research, self-concept roughly refers to the same construct as the concept of identity framed with a post-structuralist and CDST mindset. Due to the complexity of self-concept, I narrow down my focus with regard to this construct to self-perception including two dimensions: perceived language aptitude and perceived L2 proficiency level, and disregard other dimensions such as learner beliefs, self-confidence, self-worth, or self-efficacy which are inherently associated with self-concept.

Studies revealed that perceived L2 proficiency level and perceived language learning aptitude better predict anxiety levels than measured competence or L2 proficiency level (MacIntyre, Noels & Clément, 1997; Tóth, 2007). Hence, learners viewing themselves as less competent or less proficient tend to score higher on anxiety measures (Kitano, 2001) than those who hold a more positive self-image about their competences and their command of the L2. This positive bias is dubbed „self-enhancement” which is rooted in a need for personal satisfaction, gratification, and self-worth, whereas underevaluation of one's skills is referred to as „self-derogation” which is often characteristic of highly anxious individuals (MacIntyre, Noels & Clément, 1997). This finding is in keeping with the cognitive self-evaluation model which posits that negative self-images, unrealistically high expectations of the self, or exorbitantly high social standards result in social anxiety (Leary, 1983; Schlenker & Leary,

1985). Qualitative studies drawing on interviews with L2 learners or their diaries also came to similar conclusions corroborating that students with high anxiety levels are predisposed to perceiving their L2 skills as poorer than those who exhibit a less anxious behavior (Bailey, 1983; Price, 1991).

On the one hand, these studies pinpoint that a poor self-image as an L2 learner, stemming from perceived low aptitude and L2 proficiency level in particular, facilitates language anxiety. On the other hand, learners who might be anxious to use the L2 inhibiting their WTC in the target language are more inclined to deem their L2 output inadequate and poor, and they may also fear negative outcomes when putting their L2 skills to use. Nagy's (2007) study in the Hungarian context also corroborated the interrelatedness of IDs and revealed that self-perception plays a crucial role in L2 learners' WTC. She concluded that high perceived language aptitude and good perceived L2 skills promote WTC in English, whereas negative self-perception in these two domains hampers WTC.

2.6 Competitiveness

In my inquiry competitiveness is another important ID, for it has a significant impact on L2 learners' attitude towards themselves shaping their self-perception as well as towards learning the L2, and towards communicating with other L2 learners. Furthermore, competitiveness is linked to anxiety in terms of accomplishing goals set by the individual and with respect to underperformance which is understood as a failure to meet external expectations or requirements (Bailey, 1983). Owing to the complex and influential nature of competitiveness, different levels of competitiveness coupled with anxiety or perfectionism determine the kind of L2 identity learners may assume.

Over three decades ago Bailey (1983) examined L2 learners' diary entries on their L2 learning experiences. In her investigation she found a link between competitiveness and anxiety, which proved to be pivotal in linking competitiveness to perfectionism and anxiety.

She provided a definition of competitiveness as “a desire to excel in comparison to others” (Bailey, 1983, p. 96) which is manifest in seven learner characteristics and behaviors (p. 77).

(1) Competitive learners compare themselves to classmates: for example, they set up a ranking of students including themselves based on their perceptions, or they compete in skills areas, resulting in a more specialized ranking. Should they feel unable to compete with peers in terms of overall L2 proficiency, they may be able to compete or excel in a skill area. Unsurprisingly, such competitive learners often seek the company of peers who they think rank lower than themselves, which makes them feel better learners. They also create idealized self-images and they compare themselves to those self-images that are usually very hard for them to live up to, leading to anxiety and despair. Negative and positive past language learning experiences also work upon their expectations of themselves and their idealized self-image. Language teachers learning another language may compete with the language teacher teaching them the new language in terms of their command of their own L2 and effective teaching methods and classroom activities. (2) Competitive learners respond emotionally to their self-devised comparisons in the form of emotional or connotative language use. Furthermore, the diary entries revealed the diarists’ hostility towards other students, in particular towards those who they could not contend with. (3) In addition, they seek to outperform other students in terms of speed by, for example, racing through tests to finish before other students or by shouting out answers in class before others. (4) In addition, they consider test results and grades highly important, especially with a reference to other students. Diarists also discussed how they perceived tests interfered with their learning. By contrast, non-anxious learners were not preoccupied with tests and test results, as they tended to do well in tests. (5) With regard to teacher-learner relationship, competitive L2 learners tend to exhibit a desire to get the teacher’s approval and recognition. Some of them see the teacher as a parent figure or they wish to meet or exceed the teacher’s expectations. (6) As mentioned above, they undergo a heightened

feeling of competitiveness, which often causes anxiety during and between classes, sometimes even spilling into their free time activities and state-of-mind. (7) Finally, frustrated competitive language learners may withdraw from L2 learning either temporarily or for good depending on the level and nature of their unhappiness. Withdrawal from learning may take place mentally when the learner keeps attending classes but gives up on learning. While psychical withdrawal entails cutting classes or even dropping the course. Taking everything into account, poor performance in class or in tests, lack of preparation for classes, poor grades, ineffective teaching methodologies, or unfavorable teacher behavior in terms of overtly promoting competition or humiliating certain students in class often lead to withdrawal from the course or from L2 learning.

Despite the multifarious manifestations of competitiveness, it is still a question whether competition is a cause or an effect of anxiety or they form a cyclic relationship feeding into each other (Bailey, 1983, p. 78). Diarists in Bailey's study viewed the lack of competitiveness as a positive change and non-competitive and non-anxious language learners felt more relaxed, confident and performed much better than others. Moreover, Bailey (1983) came to see that the lack of anxiety in learners resulted from the lack of discrepancy between their ideal-self and their actual self, which is in line with Dörnyei's (2005) L2 motivational self-system putting forth that learners seek to diminish the discrepancy between their actual self and their ideal self by putting more effort in language learning. This analysis of competitiveness gives evidence of its interrelated and multifaceted nature, as it interweaves with self-perception, perfectionism, anxiety, motivation, and WTC, all of which construct and shape language learners' identity construction when learning and using the L2.

2.7 Perfectionism

Perfectionism theory and research constitute a major facet of psychology research; however, definitions and models of the construct are versatile and sometimes contradictory (Stoeber, 2018). Dimensions of perfectionism were delineated subsuming self-oriented perfectionism and two interpersonal dimensions: other-oriented perfectionism and socially prescribed perfectionism (Flett, Hewitt & De Rosa, 1996). The former denotes a “tendency to have unrealistically high expectations for others” (Flett, Hewitt & De Rosa, 1996, p. 143) and the latter dimension refers to high expectations imposed by others on the self, whereas self-oriented perfectionism indicates high expectations of the self. Moreover, researchers made a distinction between positive and negative perfectionism (Terry-Short, Owens, Slade, & Dewey, 1995). The positive dimension refers to a “function of achievement of positive consequences” which is a healthier form of perfectionism, whereas the negative dimension purports “a function of avoidance of negative consequences” (Terry-Short et al., 1995, p. 667). Terry-Short and his colleagues (1995) found that successful athletes along with the members of the control group had higher levels of positive perfectionism than negative perfectionism, whilst people with eating disorders and depressed people exhibited higher levels of negative perfectionism. They also refuted the hypothesis that healthy perfectionism originating in positive reinforcement is always associated with self-oriented perfectionism, a behavior perceived to be a ‘free choice’, whereas exhibiting the same behavior to dodge negative consequences is viewed as ‘coerced’ (Terry-Short et al., 1995, p. 664.). It is propounded that perfectionism directed towards the self can be negative and positive as well and that socially prescribed perfectionism may come from positive reinforcement (Owens & Slade, 2008).

In L2 learning it was found that positive perfectionism is associated with facilitating anxiety, whereas negative perfectionism is linked debilitating anxiety (Fahim & Noormohammadi, 2014). Gregerson and Horwitz (2002) also found a link between

perfectionism and anxiety, as they often have the same manifestations in L2 learners. They postulated that anxiety stems from communication apprehension, fear of negative evaluation, and test anxiety. The first symptom denotes a fear of speaking in front of others due to potential imperfect L2 output, the second one reflects a fear of negative judgments made by teachers and peers, and the third aspect puts forth that anxious and perfectionist learners consider L2 use a test situation rather than an opportunity to communicate or to practice. Therefore, perfectionists tend to sit silently in language classes until they are sure of being able to utter perfect sentences or ideas. They keep postponing assignments until they deem them perfect and often overemphasize errors and focus on mistakes rather than learning. They concluded that in their study both anxious and non-anxious learners were aware of errors; however, their responses and emotional reactions to these errors made a significant difference. While non-anxious students were happy with what they could do and were satisfied with their non-anxious attitude, anxious students hardly ever found satisfaction in their performance and were preoccupied with their errors. Consequently, there is a negative correlation between language anxiety and language attainment. In the same vein, Bailey's (1983) diary study corroborated that perfectionism, competitiveness, and anxiety are linked in a cyclic relationship.

2.8 Summary

In Chapter 2 I reviewed the literature on the IDs that I draw on in the dissertation. Concerning motivation, I discussed integrative and instrumental motivation, SDT subsuming intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, the L2 motivational self-system, and international posture. Furthermore, I elaborated on LA, WTC, self-perception, competitiveness, and perfectionism. The literature review of these IDs pinpointed the interrelated nature of these IDs and the interplay between them. They all have a significant impact on learners' self-concept, which shapes their multilingual identity construction in dynamic, complex, and idiosyncratic ways. In

the next chapter I present and discuss the findings of empirical studies on L2 learners' identity construction and IDs.

CHAPTER 3 – AN OVERVIEW OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON L2 LEARNERS' IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

3.1 Introduction

In chapter 3 I present the findings of empirical studies on L2 learners' identity construction and individual differences. Due to the abundance of research in both fields I limit the discussion of the findings to seminal papers that are relevant in my inquiry.

3.2 Empirical Studies on L2 Learners' Identity Construction

3.2.1 Kramsch's Research into L2 Learners' Identity Construction

In her seminal book *The Multilingual Subject* Kramsch (2009) presented both a multidisciplinary approach to studying L2 learners' multilingual identity as well as the analyses of research data in the light of the literature she drew on. In this section I present the research findings she elaborated on in the book. In 1998 she conducted a survey study in which she involved 953 students who were learning a foreign language at the University of California at Berkley and asked them to provide their own metaphors for their language learning experiences. The metaphors that learners conceived about their own language learning experiences addressed the following themes: identification with native speakers, role-playing, physical and emotional experiences, flights or romance and exoticism associated with the foreign sounds, physical duress, return to childhood, acquisition of a new way of thinking, changing identity, acquiring a new social and emotional self, entering a new world, engaging in creative/artistic processes, or acquiring a secret code (Kramsch, 2009, pp. 57-65). The informants' responses confirmed the embodied nature of L2 learning that triggers emotional responses in learners involving not only the brain and the mind but also the body of learners.

In the same book Kramsch (2009, pp. 85-95) analyzed the emerging themes of linguistic autobiographies that came from two sources: she drew on Hinton's (2001) corpus of Asian-American autobiographies and her own small-scale corpus of 50 linguistic autobiographies of

native and non-native English speaking undergraduates at the University of California at Berkeley who attended her course *Language and Identity* between 2001 and 2003. Three major themes emerged in the two corpora which addressed the theme of alienation and separation, desire, and being in process or on trial. Asian-American testimonies were often characterized by alienation, a sense of rejection that Asian-American students experienced due to their different look despite their language proficiency in English and their identification with the country. Having to prove their legitimacy as English speakers was a painful experience for the Asian participants. Other students embraced the possibility to create subjective meanings in the process of SLA as well as the desire for self-fulfillment through an L2. Some students felt split between their languages and cultures and they perceived this experience as being on trial, searching for subject positions that could meet their own expectations and those of the Other, as well. During Kramersch's seminar students read semi-autobiographic works of authors who wrote in English which was their L2. Inspired by these works, the participants wrote their own linguistic autobiography conforming to a genre they were familiarized with. The student authors proved Kristeva's (1980) argument that subjects are capable of expressing much more than simple information exchange drawing on the semiotic resources they possess and that literary language use provides further linguistic resources to convey much more than what is embedded in the structure of the language.

Furthermore, Kramersch (2009) reanalyzed and reinterpreted the data gathered by Liddicoat (2003), Rampton (1995, 1999, 2002, 2003), Menard-Warwick (2005), and her own classroom observation from 1990, using a multidisciplinary approach of identity research instead of the approaches employed in traditional SLA research. She found that learners utilize the L2 for various purposes besides simple information exchange during the learning process. For example, German as a FL learners drew on German to resignify a ritualistic practice in the German lesson in which the teacher employed an audiolingual method that they could not

tolerate as well as to experience emotional relief from the hated choral practices. Moreover, Kramersch (2009, pp.112-17) found that L2 learner's L1 habitus often prevents them from acting in a way that would be appropriate when talking to NSs of the L2 despite their good command of the L2, leading to emotional distress and unease in learners. In the ESL lesson Kramersch observed in 1990 in which the teacher drew on the communicative language teaching method, the students were exposed to symbolic violence because the English language they learnt was loaded with historical and ideological connotations that contradicted the views of the students who came from various linguacultural backgrounds. Therefore, the students utilized various oppositional tactics to defend their subject positions in the lesson. Furthermore, reinterpreting Menard-Warwick's (2005) interview data with an immigrant woman in the U.S., Kramersch (2009, pp. 111-23) proposed that what traditional SLA researchers would identify as a matter of motivation or investment in her case can be perceived as a narrative created to grasp the interviewee's construction of herself as a multilingual subject, which goes beyond the construct of motivation or investment because it involves the whole being of the learner.

When Kramersch (2009, pp. 154-85) studied the Virtual Self and how subjectivity is constituted in online conversations in the virtual realm drawing on data gathered by Warner (2001) and Kern and McGrath (2008), she demonstrated how online communication is characterized by both reality and fiction, presence and absence, and that time becomes reversible with the click of a button (i.e. copy or delete) and reality becomes hyperreality. She concluded that CMC allows the subject to continuously reinterpret and present itself in the form of real, surreal or multiple selves, which may result in a form of cyberdependency. Overall, Kramersch's (2009) findings that I discussed above cast light on how a more complex and holistic view of L2 learning contributes to a better understanding of language learning processes in which the L2 learning experience is not separated from the learner whose whole being is involved in SLA. Finally, I would like to point out that all the studies that Kramersch discussed

in her book were qualitative studies that analyzed rich textual data using qualitative analysis methods. The data came from interviews, classroom observations, structured written tasks such as essays or linguistic autobiographies, and CMC interactions between L2 learners. This approach stands in sharp contrast with the quantitative research methods that are employed in traditional SLA research into IDs.

3.2.2 Exploring Social and Linguistic Identity

The major direction of identity research in North America focused on immigrants arriving in Canada or the U.S.A. who studied ESL in their new home. In the Canadian context Bonny Norton's (2013) conducted a longitudinal case study with five immigrant women who studied ESL in Canada. Her research findings pointed out that motivation to learn English does not necessarily effect actual investment in learning if classroom practices are unfavorable and do not address the students' current needs, desires, and imagined communities that constitute their multilingual identity. She found that investment as a sociological construct is shaped by social practices such as power issues, inequity, prejudice, marginalization, the social network of the workplace, and the family environment. Norton (2013) also pointed out that identity is multifaceted; thus, other dimensions of the learner's identity such as gender, ethnic, or racial categories need to be addressed to facilitate the learner's investment in language learning and to avoid the non-participation and the silencing of students. Furthermore, she noted that the five immigrant women's natural language learning in an ESL context was impeded by the fact that they were often denied the right to speak in their social contexts, thus reducing their opportunities to produce L2 output in a NES environment. Finally, drawing on feminist theories (Weedon, 1997), Norton (2013, p. 161) conceived her own concept of identity based on these research findings. She concluded that the five immigrant women's identity was characterized by multiple and temporally changing subjectivity and subjectivity was also a place of struggle.

Skilton-Sylvester (2002) studied the case of four Cambodian women learning ESL in the U.S. and found that the participants' investment in English learning was greatly shaped by their shifting social and cultural identity as women at home and as current and future workers. De Costa (2010) in his longitudinal study connected the notion of investment with identity when he studied a Chinese learner who changed his habitus and adopted standard English in an effort to create a favorable learner identity in academic achievement. Lee (2014) conducted a one-year long longitudinal study with a Korean international student studying engineering in the U.S. and found a link between investment, learning strategies, imagined communities, and identity construction. The student's investment in language learning that was facilitated by her imagined communities was conducive to adopting more effective learning strategies, which shaped her identity temporally over the course of the study. In the European context Block and Corona (2014) studied Latino adolescents in Barcelona and they called for the intersectionality of identity research and they proposed that the dimension of social class should be added to the study of identity based on race, ethnicity, and gender.

3.2.3 Exploring Agency and Identity in SLA

Aneta Pavlenko conducted extensive research on emotions and multilingualism (Pavlenko, 2005), multilingualism and agency (Pavlenko, 2011, 2013), multilingualism and SLA as an expression of identity (Pavlenko 2006; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Pavlenko & Lantoff, 2000; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007), and gender issues in the SLA classroom (Norton & Pavlenko, 2004; Pavlenko & Piller, 2007). Studying the identity construction of 1039 bilinguals and multilinguals in total in an international questionnaire study, Pavlenko (2006) asked the informants the same question I asked the participants in my dissertation: whether they felt like they were a different person when using their different languages. Sixty-five per cent (675 respondents) offered an affirmative answer to the question. The responses revealed that culture and language are interwoven in language learning; thus, non-native speakers often strive to

conform to native speakers' cultural perspectives. The data revealed that the informants' different selves were perceived through the discourse of L2 language socialization that took place at distinct time periods, at distinct places, and involving distinct people. She also pointed out that the respondents' use of different languages led to their different thinking, behavior, and perception of the Self and of the outside world, confirming the weak version of linguistic relativity. Her findings revealed that the use of a L2 was linked to taking up a new persona or a new role; thus, L1 language use was associated with natural language production, whereas L2 use was linked to acting or a social performance judged by others. She observed that the participants' emotional responses to their various languages were very different. Furthermore, the notion of inner split, a so called linguistic schizophrenia was a recurring theme in the corpus, which often caused the participants to deny having a different self-perception when using a different language. Pavlenko's (2006) findings are in line with the two types of desire in language learning (Kristeva, 1980) proposed by Kramsch (2009) and confirm the subjective and embodied nature of L2 learning. Despite being a questionnaire study, the open-ended question generated rich textual that Pavlenko analyzed using qualitative methods and she interpreted the findings from a post-structuralist stance.

By contrast, unlike the previous studies I discussed, Yihong, Ying, Yuan, and Yan's (2005) inquiry investigating L2 learners' identity was quantitative. They studied the identity changes of 2,278 Chinese college undergraduates, including English majors, who were learning English in college. They investigated six categories of identity change: self-confidence, subtractive bilingualism (i.e. the L1 and its culture are replaced by the L2 and its culture), additive bilingualism (i.e. the co-existence of two sets of languages and cultural perspectives), productive bilingualism (i.e. the L1 and its culture and the L2 and its culture reinforce each other), identity split (i.e. the struggle between the two languages and cultures), and zero change. They found that English learning had the greatest impact on English majors' identity

construction, which most prominently manifested itself in a boost in their self-confidence. In addition, subtractive, additive, and productive changes in the informants' identity were also detected. The data pointed out that these changes were more salient among female respondents than male informants and that the earlier onset of English learning resulted in more additive changes and fewer split changes.

Belz's (2002) qualitative study investigated FL learners' textual identity (Kramsch & Lam, 1999) which refers to learners' creation of a sense of Self through writing in the L2, and thus becoming sign creators. She studied advanced German learners' multilingual writings at an American university and found that the use of syntactic play and textual icons in the texts indicated changes in the participants' self-conceptualizations. Lantolf and Genung (2002) analyzed the diary of Genung that she had written about her experiences of learning Mandarin. The diary entries revealed how her initial identity driven by a desire for self-fulfillment and communication with others shifted to a desire for only getting good grades due to inefficient teaching methods that entirely ignored the students' needs and desires. Genung's case reveals that unfavorable teaching practices result in lower levels of investment in language learning because such investment is also an investment in the learner's social and linguistic identity.

In the Hungarian context Fekete (2016) studied the identity construction of two English majors and two EFL teachers in an interview study and found that the participants' emotional responses to English learning greatly differed: two interviewees (a teacher and an undergraduate) felt constrained when using English whereas the other two participants experienced liberation and self-confidence when speaking English and they perceived English learning as self-fulfillment and a transformation that changed their trajectories in life. Similarly to other studies (Kramsch, 2009; Pavlenko, 2006), the findings confirmed that language and culture are interwoven in language learning; thus, the participants who identified with the cultural dimensions of English learning to a higher degree embraced the self-fulfilling and

transformative potential of L2 learning, whereas those who did not identify with such cultural perspectives experienced a struggle a between the two languages, resulting in an identity crisis. The studies discussed above provide evidence for the various ways MLSs are capable of re/constructing their subject positions and thus their multilingual identity in the process of SLA. The studies also pointed out that L2 learners' linguistic identity is often a place of struggle between the two languages and cultures as well as a place of subjective meaning-making practices and imagined communities that have the potential to transform their life.

3.2.4 Exploring Identity through English as a Lingua Franca

Jennifer Jenkins in her seminal book *English as a lingua franca: Attitude and Identity* (2007, p. 197) proposes that identity construction through ELF is linked to attitudes towards ELF and varieties of English. There is a growing number of research studies carried out to cast light on English learners' attitudes towards and preferences for different English varieties (López-Soto & Barrera-Pardo, 2007; Miah, & Zhang, 2012; Pilus 2013; Rindal, 2010). However, most of these studies only focus on attitudes towards the most frequently used standard varieties, the British RP and the Standard American. Attitudes towards ELF speech were studied extensively by Jenkins (2005, 2009) concluding that ELF speakers hold ambivalent feelings for their own ELF accent, thus still striving to acquire native-like pronunciation while often passing negative judgments on other ELF speakers. Jenkins (2007, pp. 147-233) discusses a mixed methods study she conducted with English teachers on their attitudes towards ELF or EIL. The findings are relevant and important with regard to my study, since most students involved in my research were prospective English teachers. Jenkins (2007) designed a questionnaire that was filled out by 326 respondents from twelve countries. The results revealed that U.K., U.S., and Australian English ranked highest on the dimension of correctness, acceptability, pleasantness, and familiarity, and non-native Englishes were not preferred by the participants. This quantitative study was followed up by a qualitative interview

study conducted with seventeen respondents chosen from the first questionnaire study. In the interviews the participants revealed ambivalent attitudes towards their own English accents. While most of them embraced the abstract notion of EIL/ELF in theory and agreed that speaking ELF would make them feel more comfortable, they did not wish to teach or speak ELF, as most of them sought to speak native-like English. They explained that their desire to meet the native speaker norm derived from pressure coming from educational institutions, governments, parents, students, and test practices. Nevertheless, they considered native English correct, original and real, and non-native English fake and not real. The participants noted that speaking non-native-like English would compromise their identity and authority as teachers. The conflicting nature of their identity construction as NNEs manifested in the feeling of being at ease when talking to other NNEs or when they spoke ELF themselves. The data revealed the conflict and tension between the theory of ELF and the practice of English teaching and learning in Expanding Circle countries where native-speakerism is still dominating the classroom discourse. This contradiction results in the conflicting and dual nature of English teacher identities. Although Jenkins (2007) discussed current trends of identity research, she did not explain her findings in the light of the constructs employed in traditional SLA research such as Dörnyei's (2005) ideal self or ought-to self or with regard to poststructuralist theories and constructs such as investment, imagined communities, or the desire for self-fulfillment via English learning and teaching. I believe the identity construction of the participants in Jenkins's study were driven not only by the socio-political context in which they taught English but also by their own subjective emotional responses to their English use, which manifested in idiosyncratic ways of re/constructing themselves as English speakers, learners, and teachers.

Talking of English learners' attitudes towards native and ELF English, some studies have been implemented in Asia (Jindapitak & Teo, 2013; Takahashi, 2011; Yoo, 2012). In Korea, Yoo (2012) investigated non-English majors' attitudes towards native and non-native

varieties of English using a five-point Likert scale and concluded that the respondents' judgments about the nativeness or the non-nativeness of a variety determined their preferences for varieties. In a qualitative interview study conducted also in Korea, Pollard (2011) found that the strongest single reason to pass a judgment about the speaker was accent, and negative judgments rose above positive trends in all investigated categories, which foregrounded Korean students' norm-dependence: they compared all speakers to NSs from their standard listening comprehension tasks. Two Malaysian studies (Pilus, 2013; McGee, 2009) concluded with similar findings that the respondents exhibited a strong preference for native British or American English, and the informants in McGee's study deemed their own Malaysian variety inferior to other native varieties and desired to acquire native pronunciation. Jindapitak and Teo (2013) conducted a similar study in Thailand with English majors, and the findings pointed out the participants' unequivocal preference for British and American English.

In the Hungarian context Balogh (2008) investigated English majors' attitudes towards American English accents using a six-point Likert scale and she found that students evaluated standard American varieties more positively on the status dimension and more negatively on the solidarity dimension; however, the results were reversed in the case of non-standard American varieties. Illés and Csizér (2010) investigated English learners attitudes towards EIL and they concluded that although the participants recognized English as a means of international communication, they regarded EIL as a simplified language and not as an accepted standard. Feyér (2012) conducted a mixed method study to explore high school English learners' attitudes towards native and non-native varieties of English. On the one hand, the quantitative part of the study revealed that native varieties were more comprehensible to the participants than non-native ones including Hungarian English. On the other hand, the qualitative part shed light on that students judged deviations from native varieties negatively, whereas they favored native English varieties, and they attached positive values to native-like English proficiency of NNESS

in terms of accent and pronunciation such as good education and intelligence. Fekete (2014) conducted a questionnaire study, including open-ended and closed questions, with 29 high school students with advanced English language proficiency level to explore the respondents' attitudes towards English varieties in listening comprehension tests. The participants deemed British English the most prestigious variety of English and American English the most popular one and they favored them along with other native English varieties in tests. By contrast, they judged non-native English varieties including Hungarian English in general and in tests very negatively, since they perceived them as non-standard and unauthentic English.

The studies I reviewed in this section point out that English learners are predisposed to favor native English varieties, especially British and American English, over non-native varieties. Native varieties of English still enjoy greater prestige and a higher status in comparison with non-native varieties which are oftentimes deemed imperfect versions of English; therefore, EFL learners refuse to see them as models to follow and view them negatively (Fekete, 2014; Jenkins, 2005, 2009; Rindal, 2010; Takahashi, 2011; Yoo, 2012). To understand the discrepancy between how English learners view native and non-native Englishes and how English is being used in the world today, researchers need to dig deeper to explore learners' imagined and real identities and their identification with their own English and other English speakers' English and their cultures as well as the transformation and self-fulfillment they experience in and through language learning.

3.3 Empirical Studies on Individual Differences in SLA

In this section I discuss empirical research on the individual differences I investigate in my dissertation such as motivation, language anxiety, willingness-to-communicate, self-perception, perfectionism, and competitiveness. Due to the various frameworks that my study

synthetizes and the limitations on the length of a doctoral dissertation, I will only focus of some majors empirical contributions to the constructs under study.

3.3.1 Motivation

Although a great number of models and theories of motivation has been conceived in SLA over the decades, in the present section I only discuss some of the most important empirical studies that investigate the constructs I drew on in my study including integrative and instrumental motivation (Gardner, 1979, 1985), intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985), the L2 motivational self-system (Dörnyei, 2005), and international posture (Yashima, 2009).

Integrative motivation was widely researched before the turn of the millennium, especially in the multilingual-multicultural Canadian setting (Clément, 1980; Gardner, 1979; 1985; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, and Mihic (2004) investigated the integrative motivation of 197 French learners over the course of an academic year at university in a longitudinal study. The participants were tested on six occasions filling out Gardner's (1985) AMTB on the first and last occasion and a questionnaire on state motivation and state anxiety on the in-between occasions. The results revealed that the students' attitudes towards the learning situation showed the greatest and integrativeness the least absolute change over the year and that attitudes, motivation, and anxiety decreased over time. Gardner and his associates concluded that day-to-day state motivation shows slight fluctuations and environmental factors play a minor role in the level of one's state motivation. It is important to note that the authors' conclusions stand in sharp contrast with the current understanding of motivational dynamics that take into account situational and contextual factors in complex ways that shape L2 learners' motivation temporally. In response to the criticism that integrative motivation may not be applied in EFL contexts (Dörnyei, 2005), Gardner conducted an international survey involving EFL learners from Croatia, Poland, Romania, Brazil, Japan, and

Spain that provided evidence for his claim that integrative motivation is implicated in SLA regardless of the cultural context in which the research is implemented (Gardner, 2009).

MacIntyre and Blackie (2012), studying high school French learners' affect and intention to continue learning French, found that motivational variables, including integrativeness, were responsible for the participants' intention to continue their language studies. Hernández (2006) in his questionnaire study detected a similar pattern of Spanish learners in the U.S. concluding that integrative motivation facilitated learners' intention to go on with L2 learning. A questionnaire study in Taiwan (Warden & Lin, 2000) involving 500 non-English majors at university reported only instrumental motivation and the lack of integrative motivation in the participants. In summary, following the initial momentum of integrative motivation research, research focus shifted from the macro-perspective of motivation to the micro-context of motivation that focused on what the learner could do and the environmental factors affecting L2 learning (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015).

As for the application of self-determination theory in SLA, Noels, Pelletier, Clément, and Vallerand (2000) sought to incorporate intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in SLA when studying French learners' motivation in Canada by means of a questionnaire including scales of various motivational orientations. They found that learner motivation can validly be assessed using intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation and their subtypes along a continuum. They detected a correlation between instrumental orientation and external regulation, and travel, friendship and knowledge orientation. Furthermore, the results pointed out that lower levels of autonomy and perceived competence lead to amotivation, whereas higher levels of intrinsic motivation results in lower levels of anxiety. A more recent inquiry (McEown, Noels & Saumure, 2014) that investigated 128 Japanese FL learners' intrinsic and extrinsic motivation at two Canadian universities utilizing a questionnaire that included scales of various motivational orientations reported that self-determined orientations determined learning

engagement, whereas integrative orientation furthered language community engagement. Noels (2009) reported the results of a survey study on motivational orientations involving 103 undergraduates who were HL, modern language (ML), and ESL learners. She found that the results were captured by the orientations of SDT and integrative motivation; however, the social context of learning had a profound effect on motivational orientations: HL learners were characterized by the highest levels of integrated regulation, and ESL and ML learners were characterized more by external regulation. The context of learning, she added, was associated with students' interpersonal contacts, the ethnolinguistic group they belonged to, and the frequency of direct contact with the target language group, which shaped their identity and their integrative motivation. In summary, Noels and her colleagues' research was essential in incorporating SDT in L2 motivation research and it provided a theoretical and research framework for further motivation research.

In addition to the inclusion of SDT in SLA, Dörnyei (2005, 2009) incorporated possible selves theory in SLA in the form of the L2 motivational self-system, providing another major framework for the study of motivation that served as an incentive for further research (Csizér & Magid, 2014; Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) in the field of motivation and other IDs, as well. In this section I only focus on contributions to the L2 motivational self-system that conceptually resonate with my inquiry. Jiang and Dewaele (2015) explored variations in 88 Chinese English majors' ideal- and ought-to self, using mixed methods and also drawing on CDST, to shed light on the complex and dynamic nature of motivation in a longitudinal study covering a period of one year. A questionnaire investigating various motivational dimensions were administered to the respondents on three occasions, which was followed up by a semi-structured interview with each participant. The applied CDST framework pinpointed “an on-going readjustment of the relationship between motivational factors, external pressure and the development of the learners' L2 selves”, which “confirmed

the dynamic and complex features of L2 selves within the Motivational Self-System” (Dewaele & Jiang, 2015, p. 350). Furthermore, the study reported that learners’ ideal self was linked to integrativeness, attitudes towards learning English, and instrumentality personal, whereas the ought-to self was associated with instrumentality personal/obligation. The interviews revealed that the participants’ sense of self was interdependent, in other words, it was associated with membership in their families as well as with membership in a social group, which reflected the collectivist social paradigm in China.

Regarding international posture and possible selves, Yashima (2009) stressed the multi-componential nature of international posture in her quantitative study that involved 191 Japanese high school learners of English. The data from the employed questionnaire including measures of international posture, L2 WTC, ideal self, and frequency of communication pinpointed that ideal self and international posture are closely linked and that international posture captures both integrativeness (i.e. belonging to an imagined or real international community) and instrumentality, and she added that the construct is related to extrinsic motivation more than to intrinsic motivation. Yashima found that learners with higher levels of international posture exhibit higher levels of WTC and endorse a more vivid ideal self, which is eventually associated with developing language proficiency in English. Another recent quantitative questionnaire study from China (Peng, 2014) explored how the motivational self-system is related to other constructs in SLA such as international posture and WTC. The research involving 1013 non-English majors found that the ideal self was directly influenced by the ought-to self and the L2 learning experience, which was in keeping with the findings of Kormos and Csizér’s (2008) study in the Hungarian context. Furthermore, the L2 learning experience and the ideal self predicted international posture, which was a finding also detected in the Hungarian study. As for L2 anxiety, it was noted that the ideal self had an anxiety-reducing potential, whereas the ought-to self was found to be anxiety-producing. Finally, WTC

in the classroom was affected by the L2 learning experience, and WTC outside the classroom was linked to international posture.

In summary, I would like to point out that the studies outlined above are quantitative studies that utilize statistical procedures to cast light on the relationship between the variables under study. This approach is in line with traditional SLA research into IDs that focuses on large groups and makes generalizations about L2 learning and L2 learners. By contrast, studies on L2 learners' identity construction that I discussed in this chapter were embedded in the qualitative research tradition and adopted a more holistic view of the language learner and the L2 learning process. Nevertheless, the findings of these quantitative studies are relevant for my inquiry, as they mark the interrelated and dynamic relationship between ID variables, which is also explored in the dissertation.

3.3.2 Language Anxiety

In this section I focus on six studies exploring LA. Three of them are recent studies that connect to my inquiry in important ways: one approaches LA from the perspective of the Self conceptualized in a dynamic way, the second one addresses LA drawing on CDST and language ecology, and the third one draws on positive emotions. The other three inquiries are relevant because they were conducted in Hungary.

Simsek and Dörnyei (2017) explored Turkish English majors' LA in a mixed methods inquiry. Based on results of the quantitative part drawing on the foreign language anxiety scale, they selected sixteen anxious students and they conducted an interview with them. The interviewees discussed how they were affected by anxiety in a detached manner, which indicated an independent dimension of their overall Self that the authors labelled as the Anxious Self. They analyzed the data using McAdams' personality model and found that anxiety is present at three levels of personality: at the dispositional trait level, at the level of characteristic adaptations, and at the level of narrative identity. With regard to the participants' narrative

identity, the authors identified three types of anxious learners. ‘Fighters’ deal with anxiety in a constructive manner to overcome their anxiety, ‘quitters’ resign to failure at overcoming their anxiety and quit the anxiety-triggering situation, and ‘safe players’ seek to avoid anxiety-producing situations. The authors conclude that these reaction types are the three typical anxious selves. This study marks an important step in linking anxiety to the learner’s Self that is associated with linguistic identity construction. Furthermore, the Anxious Self is conceptualized in a complex and dynamic way drawing on McAdams’s framework, which is in line with the current understanding of identity construction.

In a qualitative study incorporating interviews and classroom observations in Iran, Kasbi and Shirvan (2017) explored four female EFL learners’ speaking anxiety drawing on CDST and language ecology. They found that at the microsystem level cognitive, linguistic, and affective factors as well as the classroom environment with a special focus on the role of the teacher creating a particular classroom atmosphere had an impact on anxiety. At the mesosystem level the learners’ past L2 learning experiences and out-of-class activities were found to be influential. At the macro-system level Iranian culture focusing on passing exams and grammar learning as well as parental expectations increased speaking anxiety. The data pointed out that anxiety changed and fluctuated during the 90-minute classes linked to certain in-class activities that functioned as attractor states that reflected changes in the system. The applied CDST approach showed that even students with low trait anxiety can become anxious and generally anxious students can feel non-anxious in SLA. The findings of this study are significant because they demonstrated how LA can be perceived as a CDS, which suggests that all other IDs can be viewed as interacting and temporally changing levels of the learner’s CDS that respond to the environment.

Positive psychology has become popular in the study of SLA (Gregersen, MacIntyre, & Mercer, 2016), and a novel approach to investigate LA draws on foreign language enjoyment

(FLE) associated with positive emotions (Alfawzan & Dewaele, 2018). The authors discussed two studies that explored the relationship between LA and FLE: the first study was conducted with 189 British high school students and the second one involved 152 undergraduates in English classes in Saudi Arabia. Both studies employed a FLE scale thus collected quantitative data and the second inquiry included two open ended questions to gather some qualitative data too. They found in both contexts that more enjoyment is linked to less anxiety and FLE increased over time as the informants learnt to control their anxiety. The data revealed that anxiety was detrimental to perceived L2 achievement and anxiety was often caused by low proficiency level. The qualitative data pointed out that pedagogical practices were often the main cause of both anxiety and enjoyment in the language classroom. I find this inquiry relevant because despite the fact that it utilized traditional SLA research methods, it did shed light on the embodied nature of language learning, which triggers emotional responses in learners.

With regard to the Hungarian context, Tóth (2007) investigated the relationship between LA and other IDs including L2 proficiency level, language aptitude, motivation, self-perception including two dimensions: perceived aptitude and perceived L2 proficiency level, perfectionism, and competitiveness. She found a very strong link between LA and the self-concept, a strong relationship between LA and proficiency level, and a weaker but significant link between LA and competitiveness and perfectionism. However, the data did not reveal a significant relationship between LA and motivation and LA and language learning aptitude. Her quantitative study confirmed the findings of Bailey's (1983) qualitative study revealing that LA, self-perception, competitiveness, and perfectionism are linked in a cyclic manner. Furthermore, Tóth (2008) successfully validated and adopted Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope's *Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale* in the Hungarian context. Based on the results of this study Tóth (2006) invited the eight most anxious and the eight least anxious learners to participate in a qualitative study. In this inquiry she explored how advanced English learners'

perceptions of their language anxiety affected their oral performance in a semi-formal conversation with a NES that consisted of three speaking tasks. After the conversation the participants were asked to think aloud about their perceptions of the conversation. The data were analyzed from a psycholinguistic perspective shedding light on the cognitive interpretation of LA. The participants reported anxiety when they had trouble paying attention to their interlocutor's L2 input and thus comprehending it, when they had difficulties in retrieving vocabulary, or when they experienced a cognitive failure to come up with ideas.

3.3.3 Willingness to Communicate in English

Although there are many studies concerned with WTC and other IDs such as WTC, LA, and speaking ability (Khalili & Rahmatollahi, 2015), WTC and the ideal self (Bursali & Oz, 2017), WTC and gender (Bashabsheh & Shahbaz, 2015), or WTC and affect (Mehrgan, 2013), in this section I only present three studies that are relevant for my inquiry: one approaches WTC from the perspective of CDST, the second one draws on an ecological perspective, and the third one was conducted in the same Hungarian context as my study. Drawing on the CDST framework, MacIntyre and Legatto (2011) developed and applied an idiodynamic method to capture the rapidly changing subsystems at work in the manifestations of WTC both horizontally and vertically across a short time scale. In this mixed methods study the participating four female non-French majors filled out a questionnaire on WTC, LA, and extraversion followed by eight communication tasks that were videotaped. Afterwards, the participants watched and rated their oral performance with regard to WTC. Analyzing the data the authors elicited, they detected four core features of CDSs with regard to WTC. (1) The participants' WTC changed over time in relation to the previous state. (2) Subsystems were interconnected in the system, as WTC was linked to cognitive mechanisms and affect. (3) The participants' WTC self-organized into attractor and repeller states (i.e. the presence and the lack of WTC). (4) Non-linearity was detected in the participants' WTC, as small changes produced

big changes at the system-level, whereas big changes in one subset did not result in big system-level changes. Furthermore, they found that WTC as a system was sensitive to initial conditions.

In a multiple case study Cao (2011) explored the dynamic and situated nature of WTC in the language classroom from an ecological perspective. Twelve Korean and Chinese learners of English in a New Zealand language school participated in the study that involved videotaped classroom observations followed by a simulated recall interview with each participant based on the videotaped material in which the students elaborated on the factors affecting their WTC in class. Cao reported three dimensions that affected the learners' situated WTC: the environmental dimension included topic, task type, interlocutors, the teacher, and class interactional patterns; the individual dimension subsumed perceived opportunity to communicate, personality, self-confidence, and affect/emotions; and the linguistic dimension comprised L2 language proficiency and reliance on L1. The three dimensions were found to be interrelated and interacting, facilitating or inhibiting situational WTC.

Nagy and Nikolov's (2007) qualitative study on English majors' WTC at UP provided many insights into what factors influenced the 64 participants' WTC in a Hungarian context. The respondents were asked to write a short essay about an occasion when they felt most willing and when they felt least willing to use English, respectively. A great majority (54 students) reported to exhibit WTC outside the classroom, only six in the classroom, and four in both contexts. Positive experiences outside the classroom were perceived as emotional and transformative by respondents, whereas positive in-class experiences were associated with the positive qualities of teachers and the authenticity/meaningfulness of communication. Students reported two contexts where they showed the least WTC: in the classroom (in most cases in seminars at university) when conversing with Hungarian peers or teachers in English or in informal contexts. The lack of in-class WTC was attributed to students' perceived low linguistic competence and the perceived high competence of peers, particularly those who had stayed in

a native English speaking environment prior to their university studies, which resulted in competition in the classroom that generated anxiety in learners, inhibiting their WTC in English. Furthermore, participants' WTC in class was further hindered by their lack of familiarity with the topic, their perfectionism (i.e. being afraid to make mistakes), and communication apprehension in the form of the fear of talking in front of a group who might judge their English. By contrast, the participants were not afraid of talking with other non-Hungarian NNEs, because in such interactions they focused on successful communication and were not bothered by competitiveness and perfectionism. This finding is consistent with a Korean study (Lyons, 2014) exploring English majors' self-concept and their motivated behavior which pointed out that Korean students were least willing to speak in English in front of their Korean peers due to the fear of being judged negatively. The findings of Nagy and Nikolov's study provided valuable insights into situational WTC in the Hungarian context in which my study is conducted, providing a basis for comparing the findings of the two studies.

3.3.4 Self-concept and Self-perception

The learner's self-concept has been investigated from various perspectives. From a post-structuralist stance, the self-concept has been linked to the learner's social identity (Norton, 2013) or to subjective and symbolic use of language that shapes the learner's subjectivity (Kramsch, 2009). With regard to imagination, Murray's study (2011) emphasized the magnitude of the role that imagination, membership in imagined communities, and learners' possible selves played in their daily L2 learning experiences during a self-directed language course. In traditional SLA research the learner's self-concept is usually associated with possible selves theory that was adopted in L2 motivation research by Dörnyei (2005). An edited book by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) is devoted to demonstrating how fostering learners' ideal- and ought-to self facilitates their motivation to learn an L2. Two empirical chapters (Lyons, 2014; Miyahara, 2014) whose titles include the notion of 'self-concept' included in a recent book

edited by Csizér and Magid (2014), which addresses the impact of the self-concept on language learning, only explore the construct from a narrow focus that links it to the motivational self-system. For example, although Miyahara reviews post-structuralist theories in her study, she does not take a more holistic approach afforded by post-structuralist theories to interpret the findings. Other empirical studies in this book link Dörnyei's (2005) self-concepts to self-regulation (Kim & Kim, 2014) or to self-regulatory strategies and autonomous learning (Csizér & Kormos, 2014). The discussion of the above trends with regard to learners' self-concept is beyond the scope of this dissertation; therefore, I narrow down my focus to a recent approach to studying the self-concept from a complexity perspective, because this conceptualization encompasses a more holistic view of the learner than a single motivational dimension, which is in line with the holistic and complex view of learners and L2 learning advocated in this dissertation. Finally, I delineate two Hungarian studies pinpointing that the learner's self-perception can be more influential than the measured dimensions of the self-concept.

Framed with a CDST perspective, Mercer (2011) studied the self-concept of a German BA student as a Spanish and English learner in a three-year longitudinal case study utilizing grounded theory based on data deriving from diary entries and interviews. She found that complexity theory could account for (the amount and the quality of the) changes that occurred in the learner's self-concept as well as its relative stability over time. The participant's self-concepts incorporated cognitive and affective beliefs related to Spanish and English that she often compared, thus implying the interdependence of the two selves. FL self-concepts were linked to self-beliefs and personality, and the boundaries between the various self-domains overlapped. Mercer concluded that the participant's self-concept emerged from multiple layers of self-beliefs that varied according contexts and specific domains. The study confirms that the self is best perceived holistically from a CDST perspective in which various sub-systems interact with one another as well as with the environment to effect system-level changes in the

self-concept. In another study Mercer (2014) explored the complex dynamics of four female undergraduates' self-concept who were learning English at B2 level in Austria at a shorter time scale covering only a semester. She made three interviews with all participants across the duration of the course and she utilized the idiodynamic method, also employed by MacIntyre and Legato (2011), in which the participants evaluated their self-confidence during a speaking task that was videotaped and shown to them. The interviews revealed that changes in the self-concept need to be considered in terms of not only quantity but also quality, intensity, and certainty and that more certain one is about one's sense of self, the less open the self-concept is to change, as certainty reflects how coherent and well-integrated the system is. The participants' evaluation of their self-confidence, however, showed many fluctuations and differing degrees of intensity. Despite these idiosyncrasies, certain patterns could be detected such as the use of fillers or nervous laughs when feeling less confident. Furthermore, Mercer found that situational factors such as the interlocutor's behavior, their interest in the interaction, their perceived English proficiency, rapport between them, or the task type became part of the system, ultimately affecting learners' self-confidence.

With regard to the Hungarian context, in her doctoral dissertation investigating English majors' WTC at UP, Nagy (2007) concluded that perceived language proficiency has a greater impact on WTC than measured proficiency and Tóth (2007) exploring LA in relation to other IDs confirmed that perceived L2 proficiency and perceived language aptitude better predict anxiety levels than measured L2 proficiency and measured aptitude. These findings may not be surprising, because the various dimensions of the self-concept are a product of imagination and mental stimulation that people use to make past and present experiences coherent and compatible with the existing self-concept (Ryan & Irie, 2014). Therefore, the role of imagination in creating one's self-concept is indisputable.

3.3.5 Perfectionism and Competitiveness

The rationale for discussing research findings with regard to competitiveness and perfectionism in one section is that they have been proven to be interrelated (Bailey, 1983; Nagy & Nikolov, 2007; Tóth, 2007). The number of empirical studies focusing exclusively on these constructs is very low, as these IDs are mostly explored in relation to other widely researched constructs in SLA such as learner beliefs, the L2 motivational self-system, WTC, or LA.

Fahim and Noormohammadi (2014) studied how language learning strategies and styles were moderated by positive or negative perfectionism using mixed methods and detected in their study that positive perfectionism was associated with facilitating anxiety while negative perfectionism correlated with debilitating anxiety. The qualitative part of the inquiry pinpointed that high achievers on an important English language proficiency test showed solely positive aspects of perfectionism while low achievers were characterized by signs of both positive and negative perfectionism. The dominance of negative aspects in low-achievers often resulted in a failure to live up to expectations set by the self, which consequently may have led to despair and depression. With regard to perfectionism and achievement, a quantitative study (Rastegar, Kahbir, & Kermani, 2017) in Iran conducted with 98 participants revealed that there is a strong relationship between language achievement and perfectionism irrespective of whether it is positive or negative perfectionism.

As for competitiveness, it is still Bailey's diary (1983) study that has, to my knowledge, investigated perfectionism in L2 learning in a very detailed manner. Without repeating the findings of Bailey's study that I discussed in depth in Chapter 2, I move on to presenting a Hungarian study that touched upon both competitiveness and perfectionism. Nagy and Nikolov's (2007) qualitative inquiry exploring Hungarian English majors' WTC in English found that the participants' lack of WTC was, to a great extent, caused by high levels of

perfectionism and competitiveness. These students perceived their own English as poor and their peers as better, resulting in a situation where they could not compete with their peers. Their perceived lack of ability to compete with peers was magnified when having to interact in seminars with students who had spent time in a native English speaking country. As for perfectionism, the authors attributed the informants' heightened feeling of perfectionism to Hungarian educational culture in which 'good students' are expected to be 'perfect' and they are not supposed to make mistakes

3.4 Summary

In this chapter I outlined major directions of empirical research into L2 learners' identity construction and IDs that are relevant in my dissertation. The shift between employing dominantly quantitative methods to research IDs in the past and the more recent approaches adopted by researchers endorsing a CDST or post-structuralist perspective and thus employing either mixed methods or solely qualitative approaches must be noted. This chapter marks the end of the theoretical part of the dissertation, and the next chapters present and discuss the empirical research I conducted which constitutes my dissertation.

CHAPTER 4 – A STUDY ON ENGLISH MAJORS' MULTILINGUAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION FROM MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

4.1 Introduction

In the theoretical part of my dissertation I reviewed literature on L2 learners' multilingual identity construction and individual differences as well as literature on ELF and CDST. In this chapter, which is the first chapter of the empirical part of the dissertation, I discuss in detail the empirical study I conducted. In what follows I elaborate on the research context, the research questions, the participants, the instruments, the procedures, and the employed data analysis methods.

In my inquiry I aimed to investigate advanced English learners' identity construction from multiple perspectives and by doing so I sought to merge two research traditions investigating language learning and language learners by means of different research methods and analyses. Identity research drawing on post-structuralist theories (Kramsch, 2002, 2009; Norton, 2013) focuses on the individual and their subjective and often idiosyncratic experiences. By contrast, traditional SLA research into IDs (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000) follows the psychometric tradition that focuses on large groups and employs statistical procedures to calculate averages and to make generalizations about the constructs under scrutiny. In addition to these two research traditions, the study of ELF and CDSs comprise the further theoretical frameworks of my study. Moreover, in my multidisciplinary approach to studying L2 learners' identity construction I drew on the perspectives of other disciplines such as cultural studies, literary and language theory, neurology, psychology, philosophy, narrative inquiry, and communication studies. Thereby, in my dissertation I explore how the employment of various perspectives and research traditions is feasible and advantageous because they enrich data and deepen the researcher's understanding of the phenomena under study.

Following this train of thought, I designed a study to explore the identity construction of advanced English learners from various perspectives. First of all, I drew on Kramsch's (2009) approach of identity research focusing on the two types of symbolic language use and language learning as a symbolic activity that make learners multilingual subjects. Furthermore, I studied the participants' individual differences such as their self-perception, competitiveness, perfectionism, motivation, language anxiety, and willingness to communicate in English to further explore their identity construction in English. Despite that my research questions are only concerned with the participants' multilingual identity construction and individual differences, I analyzed the data and interpreted the findings from the perspective of ELF and CDST. This multidisciplinary and dynamic approach allowed me to take a complex and more holistic view of identity construction; thereby, I looked at L2 learners and their learning processes in their entirety and complexity.

4.2 Context of Research

The large or macro environment of the inquiry is Pécs which is the fifth largest settlement in Hungary situated in the southwest. Due to its proximity to the Croatian and Serbian borders and for historical reasons, Pécs is a culturally and ethnically diverse city, hosting the first Hungarian university established in 1367. Besides the growing popularity of the University of Pécs (UP) among international students, Pécs was the European Capital of Culture in 2010; hence, the city has seen an increase in the number tourists.

The University of Pécs attracts students from all regions and counties of the country as well as Hungarian minority students from neighboring countries. UP has also become a major destination for international students enrolling in bachelor or master courses or spending a semester here in the ERASMUS+ mobility program. In 2010, 27,963 students were enrolled at all the faculties of the university; 1,762 of them were international students (PTE statisztikák 2010), whereas at the Faculty of Humanities out of the 3,863 students, only 168 were from

countries other than Hungary. In 2016, 19,684 students were enrolled at the University of Pécs including all the faculties of the university and 3,200 of them were international students (PTE statisztikák 2016). At the Faculty of Humanities, 2,360 students were enrolled that year including 266 international students studying here. The figures show a growing ratio in the number of international students studying at the university; on the other hand, the number of Hungarian students has significantly decreased. The number of international students studying at UP has increased by 34%, whereas the number of Hungarian students has dropped drastically by 30% over six years. There has been a steep plunge (39%) in the total number of students enrolled at the Faculty of Humanities and a considerable increase (58%) in the number of international students enrolled at the faculty.

The micro-environment of the inquiry is the Institute of English Studies (consisting of three departments: the Department of English Linguistics, the Department of English Applied Linguistics, and the Department of English Literatures and Cultures). It offers a number of programs including a BA in English Studies, an MA in English Studies, an MA in Teaching the English Language and Culture and the so-called undivided teacher education program in which students major in two subjects besides education, and ultimately become qualified teachers of the two subjects in elementary and/or secondary education after five or six years. As part of the Bologna process, BA programs last for three years and MA programs take four to five semesters. International students tend to apply for BA and MA programs at the Faculty of Humanities, as they regard this university as a stepping stone in their international career and do not plan on pursuing a teaching career in Hungary.

In the BA in English Studies program, out of a total of 180 credits students are required to earn 110 credits in their major, 50 credits in a minor, 10 credits in foundation courses in humanities (bölcészettudományi alapozó képzés) and 10 credits in elective courses (szabadon választható tárgyak). English majors in the BA program may choose a translation specialization

which is an alternative for the compulsory minor. In the BA program majors are to choose one from the following study tracks: English Literature and Culture, American Studies, English Linguistics, and English Applied Linguistics. The courses cover a range of topics including introductory courses, language development courses, and professional courses, most of them pertaining to their chosen study track. In the undivided teacher education program prospective primary-school teachers are required to earn 300 credits in 5 years, whereas would-be secondary-school teachers are to earn 360 credits in 6 years. For both cohorts 50 credits comprise the teacher education curriculum and 40 credits are devoted to teaching practice for two consecutive semesters. The rest of the credits are equally given for completing courses pertaining to their majors. On the whole, all students in the BA and teacher education programs take language development courses and study English literatures and cultures, history, linguistics, and applied linguistics. The participants in the study were all enrolled in language development courses.

4.3 Research Questions

In order to explore the participants' multilingual identity construction from multiple perspectives I seek to answer the following research questions (Table 1). For the convenience of the reader I copy Table 1 below that contains all research questions, the instruments I utilized to elicit data, the analyses I performed to interpret data, and the number of students involved in the different phases of the research.

Table 1.

Research Questions, Instruments, Employed Methods of Analysis, and the Numbers of Students

Research questions	Instruments	Methods of analysis	Number of participants
1. What characterizes the participants' multilingualism?	Structured speaking task	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	38
2. What characterizes the participants' multiculturalism?	Structured speaking task	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	38
3. What characterizes the participants' identity construction in their various languages?	Structured writing task	Qualitative content analysis	31
4. What characterizes the participants' self-perception, competitiveness, perfectionism, motivation, language anxiety, and willingness to communicate in English?	Open-ended questionnaire on IDs	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	30
5. In what ways do the above individual differences shape the participants' identity construction in and via English?	Open-ended questionnaire on IDs	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	30

4.4 Participants

There were 42 participants in the study who attended one of the three LSS II courses that I taught at UP in the spring semester of the 2014/2015 academic year. It was a language development course designed to improve students' oral proficiency and listening comprehension skills in English at the advanced (C1) level. I employed convenience sampling (Dörnyei, 2007) to recruit participants; therefore, I involved in the study students who had signed up for my three LSS II courses.

In the dissertation I use pseudonyms for all participants to protect their identity. Since students were offered the possibility to remain anonymous when submitting their written home

assignments constituting the research instruments, I use numbers such as “Student 25” to identify anonymous students. The numbers I use are based on my data management procedure, according to which, I numbered each document pertaining to the three instruments.

As for the participants’ educational background in their English studies, the majority were first-year English majors or minors in the BA program or double majors in the undivided teacher education program (Table 3). However, a few participants who had previously failed the course were not first-year students: there were two second-year students, and there was one third-year and one fourth-year student.

Table 3

The Ratio of Students in Enrolled in Various Degree Programs Offered by UP

English majors in the undivided teacher education program	English majors in the BA in English Studies program	English minors in the BA in English Studies program
22	17*	3

* One international student in the BA program was from South Korea and spent only one semester at UP

Two of the three students studying in the BA program who minored in English were second-year students, because minor studies can only be commenced in the second year of the BA program. The third student was a fourth-year student who signed up for the course for the third time. The third-year student had failed this course twice before signing up for my course. Regarding the gender ratio of the participants, female students greatly outnumbered male students in all of my three classes (Table 4).

Table 4

Gender Ratio of Students in Three Classes (N=42)

Classes	Female students	Male students
Class 1	9	3
Class 2	10	4
Class 3	14	2
Total	33	9

All but three undergraduates were Hungarian citizens speaking Hungarian as their mother tongue. One student, Brandon was a Hungarian and U.S. citizen who had lived the first ten years of his life in the U.S.A. before moving to Hungary. His parents were Hungarians who had immigrated to the U.S. before he was born. He majored in English and Physics in the undivided teacher education program. The other non-Hungarian student, Hyun came from South-Korea and spent only one semester at UP as an ERASMUS student. She majored in a similar BA program in English Studies in her home country. The third student, Samir came from Libya and was enrolled in the BA program in English Studies at UP. The number of students completing the three home assignments constituting the instruments in this study varied, since students were allowed to miss two seminars out of the twelve we had during the semester, and because not all students completed all home assignments for the course.

4.5 Data Collection Instruments

To gather data for the present inquiry, I designed three research instruments: (1) a structured speaking task (structured interview recorded by students) exploring the participants' multilingualism and multiculturalism, (2) a structured writing task mapping the participants' multilingual identity construction, and (3) an open-ended questionnaire on the informants' individual differences. All instruments served two purposes: they were home assignments for students to improve their English language skills at C1 level and they served as data sources for my research. Both the speaking and the written home assignments were in line with the pedagogical purposes of the course as well as those of the curricula of the degree programs the students were enrolled in. First of all, the home assignments improved students' English language proficiency at C1 level. Second, the topic of multilingualism, multiculturalism, the relationship between language and culture, IDs in SLA, ELF as well as linguistic and cultural identity construction were awareness-raising for the predominantly first-year students. Third, these themes overlapped with other compulsory courses discussing these topics in greater depth

from the perspective of cultural studies, linguistics, and applied linguistics. Finally, the topics that these home assignments addressed were turned into speaking activities in the following class in the form of staged debates and pair or group discussions, which was in line with the pedagogical aims expressly stated on the course syllabus.

4.6 Procedures

The first instrument that I designed was a structured speaking tasks which was a structured interview recorded by students. The participants were invited to answer fourteen written questions that they recorded at home using a recording device of their choice. Thirty-eight students completed this assignment. Students were given instructions in speaking during the seminar and in writing, as well. The written instructions and the instrument are contained in Appendix A. Given the large number of students, it was not feasible to conduct an interview with all students attending the three LSS II courses. Therefore, the disadvantage of this instrument was that it did not allow interactions between the students and me. However, the advantage of this instrument was that data could be gathered from a relatively large number of participants. To fulfill the pedagogical purposes of the course, every student received very detailed feedback on their oral performance in the structured speaking task. I gave the students feedback in the form direct error correction and I made comments on the strengths and the weaknesses of their English proficiency in the structured speaking task. Furthermore, I gave them personalized advice as to how to improve their oral proficiency in the future. The students also received a score on their oral performance in the task. The scales for scoring oral language proficiency were adopted from the oral part of the proficiency exam used at the Institute of English Studies at UP. The scales included dimensions on communicative effectiveness, fluency, structures, vocabulary resource, and pronunciation and intonation. The full description of scales is included in Appendix B.

I listened to the students' answers to the questions included in the structured speaking task twice. First, I gave them written feedback on their oral proficiency level to improve their English skills at C1 level. I sent students my feedback via email in a separate word document on an individual basis. Second, I transcribed students' answers on the computer, yielding about 80 pages of rich textual data. The interview transcripts are contained in Appendix C. The data were analyzed using qualitative content analysis to detect emerging themes, which was an iterative process. I went back to the datasets several times to explore the data from various perspectives and to interpret the findings in the light of the theoretical frameworks I drew on. This was a long and an iterative process covering a period of about a year. Once I detected the emerging themes in the datasets, I calculated the frequencies of these themes, providing some numerical data to back up and complement the qualitative results.

The second instrument I designed was a structured written task that explored the participants' multilingual identity construction. Students were invited to answer in writing three questions that are included in Appendix D along with instructions they were given with regard to the assignment. Students were sent a document via email that contained the home assignment and the instructions, as well. Thirty-one students submitted their answers in a printed or hand-written format in the following class. The themes raised in the structured writing task were turned into a group discussion in the following class. To analyze the data collected by means of this instrument, I performed qualitative content analysis to detect emerging themes. This was again an iterative process, characteristic of qualitative research.

The third instrument that I used was a questionnaire on the participants' IDs comprising only open-ended questions. Via email students were sent a document containing these questions along with instructions as to how to answer them. This document is included in Appendix E. Students submitted their answers in two ways: they either sent me via email the document containing their answers or they submitted the document in the following class in a hand-written

or printed format. Thirty students completed this assignment. In the following class they were given the opportunity to reflect on the themes raised by the questionnaire in the form of a pair and a group discussion. As for the research procedures I employed, the written datasets were analyzed using qualitative content analysis to detect emerging patterns. Afterwards, I calculated the frequencies of these themes to complement and support the rich qualitative data.

4.7 Data Analysis Methods

Having collated a vast amount of textual data elicited with the help of the three instruments, I analyzed students' answers to find both uniqueness and emerging patterns in the data using qualitative content analysis. Moreover, despite the dominance of qualitative data and qualitative analysis methods in my inquiry, the relatively large number of the informants allowed me to generate some numerical data by calculating the frequencies of emerging themes, making my research a mixed method study. By drawing on both qualitative and some quantitative data and by applying three instruments to explore the participants' identity construction in English from multiple perspectives, I was able to triangulate my data (Creswell, 2003, p. 18), providing more credible results.

Research into identity tends to employ qualitative research methods to explore the subtleties of the construct under study on a small scale (Kramsch, 2009; Norton, 2013; Pavlenko, 2003; Rindal, 2010), whereas research into individual differences traditionally uses quantitative or mixed methods to make generalizations about the examined constructs (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, Donovan & MacIntyre, 2009; Horwitz, Horwitz, Cope, 1986; Leary, 1983; Terry-Short, Owens, Slade, & Dewey, 1995; You & Dörnyei, 2016) on a large scale. The quantitative approach analyzes the state-of-affairs of things, whereas the qualitative method seeks to reveal why and how a phenomenon has arisen (Dörnyei, 2007; Mackey & Gass, 2005). Quantitative research involves a more rigorous and systematic design that uses variables rather than cases and draws on numbers and established statistical procedures

to generalize finding about phenomena in life (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 33-5). Since this approach draws on averages, “the subjective variety of life” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 35) cannot be accounted for and its exploratory potential is rather limited. By contrast, the strength of qualitative inquiries includes the potential to explore the subjective and subtle aspects of phenomena drawing on special cases rather than variables and averages in an iterative manner (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 39-41). Qualitative approaches often draw on multiple sources of data and employ inductive data analyses to seek themes and patterns in a bottom-up manner as well as an emergent design that allows the researcher to make changes in the evolution of the research, which permits a more holistic view of the phenomena under study (Creswell, 2009, pp. 38-9). This type of research is highly interpretive, as the researcher interprets the data the participants provide relying on her cultural background, views, and beliefs. Since both approaches have strengths and weaknesses, I believe, the combination of the two methodologies can offset the weakness of these approaches. In line with Creswell (2003) and Dörnyei (2007), I do not view the two research traditions as antagonistic or exclusive positioned at the far ends of a scale but rather as reconcilable and complementary, rendering a more complex and reliable picture of a studied phenomenon. The use of mixed methods is beneficial, as it combines the strength of quantitative and qualitative research while neutralizing their weaknesses by providing insights where one research method cannot (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 45). Therefore, the fusion of the two research traditions and the multiple analytical perspectives I drew on in my dissertation provided me with a more holistic and complex understanding of the participants’ identity construction in English.

My research is exploratory (Creswell, 2003, p. 23) in nature as it seeks to explore advanced English speakers’ identity construction in novel ways by utilizing both qualitative and quantitative research methods and by analyzing the data from multiple perspectives drawing on various disciplines such identity research in SLA and cultural studies, literary and

language theory, neurology, psychology, philosophy, narrative inquiry, communication studies, ELF, and CDST. As the researcher conducting this study and the teacher teaching the three LSS II courses were the same person, my study is action research (Nunan & Bailey, 2009). In this type of research, the researcher-teacher plans and carries out an action to address a language-related issue, then she observes and reflects on the findings to better her teaching practice and to publish her findings (Nunan & Bailey, 2009, p. 226). The site of such research is the classroom; therefore, this inquiry is classroom research involving both the teacher and the students of the class (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 176-78). Such research poses several challenges that are to be overcome as part of the research process such as the varying number of students due to dropouts, absenteeism, or sickness, the different L2 proficiency levels of the students, group dynamics, institutional constraints, the impact of wanting a grade, interruptions, unexpected events or technical problems (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 188-190). Despite the potential obstacles that action research might pose, my investigation went smoothly and was not hindered by major problems. However, due to absenteeism, the home assignments constituting my three instruments were completed by varying number of students.

4.8 Summary

In this chapter, which is the first chapter of the empirical part of the dissertation, I elaborated on the empirical study that I conducted to explore English majors' multilingual identity construction from multiple perspectives. In this chapter I discussed the macro- and micro context of the inquiry, the research questions, the participants, the three research instruments I designed to gather data, the data collection procedures, and the data analysis methods I employed to interpret the results. In Chapter 5, 6, and 7 I answer my research questions by presenting and discussing the findings of the empirical study included in the dissertation. Finally, Chapter 8 draws the main conclusions and the pedagogical implications of the study and outlines limitations and areas for further research.

CHAPTER 5 – IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION THROUGH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5 I answer the following research questions (for more details, see Chapter 4).

Table 5

Research Questions Answered in Chapter 5, Instruments, Method of Analysis, Number of Participants

Research questions	Instrument	Method of analysis	Number of participants
How do the participants perceive their own multilingualism?	Structured speaking task	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	38
What characterizes the participants' multiculturalism?	Structured speaking task	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	38

The emerging themes in connection with the participants' multilingualism that I present in Chapter 5.2 were linked to their international posture that I discuss both from the perspective of traditional SLA research and from a multidisciplinary approach of identity research in section 5.3. The synthesis of the two approaches led me to reinterpreting the construct by adding new dimensions to it in the light of this multidisciplinary approach, which permitted a more holistic view of the participants' international posture. Furthermore, the informants' responses revealed a great difference between the reflections of students who had spent time in a native English speaking country and those who had learnt English in Hungary. I discuss the differences between the two cohorts in a case study in section 5.4, which is followed by some concluding thoughts in section 5.5.

5.2 Emerging Themes in the Participants' Multilingualism

To explore the linguistic identity the participants constructed, first, I sought to shed light on how they perceived themselves as multilingual speakers. In the structured speaking task that functioned as a structured interview, the students answered six questions about their

multilingualism: (1) What does it mean to you to be a multilingual person? (2) In your opinion, in what ways are you multilingual? (3) What stages do you remember in the process of becoming a multilingual person? (4) Please tell me about the steps and events of becoming multilingual. (5) When did you realize you were multilingual? Please recall the situation and what it meant to you then. (6) In what ways have you grown as a multilingual person over the years? What stages can you recall in your own development? Second, I examined the relationship between language and culture and I asked the participants about their multiculturalism in one question: In what ways are you multicultural?

Three major themes emerged in the datasets that cast light on the students' multilingual identity construction: (1) international posture, (2) multilingualism, and (3) affect. As I noted in Chapter 4, coding and analyzing datasets in exploratory qualitative research is an iterative process. In the first few rounds of data coding and analysis, I explored the participants' answers to each of the seven questions separately. However, this approach was not fruitful because I detected a great number of overlapping themes that emerged in connection with the questions, making the presentation and the discussion of the findings very long and repetitive. Therefore, I went about finding larger categories that subsumed the overlapping themes, making the analyses more comprehensible and straight-to-the-point. Consequently, in this chapter I elaborate on the most salient themes and I provide the most salient examples in a relatively concise manner. This decision was also motivated by limitations on the length of a doctoral dissertation.

By looking at the larger picture, I detected the first salient theme that included the dimensions of international posture. I interpreted the construct from two perspectives: traditional SLA research and a multidisciplinary approach of identity research, which allowed me the addition of new dimensions and insights. The second salient theme that emerged in the datasets was the confounding nature of the concepts 'multilingual' and 'multilingualism'. The

participants found the terms perplexing, so they provided their own definition before talking about their own multilingualism. Finally, the third theme that emerged in the datasets was concerned with affect, i.e. the students' feelings and emotions about their languages. Affect is not included in international posture, but it is an important facet of other motivational concepts, for example the L2 motivational self-system, intrinsic motivation, or the integrative motive. Feelings, emotions, and the various perceptions of language learning experiences refer to the second type of symbolic language use which is an embodied experience (Kramsch, 2009). Table 6 provides the number of occurrences pertaining to the above themes.

Table 6

Emerging Themes in Students' Reflections on their Multilingualism

Themes		Number of occurrences
	ELF communication	24
	Ownership of English: English as a tool*	23
	Ownership of English: Being multilingual*	6
International Posture	Utilitarian reasons	14
	Openness to non-ethnocentric cultures	15
	Intercultural communication	4
	Being multicultural	11
	WTC	10
	Affect*	10
	General definition of multilingualism	37
Statements about the students' own multilingualism	20	

*New dimensions in the construct of international posture

Yashima's (2009) concept of international posture is rooted in the lingua franca nature of English. The use of ELF by the participants was a salient theme in the data. Connected to the notion of ELF the term ownership of English through successful language use is also scrutinized by ELF researchers such as Holliday (2005), House (2003), Jenkins (2007, 2015), Seidlhofer (2011), and Widdowson (2012); yet, it is not addressed in international posture. I argue for a more holistic view of international posture in which the concept is not separated from learners and how learners subjectively experience their international posture, and how these experiences

trigger emotions and feelings in them, which shape their subjectivity and intersubjectivity (Kramersch, 2009) and thus their identity construction in and via English. Therefore, my holistic view of international posture looks at learners in their entirety with a regard for their affective and subjective responses to gaining ownership of English in the process of identity construction in English. This revisitation of the concept is also an attempt to show how two different research traditions can complement rather than exclude each other to attain this end.

5.3 Revisiting International Posture from the Perspective of Identity Construction

5.3.1 English as a Lingua Franca

The numbers in Table 6 reveal that one of the most pronounced dimensions of the students' international posture was ELF communication (N 24) afforded by the widespread use of English. Their ELF communication subsumed the following dimensions. Thirteen students regarded the possibility to communicate with people coming from various linguacultural origins as a multilingual activity, which lies at the heart of ELF communication:

I meet and talk to people from different countries or cultures at the university and even at home, what is more, on the internet. Kimberly

I can talk to foreign people and that's all. Kevin

I think all of the situations I have to communicate with foreigners made me multilingual. And also, now I'm in Hungary and using English to talk to others, so I'm in, I'm multilingual now. Hyun

Additional ELF activities involved corresponding with internationals (N 4), traveling (N 3), helping people who do not speak English (possibly tourists) (N 1), nurturing intra-family relations with English speaking in-law (N 1), talking with Hungarian friends in English for practice (N 1), and teaching English as a future profession (N 1). It is intriguing to see that only one participant associated the use of English with her future profession as an English teacher despite the fact that the majority of the students were prospective language teachers. It suggests that becoming an English teacher is not the most salient facet of their ideal-self or their identity construction in English. They rather view themselves as successful users of the language

(outside the classroom) than English teachers in the classroom. This finding may not be so astonishing if we consider that teaching English is traditionally linked to EFL. By contrast, all but one ELF-related activities that the participants mentioned were out-of-class activities. The responses therefore revealed a split between the students' perceptions of English in the classroom and outside the classroom. When they associate in-class English with EFL use, their English skills are compared to those of NESs, making them feel deficient speakers of the language. Consequently, falling short of native-like English proficiency does not make them feel multilingual. In contrast, successful English use outside the classroom empowers them and makes them feel multilingual. It is because all the out-of-class activities that they enumerated involved authentic language use relying on ELF. In such interactions they are not compared to NESs, since the focus of such conversations is on successful communication. Even if NESs participate in ELF conversations, it is NESs who are to adjust to the local ELF variety and not the other way around. This split in the participants' identity construction with regard to how they perceive themselves as would-be English teachers in the classroom and as successful English speakers outside the classroom are in line with Jenkins's (2007) finding that there is a gap between the theory of English teaching and the reality of English use outside the classroom, which results in a struggle or split in the identity construction of English teachers.

5.3.2 Ownership of English in Becoming Multilingual

Since international posture is inherently linked to ELF (Yashima, 2009), matters pertaining to ELF are also connected to international posture. Ownership of English was another salient theme that emerged in the datasets. The participants associated ownership of English with being multilingual. Recognizing one's multilingualism, which in this dissertation refers to the ability to successfully communicate with other people using English, grants ownership of English to the individual (Widdowson, 2012). The responses revealed that gaining ownership of English by students derived from using English as a tool in three domains of life: getting by

in another country (N 9), pursuing English Studies at UP (N 7), being able to watch English language programs (e.g., TV channels, TV shows, and movies) (N 7). Furthermore, six students' ownership of English came from becoming multilingual by speaking English.

Moreover, I asked the informants when they realized they were multilingual. Twenty-nine students out of 37 associated the realization of being multilingual with talking to NESs and NNEs, 15 and 14 respectively, and six students associated this event with the ability to understand English language movies and series. The results point out that the cornerstone of becoming multilingual takes place through the use of an L2 for real-life authentic purposes instead of completing pedagogical tasks in a language classroom. Excerpt from Donna's and Amanda's reflections highlight that the most significant aspect of authentic L2 use comes from interacting with other L2 speakers.

...two years ago when I went into a photo developing salon, there was a German lady who wanted to develop some of her photos, but the employees couldn't speak German or English and I helped her to express herself and she talked to me also in German, also in English and I could translate it, both languages to the employees. And I felt pretty good and I was pretty proud that I could help. And I think that it's worth learning and speaking several languages because it makes people able to help many others in the everyday lives.
Donna

...when I ran into a foreign person, a tourist at the train station in Debrecen. And I, and she asked me where she should go and I tried to help her find her train. And it was, I don't know, it was so natural. And my mother was on the phone during this conversation and she heard, then she told me that how naturally I spoke to that girl. I didn't really realize it first. And by German maybe when I could speak with my native university lecturer after class in personal, you know, not just answering his questions in the class, but in personal, so I felt really happy. ... It was just a moment of satisfaction when I recognized that I am kind of multilingual person.
Amanda

Both Donna and Amanda realized they were multilingual when talking to native and non-native English and German speakers, respectively. They helped these tourists by capitalizing on the linguistic resources that they had and other Hungarians did not, which made them multilingual and special in comparison to monolingual Hungarians who could not help these tourists due to their lack of any L2 knowledge. Furthermore, Donna's and Amanda's ability to speak these languages was acknowledged by their German- and English-speaking interlocutor.

The positive evaluation and the praise that came from both the multilingual interlocutors (the tourists) and the monolingual Hungarians (shop assistants and the mother on the phone) confirmed their ownership of English, making them realize they were multilingual Hungarians.

Donna's and Amanda's realization of being multilingual resulted from reflecting on themselves and on other people involved in the communication situation by their Reflexive and Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988). The Reflexive Self introspected and evaluated itself and the environment, and the Conceptual Self heeded and evaluated the stories it was told about the Self by the German tourist in the photo salon and the mother on the phone. All these evaluations and reflections confirmed that they were multilingual and that they owned their languages.

5.3.3 Instrumental Motivation in International Posture

Altogether 14 students associated their multilingualism with instrumental motivation which refers to utilitarian reasons for learning and using an L2. Instrumental motivation to use English is inherently part of international posture (Yashima, 2009). Traveling orientation was the most frequently noted dimension (N 6) and getting a better job with a higher salary was remarked by three students.

If I travel to somewhere, I can easily contact with people and communicate with them maybe, it helps me to get a better job when I'm going to look for one... Alisha

Gaining more opportunities in general through English knowledge was also mentioned by three students:

Also, since English is spoken all around the world. All we have to do is to learn a tiny bit of it and then, you know, everything will, you know, will come with time. Joey

Being able to do a job interview in English and assuming the role of the translator in the family were noted by one student, respectively.

And there are many times I help my father to translate emails what he got from that he gets from foreign people. And I write them back, so this is my task in the family to keep the contact with foreign people. And I write messages, I write emails, I translated them into Hungarian and so on. Because sometimes it, my father needs help. Alisha

Alisha's story can be interpreted as an instance of instrumental motivation, but it can also be viewed from the perspective of her identity construction. Her ability to speak English grants her a special role in the family: she becomes the linguist in the family, an expert of languages, and family members can rely on her expertise to solve language-related problem. Therefore, she is capable of assuming the role of a special person through English, which becomes part of her linguistic identity.

5.3.4 Revisiting Multilingualism from Multiple Perspectives

Multilingualism was a difficult and perplexing concept for the participants to grapple with. They felt the need to provide a definition of the term mostly in order to compare themselves to their own definition when talking about how they perceived their own multilingualism. Out of the 37 definitions that the students came up with, 13 agreed on a loose interpretation of multilingualism, which roughly denoted the ability to speak another language to some extent besides one's mother tongue. By contrast, 24 students narrowed down the definition to specific criteria such as bilingualism (i.e. when a child is addressed in two languages after birth) (N 2), native-like proficiency (N 3), or a high command of English (N 2), specific skill areas in which one excels (N 4), daily activities involving successful English use (N 6), having survival skills and problem solving skills abroad (N 1), speaking at least three languages (N 3), or not having to think about utterances in either of their languages when producing them (N 2).

Owing to the versatility of these definitions it is not surprising that many of the interviewees felt they were short of these criteria when it came to judging whether they were multilingual or not. In total, 16 students answered meaningfully the question of whether they thought they were multilingual or not. Six students responded that they were multilingual, seven thought they were not, and three could not decide. Those who perceived themselves as multilingual mentioned agency and successful language use (N 4): "I can read in English or

Spanish, I am able to order things”, the lack of thinking when producing English output (N 1): “I am multilingual... I don’t really have to think on words like multilingual, it just, you know, I know what it means and I can say that every time I want”, and code-switching in speaking (N1). By contrast, three of those participants who claimed not to be multilingual emphasized their inferiority in English to NESs; thus, they deemed themselves incompetent English speakers in this comparison: “I am not multilingual person because I am still learning English”. Two students complained of mostly using Hungarian in their daily lives and another two noted that not growing up in a bilingual family makes the person monolingual. The almost identical number of contending views gives clear evidence of how unsure the students were of what multilingualism means and whether they may or may not be regarded as multilingual. This lack of confidence indicates that some language learners look at NESs as role models and compare their knowledge to that of NSs, which results in feeling inferior to NSs, as they can hardly approximate native-like proficiency in English. Relying on the native speaker model (Medgyes, 2017, Widdowson, 2012) deprives these learners of the ownership of English as well as their multilingual status. By contrast, students who gained ownership of English through successful English use perceived themselves as multilingual because they did not rely on the native speaker model; they drew on the utilitarian aspects and the lingua franca nature of their English use.

The concept of multilingualism in Kramsch’s (2009) approach of identity research refers to the knowledge of an L2 irrespective of the years and the context of learning (i.e. EFL, ELF, ESL, or HL learning) or proficiency level. What identity research informs the researcher about is how language learners inwardly create a language identity, how they construct and reconstruct themselves in interactions in their various languages and how they perceive themselves as users of these languages, all of which are subject to change over time and in different interactions, making language learning a symbolic activity and identity construction a subjectivity-in-process (Kramsch, 2009, p.18). Language learners draw on their imagination to

create their own identity and to identify with the Other in the process of L2 learning which is an embodied experience, evoking emotional responses in learners. So the question arises as to how the learner can learn to speak like the Other without himself/herself in the process (Kramersch, 2009, p. 76).

When English majors who wish to pursue a career linked to the use of English, watch English speaking films, read English texts and have English speaking friends claim to be not multilingual, the question arises as to who they really are. If they are not multilingual, are they monolingual? If they are not monolingual, in what ways are they multilingual? The lack of the students' clarity about their multilingualism indexes that their inwardly created multilingual identity is contradictory, incomplete, fragmented, and a place of struggle. This deeply rooted struggle between the realm of the L1 and the L2 in the learner may also signal the magnitude of the threat that the L2 imposes on the integrity of the learner's identity (Kramersch, 2009; Kristeva, 1980). By contrast, other learners take pleasure in their ability to get rid of the constraints of their L1 and its culture through learning a new language, and they desire L2 learning as a new mode of expression and self-fulfillment (Kristeva, 1980).

Consequently, raising the concept of multilingualism split the participants into two strands: multilingual and non-multilingual speakers – depending on how they perceived their language skills. Nevertheless, claiming to be not multilingual while not being monolingual is an oxymoron. This oxymoron, however, shows the salience of the split in the students' allegiances in their identity as Hungarians learning English (Kramersch, 2009). I believe the question for them is not only where they belong to but how they belong to these languages and cultures.

5.3.5 Affect, Identity, and International Posture

English learning similarly to the learning of any other L2 is a symbolic and embodied experience. It is symbolic because it involves the learning of a new set of symbols to label

things in the world and it is also symbolic owing to the subjective resonances, feelings, emotions, and ideas that are attached to these new symbols by the learner (Kramersch, 2009). Language learning is also embodied (Damasio, 1994; Kramersch, 2009) because it involves the body and the mind of learners and how they react to the system of the L2, generating somatic reactions (such as getting the shivers, experiencing the feeling of warmth in the body) as well as emotions and feelings which are termed as affect in SLA research.

Although the questions in the structured speaking task did not ask students about their feelings and emotions associated with their multilingualism, some of them discussed their feelings evoked by their multilingualism. Ten participants reported positive feelings about their multilingualism in an explicit manner. Six students found being multilingual important and great: “multilingualism means very important for me”, two noted that speaking another language meant a lot to them: “it means a lot”. One felt proud of being multilingual, and one went as far as to say that “it’s a big miracle”. As Kramersch (2009, p. 53-74), pointed out language learning, generating emotions and feelings in learners, is an embodied experience. The excitement and thrill caused by L2 learning is evident in the students’ statements: “it is great” or “it means a lot to me”. It shows the magnitude of the potential of L2 knowledge to shape MLSs’ life both literally and symbolically. Self-enhancement (for example being proud of being multilingual) as a key aspect of L2 learning emerged both in Kramersch’s (2009, p. 53-74) study and in my inquiry. This theme is further elaborated on in section 6.3.2.

All these subjective emotions and associations denoting the second type of symbolic language use are labelled as affect in traditional SLA research. Affect is linked to many constructs in SLA such as motivation, WTC, anxiety, and perfectionism but not linked explicitly to international posture. I argue that if researchers look at language learning in their wholeness and complexity as an embodied experience, affect cannot be excluded from any construct in SLA, as learners’ body, mind, and imagination are perpetually activated by their

language use, sending a message to the body and the brain about these processes and the environment. In turn, the learner's body, brain and mind incessantly create an image of itself as a language speaker as well as about other people (Damasio, 1994, 2003). Estela's story is a great example for the interconnectedness of body and mind, triggering powerful emotional responses in L2 learners.

My family is a member of an organization. Three years ago an Englishman came to our village and spoke about some national tenders and to make it more popular in Hungary and most of the members are over 45 years, they don't really speak foreign languages, so I was asked to translate, I had many doubts about my abilities and I wasn't so happy. Honestly, I just didn't believe that I am the right person for it but I managed to translate everything, and furthermore, six months later we won almost half a million forints thanks to that tender. No words can describe what I felt when I got to know it. Yes, I could just say, yes, yes. I was very very happy and I am really proud of it. And in my view, it was the biggest occasion when my language knowledge was useful. Estela

Traditional SLA research would explain Estela's happiness in terms of successful ELF use and using English for a utilitarian reason. However, her initial doubts about her ability to use English successfully in that high stake situation and the ecstasy she experienced upon success give evidence of the magnitude of her emotions both with respect to her fears and her happiness, as well. The doubts and the ecstasy she experienced are secondary emotions that are variations of primary or universal emotions (Damasio, 1994). The reiteration of words: "yes, yes" and "I was very, very happy" reveals the intensity of her emotions. Furthermore, Donna's and Amanda's success story in the photo salon and at the train station were too accompanied by powerful emotional reactions: "and I felt pretty good and I was pretty proud that I could help"; "I felt really happy. ... It was just a moment of satisfaction when I recognized that I am kind of multilingual person".

One student went as far as to associate her multilingualism with a miracle:

Multilingual means to be able to speak and understand several languages, uh, as I see, it's a big miracle because for instance when I read something in English or in German, I don't have to search Hungarian translations. Sarah

Similarly to L2 learners in Kramersch's (2009) study, Sarah associated L2 learning and L2 use with magic, which refers to the enchanted use of language in fairy tales and which can make learners the trickster of language who can 'do magic' with language that others cannot. Furthermore, magic also comes from the signifying self's ability to act upon the world and be acted upon through symbolic forms (Kramersch, 2009, p. 27).

Some students discuss the transformative potential of L2 learning. Joey talks about how speaking several languages makes his life better and how he thinks to have become 'more' through his languages. Alisha believes that speaking English has made her a better person.

It feels quite good, honestly, to speak foreign languages, it means that you are just all rounded, it adds spice to your life you know speaking these languages... Once you speak a language, you know, countless opportunities present themselves and it is a brilliant, you know, chance if, you know, getting better and more colorful as a person, yeah that means multilingualism to me. Joey

And everyone who speaks English uh has the chance uh to, to be a better person, I think. It's, it's, yeah, It's like too big words, I think so, but true. Because there are no words for this, so yeah. I think it's awesome to a multilingual person. Alisha

Both excerpts give evidence of how speaking an L2 is an embodied experience involving the whole being of L2 learners. Alisha and Joey acknowledge the transformative role of L2 learning which shapes their identity in multiple ways. The excerpts revealing the emotional dimension of SLA are also in keeping with Pavlenko's (2005, 2006) findings that pinpoint the interplay between emotions and SLA. These examples shed light on that affect is inherently part of international posture, because individuals' creative and subjective experiences of using English cannot be disregarded. Furthermore, self-perception and identity construction deriving from whether L2 learners regard themselves as multilingual or not is related to the field of ELF research as well as to identity research. Thus, I call for a synthesis of approaches such as traditional SLA research, ELF research, and identity research to get a more holistic picture of L2 learning processes.

5.3.6 Narratives about Multilingualism

When the students were asked about the steps and events of becoming multilingual or about the event when they realized they were multilingual, they told their stories of how they became multilingual by drawing on narrative genres they were familiar with. In doing so they drew on the genre of fairy tales and folktales.

I remember looking for every Hungarian translation of every lyrics because I didn't understand anything. Then after two or three years I didn't need these [translations]. Renée

In the summer before starting high school I remember I played [computer games] much more than before... I started to understand the meaning of the stories of games. Paul

For two consecutive years my mother and I went to Italy. It was a bus trip. And firstly, we went when I finished high school and secondly when I finished my first year in the university. And at the first occasion my mom went out to the ladies' room in a restaurant and the waiter came to me to pick up the order. And I was shocked and couldn't say anything until my mom's returned. And at the second occasion I had much more self-confidence because we wanted to buy some dried tomatoes in the market but mother smoked and she didn't want to come, came closer to the fruits so she sent me to buy it and I bought it successfully. I think the conclusion is that one year at the university was enough to take my confidence. And I think this story is a good example for an event of becoming a multilingual person and it was a big step to me, because previously I didn't dare to say a word for anyone who was not Hungarian and I was very proud myself for being able to do that dried tomatoes thing. Lori

The above quotations are versions of the Labovian story (Labov, 1972, p. 362), the elements of which are also included in many fairy tales and folk tales. Labov (1972, p. 362-72) found six elements characteristic of everyday stories that he elicited in interviews: abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda. However, Labov highlighted that not all narratives include all six elements, and he added that simple narratives tend to have only a beginning, a middle, and an end and they include at least one temporal juncture. There is no abstract in any of the above narratives, which poses no problem, as the abstract or the theme of the narratives is addressed by the interview question. Renée's and Paul's narratives are good examples of simple narratives: both include a temporal juncture "Then after two or three years..." and "in the summer before starting high school...", they have a beginning, a middle and an end, and the middle part mentions a complicating action or a result/resolution "I didn't

understand anything”, and “I started to understand the meaning of the stories of games”. Donna’s and Amanda’s narratives in 5.3.2 are more complex and detailed and they include the narrator’s evaluation of the story (in Donna’s case): “And I think that it’s worth learning and speaking several languages because it makes people able to help many others in the everyday lives” and the listener’s evaluation (mother on the phone in Amanda’s case): “And my mother was on the phone during this conversation and she heard, then she told me that how naturally I spoke to that girl.” These evaluations are important story elements, because they point out why these stories are worth reporting, justify the narrator’s statement that she is multilingual, creates a sense of satisfaction that the story has been related, and bring the audience back to the present, proving a temporal link between the narrational present and the narrative past.

The Labovian elements of storytelling can be detected in fairy tales and folk tales as well: there is an orientation where characters along with the hero and the setting are introduced, then the hero is to overcome a plight by coming up with a resolution, and then the resolution has positive consequences for the hero’s life which can be understood as the coda of the story. Lori’s story follows the storyline of a fairy tale or a folk tale in which Lori has to overcome difficulties to prove her worthiness and legitimacy as an English speaker. In the orientation part Lori, the heroine of the story is introduced as the princess and heiress to the symbolic and metaphorical throne of her English speaking and English teacher queen mother who has the tangible kingdom of a school as a headmistress. (This information about Lori’s mother came up at the beginning of the interview.) Lori is the legitimate heir to the kingdom of English (not the school) not only by birth (i.e. by being her mother’s daughter) but also by deeds by becoming an English major with the aim to become an English teacher herself in the future. Lori’s speaks highly of her mother in the interview; thus, it can be assumed that her mother must be a good and wise queen showing her a good example of how to become an English teacher. However, Lori goes through the plight of not being able to speak and utilize the

language she has learnt, which is also her heritage, during her first visit to Italy. Owing to her inability to succeed in English, she has to be saved by her mother who is the other hero in the story that Lori is trying to resemble and mimic. In order for Lori to become a hero, she needs to work hard and learn English for a whole year before she can be challenged again. The hero's one-year-long learning period or ordeal at university is another element of fairy tales and folk tales that the hero must endure and learn from. Hence, a year later due to her effort and hard work Lori proves herself as a legitimate English speaker and a worthy heir to the throne of English speaking/teaching. This time she needed no saving by her hero mother, as she could save the day by buying some dried tomato for her mother in English; thus, she became a hero just like her mother. Lori's mother was a role model to her; therefore, this achievement was even dearer to her. Apart from becoming a legitimate English speaker, she could fulfill the child's dream and aspiration to be like her mother (Lacan, 1977). Adult narrators often evaluate their story as Lori does (Labov, 1972) when she highlights the relevance and significance of her story. She reflects on how this event made her feel, which brings the reader back to the narrational present, providing a coda to the narrative. Lori's detailed narrative establishes her credibility as a narrator and makes her story reportable and noteworthy with regard to the topic of multilingualism (Gordon, 2013, p.127). The genres of fairy tales and folk tales, the elements of which are included in Lori's story, are culturally recognized among the people Lori assumed would get to know her story. She knew that I would be the intended readership of her story and she knew that I could relate to the theme of her story and the genre, as well. Hungarian children early on become familiarized with fairy tales and folk tales, which had an impact on the choice of the genre in which Lori recited her story. For a story to be understandable and relevant for its readers or listeners, the audience must be familiar with the genre (Kramsch, 2009).

Lori's use of English as well as the narrative genre in which her story is related is subjective and unconventional. Her story is a female narrative because the heroes of her story

unlike traditional stories featuring male characters as heroes, are, in fact, heroines, which gives her narrative a feminist reading. Even if there are heroines in these traditional stories, they are usually under the protection of men as daughters of a king or an old man or later married to a prince or a male hero, so the merits and efforts of female characters are typically offset by the presence of male characters. Depicting female characters and giving voice to the needs and desires of women, which is typical of feminist literature, is an attempt to break away from tradition and subvert the conventions of the existing social order (Butler, 1997; Kramersch, 2009).

According to the ELF reading of Lori's story, she found her place and role in the world of English by gaining ownership of English through successful English use in an ELF environment in Italy (Widdowson, 2012). Lacan (1977) proposed that our language is the language of the Other along with the consciousness that comes with it. In Lacan's understanding, to become a subject, one must leave the pre-verbal realm of the mother and enter the world of the father that is the realm of the social and the cultural. The unfulfilled desire to identify with the mother or the father may be seen in learners' infatuation with the language (Kramersch, 2009, p. 95). Similarly to her female narrative in which Lori contradicted tradition and convention with regard to heroes and heroines, she entered the realm of the father which was the social/cultural/linguistic world of English that happened to be her mother's realm, which again goes against the conventional socialization of the Lacanian world. Her desired identification with the mother as well as her separation from the mother took place through English.

According to semiotic theory, Lori capitalized on the indexical capacity of signs, as she associated buying dried tomato with becoming multilingual and not answering the waiter's question with being not multilingual (Kramersch, 2009). Kristeva (1986) put forth that the subject emerges at the intersection of two worlds: the world of the semiotic which is a non-verbal realm that is capable of signifying things in the world without words and the world of words which

signifies things in the world with words. The subject born out of these two worlds is perpetually positioning itself between the two worlds, making signification and the creation of the subject thus that of identity a never ending and ongoing process. The subject constantly reflects on itself and others, and this ongoing process is what Kramersch (2009) dubs a subjectivity-in-process. Kristeva's realm of the semiotic is Kramersch's realm of the symbolic addressing the subjective and affective responses given to symbolic forms (i.e. language use) as well as the creative and performative use of the language (Kramersch, 2009, p. 97). Lori employed English during her second visit to Italy in a creative and performative manner (Austin, 1962), since by buying dried tomato, which involved saying the appropriate words to the appropriate person using appropriate English under the appropriate social conditions, she became a legitimate English speaker (Bourdieu, 1997) and she became multilingual (Kramersch, 2009).

5.3.7 Language and Culture: Intercultural Communication and Openness to non-ethnocentric Cultures

ELF communication is inherently linked to IC (Yashima, 2009), since the interactants in such conversations originate from different cultures. Although IC was noted by 23 students, only four of them identified directly the relationship between multilingualism and intercultural communication. Out of the 38 students 11 perceived themselves as multicultural, seven as not multicultural, seven could not decide, and three remarked they only knew about other cultures without having become multicultural. Some interviewees clarified what made them multicultural. Two students came to see that language learning provided them insights into other cultures, and one student identified her English studies as the main source of information about other cultures. One student felt multicultural because her father came from Transylvania, Romania (without elaborating on what it meant to her), and another felt multicultural due to her openness to other cultures. Since some informants found the term 'multicultural' somewhat confusing, seven of them felt the need to define the concept before addressing their own multiculturalism. Two interweaving definitions were delineated. According to the first one,

living in various cultures and countries makes a person multicultural whereas the second one requires one to adopt and follow traditions other than one's own without constraints on where one lives.

Openness to non-ethnocentric cultures is another important facet of international posture. Altogether 15 students displayed openness to foreign cultures. Three students noted openness to English-speaking cultures (two to British and one to American culture), and for another three interviewees this openness served the purpose of nurturing family relations with native speaker British and American in-laws and their bilingual children. Three students were fond of Korean music and culture, one "admired Japanese culture", and three students had international friends.

I have many, many friends from abroad and they are from different backgrounds, from different cultures. From India to Asia and so on, from Europe to the USA and so. I was in every continent, almost every continent except Australia. Lucy

Lucy spent a summer in the U.S.A. in an international camp where she acquainted with students from all over the world. This event became a paramount experience for her self-perception; this experience made her view herself as a cosmopolitan world-trotter who seeks out and cherishes multicultural encounters and travel opportunities afforded by ELF communication. I proposed in Chapter 1.8 that based on Sussman's (2002) cultural identity model of the sojourn L2 learners may also experience an identity response to language learning because language and culture are interwoven in L2 learning. Lucy encountered other cultures not only through L2 learning but also during her sojourn in the U.S.A. Acting on these multicultural experiences, she exhibited an additive identity response. She did not necessarily adopt new customs; rather, she adopted a more accepting and open-minded attitude towards other cultures. This mindset manifested itself in her developing a high level of WTC, as she sought to initiate and sustain contact with other English speakers from all over the world. By contrast, there were L2 learners who struggled with their allegiances and felt split in their cultural and linguistic identity, resulting in an affirmative identity response.

There are things that I like about other cultures ... but I wouldn't say that I belong in any other culture like I think I am Hungarian and I am a typical Hungarian, so I don't really think that I'm multicultural". Zara

Zara's sister is married to an Englishman and they live in England, so Zara had the opportunity to stay with them for five weeks (personal communication with the learner). Zara is also an English major who studies British and American cultures and literatures. During her stay in England and in the process of SLA Zara had the opportunity to compare her L1 culture with the host culture, which made her realize where her cultural allegiances lie. Despite the first-hand and second-hand cultural exposure she experienced, she clung to her L1 culture. Kristeva (1980) and Kramsch (2009) pinpoint that claiming that words in another language are purely different labels for the same objects, persons, and events in the world or that one's L1 linguistic and cultural identity remains unaffected by the L2 and its culture is indicative of the threat the L2 and its culture pose to the integrity of the learner's identity. Zara speaks English with a recognizable British accent that she is likely to have picked up during her stay in England, making her a confident and proud user of English among the mostly Hungarian-accented English speakers in university classes (based on my in-class observations). Hence, Zara's way of standing out of the crowd is through her British accent while retaining her firm touch with her Hungarian culture. Her linguistic identity in English gives her confidence while her cultural identity is immensely threatened by the L2 culture. Another struggle of worlds is in evidence in Alisha's statement.

I'm trying to be a multicultural person, but I'm really a Hungarian one, so it's not easy for me to understand other cultures and society and their etiquette and protocol. But if I want to travel a lot, and I want, *I should bear it*, I think, and maybe culture shock would be another hard thing to cope with, to deal with. Alisha, (Bold added)

Alisha's ideal self in her professional identity seeks to become an international journalist, and in her view, for that to happen, she needs to become multicultural, which is a goal motivated by her ought-to self. Alisha's exhibits an affirmative identity response, making her prefer Hungarian ways of thinking, acting, and speaking. However, her ideal self of becoming an

international journalist urges her to generate an additive identity response by becoming more open to getting involved in other cultures. The struggle that Zara and Alisha experienced was the result of the fact that language and culture are inseparable: culture interweaves with language and language is a product of culture (Kramersch, 1998; Moran, 2001). Similarly to Zara, Alisha's cultural identity is threatened by the new culture. Alisha saying that "I should bear it" signals both intellectual and physical burden on her, making language learning an embodied experience. Therefore, the new symbolic system can cause symbolic harm to her symbolic body (Kramersch, 2012).

A desire for traveling and living abroad for a while is also linked to intercultural communication and openness to other cultures as part of one's international posture, which was brought up by six students. Three students were keen on travelling; for instance, Shane was planning to live abroad in the future and use English in real life, not only on the computer. By contrast, two other students were utterly against living abroad. Ana confirmed that she wanted to live in Hungary for the rest of her life because she preferred Hungarian culture to other cultures and Dorothy put forth that "everybody should live in their own country because" she thought "the different customs of nations and our traditions and the different lifestyles could produce damage". For Dorothy and Ana, the equation was one country=one culture=one language, the idealistic concept advocated by nation states in the 18th and 19th century to create a homogenous national identity. However, due to cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, countries' national identity is now heterogeneous and versatile. So is the cultural and linguistic identity of individuals living in such countries in a globalized world where the English language and culture have spread like wildfire. Ana and Dorothy turned down the possibilities rendered by ELF and resorted to an image of themselves as EFL teachers rather than ELF communicators. This was their way of identifying with the Other which, in their case, was an imagined self of themselves who lives in Hungary, teaches EFL to Hungarian children and is

surrounded by Hungarian people and Hungarian culture. Depending on the lenses we look through as a researcher, Ana's and Dorothy's imagined symbolic future self can also be termed as their ideal self who wishes to make an EFL teacher.

Connected to the theme of multiculturalism, Lucy raised the question of cultural imperialism.

We are not just melting them [foreign customs] but making new ones and forgetting old traditions at Easter, so when it changes, we, girls don't really give only eggs, but instead of painted eggs, we give, we tend to give more pocket money to kids, I think, and like alcoholic drinks [to men], which, I think, is not good. Lucy

The concept of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2009) has become a debated and controversial issue with the spread and the subsequent study of ELF. Drawing on Kramsch's (1998) point about the inseparability of language and culture, linguistic imperialism, referring to the global spread English and the intrusion of English vocabulary on other languages, is concomitant of cultural imperialism which is manifest in the spread and adoption of Anglo-Saxon holidays such as the celebration of Valentine's Day, Halloween, Santa Claus or giving Christmas crackers to children instead of a fondant candy in non-English speaking countries such as Hungary. English culture also spreads via the adoption of British or American ways of thinking or behavior such as liberal child-reading, high school parties, wearing clothes or gadgets representative of an English-speaking subculture, or the gradual disappearance of formal address in Hungarian. The Conceptual and the Reflexive Self (Neisser, 1998) detect these changes, reflect on them, form an opinion, and reassess the individual's conceptual knowledge about the world in order to be able to handle and act upon these changes.

5.3.8 Willingness to Communicate and the Virtual Self

Although only ten students exhibited WTC explicitly, the link between ELF communication and WTC cannot be ignored because successful communication can only occur if interlocutors show WTC to interact with each other. Willingness to communicate can manifest itself in various modes of language use such as in talking with people, writing emails

or blogs, reading newspapers, books or websites, and watching movies or TV in the target language (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei & Noels, 1998). Besides the three students who had international friends, another two claimed to seek out opportunities to get to know other cultures and peoples.

I consume a lot of multicultural stuff, but of course again, being multicultural is relatively hard and restricted to passive or, or solo activities when you are living in your own country like Hungarians in Hungary etcetera, so everything that is multiculturally related is pretty much on the Internet. Shane

The above quotation verily shows the link between ELF, WTC, and openness to foreign cultures. Shane constructed a Virtual Self (Kramersch, 2009, p. 154) that shows willingness to use English to learn about other cultures. In CMC the construction of the Self is different from identity construction in speaking or in writing, because by going online the number of intended readers is greatly increased, the speed of transmission is also increased, the format of the text can be altered all the time, the text can be cancelled and endlessly repeated by the click of the mouse, and one's text is open to evaluation by others; hence, the self is virtually co-constructed in dialogue with others (Kramersch, 2009, p. 155). The Virtual Self enhances the ability of the individual to see without being seen and become a trickster of the language who uses language in a way that others cannot. Identity construction online renders individuals agency and control as well as freedom to present themselves the way they wish with the possibility to constantly reinterpret and change their self-representation. Yearning for control, agency, and freedom may lead to addiction to community sites, a so called cyberdependency (Kramersch, 2009, p. 183) if one exclusively resorts to online communication to get feedback on the Self and to co-construct the Self at will. Unlike other participants who use traditional media or a mix of traditional and online media to communicate and to (re)construct themselves as MLs, Shane prefers his Virtual Self pursuing multicultural and ELF activities on the Internet rather than seeking out opportunities to do so in his own environment.

In section 5.3.6 I discuss Shane's desire to live in another country where he can use English instead of Hungarian in his daily life. Living in Hungary and using Hungarian most of the time confine him to the CMC that enables him to use English more often and the way he wishes to. Despite the agency, the control and the freedom his Virtual Self has, he feels passive and solitary: "being multicultural is relatively hard and restricted to passive or, or solo activities when you are living in your own country like Hungarians in Hungary". He is confined in two ways: he is confined by living amongst Hungarians and he is confined by having to use a computer to communicate in English. Shane identifies with English so as to rid himself of the constraints of Hungarian and Hungary as an escape from the world he lives in (Kramsch; 2009). Kristeva's (1980) desire for self-fulfillment through language learning is in evidence in his statement. As long as he lives in Hungary, the only way for him to cheat space and time is through his Virtual Self using a computer, because in CMC space is bent or hijacked in a way one can reach anyone in any corner of the world, and by hacking the computer one can pretend to be at a place where one is not. Time is also bent or hijacked, as it is relative and ahistorical, because CMC is disconnected from time and place. Furthermore, one can erase utterances from the past like they never happened by clicking the undo button and one can repeat history and bring past to the future by repeating old texts in the present or making additions to them in the present. Kramsch (2009, p. 173) calls this phenomenon time reversibility. This way Shane becomes the trickster of not only language but also of time and space. His adherence to CMC, however, may index cyberdependency.

Although Shane utilizes CMC to escape his constraints of the realm of his L1 and to cheat time and space, he (feels he) has no real agency because what he yearns for is real life communication with real people. He uses the computer to distance himself from Hungarian but the computer also distances him from other English speakers, since his interlocutor is always absent in CMC. Thus, he remains split between two worlds. The emptiness caused by the

absence of the Other makes Shane feel passive and lonely, so his longing to identify with the Other grows stronger as his desires remain unsatisfied. Kramersch (2009) found that many language learners associate L2 learning with a loss of a person or a desire for the Other – that can be a real or an imagined person. Shane’s desire for learning English works both ways: his Virtual Self misses the absent Other while he constantly desires the Other who is other English speaking people he imagines as well as his imagined future Self living in another country and speaking English all the time.

CMC is often described as liberation for the shy and the under-confident, and it can be a great tool for tricksters, as well. CMC blurs the distinction between what is real and what is not or what is real communication and what is display communication. Kramersch (2009, p. 175) explains “in the absence of embodied contact, virtual signifiers take on a life of their own, they become a reality in their own right – a hyperreality.” For reality is hijacked by CMC and replaced by hyperreality the rules of genres or that of communication along with the real intentions of interactants are blurred or they simply disappear. In such a chaotic world, the agency and control gained by CMC is lost, making online communicators feel weak and vulnerable to other people online. Misunderstandings are more likely to happen as there are no rules for communication. Kramersch (2009) stresses that precisely because of this freedom computer users need to find and define the boundaries for communication if they are to have real understanding in a real interaction. Language learners become MLSs only because they have discovered spaces between rules, genres, and the boundaries of the two languages where they can subvert traditional meanings and add new subjective meanings to the L2. Consequently, if there are no rules or boundaries to subvert, there can be no MLS (Kramersch, 2009, 184-5).

Finally, Shane has a Reflexive Self that reflects on his experiences as he uses English; therefore, it heeds the brain, the mind, and the body of the learner as well as the environment

(Neisser, 1988, p. 52). The Reflexive Self relates to real or imagined others in a symbolic way (i.e. using language) relying on the subjective filter of memory and imagination. The Self is also an enhanced Self by means of the computer in a cyberenvironment (Kramsch, 2009, p. 179). The Reflexive Self is rarely called for in CMC owing to the scarcity of boundaries and rules. When answering the interview question about his multiculturalism, Shane's Reflexive Self was reflecting on his Virtual Self in speaking. However, this conversation was very far from traditional face-to-face communication, for I, as his interlocutor/interviewer, was absent from the conversation, and he was using an electronic device (a phone or a computer) to record his responses. In this semi-cyberenvironment his Reflexive Self was called for, but he was left alone all the same because spoken words "got lost" and his interactant was not there with him in time and space.

5.4 Different Language Socialization and Enculturation: A Case Study

I observed a sharp contrast between the perceptions of multilingualism, multiculturalism, and identity construction of learners who came from different language learning backgrounds, casting light on their different language socialization and enculturation experiences. Most Hungarian students learnt EFL in Hungarian schools but there were three students who learnt English or another language in a native environment, and the language learning experiences of the two cohorts greatly differed. The Hungarian students who learnt EFL in Hungary associated their multilingualism with what they can do in the target language and at what level as well as the utilitarian dimensions of their language knowledge.

I think I'm multilingual because I speak three languages. Sandra

I can talk to foreign people. Kevin

My mother tongue is Hungarian and I use it every day and my foreign, my first foreign language is English and I use it quite often as well and I read in English, I read books in English and websites and magazines, online magazines and I watch series and films in English and uh yeah. So I think apart from Hungarian, the way I use English kinda makes me multilingual.

Rosemary

Well, in my opinion the reason why I am multilingual is that I can speak mostly fluently and I feel that gives me a great opportunity to express myself in several languages beside Hungarian. My multilingualism can be seen my daily life, for instance when I meet and talk to people from different countries or cultures at the university and even at home, what is more, on the Internet. Kimberly

I can understand the lyrics of my favorite songs and I can watch series and movies in English because I understand them. I like listening to native speakers. Amanda

The interviewees I quoted above explicate what being multilingual means to them: Sandra specifies how many languages she can speak, Kimberly explains how well she can speak languages, Kevin and Kimberly describe how they can use English to talk with other people, and Rosemary and Amanda list what kind of activities they can pursue using English. Therefore, the most salient facets of these students' multilingualism include authentic native English or ELF language use such as talking with other English speakers or utilizing English as tool to a non-linguistic end. By contrast, students who learnt English in a native environment or grew up in a multilingual environment all stress how effortlessly they can use their languages and not what they can do with them. Brandon was born in the U.S. and moved to Hungary with his Hungarian mother at the age of nine, Zoe lived in Ireland with her Hungarian family between the ages of 12 and 14, and Samir growing up in Libya learnt Tamazight which is his mother tongue and Arabic which is the official language in Libya.

Well, I guess it means that you can speak more than one language at basically all, at such a level that you don't really have to think about what you have to say, you can also think in that language, so you don't really have to think through what you wanna say, you kind of can, are able to just come out and say any language that you know. ... I'm multilingual because I have two mother tongues, I guess. I can't really tell the difference which one I speak more, or which one I would consider my first language, they're kind of both my first and I can't remember any point in time when I wasn't able to speak either one of them. So it's kind of interesting thinking back how I grew up and I knew both languages. Brandon

I am I think that I am multilingual in based that I don't really have to think on words like multilingual, it just, you know, I know what it means and I can say that every time I want and well yeah, so I know I have no idea, basically. I am just multilingual. Zoe

What is common in Brandon's and Zoe's testimony is that they explain how they do not have to think about their languages when putting them to use and how natural it is for them to

produce utterances in their languages. Brandon, a native speaker of English and Hungarian, does not explicate what he can use his command of English for or how he can benefit from this knowledge; instead, he focuses on the lack of thinking involved in language production. This train of thought holds true for Zoe who is not a native speaker of English but she lived a few years in Ireland. They both highlight naturally occurring brain and cognitive processes that make their language output natural and fluent. Their accounts shed light on the lack of learning when acquiring English in a native environment where they incidentally picked up English. Brandon also added that, unlike Zoe, he cannot recall a time when he did not speak either English or Hungarian due to growing up as a bilingual in the States.

Samir's case is similar to Brandon's, as he also grew up as a bilingual in Libya; however, his bilingualism did not involve learning English and he learnt Tamazight as a second language.

I realized that I am a bilingual very early age, because I mentioned I speak different language in school than the one that I use in my home with my family. So it was clear to me that there is something different in me and other students. I didn't know what it is at this age, but I felt that there is something different. Samir

Samir's account confirms the unconscious nature of L2 acquisition in a native environment. Unlike Brandon, he clearly distinguishes between the different places where he used his two languages (Tamazight and Arabic); nevertheless, the acquisition of both languages took place unconsciously and naturally for him, as well. The next excerpt shows that Samir's description of his multilingualism is indicative of the contexts where he learnt his languages, the order in which he learnt these tongues, and his attitude towards them.

I speak three languages. I am a native speaker of Tamazight, I am fluent in Arabic and proficient in English. Samir

Expanding on his multilingualism, Samir explains what he can do in these three languages, corroborating the fact that he is multilingual.

I am multilingual because I speak more than one language, I write in three languages and read in three languages. Also, I watch movies, listen to music in different languages, so I do things in a different way with different languages. Samir

Samir lists the skill areas he possesses in three languages along with the activities he is capable of performing in these languages. Therefore, Samir is also conscious of what he can use his language knowledge for. Samir's languages are domain-specific and he is aware of when, how, and why he uses a language. By contrast, Brandon and Zoe did not touch upon any activity they carried out using English. It is also an expression of identity when Samir chooses to speak/use a particular language from his repertoire of three tongues (Kramersch, 2009).

With regard to how the participants perceived their multiculturalism, Samir's, Brandon's and Zoe's views differed from those of the rest of the students. Whereas most Hungarian students exhibited various degrees of international posture drawing on utilitarian reasons to use English as well as the use of ELF to communicate with other English speakers which is connected to WTC in English and openness to non-ethnocentric cultures, Brandon and Samir stressed the ability to move smoothly between cultures without experiencing a major identity crisis or culture shock.

I think I am multicultural because I can easily move around from being Tamazight native speaker to Arabic world, so I can see things in different way and be able to understand and analyze different issues, because I am aware of political and cultural differences. Samir

Sussman (2002) explains that individuals who have multicultural identities do not experience a disturbance in their identity or repatriation shock when moving in and out of cultures because they are accustomed to such transitions between the dominant culture and their home culture, since they grew up and were encultured and socialized in a multicultural and multilingual environment. Samir's Reflexive Self (Neisser, 1988) is conscious of how he speaks, thinks and behaves differently in the different cultures he belongs to. Although Brandon does not move between the Hungarian and the American culture because he lives in Hungary, he feels that the U.S.A is still his other home.

I still kind of feel as the USA is partially my home, it's kind of in my blood, I guess the American culture and everything, if I see the American flag and hear the national anthem or anything that, kind of, reminds me of America, then it kind of has a good feeling in me, feeling

of home. Also, I consider Hungary my home too. I've spent most of my life here that I know of. Brandon

Brian was first encultured and socialized in the U.S.A. and then in Hungary, resulting in the development of a multicultural identity in Brandon. Despite living in Hungary for ten years, Brandon still harbors sentimental feelings for the American culture. By contrast, Zoe perceives her multiculturalism differently from Brandon and Samir.

I am multicultural in ways that my father's hometown is half Romanian and half Hungarian, so they have Easter in other date and things like that. So I always hated Easter because I had basically two rounds of sprinkling and all that smelly stuff on my hair. I really don't like it, these cultural differences and their, you know, they have a different mentality and I know that in some ways I am thinking differently as well, you know it's just from my father, I, that way I inherited. Zoe

Zoe links her multiculturalism to her father and his family who come from a multicultural background and she recalls how Easter is observed on a different date in the other culture following the Orthodox Church. She was encultured in a different environment; therefore, she perceives her father's home culture as different from her own. Sussman (2002) explains that aspects of one's culture become salient only when the individual encounters a new culture and begins comparing and contrasting the differences between the two cultures. Zoe's statement is contradictory; she perceives herself different from her father's cultures, as she talks about 'I' and 'they'; however, she claims to think differently, which, she believes to have inherited from her father. This contradictory statement may be a sign of her disturbed and mixed identity. Sussman (2002) adds that the individual having incorporated some aspects of the new culture may experience a crisis in their cultural identity, as she is no longer sure of who she is and which culture she belongs to. This disturbance can be observed in her contradictory statement about being an insider/member and an outsider in her father's culture at the same time.

It can be concluded that the different language socialization and/or enculturation that Brandon, Samir, and Zoe experienced were very different from those of the other participants in my study. These three students associated their multilingualism with naturally produced

language output without having to think about words, grammar or ideas, whereas the rest of the students focused on what they could do in the new language or how they could utilize it. The dimensions of the Hungarian students' multilingualism and multiculturalism were characteristic of Yashima's (2009) concept of international posture, while Samir and Brandon adopted multicultural identities that allowed them to move smoothly between cultures they belonged to. In the next chapter I discuss the participants' identity construction in their various languages drawing on Kramsch' (2009) approach of identity research, and in doing so I will further highlight how these three students' experiences differ from those of the other participants.

5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I synthesized three research frameworks to shed light on how the participants in my study are multilingual and multicultural to arrive at a more holistic view of the constructs. I found that the foci of traditional SLA research and identity research can complement each other and thus provide a more complex understanding of language learning processes and the language learner. Drawing on the theoretical framework of multidisciplinary identity research and ELF research I reinterpreted Yashima's (2009) concept of international posture to which I added two new components. My findings pointed out that ownership of English is integral part of international posture, as English is used as a lingua franca worldwide. Furthermore, I added affect to the construct, since the participants reported emotional responses to their use of English. Consequently, I put forth that understanding the participants' multilingualism, multiculturalism, and their international posture goes hand in hand with the exploration of their identity construction in and through English; therefore, identity construction through English is linked to English learners' international posture. Finally, in a case study I pinpointed the differences between the multilingual and multicultural experiences of learners coming from different language learning backgrounds. In Chapter 6 I discuss in

more detail the participants' multilingual identity construction drawing on a multidisciplinary approach of identity research.

CHAPTER 6 – MULTILINGUAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

6.1 Introduction

Drawing on Kramsch's (2009) multidisciplinary approach of identity research, in Chapter 6 I explore the participants' identity construction in and via their various languages. The data that I analyze in this chapter were generated by the instrument I labelled as structured writing task. As a home assignment, I asked the students to answer three questions in writing:

1. Some people feel they are different persons when they use their various languages. Can you reflect on your experiences? How are you a different person using your various languages?
2. Please tell me about situations in which you felt more comfortable using your second or third language rather than your mother tongue. Explain why.
3. Will you please recall situations when you felt you could not fully express something in your second or third language as well as in your mother tongue? Why?

In what follows I present and discuss the themes that emerged in the participants' answers to these three questions drawing on the literature on identity that I reviewed in Chapter 1. In my analysis of the data, similarly to my approach in Chapter 5, I focus on emerging themes instead of analyzing the data question by question. In Chapter 6 I answer the following research question (Table 7) (for details, see Chapter 4):

Table 7

Research Question Answered in Chapter 6, Instrument, Method of Analysis, and Number of Students

Research question	Instrument	Method of analysis	Number of participants
What characterizes the participants' identity construction in their various languages?	Structured writing task	Qualitative content analysis	31

Three main themes emerged in the datasets the dimensions of which I scrutinize in the various sections of Chapter 6. The first theme addresses how the participants experienced the process

of becoming a MLS (Kramersch, 2009), the second theme elaborates on the participants' L2 learning as an embodied experience, whereas the third theme touches upon linguistic relativity based on the students' reflections.

6.2 Becoming a Multilingual Subject in and through English

In Section 6.2 I elaborate on the participants' emotional responses and subjective resonances to learning and using English which are unconventional from the perspective of NESs and which make L2 learners MLSs and language learning a symbolic activity (Kramersch, 2009). By speaking a new language, MLSs may have ideas and thoughts they have never had before. Kramersch (2009, p.) puts forth two types of symbolic language use by language learners. According to the first type of symbolic language use, having to conform to linguistic and cultural rules may limit the realm of the sayable in the new language. By contrast, the second type of symbolic language use lies in the foreignness of the new language which enables MLSs to find unconventional and subjective meanings they associate with the L2 that may not be in compliance with the way native speakers make meaning in their language (Kramersch, 2009, pp. 6-7). Precisely this duality permits MLSs to get closer to and distance themselves from the language at the same time, thus enabling them to symbolically own the foreign language and become MLSs.

Similarly to other L2 learners in Kramersch's (2009) study, the participants in my inquiry also reported powerful reactions to learning an L2: some associated language learning with magic: "it's a big miracle", some experienced freedom: "I think in English because that is faster and easier" or anxiety: "sometimes it is painful to recognize your mistakes.", whereas others felt that their whole being was perturbed by the new language: "I have this feeling that I have another person deep inside". They assigned subjective meanings to the new symbols (i.e. words in the new language), and subjective connotations gradually become objective denotations for them. The participants drew on both types of symbolic language use: the first one granted them

access to a symbolic speech community and the second one granted them ownership of the language by enabling them to subvert conventions, which made them a MLS.

Furthermore, the use of enchantment, which is integral to fairy tales, was employed by learners to bring about new realities by saying the right words: Lori became multilingual by verbally arranging the transaction of buying dried tomato and Estela getting rid of a guy by saying the right words in the right language (discussed later). The metaphor of being multilingual “is a big miracle” and Lori’s fairy tale-like narrative in Chapter 5.3.5 pinpoint the enchanted and magical nature of L2 learning. According to semiotic theory, words bring about meanings that never existed before, as they trigger emotions and feelings that go beyond the informative value of words (Kramsch, 2009, p. 40). Furthermore, the theory holds that language as a tool cannot be separated from the user of the tool, the L2 learner in this case; thus, they have to be looked at and understood together. Many language learners grapple with the tension between their assumed obligation to use the language as prescribed by the conventions of a speech community and their desire to ascribe unconventional and subjective meanings to conventionalized symbols. Learners use their imagination to create new and unconventional meanings and these imagined realities become real in the mind of flesh-and-blood people as an embodied experience (Kramsch, 2009, p. 44).

6.2.1 Emotional Responses to Language Learning

Out of the 31 respondents, 23 students responded emotionally to the three questions I asked in the structured writing task. Learning English triggered powerful emotional responses in three participants, which provides evidence for the magnitude of the transformation these language learners have gone through.

I have an English-myself, that was born when I started to learn the language and it developed and was getting stronger and stronger with every single English word I acquired. (Bold in original) Sandra

I am different because I was born without this knowledge and I didn’t use it. Jennifer

I also feel different when I speak in another language than my mother tongue because I use different phrases and expressions that it feels like I'm not even Hungarian, I think differently, I sing Hungarian and English songs in a different way. Amanda

Sandra and Amanda are conscious of their inwardly generated identity (Kramersch, 2009, p. 15) in and through English. Sandra proposes that her English Self was “born” when she started to learn English. Sandra covertly refers to the metaphor of nurturing a baby into adulthood. Metaphorically speaking, English is a baby that needs to be fed by learning new words so that it can become a fully-fledged entity. Sandra uses the new signs as icons of reality, focusing on an analogy between the language and another concept (Kramersch, 2009, p. 41). The analogy between nurturing a baby and nurturing English indexes a mother-child relationship between Sandra’s Hungarian and English Self. The creation of an inwardly generated identity through the new language is analogous with the conception of a child. Moreover, the italic used by Sandra signals her effort to break away from the written conventions I used in my questions with regard to the format of writing and thus to create her own subjective meanings not only of the words she wrote down but also of the matters I asked her about. Sandra throws light on how “the power to arouse emotions... comes less from the content of what is said than from the form in which it is said” (Kramersch, 2009, p. 50). Similarly to Sandra, Jennifer draws on another powerful metaphor to address her English Self. She reflects on becoming more or gaining something new by means of learning English. The metaphor of self-growth is indicative of self-enhancement which refers to the improvement of the Self through L2 learning (Kramersch, 2009, pp. 63-4).

Amanda professes that learning an L2 is much more than simply giving new labels to things in the world, because with new words come new ideas and thoughts that the learner may have never thought about before, which expands the realm of the sayable and the thinkable (Kramersch, 2009, p. 15). Thinking differently has to do with linguistic relativity (which will be discussed in 6.4 in more detail) and singing differently has a lot to do with not only the meaning

of the song but also with the feelings and emotions generated by the song as well as the language of the song.

On the other end of the emotional continuum, the symbolic pain of learning the language of the Other that comes with a foreign consciousness (Lacan, 1977) is evidenced by the following testimonies.

I act differently when I'm talking in English.... I get more open with people when I am talking in English, but I feel more like myself when I speak in Hungarian. Janet

When I speak Hungarian, I am not so patient but it's different in English because I have to pay attention to my pronunciation and that helps me to [speak] a bit slower and be more patient with the people I talk to. Rachel

Janet feels more like herself talking in her native tongue because Hungarian is already her language but English is not yet hers to speak. The pain which is manifested in Janet's feeling of frustration is offset by the freedom she experiences when using English by becoming "more open with people". Rachel has to monitor what she says and how when she speaks a language that belongs to other people. She even enforces a different behavior on herself when she speaks English owing to the foreignness of the new language as well as due to the monitoring activity she performs. Using the new language requires her to work more if she is to express her ideas and thoughts in English. Janet and Rachel both feel impeded in their self-expression and limited by the new language that they do not yet fully own.

In the same vein, Emma's testimony provides clear evidence for the struggle between the learner's obligation to conform to conventions and their desire to break away from them so as to create subjective meanings for themselves.

[Native speakers] understand their mother tongue through my knowledge. When I use English, I have this feeling that I have another person deep inside that we make the sentences not only me. Because I have to think about English sentences to convert from Hungarian. Even if my speech becomes a little Hunglish, I feel the same with a smile on my face. Emma

Emma confirms that she has gained symbolic access to a speech community of NESs by conforming to the linguistic and cultural norms agreed upon by the community. However,

having to conform to conventions restricts the sphere of the sayable. The mutual understanding between NSs and L2 learners lies in the misconception that by speaking the common tongue we mean the same. This is a fallacious ratiocination for several reasons. Since language and culture go hand in hand with each other (Kramersch, 1998; Moron, 2001), learning English in an English-speaking culture is not the same as learning English in a Hungarian-speaking culture. Language is a product of culture because it expresses the cultural reality as agreed by a speech community (Kramersch, 1998). Finally, the subjective meanings that language learners attach to the L2 are unconventional from the perspective of NSs (Kramersch, 2009). Precisely due to the freedom rendered by the second type of symbolic English use, Emma is allowed to break away from linguistic conventions and become “Hunglish” even if it should be disapproved of by NESs. The struggle between what Emma is expected to do and what she would prefer to do is indicated in her statements “I have another person deep inside” and “even if my speech becomes a little Hunglish, I feel the same”. It is impossible, however, for her to “feel the same” because she is learning the language of the Other (Lacan, 1977). The language can only be hers if she can access the symbolic order where she can find a space to subvert the tradition and to create her own meanings with regard to the language (Kramersch, 2009, p. 101). In other words, she can only gain ownership of English by distancing herself from the language through symbolic forms. Consequently, this view of gaining ownership of English is utterly different from gaining ownership of English from an ELF perspective. Although, in both cases ownership results from not having to conform to linguistic conventions, symbolic language use focuses on the subjective and creative uses of English whereas ELF stresses successful communication or the successful use of English for one’s own purposes (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011; Widdowson, 2012). Kramersch (2009) is not concerned with success or the lack of success; although, successful language use may be part of the process. Her concern is the subjective and creative way in which language learning is experienced by L2 learners in their entirety. By

contrast, ELF communication focusses on only one aspect of language learning which is successfully sustained communication without a regard for how the language learner experiences using the language.

When I use English, I feel like I'm thinking differently. Maybe it's because of the fact that our culture, behavior, attitude differ from one another. To be honest, I think I can express myself in English better. I can talk more freely, which gives me more confidence. When I am abroad and use English..., it feels like a fresh start. Rosemary

Rosemary's account sheds light on how learning English in a non-English speaking country such as Hungary or in a native English speaking country results in different language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2013) and enculturation processes (Sussman, 2002). Rosemary's English knowledge does not compare to that of monolingual English speakers not only in terms of proficiency level but also with regard to Rosemary's knowledge of her native language through which she learnt English. Rosemary, who has never been to an English speaking country, learnt about English speaking cultures in Hungary drawing on the ideologies of English language textbooks (Kramsch, 1998, 2009), the experiences of Hungarian teachers of English, the Internet, English language texts, and English-speaking movies. These experiences greatly differ from the ways NESs are encultured, which results in Rosemary's different ways of thinking and behaving in English. Furthermore, thinking differently in another language derives from not only some aspects of linguistic relativity, or different enculturation processes, but also due to the symbolic use of the new language by learners who utilize the language subjectively and creatively (Kramsch, 2009). On the one hand, conforming to rules limits what may be said, and on the other hand, having the freedom to use the language as a new way of self-expression and self-exploration is liberating: "I can talk more freely, which gives me more confidence. When I am abroad and use English..., it feels like a fresh start." When having a repertoire of more than one language, the choice of one language over another one is a way of self-expression that may be liberating or may put the speaker at ease: "I think I

can express myself in English better.” Similarly to Rosemary, other students reported the feeling of being at ease when speaking English rather than Hungarian.

English is an easy language and most of the time I think in English because that is faster and easier. Student 26: Anonymous student

I often feel that it is more comfortable to use it [English] than Hungarian. Kailee

Well, sometimes I feel that I can express myself much more accurately in English than in my mother tongue. Donna

The participants’ English language proficiency level, which ranges between B2 and C1 level, is not exclusively responsible for feeling at ease. The feeling of being at ease when speaking English may originate from the feeling of freedom generated by the use of English. The English language and the cultural connotations attached to it are often associated with freedom and economic opportunity. Movies depicting some version of the American dream, high school series and sit coms showing how much fun friends and family have together, heroes who are always righteous, save the world and defeat the evil all confirm the image of freedom and the promise of a good life by speaking English which as a LF is understood all over the globe. Therefore, the word freedom is often associated with the English language and the British or American culture.

According to blended space theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), the mind is metaphorical and often brings two concepts together to describe a single one. For example, owing to the tormented history of Hungary the cultural connotation of freedom in Hungarian often refers to freedom from restraint or being free from domination. By contrast, due to the global spread of cultural products advertising freedom, the cultural connotation of freedom in English has come to denote freedom to act, do, or become something/somebody (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/freedom>). Consequently, L2 learners oftentimes start blending the cultural connotations of words in their different languages whose dictionary meaning seems to be the same to create hybrid meanings for themselves. Others might replace

the cultural connotation of a word in one language with that of another one in another language. for example, these Hungarian English learners might replace the Hungarian meaning of freedom (freedom from something) with the English meaning of freedom (freedom to do something); thus, cultural connotation becomes denotation and the subjective becomes the objective reality. The participants' feeling of freedom associated with the feeling of being at ease or the ability to talk and think faster also comes from their conceptual blending of the cultural connotations of English and Hungarian. Furthermore, Rosemary saying that speaking another language "feels like a fresh start" shows that her Reflexive Self (Neisser, 1988) is conscious of an inwardly generated identity through language learning (Kramsch, 2009, p. 15) which reflects her desire to identify with the Other in English as well as her desire of self-fulfillment through English learning (Kristeva, 1980).

Culturally accepted behaviors in an English-speaking culture may be adopted by English learners when they speak English.

I can't be – could hardly be – rude in English. When I speak English I'm kind and humble all the time. In another case when I speak French, I feel pretty scientific. Maybe it's because of the pronunciation or utterance. Student 30

This anonymous student's reported inability to be rude in English, whereas the idea of being rude is not a taboo in Hungarian, resonates with English politeness referring to the imagined prototype of the English gentleman which is an idealized cognitive model of the Self (Kramsch, 2009, p. 45). Associating the way French sounds with being scientific refers to language learners' subjective meaning-making processes in the L2, which makes them MLSs. This student assigned new meanings to the language based on how the new letters and words sound ("when I speak French, I feel pretty scientific"). This anonymous student's Reflexive Self was aware of the subjective connection it made between the language and how speaking the language feels for her based the metonymy of sounds referring to the whole language.

6.2.2 Escape from Old Worlds, Distance from New Worlds

The desire to learn a new language often results from learners' desire to escape the linguistic and cultural constraints of their mother tongue (Kramersch, 2009; Kristeva, 1980). Nonetheless, they often distance themselves from the L2 by creating their subjective meanings of and resonances about the L2. Unlike the way ownership of English is understood in ELF theory (discussed in Chapter 5.3.2), Kramersch (2009) puts forth that language learners can only own the L2 when they can distance themselves from it and find spaces to subvert conventions and create creative and subjective meanings that are idiosyncratic. Lacan (1977) explained that using a new language with its foreign consciousness is often a painful process that can be manifest in physical, psychological or symbolic pain that needs to be alleviated by the learner.

The other activity when I prefer my second language is writing my diary or just putting my thoughts and ideas on a piece of paper. Sometimes it is painful to recognize your mistakes, but if you admit them in a different language: they are not your sins anymore. You confess them and do not at the same time, and it gives you relief. (Italic in original) Sandra

According to the transmission model of language (Graddol, 1994), written and print medium focuses on form (grammar) and information (lexical structures) that can be analyzed and taught. Once they are learnt, the learner is capable of communicating in the new language relying on the referential meanings of words. Foreign language teaching and learning often prioritize this model over the social model that emphasizes communication and dialogue to make meaning by using the L2. Sandra, who is a high achiever and a perfectionist in English classes (my own observations and personal communication with the student), believes in this model because it offers attainable boundaries of the learning process, promising a predictable future in the unpredictable and volatile process of language learning which seems so dreadful to her. Sandra's pain of speaking English that belongs to other people (Lacan, 1977) is coupled with the fear of an unpredictable future. Freeing the learner from the constraints of form and referential meanings can only take place privately and creatively through writing a diary when the learner is not obligated to meet the requirements of educational institutions and gate-keeping

mechanisms (Kramsch, 2009, pp. 156-7). Sandra's testimony is immensely emotional in tone, the genre of her narrative is similar to a religious confession in which she privately confesses her linguistic sins, causing her symbolic body immense symbolic pain, and then she receives redemption, in return. Sandra's strategy for the private expression of herself and for the creation of her symbolic Self when speaking English are identical to the strategy she applies in writing.

I have a strange habit; I love talking to myself. If I do it in Hungarian, it sounds a bit crazy. But if I communicate with myself in English, it is like talking to another person. I really love speaking in English but I am terribly afraid of making mistakes in public, so this is the solution for this problem too. (Italic in original) Sandra

Talking to herself, she can evade meeting the conventions of the L2 as set by the transmission model of language. Talking to herself is the spoken version of writing a diary: a private and creative way of self-expression that is free of constraints enforced by rules and gatekeepers.

Donna uses English to escape the old world of her mother tongue and through the distance offered by English she distances herself from her problems experienced by her Hungarian Self.

Well, I have a habit which is the following: when I feel that my head is full of crap (friendship-dramas, family-dramas or boyfriend-dramas) and I need to clear it, I often write all the stuff out of my head and it helps leave things behind or at least put them away for a short period of time. Well, sometimes I feel that I can express myself much more accurately in English than in my mother language. I just find more fitting expressions in English and it just comes to my mind in English, sometimes I cannot even find a word or phrase in Hungarian. (Donna)

Kramsch (2009) stresses that language learning is often motivated by the promise of escape from the constraints of the L1. Donna cannot physically escape her problems, but she can find refuge in using English, which provides sufficient distance for her from her problems in Hungarian. By distancing herself from them, she can look at her issues from the perspective of an outsider rather than from that of an insider. This is a liberating experience for her: "I feel that I can express myself much more accurately in English... I just find more fitting expressions in English ... I cannot even find a word or phrase in Hungarian." The powerful emotional response, merging the feeling of excitement, freedom, and exhilaration triggered by English, is

in evidence in the reiteration of the experience. Donna draws on conceptual blending (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) by creating a hybrid meaning of freedom for herself: she frees herself from her problems (Hungarian meaning of ‘freedom’); nevertheless, she uses English instead of Hungarian to do so.

Kailee prefers doing uncomfortable things with words relying on the performative use of the language (Austin, 1962) in English.

I often feel that it is more comfortable to use it [English] than Hungarian. It may be because it is not my mother tongue and thus not so frustrating when I want to express my deeper feelings and thoughts or even when I make a complaint about something. Kailee

Traditionally, Hungarians are not socialized into filing complaints about inadequate products, services, or circumstances, and doing so tends to make them feel uncomfortable and insecure. By contrast, standing up for one’s rights and making complaints are part of the enculturation process for Americans, for instance. The habitus acquired at home and in school is different for Hungarians and Americans with regard to how to behave and what to say in certain situations (Bourdieu, 1997). Kailee employs the imagined habitus of an imagined English speaker (probably an American one) to behave in a way that is not part of her Hungarian habitus, because, growing up in Hungary, she was not socialized into this practice every time she is dissatisfied. Kailee also became the trickster of the language (Kramsch, 2009), because she could turn an unpleasant situation to her advantage, privilege only available to MLSs. As for expressing “deeper feelings” that may be frustrating to Kailee, she can utilize English to create a distance between herself and her negative feelings. Unlike monolingual Hungarians, she can employ the strategy of creating a distance between her problems and herself, which may help her to process the issue that she is to face.

6.2.3 The L2 as a Threat to the Integrity of the Language Learner’s Identity

Sections 6.1 and 6.2 corroborated that MLSs respond emotionally to language learning, resulting in subjective meaning-making processes that lead to speaking, thinking, and acting

differently when they speak English as opposed to their mother tongue. However, Kristeva (1980) and Kramsch (2009) put forward that MLSs may feel threatened by the ways the new language may subvert the integrity of their identity; thus, they turn away from subjective associations triggered by the L2 and resort to the mother tongue that is familiar and where they feel safe. I did not find examples for this phenomenon in my datasets, because 23 out of the 31 students embraced the novel experiences and feelings language learning evoked in them. Nonetheless, in the case of two students I did find evidence for preferring the mother tongue over any L2 so as to avoid the subjective connotations of the L2 with regard to their L1 primary emotions. The other six students did not comment on this dimension of their language use.

I spent two weeks in England and I got to know a boy. We talked a lot and spent that time together. On the last day he said to me that he really liked me and if he had been able to, he wouldn't have hesitated to come with me. I liked him too or maybe it was more than a like. I tried to express clearly my feelings but I didn't find the best words. That was the time when I realized that from my point of view exists a limit which you get over by learning. I really like to tell my boyfriend about my feelings. And I can't imagine that I would do it in another language. Estela

I feel like I cannot express my anger in a second or third language, so if I get into a fight, I will probably use Berber curses... If I am in an intimate moment, I will not be using English or Arabic, I do not know why! It just does not sound right. Samir

Primary emotions (Damasio, 1994) such as love, happiness, or anger seem so deeply rooted in Estela and Samir and so strongly linked to their first language socialization and enculturation that they refuse to resort to the subjective meanings that may be linked to these emotions and feelings in their L2 or L3. The reason for this is that primary emotions constitute the core of individuals' being that they cannot afford to be taken away or altered by the subversive tendencies of the new language. In section 6.2 I presented how the majority of the participants (N 24) became MLSs by responding emotionally to L2 learning and by creating their own meanings associated with the L2. The participants' emotional responses to learning the L2 confirm the embodied nature of their language learning which can be manifest in

multiple ways in their attitudes, beliefs, behavior, and thoughts. In section 6.3 I further expand on the themes that characterize the informants' language learning as an embodied experience.

6.3 The Embodied Experience of Language Learning

Language learning is an embodied experience, as it involves the body and the mind of the L2 learner. Damasio (1994) argues that cognition is embodied because the body and the mind are inseparable. Cognition and the functioning of the brain are linked to emotions which are associated with the body; therefore, emotions guide cognition. However, the body is not a passive recipient of stimuli coming from the outside world because it produces images that exert an impact on the way the body reacts to the environment (Damasio, 1994).

Sandra's narratives about the pain she feels when she commits a linguistic sin in English does symbolic harm to her symbolic body that is involved in L2 learning, triggering powerful emotional responses in her and a highly emotional narrative. Sandra is also a trickster of the language who can see without being seen, who can cheat (i.e. commit linguistic sins) without getting caught by teachers and gatekeepers. Her narrative demonstrates clearly that language learning involves the whole being of the learner: her cognition, her brain, her mind, her emotions, and her body. All these systems within the learner are connected to one another, resulting in dynamic relationships between them that can be perceived as a complex dynamic system that responds to sub-level changes (i.e. changes occurring in the systems within the learner) as well as to the environment (Larsen-Freeman, 2017; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Strawinska, 2013).

When exploring the metaphors that learners conceived about their own language learning experiences Kramsch (2009) found that the most frequently emerging themes addressed identification with native speakers, role-playing, physical and emotional experiences, flights or romance and exoticism associated with the foreign sounds, physical duress, return to childhood, acquisition of a new way of thinking, changing identity, acquiring a new social and emotional

self, entering a new world, engaging in creative/artistic processes, or acquiring a secret code. In section 6.3 I elaborate on the themes that emerged in my datasets including the theme of identification with native speakers, self-enhancement, the experience of transformation, playing a role, becoming the trickster of language, and the experience of meaningfully lived L2 learning.

6.3. 1 Identification with Native Speakers

Identification with native speakers reflects the language learner's desire to identify with the Other (Kristeva, 1980). Extreme desire to identify with native speakers often reflects the learner's infatuation with the language that may manifest itself in their desired and often obsessive relationship with a real native speaker (Kramsch, 2009, p. 95). The following testimonies demonstrate how much some interviewees desire to identify with the Other: a native speaker of English.

The main reason for these “different personalities” is that when you speak in a foreign language, you want to sound as native as possible (maybe) and in order to do so, you act differently.
Donna

I think we pick up the habits of native speakers when we start speaking their language. Mainly because we learn the language while watching them and we learn about their culture as well.
Student 26

Donna turns her own (subjective) idea into a fact by making the generalization that all language learners wish to “sound as native as possible”. Her statement indicates her immense desire to identify with native speakers, which is, in her opinion, only feasible by adopting the habitus of native speakers. By becoming someone else, the trickster in the disguise of a pseudo-native speaker (Medgyes, 2017), she can own the language and thus achieve self-fulfillment (Kristeva, 1980). Student 26 draws on her imagination to find connections between herself and native speakers, since living in Hungary, she argues, she stands little chance of getting to know flesh-and-blood native speakers. Anderson's (1983) concept of imagined community can be extended not only to the members of one's own community but to the members of other communities of NESs. In addition, watching videos and films featuring NESs are only images

or representations of these people and the events they are involved in; these characters have little to do with the reality of these individuals.

6.3.2 Self-enhancement

Similarly to Kramersch's (2009, pp. 63-4) findings, self-enhancement and self-centeredness characterized many of the stories that my participants related.

When I travel with my parents who cannot speak any other language except Korean, I translate for them... I feel I am a special and unique person who can communicate with others in a foreign country, and I am proud of myself. Hyun

When I speak Hungarian, that isn't special, but when I speak in English, I know that there was a lot of hard work. Jennifer

Feeling special and unique due to the learner's knowledge of an L2 is typical of many language learners' experiences. This feeling of uniqueness does not derive from flawless or native-like language use but from the comparison of the learner's language skills to those of others who do not speak any L2. As a result, these learners adopt the role of language specialists such as teachers, translators, interpreters or guides for friends and family, which grants them an outstanding status that they would not have otherwise. In this way, they can rid themselves of their old social or family status, which they may find rather limiting than liberating, to become leaders who can orchestrate people and events around them using the L2. Consequently, by doing so, they are able to change their own and their interactants' social and psychological reality (Kramersch, 2009, p. 44, 124).

However, self-enhancement may be applied in order to avoid prejudice, self-degradation, and disparagement.

When we go to Austria with my friends or brothers, we always speak to each other in German. It might be because Hungarians are not really welcome, except they are qualified and well-educated. Joey

Joey is of the opinion that Austrians are prejudiced against Hungarians; therefore, he and his friends attempt to speak German to impress the locals with their good German skills. They

assume this role either to pass for a native German speaker or for an educated Hungarian with a good command of German. Since individuals' intersubjectivity and identity construction are volatile and constructed and shaped in and by interaction with other speakers ((De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012), Joey and his friends intend to construct a favorable identity for themselves when interacting with German speakers in Austria. They act upon their social and psychological reality by speaking German to attain their goal. When MLSs choose a particular language from their repertoire of several languages, this becomes a way of self-expression for them (Kramsch, 2009, p. 16). Joey and his friends could speak ELF in Austria, but they opt for German only to alter their self-perception for themselves and for their interactants.

6.3.3 The Phoenix case: The Experience of Transformation

The learner's Reflexive Self (Neisser, 1988) is responsible for introspection and reflection on the language learning process. Detecting and evaluating the changes the learner undergoes in the process of SLA is also a metacognitive process monitored and implemented by the Reflexive Self. Similarly to Kramsch's (2009) findings, the theme of learner transformation emerged in my data as well. Six students perceived their English learning as a transformation, an arduous journey starting with initial hardships but heading to a rewarding future and the feeling of being at ease. Amber's testimony of the transformation was laden with emotions.

Becoming an expert in foreign languages requires a lot of studying and interactions with others. It doesn't come by heart at the first time but with enough courage I believe everybody can break down the obstacles. I cannot count how many times did I feel that talking in Hungarian is far more easier and prettier but after a while with a little strength of will I realized that it is not that hard as I imagined. Plus I started to enjoy it, so I am becoming more and more interested in what English and the future holds to me ☺. Amber

Amber grasps the concept of her own transformation as a language learner using the metaphors of overcoming an obstacle ("I believe everybody can break down the obstacles"), enduring the Lacanian pain (1977) ("I cannot count how many times did I feel that talking in Hungarian is far more easier and prettier") and breaking free from a prison to be free and to enjoy language learning ("after a while with a little strength of will I realized that it is not that

hard as I imagined. Plus I started to enjoy it”). Amber was grappling with the symbolic, emotional, and physical pain of using a new language that belongs to other people and not yet to her (Lacan, 1977). Amber’s Reflexive Self was capable of grasping the transformation process of how her struggles to use English were replaced by ease and enjoyment when speaking English, which somewhat alleviated her Lacanian pain.

6. 3. 4 Imagined L2 Habitus and Playing a Role in the L2

Four students reported to act differently when speaking English, nine students felt like they became a different person when speaking English, and three students linked explicitly the use of English to acting and playing a role.

When I am abroad and use English..., it feels like a fresh start. Rosemary

I recognized that some people speak in a different way when they use their second or third language... Sometimes when I use English... I feel that I am a different person. It is like play-acting. Vicky

Using another language truly makes you different. It’s a completely different way of thinking... Talking and thinking in a different language is in connection with acting. You can’t be totally yourself at the beginning but later on when it becomes a daily routine, you will be comfortable in your role. I personally believe that talking in foreign language helps to improve imagination, creativity and self-understanding. Student 25

Thinking in a second or third language requires more attention and your brain to work harder. The main reason for these “different personalities” is that when you speak in a foreign language, you want to sound as native as possible (maybe) and in order to do so, you act differently because you **act**. And that’s like another version of you. (Bold in original) Donna

The students’ testimonies in this section along with Amber’s testimony in 6.3.3 stress the effort and hard work they invested in learning English, which they believe was worth the trouble. Becoming a trickster of language (Kramersch, 2009) which is linked to acting and playing a role also requires a lot of effort and practice. Due to the new emotional responses and the subjective resonances and meanings triggered by speaking an L2, speaking English for these students is a different experience from using the mother tongue, Hungarian. Furthermore, the habitus (Bourdieu, 1997) of a Hungarian person growing up in Hungary is different from the habitus of an English speaking person raised in an English speaking country. However, English

learners become familiar with the ways of thinking and behaving of both NESs and ELF speakers (such as their teachers, their peers, and other interactants) in and through the new language. Using their imagination of how NES and ELF speakers think and behave, they may choose to adopt their habitus, which enables them to switch between ways of behaving and thinking when they speak English. The possibility to consciously switch is only rarely possible speaking the mother tongue (e.g. when switching between L1 registers) because the L1 enculturation process (Sussman, 2002) or the formation of one's habitus (Bourdieu, 1997) takes place unconsciously and becomes invisible to the individual. Individuals can explore their mother tongue habitus when they compare and contrast it with that of other English speakers. This is the time when differences between the different languages and the related habitus of the people speaking these languages become palpable and salient. Moreover, with a new language comes a new consciousness and an imagined new habitus that learners can discover for themselves during the L2 learning process. This may disturb their identity and it may take them some time decide who they are and who they wish to become using the new language. They can create an imagined hybrid L2 identity that is situated between the two worlds denoting the two languages. I coin the different ways of behaving and thinking enabled by the new language that learners adopt *imagined L2 habitus*. Therefore, the subject emerges on a continuum subsuming the two worlds: the habitus of the first language and the imagined habitus of the second language, and the subject constantly positions itself on this continuum, making subjectivation and the creation of subjectivity an ongoing process. This is the process that Kramersch (2009) labels a subjectivity-in-process and this is how Kristeva (1986) perceives the emergence of the subject at the border of two worlds: the realm of the semiotic and the realm of the symbolic.

The above proposed concept of imagined L2 habitus draws on Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1997), Kramersch's concept of subjectivity (2009), Kristeva's (1980) concept of 'desire',

and Sussman's (2002) cultural identity model of the sojourn. Acting on the language learner's imagined L2 habitus follows the stages of Sussman's (2002) model; however, the identity responses in my concept focus more on learning and speaking an L2 than on exposure to a new culture in another country. Drawing on the stages proposed by Sussman (2002), many language learners study an L2 in their home country in which they are encultured and which forms their habitus. They become aware of their mother tongue habitus (thoughts and behavior) when they learn a new language by comparing and contrasting the two, which may lead to an identity or self-concept disturbance (Sussman, 2002). During this process language learners try to figure out who they are or who they desire to become through the new language. At this point my term chimes with Kristeva's (1980) concept of desire. In her view, desire refers to the learner's inner desire to identify with an imagined Other denoting a powerful drive towards self-fulfillment or the desire to resort to the familiar habitus of their L1 language and its culture because of the magnitude of the threat the L2 and the imagined habitus poses to the integrity and wholeness of the learner's identity. Finally, the subject's constant positioning itself on the continuum of the L1 habitus and the imagined L2 habitus is in line with Kramsch's (2009) concept of subjectivity denoting the symbolic meaning language learners give to themselves and their lives through the symbolic system of a language which is constructed and shaped by interaction with other people using the language.

Student 30's statement that "I can't be rude in English" refers to the imagined L2 habitus the learner assumes when speaking English based on the imagined prototype of the English gentleman which is an idealized cognitive model of the Self (Kramsch, 2009, p. 45). Student 25 links speaking English to acting and stresses the discomfort that the disturbed self-concept causes to her/him, which stems from the recognition of the differences between the learner's L1 habitus and the habitus of English speakers: "You can't be totally yourself at the beginning". Therefore, the beginning stage of language learning is characterized by a self-concept

disturbance which is followed by a period of adjustment when the learner figures out who s/he wishes to be when speaking the L2, which finally results in the construction of the imagined L2 habitus that the learner assumes when speaking the language: “But later on when it becomes a daily routine, you will be comfortable in your role”. When Donna assumes her imagined L2 habitus, she wishes to sound as native as possible entailing the different ways of behaving and thinking of NESs: “The main reason for these “different personalities” is that when you speak in a foreign language, you want to sound as native as possible”. Finally, I present another example of switching between roles relying on the learner’s imagined L2 habitus when speaking English.

I am louder in English, my Korean voice is higher, I act more feminine and I am not so loud.
Hyun

Korean (L1) cultural expectations, enculturation, and Hyun’s L1 habitus are, in her view, in sharp contrast with her habitus in English reflecting her ways of thinking and behaving in English. Hyun relies on her imagined English habitus when speaking English, which makes her behave and think differently from when she speaks Korean drawing on her L1 habitus enforced by Korean cultural and family expectations. To sum up, in this section I have presented how learners, drawing on their imagined L2 habitus, can assume a new role and thus can speak, think, and act differently in their L2. In section 6.3 I delineate how learners can become the trickster of languages by relying on their imagined L2 habitus.

6.3.5 The Trickster of Languages

Altogether, four students reported to have utilized the English language to lose Hungarian speaking individuals they assumed did not speak their L2 because they did not wish to converse with them. To this end, they assumed the role of a non-Hungarian speaking foreigner. Estela's story is a wonderful example of how language learners can become tricksters of languages (Kramersch, 2009) not only in private but also in public – in front of an audience.

Only one situation came to my mind. When we were at Morrison's in Budapest with my besties, some guys stared at us and came closer and closer. We didn't want to deal with them as we planned a 'girls' night', so we pretended that we were Spanish. They started to chat with us but when we told them Spanish sentences, they understood nothing. It was very funny as we had only basic Spanish knowledge, so our communication was like:

Guy: Olyan szép vagy! (You are so beautiful!)

Estela: La silla al lado de tu es más cómodo. (The chair next to you seems more comfortable.)

Guy: Nem beszélsz magyarul? (Don't you speak Hungarian?)

Estela: El gato subió en el árbol. (The cat climbed up onto the tree.)

Guy: És angolul? (Do you speak English?)

Estela: No te preocupes! (Don't worry!)

And then he left me alone. My friends did the same, so we could start our party soon.
(Formatting in original) Estela

Estela and her friends utilized their repertoire of three languages to change their own and their interactant's social and psychological reality (Kramersch, 2009, p. 44, 124). They relied on their mother tongue to understand the guy's Hungarian utterances but they decided to conceal their identity and their knowledge of Hungarian and English; instead, they spoke Spanish that they assumed their interactant would not understand so as to lose him before their all-girls' party commenced. By playing with their languages to trick another person into believing that they do not speak the same tongue(s), these girls became tricksters of languages. Tricksters can see without being seen, they can cheat without being caught cheating, they can use a secret code that others cannot decipher, and they can assume roles and act in front of an uninformed audience only to change the reality they live in (Kramersch, 2009). In doing so Estella and her friends managed to change their intersubjectivity and their subject position in this short

interaction in a way that served their interests (Kramsch, 2009). Their story elaborately features the essence of what it means to be a MLS. Estella's story points out that L2 learning can be more or less meaningfully lived, which is irrespective of L2 proficiency level, because the girls in the story only had a beginner command of Spanish. In section 6.3.6, I elaborate more on language learning as a meaningfully lived experience.

6.3.6 The Meaningfully Lived Experience

Traditional SLA research often views language learning as successful or unsuccessful in terms of attained language proficiency level; however, Kramsch (2009, p. 4) argues that language learning being successful or unsuccessful is relative and “an artifact of schooling”; therefore, she puts forth that language learning is an experience that may be transformative for L2 learners to varying extents and it can be more or less meaningfully lived by learners. Consequently, I take the Kramschian view here, which looks at L2 learners in their entirety as complex human beings. All the testimonies I have presented in Chapter 6 illustrate how meaningfully the participants experienced their L2 learning and to what extent the experience transformed their lives. Nevertheless, in this section I focus on two extreme cases with regard to this meaningful experience.

I don't need to feel embarrassed because I don't know another language... I feel more rather than being useless. I would feel useless if I couldn't speak more than one language. Emma

English is not my major, so this is not what I am interested in most, so for me it is not that necessary to practice the way English majors do. Sarah

For Emma, who already spoke three languages and was learning a fourth at the time of the research, speaking several languages was at the core of her very being and it was a paramount factor in her identity construction: it determined how she perceived herself and how she wished to be perceived by others. In the same vein, not speaking foreign languages would take away the essence of what she was, what she liked, and who she wished to become, which also indicated her ideal self as a MLS (Dörnyei, 2005; Kramsch, 2009). Emma's experience of

acquiring different tongues was transformative and highly meaningful for her. By contrast, in Sarah's life English learning did not constitute the core of her being. Learning English at a higher level in the BA minor program was a matter of circumstance rather than a matter of desire for her, resulting from the nature of the BA program she pursued. By contrast, traditional SLA research would describe Emma as a learner exhibiting high levels of intrinsic motivation to learn languages and Sarah as a learner displaying mostly extrinsic motivation to learn English. Therefore, I advocate the synthesis of these two views to arrive at a more complex understanding of language learners involved in the process of L2 learning. Emma's and Sarah's testimonies indicate that intrinsic motivation leads to a more meaningfully lived and possibly more transformative L2 learning experience. The inner drive to learn English results in more powerful emotional responses and more subjective resonances about the L2, making L2 learning a more transformative experience in learners' lives. Therefore, learners' intrinsic motivation to learn an L2 can be linked to the desire to learn the language as an act of self-fulfillment in and via language learning (Kristeva, 1980) as well as to the process of becoming a MLS (Kramsch, 2009). By contrast, learners' extrinsic motivation to learn an L2 results in a less meaningful and less transformative L2 learning experience that does not trigger a desire in learners to learn the language as an act of self-fulfillment.

In summary, in section 6.3, I scrutinized the manifestations of the embodied nature of the participants' L2 learning experiences, and in 6.4 I discuss how the participants' introspection and self-reflection lead to a better understanding of the L2 learning processes they experience with regard to linguistic relativity.

6.4 Revisiting Linguistic Relativity

The weak version of linguistic relativity puts forth that languages differ not in what they may or can convey but in what they must convey (Boroditsky, 2013, pp.36-7). Therefore, what speakers of a particular language must convey through their language shapes how they perceive objects, people, events, and the world around them. This happens because languages cut up reality in different ways depending on the semantic and grammatical categories they have (Kramsch, 1998, p. 13). The following quotations shed light on how some students perceive the differences between the languages that they speak.

As I see it, we are thoughts to be expressed. And the way we do it forms us. (Bold in original)
Sandra

In most cases I think in my mother tongue, so firstly, I word my thoughts in my mother tongue. In my opinion, it is impossible to translate your opinion or thoughts properly into a second or third language. Dana

I seldom express something as I thought. My mother tongue, Korean, and English have quite different sentence structure and expressions. Hyun

Sandra eloquently casts light on how our thoughts shape the way we perceive ourselves and the world surrounding us. Our thoughts are shaped and constructed by and in the languages we speak; hence, how we construct our thoughts and ideas is reflective of the language we speak. Dana and Hyun elaborate on the untranslatability of thoughts and ideas from one language into another owing to lingua-cultural differences expressed by the language. Since language is a product of a particular culture (Kramsch, 1998), language gives evidence of the various ways different cultures speaking different languages perceive the world. This idea is in keeping with the fact that learning a new language generates new ideas, new thoughts, and a new consciousness in the learner (Kramsch, 2009; Lacan, 1977). Furthermore, Kramsch (2009) adds that these new ideas and thoughts rendered by the new language trigger subjective meanings and resonances in the learner, connecting the tangible and objectively observable differences between languages (i.e. different denotations) with the realm of the symbolic

(Kramersch, 2009) referring to the subjective meanings learners attribute to the language and the realm of the semiotic (Kristeva, 1984) denoting the world without words which is, nevertheless, capable of signifying things in the world.

Hyun observed the magnitude of the differences between Korean and English, making the translation of thoughts and ideas from one language into the other virtually impossible. What she does to transform meanings created in Korean into English is to find the English meaning-making processes equivalent of her original thoughts in Korean and match them with the appropriate grammatical and lexical structures available to her in English.

The next two quotations are indicative of the participants' familiarity with linguistic relativity.

There is not any language which is as bolted as the Hungarian language. There are fewer synonyms in English than in Hungarian. Moreover, there are a lot of words which have two or more meanings. For instance, in Hungarian we use the same word for letter and leaf or pear and light bulb. There are fewer synonyms in English... in English we use different words... If you do not know a Hungarian word or expression in English, you try to translate it word by word and it has no right meaning in English. Vicky

Language shapes our thoughts, and I can claim that language reshapes the way we perceive the world surrounding us, therefore, using a different language will have a powerful effect on the person's identity and his personality, for instance, I can speak three distinctive languages and I relate to each of them in a different way. First, Tamazight is my mother tongue that represents my people in various aspects. When I use my language, I can be more eloquent and I am able to express myself in a more authentic vocabulary. Furthermore, each language was built upon social and cultural specificities that the native speaker can associate with better than a language learner. Samir

Vicky demonstrates her knowledge about the Hungarian and English languages, even though, she states some false facts. For instance, she claims that there are fewer synonyms in English than in Hungarian, but Bryson (1990, pp. 67-83) explains that the English language contains a tremendous amount of words and is replete with synonyms to denote things in the world. Furthermore, many English words have numerous meanings, whereas words in the Hungarian language have one or just a few meanings. I believe her fallacy derives from her lack of knowledge of these English words, many of which are quite rare or archaic. Nonetheless,

Vicky's Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) has gathered a story about linguistic relativity, probably in a linguistic class at UP, and her Reflexive Self reflected on the interview question drawing on the incomplete knowledge of her Conceptual Self.

Samir has learnt about linguistic relativity in his studies as well; thus, his Reflexive Self reflects on the theory of linguistic relativity gathered by his Conceptual Self with regard to his language learning experiences. He has also been familiarized with how the languages he speaks shape his identity construction and how language and culture influence meaning-making processes as they merge. As he is knowledgeable about language-related theories, his Reflexive Self evaluates the knowledge of his Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) it has gathered through stories. Such metacognitive processes are crucial in language learning as they organize the learner's knowledge about language and language learning into learner beliefs (Horwitz, 1987) about language and language learning (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). Vicky's and Samir's interview excerpts pinpoint how knowing theories of language and L2 learning can facilitate the learner's awareness of these processes that constantly interact in learning and speaking various languages. This awareness tends to be available to multilingual speakers; since, monolingual speakers cannot experience these processes without knowing at least two languages.

6.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I analyzed the participants' answers to the three structured writing task questions in order to explore their identity construction in their various languages in line with the multidisciplinary identity research framework inspired by Kramersch (2009). I identified many overlaps between her findings and my results, thus corroborating the validity of Kramersch's approach. With regard to the participants' signification practices, I found that the students experienced powerful emotional responses to learning and speaking English and they utilized the new language to identify with the Other reflecting their wish to achieve self-fulfillment in L2 learning (Kristeva, 1980). The participants' desire to resort to their mother

tongue as described by the second type of ‘desire’ (Kristeva, 1980) emerged only in connection with their primary emotions constituting the core of their being, which is the essence of their identity that was threatened by the new language.

Language learning as an embodied experience was found in the interviewees’ desire to identify with native speakers, in their self-enhancement practices, and in the introspective and retrospective functioning of their Reflexive and Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988). The students experienced language learning mostly meaningfully, which was irrespective of their command of the language, but it was linked to the intrinsic and extrinsic dimension of their motivation to learn English. Some of them became tricksters of the language only to alter their own and their interlocutors’ social and psychological reality (Kramsch, 2009). I coined the term imagined L2 habitus that language learners may adopt in interactions when using their L2. It derives from the learner’s borrowing of NES and ELF speakers’ habitus to replace their L1 habitus in L2 interactions. When doing so, learners speak, act, and think differently from how they would do in their L1 that is linked to their L1 habitus (Bourdieu, 1997). Acting upon their imagined L2 habitus, learners tend to rely on their imagination because the other speaker whose habitus they borrow is unknown to them; the person’s image or representation is only created in the learner’s imagination. Finally, the students’ Reflexive Self and Conceptual Self were engaged in reflecting on their language learning experiences, and three students reflected on linguistic relativity with regard to their own experiences.

Due to the interconnectedness of factors involved in L2 learning, I argue for a dynamic view of language learning and the identity construction associated with it. There are many processes involved in language learning ranging from brain mechanisms and cognition to affect that is associated with emotions, feelings and thus the body of the language learner. Each of these systems may change due to their vastness, making learning a dynamic process; nevertheless, these systems interact with one another, thus leading to system-level changes that

are manifest in the identity construction of the learner. The learner responds to the environment, making the negotiation of meaning, self-perception, and identity construction an on-going “subjectivity-in-process” (Kramsch, 2009).

Finally, I discussed in this chapter how the same phenomenon such as motivation or ownership of English can be interpreted from two perspectives: traditional SLA research and a multidisciplinary approach of identity research. Thus, I call for a synthesis of views and research traditions instead of a one-sided approach so as to arrive at a more complex and meaningful understanding of language learning that takes place in language learners; therefore, learners cannot and should not be separated from the learning processes they experience. In Chapter 7, in which I investigate the participants’ IDs and how they shape their multilingual identity construction, I further elaborate on how the two research traditions can be reconciled and how they can complement rather than exclude each other.

CHAPTER 7 – EXPLORING INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES FROM MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 7 I scrutinize what characterizes the participants' individual differences as language learners as well as how these individual differences construct and shape their linguistic identity in a context where English is shifting to being used as a lingua franca both in the classroom and outside the classroom. To this end I investigated ID factors such as self-perception, competitiveness, perfectionism, language anxiety, motivation, and willingness-to-communicate in English. The sequence of ID factors as presented in this chapter is based on the findings of previous research (Bailey, 1983; Fahim & Noormohammadi, 2014; MacIntyre, Noels & Clément, 1997; Nagy, 2007; Tóth, 2007) proposing that self-perception, competitiveness, and language anxiety are closely linked and they influence and feed into one another; furthermore, they all feed into and shape the learner's motivation to learn the language which is closely associated with willingness-to-communicate in English. Consequently, I follow this train of thought in my discussion of the findings. Furthermore, this ratiocination points out the dynamic and complex relationship between the aforementioned ID factors and how they interact with one another, shaping the self-perception, the subjectivity, the intersubjectivity (Kramsch, 2009), and consequently the identity construction of individuals which are, in turn, influenced and acted upon by the environment through interaction with other L2 speakers. This dynamic interaction between factors and the environment is in line with the functioning of complex dynamic systems (Dörnyei, 2017; Larsen-Freeman, 2017, Verspoor, 2017) that is gaining momentum in social sciences as well as in language education now.

Furthermore, in this chapter I seek to bring under one roof two seemingly irreconcilable research traditions to promote a more holistic view of the phenomena under study. Traditional SLA research usually focuses on only one aspect of the learner or the learning process such as motivation, WTC, or language anxiety whereas identity research explores language learners in

their entirety and learning as inseparable from the learner. Consequently, I wish to explore how the two approaches can and should complement each other to get a more holistic and complex understanding of the language learning processes experienced by learners. In Chapter 7 I answer the following two research questions (for more details, see Chapter 4).

Table 8

Research Questions Answered in Chapter 7, Data Sources, Methods of Analysis, and Number of Students

Research questions	Data sources	Methods of analysis	Number of participants
1. What characterizes the participants' self-perception, competitiveness, perfectionism, language anxiety, motivation, and willingness to communicate in English?	Open-ended questionnaire on IDs	Descriptive statistics Qualitative content analysis	30
	Structured speaking task	Descriptive statistics	
2. In what ways do the above IDs shape the participants' identity construction in English?	Open-ended questionnaire on IDs	Descriptive statistics Qualitative content analysis	30

7.2 Perceived English Language Proficiency and Perceived Language Aptitude.

In the structured speaking task that the participants recorded for themselves, they were asked to identify their own proficiency level in English (Table 9).

Table 9

Informants' Self-reported English Language Proficiency Level

	Self-reported B2 level proficiency	Self-reported C1 level proficiency
Frequency	16	10

Sixteen students reported to be at B2 proficiency level whereas ten students claimed to be at C1 proficiency level in English. Further to this point, it must be noted that students in Hungary can gain admission to university in two ways, they are required to pass a B2 level school-leaving examination in English if their major is English; however, if English is their minor, they are eligible to enter university with a B1-level school leaving examination. Hence, it is unsurprising that most students reported to be at B2 level in English in the first year of their English studies and only ten of them thought to have reached advanced (C1) level in English. Self-perceived proficiency level is an important factor, as it has an impact on other IDs (Bailey, 1983; Gregersen & Horwitz, 2002; MacIntyre, 1997; Nagy, 2007, Tóth, 2007).

Apart from perceived English language proficiency level, I asked the participants to reflect on their language learning aptitude (Table 10), the data were gathered by means of the questionnaire on IDs.

Table 10

The Ratio of Students Reporting to have high and low language aptitude.

	High perceived language aptitude	Low perceived language aptitude	Cannot decide	Total
Frequency	25	4	1	30

Twenty-five participants (80%) reported to have high language aptitude reflecting the ease of English learning. At first sight, this result may seem to contradict their perceived proficiency level in English. However, previous research (Kramsch, 2009; MacIntyre, Noels & Clément, 1997) points out that “self-enhancement” is important for individuals to attain personal satisfaction, especially in a situation when learners’ self-image in another domain is not very high. They strive to retain a positive L2 self-image to sustain their motivation to learn English and to offset the negative self-image generated by their low perceived language

proficiency and their comparison of themselves with peers. I collated some statements the students made about their perceived language aptitude.

English gets glued to me. Joey

I learn all languages easily. I have a sense for it, and I like learning languages. They just stick to my mind. Lucy

I never had to study English a lot for some reason. Paul

Joey, Lucy, and Paul report to have incidentally acquired their L2. Unlike implicit and explicit learning, incidental learning (Robinson, 2002, pp. 211-2) takes place unconsciously when learners process L2 input unintentionally and learn the underlying rule-governed structure. Lucy extends her knack for language learning to all languages, Paul focuses on the lack of conscious effort in learning English, and Lucy and Joe stress the ease of learning.

I find it easy to learn but I don't know the exact reason for that. Probably because I've been learning English since kindergarten. Emma

Emma links the ease of learning English to the age of learning the language; thus, suggesting that her successful learning derives from learning English as a young learner. Early language learning has gained momentum in Hungary, as more and more kindergartens and elementary schools are launching English programs for young learners to provide conditions for naturally occurring, incidental language learning at a young age when the child's brain absorbs the new language similarly to the mother tongue.

Thanks to books, series, different kinds of videos and programs, nowadays, it's no big deal to improve your skills. Rosemary

Rosemary emphasizes the omnipresence of English outside the English classroom, providing numerous opportunities to learn the language. The omnipresence of English is also linked to the lingua franca status of English (Jenkins, 2007; Seidelhofer, 2011), rendering even more opportunities to use it.

I like learning English during texts, it is easier to learn when a word is in context. Dana

Dana stress the importance to learn words and grammar in context.

At the beginning I learnt easily but now I cannot improve. Katie

Katie raises the concept of fossilization claiming that the learner's interlanguage becomes fossilized at some point of learning, retaining linguistic features that are distinctively different from those of native speakers (Lakshmanan & Selinker, 2001, p. 395).

It depends on the subject and the topic. I can learn grammar and structures easily. But I learn new words very difficultly. Alice

I learn quickly and easily for vocabulary tests. Amanda

Alice and Amanda address the different constituents comprising language aptitude, pinpointing that language learners are strong on different aspects of learning. Traditional aptitude research (Cronbach, 1971; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Robinson, 2002) distinguishes between analytic and memory-oriented learners who learn better if they are taught using different teaching methodologies. This train of thought resulted in the conception of aptitude treatment interaction in teaching languages in reliance on the strengths of learners.

Students' perceived language proficiency and perceived language aptitude contribute to their overall self-perception that shapes their subject positions, intersubjectivity (Kramsch, 2009) and thus their identity construction. Their self-perception is generated by their Reflexive and Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) that evaluate and reflect on their L2 learning process and the stories they have heard about themselves as language learners. The participants' extensive and eclectic use of English outside the classroom is indicative of the transformative power English learning exerts on the participants' life.

7.3 Competitiveness

Bailey's diary study (1983) shed light on the relationship between anxiety and competitiveness in the language classroom, and she found that competitiveness may be both a cause and a consequence of anxiety. She defined competitiveness as "a desire to excel in comparison to others" (p. 96). I firmly believe that competing with other L2 learners acts upon

other ID factors and shapes learners' identity construction. To explore how competitive the participants were, first, I asked them in what ways they compared themselves to other students (Table 11). This question was answered by 26 students, out of whom 21 (80%) deemed themselves competitive to some extent. Fourteen of them admitted to being generally competitive with peers, seven reported occasional competitiveness, whereas five did not observe competitiveness in their behavior.

Table 11

Trends in Respondents' Competitiveness

	Always compares oneself to other learners	Sometimes compares oneself to other learners	Never compares oneself to other learners	Total
Frequency	14	7	5	26

The participants elaborated on why they compared themselves with peers. The first strand of participants exhibited a dimension of competitiveness that may be associated with facilitating anxiety which is thought to be conducive to propelling students in their endeavor to master an L2 (Bailey, 1983; Scovel, 1978). The second cohort pointed out that competitiveness is linked to linguistic confidence, which is a self-assessed factor, and the level of confidence derives from the individual's perceived proficiency level in relation to other learners. In the same vein, perceived proficiency level is relative to the perceived proficiency level of other students in an interaction, which is in keeping with the subjective, changing, socially constructed and co-constructed nature of identity that may change from situation to situation (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012; Hall, 2000; Kramsch, 2009). I collated some quotations below from students, representative of the two aforementioned trends:

Competitiveness associated with facilitating anxiety:

I am curious how they acquired the language. Amber

I think it is fantastic to discover similarities and differences. Anonymous student

Another way of looking at these quotations other than examples of facilitating anxiety is through exploring the intersubjectivity (Kramersch, 2009) of these learners, constituting their identity created in such situations. These students constantly activate their Interpersonal, Reflexive, and Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) when they are involved in English language interactions. The Interpersonal Self emerges from interaction with other people, thus developing and shaping the Self's intersubjectivity through response to other Selves. The Interpersonal Self is created through understanding and reflecting on itself by understanding and reflecting on other Selves (i.e. other people). This argument is in keeping with the current understanding of how identity is constructed and shaped, proposing that identity is constructed and co-constructed in and through interaction with other people (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). Kramersch (2009) proposes that identity can be perceived as fluid like a subjectivity-in-process, a volatile state that changes from situation to situation, from interaction to interaction. Once the Interpersonal Self is created, the Reflexive Self begins to evaluate the Interpersonal Self and thus the interaction in which English is used by the individual as part of the language learning process. The Conceptual Self collects and interprets the stories it has heard about itself and others, guiding the reflections of the Reflexive Self. The above train of thought chimes with the theory of CDSs (Kees de Bot, 2017; Larsen-Freeman, 2017) due to the interconnectedness of the subsystems (i.e. different selves) and the interaction between the system and the environment (i.e. interlocutors).

Competitiveness linked to linguistic confidence:

I always realize they are better than me. Sophia

If I am better, it gives me confidence. Emma

Everybody wants to be the best speaker in class. Sandra

I correct their mistakes in my mind. Robina

I pay attention to everything: their pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. Amanda

In discussing the participants' statements I draw on Bailey's (1983) definition of competitiveness referring to "a desire to excel in comparison to others" (p. 96). The above quotations show that some participants are competitive to learn from peers, while others compete for different reasons. Sophia is unable to compete with peers, which crushes her linguistic confidence, whereas Emma is competitive to feel better about her own command of English, which improves her self-perception, and Sandra, Robina, and Amanda are competitive to outperform other students. In Chapter 6.2.2 Sandra explained she was highly critical of her English skills and she constantly monitored her English use both in writing and in speaking. Robina and Amanda are also vigilant of other students' performance in English including all skill areas and they continuously pass judgments on their peers' English use by mentally registering mistakes and weaknesses to prove themselves that they are proficient enough, which gives them confidence and at the same time makes them judgmental about other students.

On the other hand, the above statements emphasize even more so how active students' various Selves are during interactions in the target language, which confirms the volatile and socially constructed and co-constructed nature of intersubjectivity (Kramsch, 2009) that may change rapidly as interactions and interlocutors vary. These changes occurring either slowly or gradually or rapidly and drastically are also characteristic of CDSs (Larsen-Freeman, 2017). Therefore, it can be concluded that identity construction can be understood as a CDS. In the case of language learning, the learner's linguistic identity can be perceived as a CDS with the various learner IDs being its subsystems, shaping the behavior of the system, and the system also responds to the environment, and thus it is acted upon by the environment.

To explore affect in competitiveness, I studied how the participants felt if others were better than them in English. The most salient aspect of being ranked lower in English in comparison with other students was the incentive these participants (N 16) gained to compete with students they thought ranked higher than themselves. Nine students reported feelings of

indifference in these inferior situations. Other emotions they noted were respect (N 5) towards those who they thought were better in English than themselves. The feeling of anxiety was reported by four students, sadness by two students, and shame by another two, whereas envy and low self-confidence were mentioned by one student, respectively. All in all, the lack of students' ability to compete with other learners resulted in negative emotions, which is unsurprising, as individuals yearn for personal gratification, the lack of which brings about anxiety, frustration, anger, sadness, and other negative emotions. The following quotations demonstrate the range and intensity of emotions the participants experienced when they fell short of other English learners' performance.

I feel angry but I respect them. Joey

I keep learning until I become better than those people. Samir

It rarely happens. If this is the case, then I am willing to enter a competition – of course, a secret one, only in myself, and set a goal of overcoming the others better than me. I challenge myself to get better without openly competing with them. Lucy

Joey's, Samir's, and Lucy's statements are characterized by the growth mindset (Dweck, 2006) that is conducive to coping with challenges and failures instead of giving up on the endeavor and accepting failure. Their statements reflect their highly competitive behavior that is linked to their growth mindset. All three of them were among the best English students in my classes, they were high-achievers in tasks and tests, and they actively participated in all in-class activities. Despite their obvious success in outperforming other students, they exhibited a high level of competitiveness. I believe their highly competitive behavior originated in their English identity drawing on successful competition and public demonstrations of their authority in English in classes (based on my observations); therefore, they felt highly threatened when their L2 identity of a successful English learner was threatened by other successful students. The students' highly emotional reactions to their English learning and English use as well as their self-enhancement and self-centeredness are in evidence in their statements. Their testimonies are wonderful examples for Kristeva's (1980) concept of desire for self-fulfillment in and via

L2 learning. This self-fulfillment was manifest in their identification with the Other which is no other than an imagined Self of the students that was different from their actual L2 Self or their Hungarian speaking Self.

Another highly competitive student was Sandra who competed with her own expectations. Therefore, she experienced shame and anger in competitive situations she fell short of: “I feel ashamed and a bit depressed.” Sandra responded highly emotionally to the ups and downs of language learning. Negative emotions triggered by learners whom she perceived to be better than her as well as negative emotions brought about by the language mistakes she committed had a great impact on her self-perception.

By contrast, the five non-competitive students argued that L2 speakers are strong on different skill areas; thus, some students may outperform others in one skill area, while others excel in another domain. Furthermore, they suggested that learners should focus on themselves and not on other students. Nevertheless, they expressed their frustration over the behavior and attitude of competitive learners who look down on other learners who are not as proficient as they (think they) are.

I hate when somebody looks down on others just because his/her English is better/nicer/more fluent/more correct than others' language knowledge. Alice

I am glad for them unless they mock me with their better grades and skills. Kevin

Bailey (1983) found that the lack of competitiveness in L2 learners was a desirable outcome. However, despite Alice's and Kevin's desire to avoid competing with others, they were frustrated over competitive learners' patronizing behavior towards students they perceived to be less good or successful in English learning. With regard to exploring identity construction through competitiveness, the reflections of non-competitive students stress the mighty role of the environment in constructing and shaping L2 learners' intersubjectivity and consequently their subject position and their identity construction through the new language.

7.4 Perfectionism

With regard to perfectionism, students answered two questions in the questionnaire on IDs: one was concerned with their attitude towards grades at university, whereas the other one explored their attitude towards making mistakes in English. I found three recurring themes in the respondents' responses concerning their grades: (1) grades are important, (2) grades are important only in important subjects, and (3) grades are unimportant (Table 12).

Table 12

The Role of Grades in the Participants' Perfectionism

	Grades are important	Grades are only important in important subjects	Grades are unimportant	Total
Frequency	18	6	6	30

Overall, 24 students out of 30 (80%) deemed grades important in their studies. The informants' responses delineated the reasons for wanting to get good grades. Six students, which was the highest number, wished to receive good grades to compete with other students in terms of grades.

Grades are very important to me... I strive to get better grades than others because I am maximalist. Vicky

I strive to get better grades than the ones weaker than me. Donna

Furthermore, living up to parental expectations and getting a higher monthly grant based on their grade point average were mentioned by two students, respectively; and three students claimed to be perfectionists in learning.

I always try to do my best, I learnt my life through to get the best grades. Amanda

For Amanda getting good grades is a key dimension of her identity construction as an L2 learner. Seven respondents only cared about good grades in important subjects.

It depends on the course. By no means am I willing to get A-s or B-s in literary studies, because I don't want to waste my time preparing for such classes. These classes are for those interested in humanities, and it is not my cup of tea. As for other subjects, I spare no effort to be the best. Joey.

As for students who did not find grades important, one explained that grades do not necessarily reflect one’s background knowledge, and one noted that grades may not always show one’s effort invested in learning. Finally, for two students passing a course was more important than the grade itself: “I just want to pass the course”, and one student blamed his laziness for not getting better grades: “I’ve never been a hard-working guy. 2s or 3s are just perfect for me”.

Second, I investigated the participants’ self-oriented perfectionism with respect to making mistakes in English (Table 13).

Table 13

Respondents’ Attitude towards Perfect Language Use and Making Mistakes in English.

	Aiming at perfect English	Making mistakes is okay	Total
Frequency	18	12	30

Table 13 shows that almost two thirds of the respondents (N 18) aim at perfect English use in their English language communication, whereas about one third of them (N 12) do not show a heavy-handed attitude towards the mistakes they make. Similarly to grades, the majority of the participants are perfectionists when it comes to speaking English.

I am always trying to avoid making mistakes and when I do, I feel angry. I hate making them. Once you do something, you should do it properly and do your best. Joey

I’d like to speak as native speakers one day, so yeah, I try to pay extra attention not to make mistakes. Rosemary

I believe nobody speaks perfect English. Years ago I had the chance of a lifetime and won a scholarship to spend two months in an international girls’ camp in the US, and in the first two weeks I hardly spoke a word, because I thought I wouldn’t be good enough for native speakers. Then, one of my friends there who spoke English as her mother tongue told me that even they make smaller or bigger mistakes, but still, nobody cares until you make yourself understood well. For me, it is more important to have the courage to open my mouth and start speaking than being so freakin’ correct. Lucy

It is intriguing to see how students’ opinion differ on the topic. Joey and Rosemary who have never been to an English speaking environment expect themselves to be perfect and they

imagine that NESs would expect perfection from them. They perceive native-like English language proficiency as the ultimate goal of language learning, conforming to the native speaker model (Dewey & Leung, 2010; Medgyes, 2001, 2017; Subtirelu, 2011; Widdowson, 2012). They also imagine that NSs use English perfectly and they do not wish to fall short of native-like English use. By contrast, Lucy who was exposed to ENL during her stay in the U.S., knows that even NSs are not perfect in their language use; thus, NNEs are not expected to attain such a high level that even native speakers cannot. Nevertheless, Lucy's statement has to be taken with a pinch of salt. She is one of the most competitive participants who wishes to outperform those whom she thinks are better than her. Her identity construction in English is contradictory; she feigns to exhibit an easy-going attitude towards her language mistakes by focusing on the communication model of language instead of the transmission model (Graddol, 1994) based on her sojourn experience in the U.S. Yet, she wants to be the best English speaker in her environment, which indicates her desire to speak English close to perfection. She creates a very different subject position for herself in her two statements.

Overall, it can be concluded that the students involved in my study are highly competitive and they are perfectionists, both good grades and flawless English use are highly important to them. However, it is unclear if their perfectionism results from competitiveness or the other way around, or the two form a cyclic relationship and continuously feed into each other. Furthermore, many respondents have constructed a highly competitive and perfectionist identity in English that influences both their self-perception and how they perceive and judge other English speakers in interactions. Highly perfectionist students respond with intensive negative emotions such as anger, frustration, or sadness to committing mistakes, which makes their language learning an embodied experience (Damasio, 1994). Such high levels of perfectionism activate the participants' Interpersonal, Reflexive, and Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) whose evaluations of other English speakers and of the interactions in which the

participants are involved shape their subject positions and their intersubjectivity (Kramersch, 2009) accordingly.

The informants explained the reasons why they desired perfectionism in English. The most often cited reason for wishing to attain perfection in English derives from the participants' ideal or ought-to Self (Dörnyei, 2005) and their professional identity as prospective language teachers or language specialists. Altogether, 13 students wished to attain flawless English. Eight students constructed an ideal self that wished to approximate native life language proficiency stemming from an inner drive towards self-fulfillment (Kristeva, 1980) in English. By contrast, for five students attaining native-like English proficiency was motivated by their ought-to self, reflecting an image of the person held by other people. These students stressed that "I have to be perfect as a would-be teacher" referring to the expectations they imagined other people such as fellow-teachers, their would-be students and their parents might have. Furthermore, according to their professional identity, as English teachers or other English professionals they will be experts in their field; therefore, they must have great expertise, which, in this regard, translates into "perfect" language use. However, a major identity crisis for language teachers originates in the fact that as NNEs they will always be learners of the language they teach (Medgyes, 2017). As Medgyes (2017, p. 15) puts forward that the highest level that a non-native language teacher can accomplish is the pseudo-native speaker level, meaning that pseudo-native English speakers approximate native-like proficiency; therefore, they pass for a native speaker in everyday situations, whereas, at the same time, they display certain characteristics (in speaking and/or in writing) that expose their non-nativeness if scrutinized by expert native- or non-native speaker observers. Failing to understand this contradictory situation may result in anxiety (in language learners and teachers alike), which may bring about additional symptoms such as frustration, "inferiority complex", avoidance, burning out, or even withdrawal from learning or teaching (Bailey, 1983; Medgyes, 2017). The conflict between

real, potential or imagined duties or expectations and the reality of what the individual is capable of doing or achieving is likely to generate anxiety, frustration or the stress circle (Medgyes, 2017, p. 45) in language professionals. Moreover, the desire to attain the learner's ideal or ought-to self and the desire to identify with NSs are in line with Kristeva's (1980) concept of desire to identify with the Other, which, in this case, refers to a desire to approximate NESs in terms of their language proficiency.

By contrast, students not bothered by mistakes displayed a very different attitude towards flawlessness. Twelve of them emphasized the significance of successful communication entailing understanding others and being understood. In their interpretation, successful communication may not equal with perfect language use devoid of mistakes, since mistakes may be overlooked as long as the exchange of ideas is successful, which chimes with the description of ELF communication (Jenkins, 2007, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011). As one of the five students put it, "native speakers don't care about your mistakes as long as you are understood". This statement refers to the use of language as a communication tool and it is conceptually linked to ELF. In ELF communication English is a linguistic means to achieve successful communication between individuals speaking different languages, and in ELF interactions it is NESs who need to adjust to the local ELF variety and not the other way around (Jenkins, 2006, 2009; Jenkins & Cogo, 2011). Furthermore, making mistakes in ELF interactions does not put the ELF speaker in an inferior position, since the role model of these English language conversations is no longer the native English speaker; instead, the focus is on successful communication, which gives ELF speakers ownership of English, liberating them from the inferiority complex caused by the native speaker model (Dewey & Leung, 2010; Medgyes, 2017; Widdowson, 2012). These students, therefore, adopted an ELF identity rather than a EFL identity in terms of perfectionism, while the majority still deemed native-like proficiency the ultimate goal of their language learning.

7.5 Motivation

Drawing on Gardner's (1985) integrative motive, I examined what characterized the participants' motivation subsuming the desire to learn the L2, motivational intensity (effort), attitudes towards learning the L2 as well as learning other languages, and their attitudes towards English speaking cultures and their accents. Dörnyei's (2005) conception of the ideal self often overlaps and intersects with Gardner's (1985) integrative motive; however, the former one is a broader concept to incorporate anything that the individual wishes to become, including the constituents of integrative motivation, as well. Furthermore, Dörnyei's (2005) ideal self addresses and subsumes the desire for self-fulfillment in and through language learning when learners identify with a self they imagine for themselves as language learners (Kramsch, 2009; Kristeva, 1980). In the iterative process of qualitative content analysis, it was the emerging patterns that guided my analysis and led me to frame my findings as follows.

7.5.1 Attitudes towards Language Learning

First and foremost, I inquired after the participants' favorite language, their attitudes towards learning English as well as towards learning other languages (Table 14 and 15).

Table 14

Respondents' Favorite L2

	English	German	Spanish	Japanese	Total
Frequency	20	3	3	2	28

As for attitudes towards foreign languages, English was by far the most favored language among the students, leaving other languages such as German, Spanish or Japanese far behind (Table 15).

Table 15

Participants' Attitudes towards Learning English

	Students who like learning English	Students who do not like learning English	Total
Frequency	24	3	27

In their responses to whether they like learning English or not, 24 students reported to be fond of learning English, whereas three did not enjoy it; hence, it can be concluded that the majority of the participants exhibited intrinsic motivation to learn English. When it came to the question of learning languages other than English (Table 16), 21 participants were planning to learn another language at the time of the research, seven did not desire to acquire another tongue and two were not sure what they wanted. In addition, three students noted that they only spoke English as an L2.

Table 16

Students' Attitudes towards Learning Other Languages

	Students wishing to learn other languages	Students not wishing to learn other languages	Students who are unsure of this question	Total
Frequency	21	7	2	30

Taking into account the participants' responses to the aforementioned three questions, I detected three dimensions that characterized their attitude towards languages and language learning. The first factor was affect, as they came to like and cherish the language due to their positive past experiences in learning the language or owing to their positive predisposition towards the target language or culture.

I'd like to learn French because I really like this language and it sounds so beautiful. Jennifer

I firmly believe German is a beautiful language. I really liked to learn it. Kimberly

It is my passion to learn languages (and sometimes a healthy obsession). Lucy

I like getting to know other cultures and as I see, one of the best ways to know a foreign culture is to learn their language first. Estela

German is my first foreign language...In my opinion, the German culture is very interesting. Ana.

The above quotations cast light on the embodied nature of language learning (Kramersch, 2009) that triggers intensive emotional responses in the participants, constituting their attitudes, beliefs, and ideas about the L2 and its culture. Precisely these subjective meaning-making processes make language learning a symbolic activity and language learners a MLS (Kramersch, 2009). Students' positive attitude towards L2 learning is also linked to their interest in the culture of the target language suggesting that language and culture are interwoven in language learning (Kramersch, 1998), which sheds light on learners' integrative motivation to learn the L2 (Gardner, 1985, 2007, 2009). The second dimension of the informants' attitudes involved utilitarian reasons to learn languages. For Estela English learning is a source of joy and self-fulfillment as well as a source of utility; whereas Vicky merely stresses the utilitarian aspects of English learning.

Learning English is a good opportunity to enjoy myself and do something useful at the same time. Estela

I like learning other foreign languages because it is useful and important to know foreign languages to make our life easier. Vicky

The majority of the students exhibited intrinsic motivation to learn English and other languages, as they take pleasure in the subjective and idiosyncratic experience of L2 learning. On the one hand, by learning an L2 they can explore the potential of self-fulfillment through language learning (Kristeva, 1980) and experience the transformative role of language learning in their lives by creating their own subjective resonances that they associate the new language with (Kramersch, 2009). On the other hand, by learning English, specifically, they can harness the benefits of ELF and use English to realize non-linguistic goals. Finally, the third pattern that emerged in the data was the ease and success of learning English.

I like learning English because it is not hard to learn and understand. Vicky

I like the feeling when I understand new phrases or jokes with words. Rosalie

Language learners often construct an L2 identity focusing on self-centeredness and self-enhancement, which makes them look successful and outstanding by mastering and understanding another tongue. Therefore, the joy and pride deriving from successful language learning become integral part of their L2 identity.

7.5.2. Motivational Intensity in Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation

The third motivational component I studied was motivational intensity; therefore, I investigated how much and in what ways the students practiced English outside the classroom to improve their language skills and how much they prepared for their English language classes (Table 17 and 18).

Table 17 *Out-of-class Activities Participants Reported to Pursue to Improve their English*

Out-of-class activities to improve English	Frequency
Watch series, films, TV shows or TV channels, videos or vlogs in English.	24
Read texts in English involving websites, books or papers.	13
Talk with foreign friends and acquaintances in English.	6
Listen to English language music.	6
Talking with Hungarian friends in English.	3
Listen to English radio programs	3
Do grammar exercises/tests.	2
Complete course assignments	2
Write a diary in English.	1
Translate one's own works into English.	1

Most of the activities aimed to improve the participant's English language proficiency outside the classroom include pastime activities that they are intrinsically motivated to engage in, which implicitly and incidentally improve their language skills (Robinson, 2002). The most frequent such activity is watching English speaking media (N 24) followed by reading texts in English (N 13). Other activities of interest involve conversing with ELF or ENL speakers (6) or with fellow Hungarians using English (3). Unsurprisingly, listening to music (#4) and radio programs (#3) are also noted as an activity capable of improving English skills. Completing

course assignments and grammar tests, and pursuing other creative/personal activities were mentioned by only one or two students, respectively. I must point out that with the exception of course assignments and grammar tests, all the activities the students claimed to pursue outside the classroom entailed authentic L2 uses.

All answers considered, a shift in English learning is observable in the responses. Before the Internet revolution, similarly to other languages, English was learnt and taught as a FL; therefore, language learners' exposure to the L2 was restricted to the classroom. Nowadays, with the omnipresence of English outside the classroom and due to work and study abroad programs, exposure to the language is no longer confined to the classroom. This shift is clearly reflected in the participants' answers as to how they learn and use English; they no longer carry out activities that are traditionally linked to EFL learning such as grammar or textbook exercises but rather use English in authentic contexts for their own purposes, and oftentimes replacing EFL with ELF. This way English – for them - becomes a means to achieve this end and not the sole purpose of the activity.

Besides their out-of-class activities involving English, I was interested to find out how much they prepared for their English courses. Three students answered that they studied two hours a day and another three noted they studied a lot without specifying how much that is. All other students described not the amount of time spent with preparation but the activity they pursued pertaining to their English studies.

Table 18

Course-related Activities Participants Reported to Perform

Course-related activities	Frequency
Do assignments for courses	16
No preparation for courses at all	3
Study for exams	2
Learn handouts	1
Look up unknown words	1
Check interesting course related topics on the Internet	1
Check what is unclear on the Internet	1

Table 18 shows that 20 out of 25 respondents were only extrinsically motivated to learn English related to their studies, three were amotivated to prepare for courses, while only two students displayed some degree of intrinsic motivation. The findings reveal that students' motivation to learn English in and outside school are in sharp contrast with each other. While in the former setting they are characterized by extrinsic motivation and amotivation, in their pastime activities they exhibit intrinsic motivation to learn English incidentally relying on authentic native English or ELF use. The pedagogical implication of this finding is that language teachers need to find ways to intrinsically motivate students to learn English by making them interested in the topic and by relying on sources and activities students find intrinsically motivating.

Students' intrinsic motivation to learn English and other languages outside the classroom reflects their identification with an imagined version of themselves using English and/or other languages, which constitutes the core of their self-perception and their subjectivity (Kramersch, 2009). In contrast with it, learners' extrinsic motivation or lack of motivation to learn English in an institutionalized setting points out that students tend to perceive English learning as more meaningful and probably as more transformative (Kramersch, 2009) outside the classroom than in their studies.

7.5.3 Integrative Orientation

To explore the integrative dimension of the respondents' motivation, I studied their attitudes towards English speaking cultures, customs, accents, their own accent, and whether they were planning to live in another country in the future. To elicit data for the study of this construct, the participants answered five open-ended questions in the questionnaire on IDs.

Figure 4

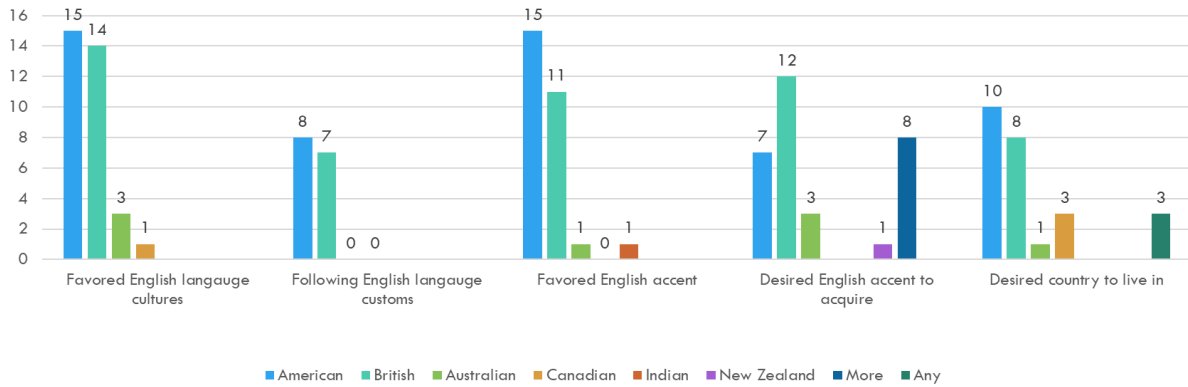


Figure 4. Students’ Favored English Language Culture, Customs They Follow, Their Favored English Accent, the Accent They Desire to Acquire, and the Country They Desire to Live in

The participants showed a positive attitude towards English speaking cultures: 14 of them displayed a preference for British culture, 15 for American culture, three for Australian culture and one for Canadian culture.

I prefer the American culture the most. I would be able to get used to it quickly if I lived there. Paul

Scottish culture, despite being really weird, is quite cool at the same time. Joey

The British culture has always been closer to me ever since I heard about it. I really like the accent, and I can identify myself with British people more, as our attitude, perspectives are similar. Rosemary

However, when it came to their attitudes towards customs, the results were reversed. Eighteen respondents reported to not follow any tradition pertaining to an English language culture. In terms of British culture, five students noted they drank afternoon tea like the British, and one was interested in the royal family and one in British TV shows. Regarding American culture, four students reported to observe Halloween, three celebrated Valentine’s Day, and one was fond of Thanksgiving. Moreover, aspects of American lifestyle such as taking pride in history, using lots of gestures, and eating hamburgers and unhealthy food were named.

Concerning the informants’ attitudes towards English accents, 15 students favored American English and 11 preferred British English. Scottish and Irish English was preferred by one student, respectively. One student preferred Australian English and one was fond of Indian

English. One student remarked she had no favorite accent and one noted she liked them all. Overall, the participants showed a slight preference for American English over British English. However, concerning their desire to acquire an English accent, the above preference was reversed. Twelve of them wished to acquire British, seven American, three Australian and one New Zealand English. Eight students wished to learn more accents, two did not wish to learn one, one claimed to be able to “imitate accents with almost no effort” and another one believed one could only acquire an English accent in that particular English speaking country. I collated some quotations from students about their accent preferences.

Scottish accent sounds brilliant, especially the ‘r’ letters. They speak in such a brilliant and musical manner. Johnny

I like British accent most. I just love the way it sounds. It’s so smooth and sounds polite and I really find it nice. Donna

The British accent is awesome. Sammy

I like the American accent. It is easy to learn. Sandra

Most students associated British English with beauty whereas American English was associated with practical aspects of learning. When reflecting on their own English accent, 17 students (constituting the majority) were discontent and only seven were satisfied with their own accent. Four noted that they spoke English with a Hungarian accent, two reported to speak a mixture of accents and one perceived her accent as somewhat British. Despite the different English proficiency level of Joey, Amanda, and Dana (based on my own observations), they were all dissatisfied with their own English accent.

I’d say it’s weird. I’m fluent but I don’t think I have a particular accent. Joey

Now I can accept it but I’m not satisfied. I have still things to develop. Amanda

My accent is a mixture. A little bit American, I little bit British. I should work on it more. Dana

In summary, the majority of the participants were not fond of their own accent, they preferred native English accents and desired to learn one of them to replace their own accent. Another way of looking at the informants’ responses in this section is to point out a convergence

to the students' strong desire to identify with NESs whose accent they wish to approximate. The students' desire to resemble NESs indicates their desire to identify with an imagined and desired version of themselves in the process of self-fulfillment (Kramsch, 2009; Kristeva, 1980) through language learning. This imagined self of the learners also captures their ideal- and ought-to self, depending on whether their desired self is motivated by an inner drive or by external expectations (Dörnyei, 2005).

To further explore the participants' integrative motivation, I investigated whether they sought to live in an English speaking country in the future. As shown in Table 19, two thirds of them desired to live in another country at some point in their life.

Table 19

Number of Informants Wishing to Live in an English Speaking Country

Wish to live in an English speaking country	Yes	No	Total
Frequency	20	10	30

The students' planned stay in another country ranged from a few weeks to a few years or for a lifetime. As presented by Figure 1 the most popular country among the participants was the U.S.A. (N 10) closely followed by the U.K. (N 8), then Canada or "any other country" (N 3), respectively, and finally Australia (N 1). Students' arguments in favor of living in the U.S.A. addressed various aspects of American life: eating habits, cultural and ethnic diversity, entertainment and sports opportunities (for example going to the beach in Florida or watching a Broadway show), the beauty of the nature, and higher living standards connected to the more developed economy of the U.S. Scotland was described as having a more developed economy (a "great economy"), a thriving cultural and sports life (focusing on "great traditions" and "football"), and the Scots were described as being "friendly, enthusiastic and proud people", as one responded put it. Regarding England, one student added that she would only stay there for a short time to improve her English, pick up native-like accent and learn about the culture.

Canada was a preferred destination owing to “better opportunities”, “the weather”, “the people” and “the place”. What all these English speaking cultures had in common based on the students’ answers included better economic opportunities along with favored aspects of cultural life and the locals’ mentality.

The participants’ integrative motivation to learn English is also indicative of their ideal self (Dörnyei, 2005) referring to a desired image of learners that they wish to attain. Many of them envisage mastering English at a native-like level speaking English with a native-like accent, and some of them even envisage their future life in an English speaking environment. Learners’ endeavor to attain native-like proficiency in English is also motivated by the professional identity they wish to assume as would-be language teachers or other language professionals. Furthermore, language learners displaying high levels of integrative motivation experience language learning more meaningfully and perceive it as more transformative than less motivated learners.

The two quotations below throw light on the saliency of economic opportunities associated with living in an English-speaking country, reflecting the participants’ integrative motivation.

I could make a better living than in Hungary. Belinda

Any native English country is better than Hungary. Shane

Belinda’s and Shane’s statement address the economic reason for immigration when people leave their homeland behind in search of a better life in another country. Similarly to thousands of Hungarians who have immigrated to an English speaking country for better (work, education, and “life”) opportunities, these two students also envisage a brighter future in a foreign land. Whereas Belinda focuses on the financial aspect of living in an English language country, Shane wishes to start over elsewhere, which would give him a tabula rasa in all areas

of his life that constitute the core of his identity. Being discontent with his life in Hungary, Shane seeks to utilize English to completely change his life and change his reality by reconstructing his identity through English in another country. In the same fashion, a powerful and emotional statement was made by Samir.

I would like to live in the United States or Canada, because those countries will provide me with better education, economic possibilities and more personal freedom. I would like to have the freedom to write and act, also the freedom to pursue my dreams, because in North Africa it is impossible to be **who you are**. Samir (bold in original)

Samir's vision of a new life goes beyond economic reasons, he seeks political and personal freedom to be who he longs to be, corresponding to his ideal self. His personal identity is hampered by the political commotion characteristic of Libya at that time, inhibiting him from becoming the person he wishes to be. He would like to be an active agent and a doer who is in control of his life; consequently, he sees this dream realized in another country, offering him more possibilities and the freedom he seeks. Moreover, he utilizes English to create new subject positions for himself in his mother tongue, that is, he seeks to reinterpret both his L1 and L2 Self through English and through living in an English speaking country. In contrast with other learners drawing on subjective meaning-making processes associated with their L2 (Kramsch, 2009), Samir wishes to use English to create new subject positions not only in English but also in Tamazight.

Samir draws on the concepts of freedom and liberty to do something and to become somebody else, which resonates with the idea of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" included in the Declaration of Independence. This reference to the famous American document reflecting fundamental American values derives from Samir's knowledge of American culture acquired through his studies and the cultural products of the media that he has encountered. Samir's cultural ideas indicate how much knowledge his Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) has

accumulated and integrated in his reflections on his language and cultural learning through English.

In summary, Belinda, Shane, and Samir are aware of the transformative power of English learning that is capable of putting them on a different trajectory in life; thus, they seek to exploit the transformative potential of language learning, which also indicates that their Reflexive Self (Neisser, 1998) is incessantly engaged in reflecting on their language learning motives. Similarly to intrinsic motivation, exhibiting higher levels of integrative motivation makes language learning more meaningful and more transformative for the learner than in the case of extrinsically motivated learners. In the same vein, having a powerful and vivid image of one's ideal self is conducive to experiencing the transformative power of L2 learning.

By contrast, students wishing to live in Hungary had a very firm opinion why they would rather stay in their motherland.

I really love to be Hungarian, my parents and my brothers with their families also live here, and for me these relations are more important than living abroad. Furthermore, I hate the situation when I can't express myself and I don't want to use any other language permanently. Estela

Estela pointed out the significance of family relations being more important than economic reasons. Enculturation (Sussman, 2002), habitus (Bourdieu, 1997), and language socialization (Kramsch, 2002; Kramsch & Steffensen, 2017) linked to her Hungarian speaking family and friends comprise the core of Estela's identity, and precisely because of it, the English language with its great potential to transform her life is a threat to the integrity of her identity (Kristeva, 1980), causing Estela to abide by her familiar language and culture. As a result, her identity at the individual, linguistic and cultural level is dominated by her L1 which is Hungarian. Lastly, the inconvenience of having to use a second language that may never compare to the L1 might be a nuisance and cause frustration on a daily basis when expressing ideas that come effortlessly in the L1 may require cognitive effort and learning in the L2 (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986).

Sarah stresses the hardships of acculturation (Schumann, 1986; Sussman, 2002) denoting the process of having to get accustomed to a new culture during sojourn, which may result in the feeling of alienation in the new culture.

“I would feel like an Englishman in New York.” Sarah

Sarah, drawing on the cultural connotations of Sting’s famous song *An Englishman in New York*, raised the problem of being an “alien” in a new culture. This causes a crisis or a disturbance in cultural identity construction when the individual is no longer sure who she is, where she belongs, and whether the way she acts or speaks is right in the new culture or not, or whether she wants to fit in the new culture or not. This self-disturbance is the result of the individual having incorporated some aspects of the new culture, which leads to changes in self-concept; thereby, the individual no longer knows exactly who she is (Sussman, 2002). However, L2 culture may be experienced directly in an L2 environment or indirectly via other media such as films, books, websites, or with the help of in-class tasks designed to acquaint English learners with cultural phenomena. Therefore, self-disturbance may be experienced in the home culture, triggering various responses in learners. Sarah’s Reflexive and Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) are aware of the cultural differences between Hungary and the English speaking countries; therefore, she wishes to avoid the hardships of self-disturbance or acculturation caused by the threat of the L2 and its culture. In her view, even NESs can feel like an alien in another English speaking culture; thus, the feeling of alienation may be magnified for non-native speakers.

To further explore the informants’ integrative motivation, they gave their views on whether they desired to sound like or pass for a native English speaker or not. The two questions they answered investigated to what extent, if at all, the respondents’ wished to become indistinguishable from native speakers in terms of speaking. Out of the 28 students 20 sought to sound like a native speaker and only eight of them did not. In the same fashion, 12 students desired to pass for a native speaker, eight did not, and one could not decide. In total, 61% of the

students wished to sound indistinguishable from native speakers. Four students longed to pass for an American, three for a British, one for either a British or an American speaker, one for an Australian, one for a Scottish native speaker, and one for “as many as possible”. One student noted she found Australian and New Zealand English “strange”. The next three quotations show how becoming indistinguishable from native speakers in terms of accent shapes the individual’s identity construction as an L2 speaker.

I would like to sound like a native speaker because it is better for my future students. And it would give me extra confidence too. Donna

In the data speaking native-like English was often linked to L2 and professional identity construction reflecting the participants’ ideal self and ought-to self as prospective English teachers or language specialists who strive for perfection in English. By contrast, Dana’s and Samir’s statements give evidence for the struggle between the realms of the L1 and the L2 in their identity construction.

I would like to sound like a native speaker because it would mean that my English is really good. But I wouldn’t like to pass for a native speaker, I am proud of being Hungarian and I don’t want to change that. Dana

I’d rather have my special accent but rather close to a native accent with some intonation. Samir

Dana’s L2 subjectivity (Kramersch, 2009) desires identification with the Other by speaking English with native accent thus attaining a sense of perfection in language learning as well as a sense of self-enhancement which constitute the essence of her L2 identity. On the other hand, such strong identification with the Other threatens the integrity of her identity, evoking in her the desire to retain her Hungarianness in her accent. In the same vein, retaining a non-native English accent is a source of Samir’s identity reflecting his origin that he does not wish to conceal when speaking in English.

Similarly to Samir, another student added she aspired to speak very good English but she wished to retain her own accent, and three other respondents reported to be satisfied with their

own accent. Five students emphasized that they were proud of being Hungarian and Ana added that Hungary and Hungarian traditions are important to her.

I would like to be Hungarian who can speak foreign languages but I don't want to pass for any cultures. Hungary and Hungarian traditions are very important for me. Ana

Ana's statement suggesting that the L2 culture is embedded in L2 learning is in line with Sussman (2002)'s cultural identity model of the sojourn claiming that individuals' L1 enculturation remains hidden until they are exposed to a new culture. By comparing the new culture to the L1 culture, aspects of the L1 culture become salient. This realization in some individuals result in an "affirmative identity response" to the situation; therefore, they embrace their newly emerged L1 cultural identity. As a result, some language learners' linguistic and cultural identity resists incorporating and adopting aspects of the target language and culture that may threaten their dominant L1 identity.

Emma puts forth that it is not native-like accent that makes one's English perfect; however, she is also conscious of how she may be perceived by others based on her speech, grasping the socially constructed nature of her identity (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012; Kramersch, 2009).

I don't know if I would ever sound like a native speaker, for me the most important is to speak perfect English with no Russian accent or any disturbing one. Emma

The socially constructed nature of L2 identity related to the learners' intersubjectivity (Kramersch, 2009) with regard to their speech and accent was an emergent theme in the datasets. The participants thought of native-like accent as having high prestige, being cool, sophisticated, serious and advantageous, offering better job opportunities, and reflecting perfection in English. The saliency of accent in native-like proficiency is manifest in the quotations below.

I don't see why someone would say no to such an opportunity...I'd have a greater chance to fit in new countries, workplaces. Robina

"It's a mission for me: I would consider my studies done if I were able to speak fluently with no mistakes and if I totally understood what is spoken to me." Kailee

Robina's view pinpoints the strong version of integrative orientation when the learner aspires to become indistinguishable from native speakers so as to fit in the host country. Her statement also indexes a strong desire to identify with the Other that includes native English speakers in general as well as her own imagined self, reflecting her desire for self-fulfillment via language learning (Kramersch, 2009; Kristeva, 1980). By contrast, Kailee aims for perfection relying on the native speaker model (Medgyes, 2017; Widdowson, 2012) in terms of speaking, and she considers language learning a finite process the end of which is native-like English proficiency, which, I think, in her interpretation exceeds the pseudo-native level put forth by Medgyes (2017).

Learning about other cultures through language learning may evoke certain prejudice. The quotation below indicates how prejudice is capable of thwarting integrativeness.

British English sounds posh and wealthy, [If I spoke British English], I would sound like a light-headed millionaire. Anonymous Student

This comment was made by an anonymous student, revealing a stereotype pertaining to a kind of British English accent not specified by the participant. Stereotypes are frozen signs (Kramersch, 1998, p. 22) which denote etic perspectives on a phenomenon. Such etic perspectives can be acquired by means of direct and indirect experience with the phenomenon in question. The former one denotes direct experience with people whereas latter one refers to what the individual reads or hears from other English speakers. Consequently, based on some direct or indirect experience that the students may have had, the student has made a generalization that involved all and any British accent, causing this learner to refuse to speak with a British accent.

In conclusion, I summarize what characterizes the participants' integrative motivation that I discussed in this section. The participants showed a positive disposition towards English speaking cultures; however, most of them did not wish to follow the traditions of these cultures. They exhibited a positive attitude towards native-English accents and they were keen on acquiring one for several reasons. First, they disliked their own English accent; second, most

of them were perfectionists and regarded native-like proficiency along with native-like accent as the ultimate goal of language learning, thus conforming to the native-speaker model (Medgyes, 2017). Finally, many students wished to live in an English speaking country at some point in their life, and they viewed passing for a native speaker as conducive to fitting in the new culture. Passing for a native speaker helps a sojourner in the host country to fit in the new culture at least in terms of speaking. Nonetheless, not understanding the pragmatic background of interactions, the connotative meaning of words, or the use of inappropriate discourse may still reveal the non-native status of the sojourner. Furthermore, the lack of cultural knowings (of what, how, why, and oneself) (Moran, 2001, pp. 15-9) can still alienate a newcomer despite speaking with native-like accent.

Gardner's integrative motivation received criticism (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) because it was assumed that it might not be applicable in EFL or ELF contexts. Moreover, Yashima (2009) proposed that ELF learners no longer wish to identify with a specific L2 community but they rather relate to an international community in which English is valued. Therefore, she linked international posture to utilitarian reasons to learn and use English. However, the findings revealed that the participants in my study showed high levels of both instrumental motivation (see Chapter 5.3.3) as well as integrative motivation, and they identified with NESs rather than an international community in their identity construction in and via English. Despite that the participants exhibited high levels of international posture (see Chapter 5.3), many participants viewed NESs as role models and thus wished to identify with them. These results are in line with Jenkins's (2007) study that revealed a gap between the theory of ELF and the reality of how English is used and taught in the world. Finally, the findings on the participants' integrative motivation confirm what Kramsch (2009) and Kristeva (1980) proposed that L2 learners desire to learn a new language either for the purpose of self-fulfillment achieved by identifying with

the Other or they desire to abide by the familiar L1 and its culture due to the threat that the L2 poses to the integrity of the learner's identity.

7.6. Language Anxiety

I studied four dimensions of the participants' language anxiety: talking in class, talking to teachers, talking to NESs, and talking to NNESs (Figure 5).

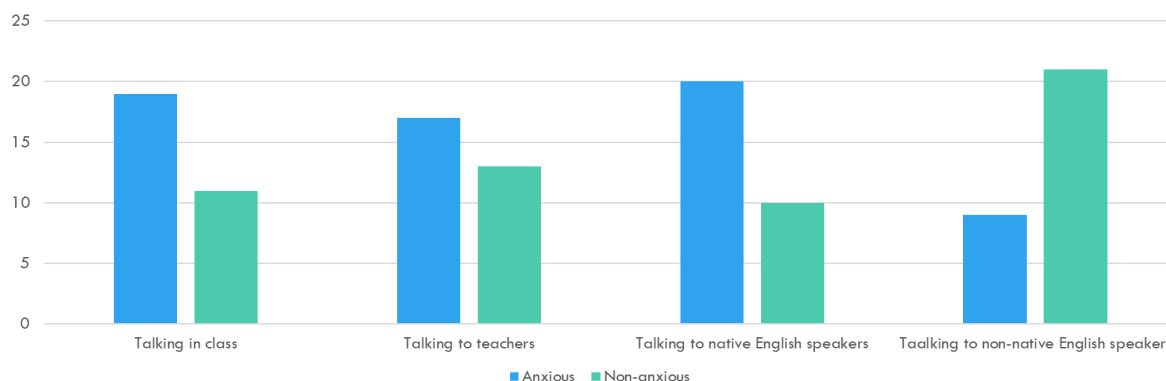


Figure 5. Proportion of Anxious and Non-anxious Students across Four Contexts

Regarding the first dimension, out of the 30 participants 19 reported to be nervous and 11 to be not nervous when taking the floor in class. The answers converged to three causes of language anxiety in class. Thirteen students felt nervous owing to inadequate language skills such as the lack of vocabulary, in particular, along with inappropriate grammar, the lack of fluency or wrong pronunciation. The second cause was attributed to general/trait anxiety by four students, and one student reported to be anxious due to judgmental peers.

I am anxious and I stress out. I had a block when I needed to speak in class in the first semester and it was horrible, it is a nightmare to me since that day. Kevin

I am nervous because my grammar isn't good enough and words don't come to my mind many times. Sophia

I'm nervous because my pronunciation and fluency is not so good, and sometimes I don't know a word I want to use, and it is not a good feeling. Ruth

By contrast, three of the 11 students who did not report anxiety when speaking in class ratiocinated that their classmates were not judgmental; therefore, their self-concept was not threatened by peers in these social interactions. Furthermore, another three students indicated

their adequate language proficiency as the cause of their non-anxious behavior. Joey also noted that he was knowledgeable about things in the world that contributed to his non-anxious behavior.

I'm not nervous at all. Because I know I can speak well, and I have a strict and well-formed opinion about the world around me. Joey

Seventeen of the respondents reported to be anxious and 13 reported to be non-anxious when talking to teachers. Out of the 17 students 12 were anxious because they deemed teachers experts who could easily detect mistakes in students' utterances and possibly pass negative judgments on them. Three of them added that high-stake situations such as exams aggravated their anxiety.

I'm nervous because they realise easily when I speak wrong and it makes me nervous and I feel embarrassed. Sophia

Most of the time I'm not nervous, but if it's something official like an interview or an oral exam, I would be in a tense mood. Samir

Five of the 13 non-anxious learners argued that teachers were understanding and helpful, two were relaxed because they felt equal to them, one student felt safe as she could switch to Hungarian if she had to, and one explained that she was not nervous because she could express her thoughts appropriately.

No, I'm not nervous because they are friendly and helpful. Kimberly

Why would I be nervous? They're just humans like I myself am, besides, they are future colleagues of mine, as I'm also in a teacher program. Lucy

I'm not nervous because I can tell what I would like easily. Vicky

I'm not nervous because I talk to them in Hungarian. I think these are important situations so I want to express myself properly and want to understand everything. Nicky

The third dimension of LA that I studied was anxiety when talking with NESs. Similarly to the previous findings, the participants reported anxiety also in these situations. Twenty out of 30 claimed to be nervous and ten reported to be not nervous when talking with NESs.

I'm a little bit nervous, because I don't know would that person find my English proper, annoying or understandable. Emma

Talking to native speakers is another category for me. I think I would feel nervous because I'm not always entirely sure of myself. Kailee

All anxious students' anxiety was caused by feeling inferior to NESs. They feared making mistakes, dreaded a potential breakdown in communication because they could not resort to Hungarian in such interactions, and they were afraid of making a bad impression on their interlocutor. Since they wished to live up to the native speaker model, they perceived these conversations as EFL interactions. In such situations they fell short of the native speaker model, which made them feel incompetent English learners. Shane's statement below reveals how language learners struggle to sustain their positive self-concept using their L2.

I am an egoistic guy, speaking no-perfect English to natives makes me sound less intelligent than I really am. Shane

Out of the ten informants who were not afraid of talking with NESs, three viewed such conversations as good practice, two felt confident enough about their English skills to be unafraid, and two remarked that NSs are understanding and patient with L2 learners.

Surprisingly I am not nervous, mainly because they know that I am just a learner and they are fine with mistakes. Kevin

I am not nervous, because I feel that it would be a good chance to practice my English and listen to a native speaker. Samir

Finally, I sought to find out how anxious the informants were when talking with NNESs. A reversed proportion was detected in the answers, since 21 out of 30 students reported to be non-anxious and only nine to be anxious when talking with NNESs. Furthermore, out of the nine anxious students, four claimed to be only a little anxious in such situations.

I am not nervous, they are probably not much better than me. Paul

I'm not nervous because they also learn it and we can learn from our mistakes. Katie

I'm not nervous, because I like to practice English and I'm looking for situations to speak English out of class. Emma

The reason for their relaxed behavior was the lack of perceived inferiority to other NNEs and that they viewed these interactions not as tests but rather opportunities for practice. They also viewed these conversations as ELF interactions in which they did not seek to live up to the native speaker model, because the goal of such ELF interactions was successful communication and not appropriacy. Furthermore, they could help each other out when a communication problem occurred without their L2 identity being threatened. The students' statements shed light on how the lack of LA leads to WTC in English, confirming Nagy's (2007) study (Nagy, 2007) also conducted at UP in Hungary that the lack of LA is conducive to WTC. By contrast, four of the anxious respondents considered these interactions as a competition that they might fall short of, whereas three students displayed some anxiety due to their interactants' potential superior or poor English or due to their unfamiliar accent.

If they can speak better than me, I am nervous. Sandra

I am not nervous, but I would be impatient if they couldn't say words properly and I couldn't understand them. Nicky

In conclusion, the participants regard English teachers and NESs as authoritative figures due to their expertise in the language; hence, interacting with them is perceived as an anxiety-provoking situation. They perceive interactions with NESs as EFL communication resulting in the feeling of LA, whereas they regard interactions with NNEs as ELF communication leading to the participants' non-anxious behavior. Moreover, in social interactions when the participants' identities are co-constructed (Kramsch, 2009; Widdowson, 2012), they wish to make a positive impression on their interlocutor and avoid negative judgments. Learners wish to construct their intersubjectivity in accordance with their desired subjectivity (Kramsch, 2009), which may not always be successful, resulting in anxiety and other negative emotions. The participants' statements confirm Kramsch's (2009) concept of subjectivity-in-process referring to the volatile nature of identity (co-)construction in interactions. The quotations also provide information about the importance of the learner's Interpersonal, Reflexive and

Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) in identity construction in and through interactions with other English speakers.

7.7 Willingness to Communicate in English

I investigated two aspects of WTC in English: the participants' WTC in class and outside class (Figure 6). Twenty-eight students responded to the first question and 30 to the second one.

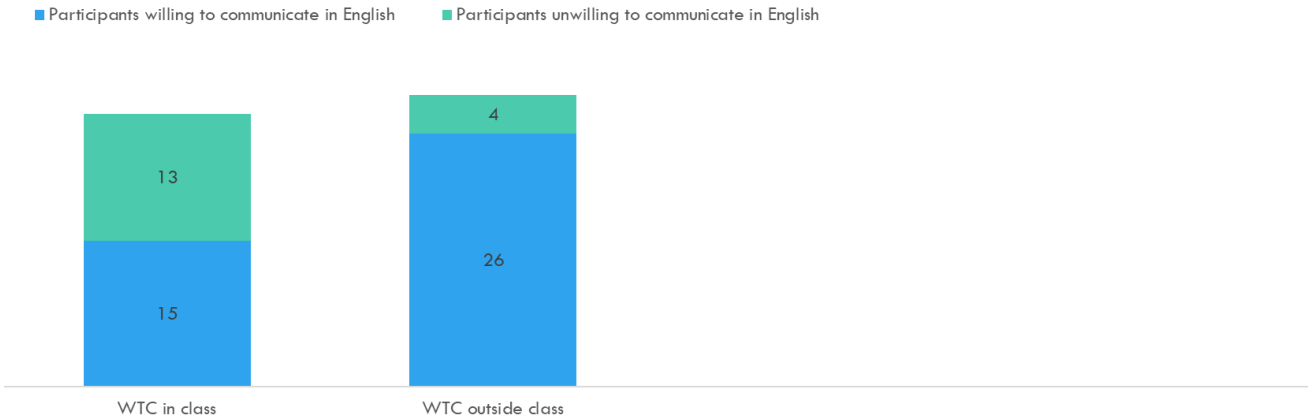


Figure 6. Participants' WTC in English in Class and outside the Classroom

Altogether, 15 students reported to be willing to speak in English in class and 13 to be unwilling to do so. Based on the responses, WTC was influenced by three factors: relevance of the topic (N 9), trait WTC (N 2), and motivation to learn English (N 2).

I like to get my opinion across at times, whilst other times I just want less interesting questions out of the way. Other times I just want to break awkward silences so that the teacher doesn't feel embarrassed. Shane

I like speaking in class because this is the only opportunity when I can develop my speaking skills. But I don't like speaking in public because I am nervous and I always make mistakes. Amanda

Shane displays WTC when he is knowledgeable about a topic as well as when he wishes to get the lesson going when other students do not answer the teacher's questions. Amanda's statement shows how LA and WTC can offset each other, and even students motivated to learn and speak English can be intimidated and quieted by the fear of erring or the fear of being

evaluated. On the other hand, the lack of WTC was attributed to the following factors: fear of erring (N 3), anxiety (N 2), lack of adequate command of English (N 2), and the relevance of the topic (N 1).

I prefer listening to others and learning from their mistakes. Sandra

I don't talk in classes but I often answer the question in my head. Kailee

I don't speak in classes because I don't have thought about the topic I cannot explain it in English. Sophia

Concerning the informants' WTC outside the classroom, out of the 30 students 26 reported to be willing to talk with other English speakers. Eighteen of the respondents preferred real-life interactions with them, whereas eleven of them opted for virtual interactions including computer games, chatting on the Internet, or corresponding with a pen pal electronically. Table 20 presents the informants' reported WTC outside the classroom.

Table 20

Manifestations of Respondents' Reported WTC in English outside the Classroom

WTC outside the classroom	Frequency
Meet other English speakers in real life	17
Talk to other English speakers on the Internet	6
Have a pen friend	3
Talk to other English speakers while gaming	2
Speak in class at university	1
Total	29

Out of the 17 students who preferred real-life interactions six conversed with fellow Hungarians in English, four sought out opportunities to talk to international students, two students had international friends and they attended events together, and three of them attended ERASMUS presentations. Two students added they only sought out such opportunities if they had shared interests with their speaking partner.

I really like to spend time around people who have common interests, so it depends on the situation. Kimberly

One student noted that she did not know any foreign person. Those who did not show WTC in this domain complained about the lack of opportunities to meet internationals in Hungary. One of them added one needs to travel abroad to talk with foreigners.

I don't really have the opportunity to talk to native speakers. Sarah

I don't really have the opportunity for it but I hope once I can travel to an English speaking country. Until then I practice English with my friends. Dorothy

Sarah and Dorothy mistakenly associated English speakers with NESs; thus, they ignored the opportunities they may have had to talk with NNEs in Hungary.

In conclusion, the participants exhibited WTC in English at university and outside university alike. However, there is a significant difference between their WTC in and outside the classroom. While in the former setting only about half of them exhibited WTC, in the latter context almost 90% of them displayed WTC in English. This result highlights the major role technology and the Internet play in English learning and in communication. Due to the omnipresence of English outside the classroom the participants tend to speak ELF in such interactions and embrace the possibilities the Internet renders them. Furthermore, my findings confirmed Nagy's (2007) results in multiple ways. I found that perceived L2 proficiency has a great impact on WTC, students unwilling to interact in English in classes complained about inadequate command of the language, making it hard for them to express their thoughts. Moreover, the results cast light on how LA and WTC are related in my study as well; LA in the classroom inhibited the respondents' WTC in English; however, I must also stress that despite high levels of anxiety experienced in English classes (two thirds of them were anxious to speak in class), a little more than half of the students claimed to be willing to participate in discussions in class, which is good news for teachers. This may be explained by the participants' high integrative disposition towards English learning and English language cultures. Nevertheless, I believe that the participants' WTC is further enhanced by their intensive use of English besides their studies.

Finally, there is an important pedagogical implication I seek to address here based on the findings of this section. By incorporating in in-class activities and home assignments, sources and activities that correspond to students' interests and pastime activities such as watching and discussing a video or a film pertaining to a topic under study or asking them to browse a website or an electronic journal to find information on a topic is likely to facilitate students' intrinsic motivation to learn English in the classroom. By allowing them to bring their pastime activities that they find engaging in the classroom, teachers might be able to create a more anxiety-free atmosphere in the classroom while making the students more knowledgeable about the topic thus promoting their WTC in the classroom, as well.

7.8 Conclusions

The majority of the participants' self-perceived English language proficiency is at B2 level, while their reported language aptitude is high. They are highly competitive with peers resulting in heightened emotional responses such as anger, frustration, or shame. Their competitive behavior is linked to perfectionism and anxiety, resulting in a cyclic relationship. They display a highly positive attitude towards English and English learning; however, they are mostly extrinsically motivated to learn English in their studies. By contrast, they exhibit intrinsic motivation to learn English incidentally in their pastime activities oftentimes involving the use of ELF. The respondents are characterized by a high level of integrative motivation to become indistinguishable from NESs in terms of speaking as well as by a desire to live in an English language country at some point in their life. With the exception of talking with NNEs, they perceive in-class discussions as well as conversations with English teachers and NESs as anxiety producing situations. Nevertheless, they do show some WTC in in-class discussions, whereas outside the classroom, they exhibit a very high level of WTC in English in their pastime activities which involve different modes of WTC such as speaking, reading, writing, and listening.

The findings of this chapter reveal that the participants experience English learning very differently in and outside the classroom. While in the classroom, their self-concept is laden with negative factors such as anxiety, competition, the lack of intrinsic motivation, low perceived L2 proficiency and limited WTC, their identity construction outside the classroom is more positive including successful English use and high levels of WTC in their leisure time activities coupled with intrinsic and integrative motivation. In these activities they use English to pursue non-linguistic goals, resulting in incidental language learning thus high perceived language aptitude, because language learning seems effortless to them.

The above results are suggestive of the participants' 'schizophrenic-like' state in terms of their English use. They are split between trying to conform to the native speaker model (Dewey & Leung, 2010; Medgyes, 2017) by endeavoring to attain native-like proficiency in English and using ELF which gives them agency and ownership of English because the focus of ELF interactions is on successful communication and not on native-like language use. For this reason, the discrepancy between the participants' actual and ideal self may not provide sufficient incentive for them to learn English, because their ideal self characterized by the desire to attain native-like English proficiency is offset by their successful ELF use in which they are not expected to live up to the native-speaker model.

Drawing on activities that are so pervasive in the participants' pastime in formal language learning would be conducive to enhancing learners' WTC and motivation to learn English while reducing anxiety and competitiveness in the classroom. Such practices would promote the creation of a more positive and consistent self-concept in the participants and prevent the participants from feeling "schizophrenic" in their identity construction through English.

The findings of this chapter reveal that the participants' language learning is an embodied experience (Damasio, 1994; Kramsch, 2009), since they respond emotionally to the process of language learning, which shapes their self-perception, competitiveness, perfectionism,

language anxiety, WTC along with their motivation to learn English. Their desire to identify with NESs as well as with their envisaged native English speaking future self signal how they desire to identify with the Other through English (Kristeva, 1980). Most participants have exploited or wish to exploit the transformative potential of language learning in which English as a lingua franca makes the experience even more transformative. The respondents' Interpersonal, Reflexive, and Conceptual Self (Neisser, 1988) continuously monitor the language learning process involving interactions with other English speakers, which, in turn, shape the participants' intersubjectivity and identity construction. By drawing on both traditional ID research (by presenting numerical data and focusing on certain aspects of learning) and a multidisciplinary approach of identity research I have demonstrated how these two research traditions are compatible with each other and they can complement rather than exclude each other. I believe that by combining research frameworks, SLA researchers and educators can gain a much more complex understanding of language learning processes as well as of learners who subjectively and idiosyncratically experience these processes.

I call for a complex and dynamic understanding of both individual differences and identity construction, because, similarly to a complex dynamic system, language learners' individual differences feed into and shape their identity construction in and through the L2. Learners' individual differences can be envisaged as horizontally and vertically interacting levels of a complex dynamic system that shape the system's behavior, that is, the learner's identity construction in and via the L2, and learners' identity construction is shaped not only by the interacting levels of the system but also by interactions with other English speakers in their environment.

CHAPTER 8 – FINAL CONCLUSIONS

8.1. Main Conclusions

In my dissertation I synthesized various research traditions in applied linguistics: research into identity, individual differences, English as a lingua franca, and complex dynamic systems theory to explore the participants' multilingual identity construction. I aimed to bring under one roof two seemingly antagonistic research traditions: traditional SLA research with regard to individual differences and Kramsch's (2009) post-structuralist and multidisciplinary approach of identity research to show that these schools of research can complement rather than exclude each other, since their synthesis can provide a more complex and holistic understanding of both L2 learners' identity construction and their individual differences. The present study is an attempt to show how studying the same phenomena from multiple perspectives and using different research and data analysis methods can facilitate a better understanding of constructs under study.

8.1.1 The Participants' Multilingual Identity

The findings of my study confirmed that language learners respond to L2 learning emotionally by engaging their brain, their mind, and their body as well, pinpointing the embodied nature of L2 learning. Furthermore, the data pointed out that the participants use their L2 for much more than mere information exchange, they use their L2 to construct a new identity for themselves and to rid themselves of the constraints of their L1 language and culture. Some students pursue language learning to become like other L2 speakers (mostly native English speakers) or another L2 speaking version of themselves and they embrace the transformation afforded by the L2, whereas others prefer identifying with their familiar L1 to avoid the transformative potential of language learning that could shape their linguistic and cultural identity. Some of them like Estela and her friends became tricksters of language; thus, they could act upon and change their and other people's reality using their L2. The participants'

narratives were characterized by self-centeredness and self-enhancement as well as the desire for self-fulfillment in and via the L2, and a strong identification with NESs

Exploring the identity construction of the participants led me to coining the concept of imagined L2 habitus (for more details see Chapter 6.3.4) that language learners may adopt and which refers to the learner's different ways of behaving and thinking enabled by the new language. By learning an L2, learners compare and contrast the differences between the ways of behaving and thinking of L1 and L2 speakers. Since language learners stand no chance of getting to know all speakers of the L2, they use their imagination to envisage how native and non-native L2 users may think and behave. Consequently, in L2 interactions language learners may adopt an imagined L2 habitus that they think approximates the habitus of L2 speakers or a hybrid L1 and L2 habitus relying on the real and imagined ways of behaving and thinking in both the L1 and the L2. Hence, language learners can construct and negotiate their identities in interactions with other L2 speakers relying on their imagined L2 habitus.

Drawing on Sussman's (2002) cultural identity model of the sojourn, I adopted her model in the context of SLA and labeled it the cultural identity model of language learning. Sussman focuses on changes in cultural identity construction during and after the sojourn referring to the sojourner's identity responses to culture shock and repatriation shock. However, findings in the present study showed that her cultural identity model works in the context of L2 learning, as well. Language learners often experience a disturbance or a crisis in their linguistic and cultural identity while learning an L2. Since culture is interwoven in language learning (Kramsch, 1998), even EFL learners, who have never been exposed to an English speaking environment, but have incorporated in themselves aspects of the new culture and the new consciousness that comes with the new language (Lacan, 1997), can experience a disturbance in their self-concept using their imagination. They may no longer know who they are and in what ways they belong to the L1 and the L2 culture. When seeing the differences between the L1 and L2 culture in

terms of ways of thinking and behaving, they may experience an additive, subtractive, or an affirmative identity response to the linguistic and cultural stimuli of language learning. In the learner's additive response to the L2 culture, the learner may feel enriched due to the new perspectives gained by learning the target language. In showing a subtractive identity response, the learner may find the old L1 cultural features less important and less meaningful. In exhibiting an affirmative identity response to L2 learning, the learner resorts to the familiar L1 language and culture because of the magnitude of the threat that the L2 imposes to the integrity of the learner's identity (Kramsch, 2009; Kristeva, 1980). This identity crisis or disturbance may be magnified by learning and using English as a lingua franca, as even more cultural perspectives are conveyed in and via English.

8.1.2 English as a Lingua Franca, International Posture, and the Ideal Self

My research findings shed light on how the participants are shifting to using English as a lingua franca, which shapes their identity construction as language learners. The themes in connection with ELF that emerged in the datasets led me to reinterpreting international posture from the perspective of identity research. I added the concept of multilingualism, ownership of English, affect, and identity to the construct. Affect is inherently implicated in international posture, as using ELF is an embodied experience, triggering emotional responses in learners. With regard to multilingualism, ownership of English, and identity construction, those students who recognized in what ways they are using English successfully were aware of their ownership of the language, which constituted their self-perception as multilingual speakers. Students who sought to approximate NESs followed the native speaker model in their language learning despite the fact that they may still have resorted to ELF use. These students fell short of the native speaker norm, which shaped their self-perception in a way that they did not consider themselves multilingual. Many participants' ideal selves aimed to achieve native-like proficiency, which created a substantial gap between their ideal and actual self. The magnitude

of self-discrepancy should provide sufficient incentive for them to reduce this gap and attain their ideal self; however, the participants' successful language use outside the classroom that gave them a feeling of being in control and empowerment could offset the incentive afforded by the discrepancy between their actual and ideal self. Consequently, I detected substantial differences between the participants' language learning experiences in the classroom and outside the classroom. The participants' self-concept was more positive outside the classroom, whereas their in-class experiences were laden with more negative feelings resulting in the construction of a less positive self-perception.

8.1.3 Individual Differences, Identity, and Complex Dynamic Systems

Concerning the relationship between traditional motivational constructs and identity construction, I found that intrinsic and integrative motivation facilitate the transformative power of language learning and make learners MLSs by allowing them to create their own subjective associations with the L2, whereas extrinsic motivation makes language learning a less meaningful and less transformative experience. More meaningfully lived language learning experiences and the creation of creative and subjective meaning-making processes in and through the L2 are also conducive to creating a more powerful and vivid image of the learner's ideal self, which promotes the learner's motivation to learn more English.

My findings with regard to the participants' IDs confirmed that IDs interact with one another in dynamic and complex ways. Similarly to Bailey's (1983) study, I found that self-perception with respect to perceived language proficiency level and perceived aptitude, perfectionism, and competitiveness form a cyclic relationship, feeding into one another at one level within the learner. Changes at this level then feed into the learner's language anxiety at the next level up which affects their motivation to learn the language at the next level, which, then, shapes the learner's WTC in English. I envisage these IDs as vertically and horizontally interacting levels of a system which construct and shape the learner's identity as system-level

behavior. There is a bi-directional link between the system and its levels, because the system responds to changes at the lower levels of the system as well as to stimuli coming from the environment in the form of interactions with other English speakers and in the form of contextual factors such as the school environment, curriculum, and the socio-cultural context of learning. Therefore, I call for an understanding of identity construction as a complex dynamic system in which individual learner characteristics constitute the levels of the system that horizontally and vertically shape the system's behavior, that is, the identity construction of learners through and in the L2 they learn. Figure 7 shows a visual representation of Identity Construction as a Complex Dynamic System of Individual Differences.

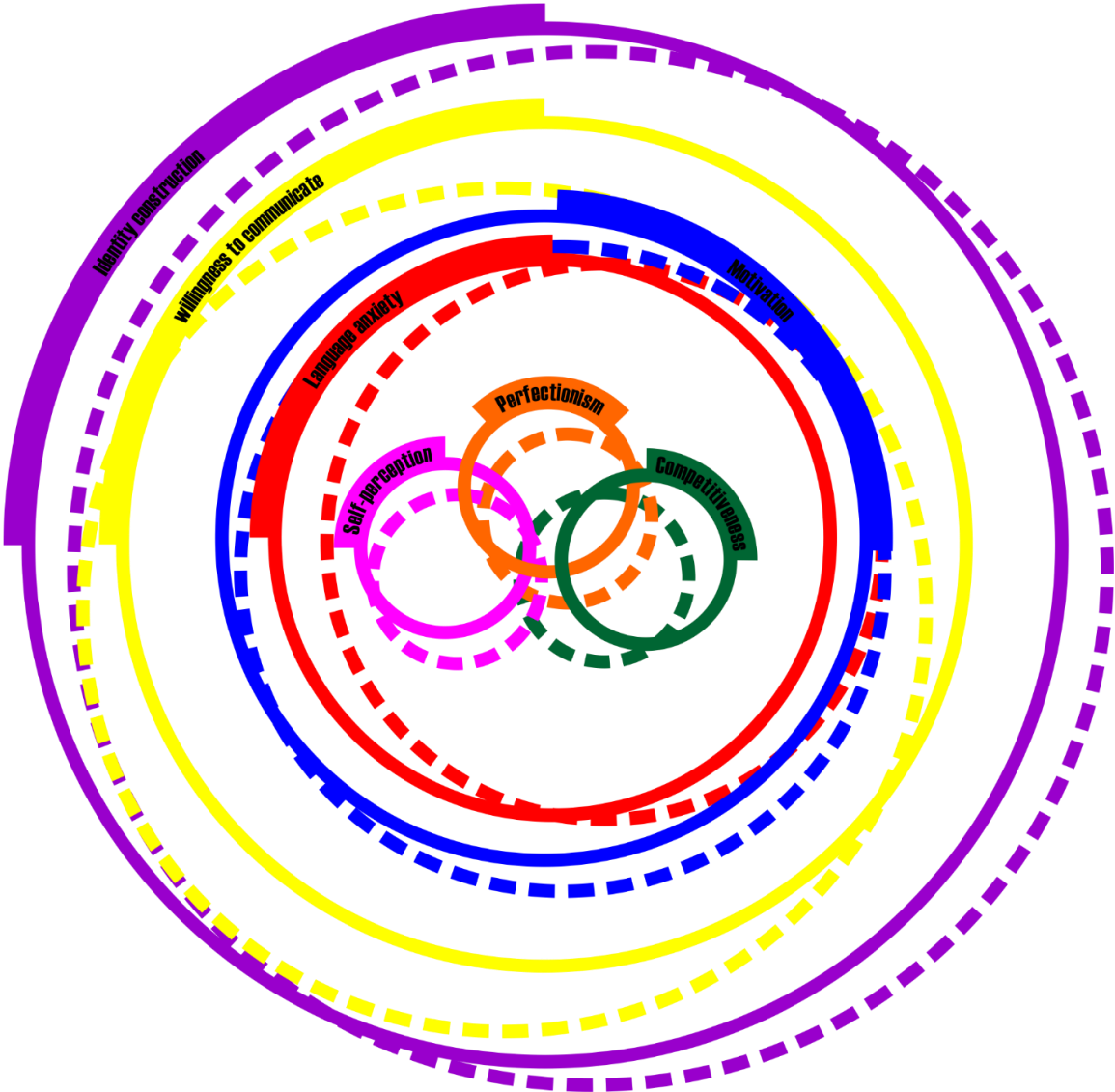


Figure 7. Identity Construction as a Complex Dynamic System of Individual Differences

The intermittent lines stand for potential trajectories of the levels and the system, and these potential trajectories of IDs are idiosyncratic and subject to change over time. Despite the versatility of such a complex system, patterns of system behavior may be detected, making the system stable and changeable at the same time.

I did not include affect as a separate factor or level in the figure, as language learning is an embodied experience and emotional responses are implicated at each level of the system. Other self-related concepts such as self-confidence, self-worth, self-efficacy, or learner-beliefs are inherently part of the learner's identity construction. I did not include age in this representation, because the system temporally evolves and age is not a stable factor in this conceptualization. The system emerges from past and present experiences and future projections of the learner; thus, the learner's age-related experiences are inherently part of the system. Finally, I did not include another key construct, aptitude in this system, as studies (MacIntyre, Noels & Clément, 1997; Tóth, 2007) have pointed out that learners' self-perception about their language aptitude is more influential than their actual aptitude. I believe that the success of language learning is not determined by the learner's innate abilities that in language learning are often associated with language aptitude. Instead, I argue in line with Kramersch (2009), that language learning can be more or less meaningfully lived and can be more or less transformative for the learner, which may be a life-changing experience irrespective of proficiency level or language learning aptitude. Language learners use their imagination to create their subjective experiences of success, failure, and transformation. The subjective, non-conventional, and creative use of the L2 denoting the second type of symbolic language use by learners (Kramersch, 2009) constitutes and shapes learners' learning behavior as well as their attitudes, thoughts, ideas, beliefs, feelings, and emotions about the L2, its culture and people as well as about learning the L2.

The complex system I described above is a chaotic system that moves like a double pendula, because it is a highly idiosyncratic system: some of the IDs can move up and down between levels and can interact with one another at random. The system can change smoothly and gradually or suddenly and drastically. Initial conditions are crucial in determining the system's behavior at a later time. Furthermore, this complex and dynamic framework of both individual differences and identity construction can explain why experiencing the same conditions in language learning may result in differences in IDs and identity construction and why different learning conditions and experiences may converge to a certain pattern of IDs or identity construction. Despite the idiosyncratic experiences of the participants, I detected patterns of behavior and experiences in the data.

The various lists of IDs (Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Ellis, 1994, 1997, 2004; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991) do not include identity as an ID factor; however, the findings of the present study revealed that the learner's identity is a crucial individual difference that shapes and is shaped by other individual differences, which implies a bi-directional relationship between the system and the levels of the system. It is not only the changes in the various levels of the system that can change the system but also changes in the system can alter the levels within the system. Furthermore, in keeping with Kramsch (2009), I argue that language learning cannot be separated from the learner who experiences the language learning process; thus, ID research should be integrated with research into identity and identity research should be incorporated in research into IDs. In the same vein, I also argue for a more holistic and complex understanding of the language learner and the language learning process instead of only focusing on a single aspect of the individual or the learning process. Due to the interconnectedness of IDs and identity construction, learners and their language learning experiences should be looked at in their entirety and complexity. Finally, the dynamic framework of the exploration of IDs is in concert with the co-constructed, volatile, and

constantly changing understanding of identity construction that takes place in and through interaction with other speakers of the L2.

8.2 Pedagogical Implications

The findings of this study entail several pedagogical implications. Since it was based on classroom research, it was awareness-raising for me as a teacher and for the participating students, as well. Having completed the assignments that also served as data collection instruments in my research, several students remarked in the follow-up in-class discussions or via email that they had found it very useful and interesting to ponder over their life with respect to L2 learning and their identity as L2 learners. They noted that they had learnt a lot about themselves and had started to observe themselves more closely when using their various languages (based on follow-up in-class discussions). Some of them added that they had never thought about such matters before and showed interest in answering my questions (personal communication with students). These comments made by students confirmed the usefulness of both classroom research and of a holistic view of learners in which learners and their learning processes are not investigated separately.

Furthermore, exploring the identity construction of learners that we teach is also beneficial, as it casts light on other aspects of learners such as their motivation, LA, WTC, perfectionism, or competitiveness. Similarly, the study of IDs should also focus on learners' identity construction, as the two are interrelated. The findings of such an inquiry can help teachers to better their teaching practice by meeting the specific needs of their learners. Teachers have a key role in creating a favorable atmosphere in the classroom that facilitates learning; therefore, nurturing learners' positive identity construction by paying attention to their needs promotes language learning. Teachers can also benefit a lot from exploring their learners' identity, as such an endeavor requires self-reflection by them as L2 learners, L2 users, and L2

teachers. By understanding their own L2-related experiences better, they are more likely to also better understand the various experiences, feelings, fears, attitudes, beliefs, difficulties, and successes that their students experience. By establishing a relaxed atmosphere in which the voices of students can be heard, teachers and learners can feel more motivated to participate in the language learning process.

Furthermore, nurturing L2 learners' positive self-image is of high importance, as it can trigger the transformative potential of L2 learning and a desire for self-fulfillment through the L2. This claim is corroborated by my findings that intrinsic and integrative motivation are linked to experiencing L2 learning more meaningfully and in a more transformative way. These two motivational orientations are more effective in motivating learners in the long-run to learn the L2 and to develop their language proficiency. Moreover, I found that the participants held a more favorable self-image outside the classroom than in the classroom due to their involvement in authentic and engaging out-of-class activities using English. Therefore, it is beneficial for teachers to incorporate activities in their teaching practice that draw on authentic language use, since these activities better engage learners. By doing so, learners' imagined communities can be acknowledged and nurtured, which may provide further incentive for them to participate in L2 learning. Learners' investment in L2 learning is also an investment in their linguistic and cultural identity, for they wish to gain various resources such as a better job, a higher salary, international friendship, or English speaking entertainment or hobbies and so forth in return for their investment in L2 learning.

Finally, teachers and learners should be aware of the benefits of using and teaching English as a lingua franca in and beyond the classroom to better conform to the reality of English use in the world nowadays. To avoid the split or the struggle between learners' identity construction in the classroom and outside the classroom, teachers can highlight the potential of using English as lingua franca in the classroom. If English learners feel empowered by their

ability to use English instead of feeling inferior to NESs, they can generate a more favorable English identity and can rid themselves of the pressure of having to conform to the native speaker norm. If learners can accept the local diversity involved in ELF use, they can avoid passing negative or derogatory judgments on themselves and other NNEs, thus avoiding the further spread of prejudice about the language skills and the competence of NNEs.

8.3 Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the multidisciplinary approach used in the dissertation and the careful design of instruments, the present study is limited in many ways. First of all, the rich textual data I gathered with the help of the structured speaking task would have allowed for an even more comprehensive analysis of the data with regard to the participants' linguistic profile and their parents' language learning background. However, adding another chapter would have exceeded the recommended length of a doctoral dissertation; therefore, I only discussed the participants' language learning background in relation to the constructs included in my research questions. Furthermore, based on the vast data elicited by the three instruments I could have discussed the participants' motivational self-system in much greater depth; however, the research questions did not focus on the ideal self or the ought-to self; therefore, I only addressed these self-constructs at the intersection of the various approaches I synthesized. Moreover, the rich textual data provided insights into the participants' cultural identity construction which I discussed in relation to their linguistic identity construction in the process of SLA, since my research questions only addressed the students' linguistic identity construction.

Second, despite the numerical data that I presented and discussed and thus I labelled my study a mixed methods inquiry, the quantitative part of the dissertation is limited. The number of the participants (N=42) is small to make generalizations about the findings. At a later time, a larger-scale quantitative survey investigating the participants' individual differences and identity construction would be useful to compare the findings.

Third, despite the fact that I drew on CDST and that I envisage IDs and identity construction as a complex dynamic system, I did not investigate the constructs under study from a CDST approach. Since my study was not longitudinal, it did not allow me to detect temporal changes in the system, which is an important property of a CDS. Nevertheless, I was able to explore in the data the interconnected, complex, and dynamic nature of IDs and identity construction that also responded to other systems (i.e. other L2 learners/speakers) in the environment as well as contextual factors. To make this inquiry longitudinal, the study could be replicated in the near future involving participants enrolled at UP to explore the quantity, quality, and the intensity of the changes the participants have experienced in the past three years. It would not be possible to involve all respondents of the present study in this future project, as some of the students have graduated or dropped out. However, the majority of the participants are fourth-year students in the five- or six-year teacher education program; therefore, I meet them in other courses that I teach. This second-phase of the present study would involve fewer participants and would focus on changes in the constructs I explored now.

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APPENDIX A

STRUCTURED SPEAKING TASK

(STRUCTURED INTERVIEW)

QUESTIONS

Dear Students,

For this course assignment, I kindly ask you to answer the following questions in speaking. Please record your answers using a recording device of your choice. Remember there is no wrong answer. I am very interested to learn more about you and your language learning history, and this is a great opportunity for me to do so given the big number of students in class. Once you have recorded your answers, please send the recording to me via email. You will receive detailed feedback on your language use in this task and a score that will be based on the assessment scales used in the oral proficiency exam that you will be taking in the near future. I will treat your answers confidentially. Thank you!

I look forward to hearing your answers.

Adrienn

1. Where does your first/surname come from?
2. What languages are used in the family besides Hungarian?
3. What languages do your parents speak and at what level?
4. What languages do you speak and at what level?
5. At what age did you start learning these language?
6. For how many years have you learnt these languages and where? (bilingual school, class specialized in a foreign language, subjects taught in a foreign language)
7. Have you ever been taught by a native speaker in any foreign language? Where was he/she from?
8. What does it mean to you to be a multilingual person?
9. In your opinion, in what ways are you multilingual?
10. How are you multicultural?
11. What stages do you remember in the process of becoming a multilingual person?
12. Please tell me about the steps and events of becoming multilingual. When did you realize you were multilingual? Please recall the situation and what it meant to you then (e. g. when doing something, speaking to somebody, or succeeding in something important etc.).
13. In what ways have you grown as a multilingual person over the years? What stages can you recall in your own development?
14. Where would you like to get in English in the future?

APPENDIX B

FEEDBACK GIVEN TO STUDENTS ON THEIR LANGUAGE USE IN THE STRUCTURED SPEAKING TASK

Scales were adopted from the oral part of the proficiency exam used at the Institute of English Studies, University of Pécs.

Scores

Total Score	Communicative - effectiveness	Fluency	Vocabulary resource	Structures	Pronunciation and intonation
25	5	5	5	5	5

Description of scales

Score	Communicative effectiveness	Fluency	Vocabulary resource	Structures	Pronunciation and intonation
5	Communication fully effective / coherent speech / reflects on arguments effectively	Fully fluent / no unnatural hesitations or pauses	Wide range of vocabulary / effectively no inaccurate usage	Wide range of structures / effectively no inaccuracies	Little if any foreign accent / hardly any errors of pronunciation or intonation
4					
3	Communication partly effective / largely coherent speech / reflects on arguments largely effectively	Partly fluent / some unnatural hesitations or pauses	Good range of vocabulary / occasional inaccurate usage	Good range of structures / occasional inaccuracies	Noticeable foreign accent / occasional errors of pronunciation and intonation
2					
1	Communication often breaks down / largely incoherent speech / reflects on arguments largely ineffectively	Fluency lacking / frequent long, unnatural hesitations or pauses	Narrow range of vocabulary / frequent inaccurate usage	Narrow range of structures / frequent inaccuracies	Heavily accented speech / listener sometimes has difficulty understanding what is said
0	Not enough to evaluate				

Students were also given written feedback in the form direct error correction and comments on the strengths and the weaknesses of their oral performance in the structured speaking task. Furthermore, students were also given personalized advice as to how to improve their oral proficiency in the future.

APPENDIX C

STRUCTURED SPEAKING TASK (STRUCTURED INTERVIEW) TRANSCRIPTS

The numbers in the transcripts roughly indicate which of the 14 questions the student answers. Students answered the questions in a diverse manner. Some students proceeded question by question, some answered multiple questions at a time, and some answered all questions in one monologue.

STUDENT 1: ANA

1. My mother knew for a long time (since her childhood) that her daughter had the name Ana. She had a very kind relative called Ana who was very close to her heart.
2. – 3. My parents and my younger brothers are not keen on foreign languages. My mother and father learned Russian because it was compulsory. However, my mother was in a class specialized in Russian in the secondary school. My younger brothers are learning German and English (they were in a class specialized in German not only in the elementary school but also in the secondary school) but they are not fond of them. They learn them and realized that they are useful but they would not like to deal with them deeper. I do not have relatives who are living abroad. We speak Hungarian at home.
- 4-5-6-7. I have started to learn English when I was 15 and German when I was 8. So I have learnt German 13 years and English five. I was never taught by a native speaker, only here at the university.
8. Multilingualism means very important for me. Uh, hm, in my opinion, it means uh uh uh uh that people can uh speak uh more languages and they can uh uh practice them uh everywhere and everywhen, so they can use it all around the world and they can help other people, for example they can teach them or they have high knowledge, the same than a native speaker.
9. I like these languages and I would like to teach them and they are close to my heart, so I often spend time with them. I would like to travel abroad and I would like to help other people by teaching and doing charity work. I like reading books in English and in German and I often have dreams in English and German. I like them.
10. I like Hungarian culture and traditions, however, I often make afternoon tea, sometimes, I put milk in it. And I often meet English persons, however, Hungarian culture is more important for me. I like traditions, I danced folk dance, Hungarian folk dance. I like traditions, for example Easter, traditions with Easter. I want to stay here in Hungary, so I would like to keep these traditions. I like German culture, it's close to my heart. I spent one month in Germany. I don't like beer but I like the other specialties and traditions. People eat cakes and drink coffee at 5 pm in Germany and they like going to festivals with the family. They like traveling. I also like traveling, so it's important for me. I think I like both German and English culture. I'm interesting, interested in. Maybe German culture is closer for my heart but English people are the same like me, so. Uh uh they are shy and maybe they don't like talking about private matters and uh uh they uh like

traveling also, so uh they are special because they live in a separated place I sometimes have an English breakfast: meat, sausages, and egg uh lot of vegetables, breads and tea.

11-12-13-14. Firstly, we have to learn a lot of words and I tried writing new words in my vocabulary book and I liked to listen to television programs and radio programs. I traveled to Austria and I tried to use this languages. It was very good because the people there spoke fluently to me, so maybe they thought that I learnt uh more years German, so it was very good, I was proud. I tried to practice my English knowledge too. In English I learnt a lot of words and yeah I have problems with listening too. I have Erasmus buddies here in Pécs. I have a friend here called Thomas from Croatia. I could make friends with him through English. My studies here are also an important stage. And I could practice my knowledge and improve so it's very useful, my dream is to teach it. Maybe I realized I was multilingual here at the university.

STUDENT 2: KATIE

1. I don't know what my name exactly mean, but I have read about them. It evolves from a personal name with diminutive. Katie means crown and always clear. It comes from the British nursed version of Kate. Otherwise, my parents chose Katie because it's a short form and they thought it can't be nursed, but my grandma immediately started to call me Katiiiiie and I don't really like it.
2. Unfortunately, our family isn't bilingual or multilingual, so we don't use other languages besides Hungarian. Once my sister decided to speak just in English to each other but she give up after her second sentence that she couldn't explain. She was outraged and it was a really funny situation.
3. My parents learnt Russian for about 4 years and German, my father for about 6 months and my mother for 4 years, but now they can remember just a few words and the most important thing how they saluted. My father speaks English and he has a certificate at an intermediate level and he often uses English for his work because he works at the nuclear power plant as a special engineer and he usually makes presentations for foreign visitors, for example, next week he will make a presentation for Irans and show the moneys and sometimes he asks me about phrases, words, and grammar, and my mother a few years ago attended to secondary school for adults to make the school leaving exam and my mother made the language part of the exam in English and she has never done it before but the teachers were helpful and they wrote text about pictures and role-plays, so my mother learnt it word by word, so she can't speak English, just have a paper about it.
4. I speak English at an intermediate level but I hope I will pass the proficiency test in the near future. In my secondary school I had to learn German, English and German too, but unfortunately, I started to forget grammar, so my German knowledge didn't reach the intermediate level.
5. I started English at the primary school at the age of 6 or 7 and German in secondary school, so the age of 15.
6. English learning is in progress and I have been learning it about for 14 years, so 14 years, and I attended to the secondary technical school for energetics and I learnt economics, and German was compulsory for our technical so I learnt it for 4 years.
7. About 7 or 8 years ago I chatted with an Arabian man to practice English and I got to know their culture but unfortunately he told more about a relationship and I finished talking with him.
8. I think a multilingual person is a person who can speak in a lot of language. I don't think I am multilingual person because I am still learning English and it is not ... I still don't use English confidently. I have learnt German but since then I haven't used it. I would like to be a multilingual person and I would like to make a certification at an intermediate level in German and I would like to learn Russian because of the expansion of the nuclear power plant and I think it will be very useful. And Spanish and Arabian because I am interested in them and French and Italian seem very interesting too, I think, because of the culture.

9. I am always interested in other countries and their culture. Luckily, our family can travel a lot. We have spent holidays in numerous places. It's always exciting to get to know their habits, their clothing, how people behave in the given country. If I have the opportunity, I always try to ask them about their culture. For example one of my friends works in Germany and I get a report from her about her life almost on every week. She made friends from different cultures and she always tells me about them. It's really exciting that I can get to know other cultures through her.
10. It's a very difficult question for me because I don't think myself a multilingual person but a person need to acquire the basics, the grammar of the language relatively in a short period.
11. -12. I was about 13 years old when we travelled to Egypt and the people are so kind, friendly and straight. Some of the workers started to talk with me, and I was so happy that I could understand them and I could talk with them. I started to like English again. Other moment that gives me more confidence when I started to watch films and series in English and I realized that I understand them. Luckily, I had a very good private teacher and I loved her very much. She always told us that we know a lot in English and she prepared us for the exam. It was surprise me that I passed on it at the first time. In the secondary school we had the opportunity to take part in a program where we could talk with foreign students. They were usually Scottish. So firstly, it was so difficult to understand them, and sometimes I felt that they speak a completely different language than English, but they were friendly and polite and helped us, so it wasn't a problem after half or one hour. It was surprising when we, our family were skiing in Austria and in restaurants and in places where we could relax and drink hot tea and coffee, I ordered in German and they understand me and I understand them. It was shocking that I can remember something in German.
- 13-14. I hope that I will speak in English fluently and find the words and phrases easily and I won't need to thinking about the sentences and the grammar a lot before speaking. Maybe I would like to be an interpreter. I am sure I would like to teach English as a private teacher. Of course, I would like to learn other languages to get more opportunities for workplaces.

STUDENT 3: LUCY

1. My first name is Lucy and comes from Latin and means uh light or dawn?
2. In my family we speak in Hungarian but my sister and I learn and use different foreign languages too.
3. My parents uh speak, well, dad speaks very little bit of English. Personally, I believe he's quite bad but I wouldn't tell him because of ... Mom used to learn Russian when she was young but she almost forgotten most of it. She can only read it, I think.
4. As for me, I speak French and English. French like middle level and English is like level C, C1.
5. It's a very difficult because when I was in fourth grade, I started English and German at the very same time and I took German for one year and since then I kept English, so I was very young when I started it. I used to learn, I used to learn Latin too, for one year, and I took it up in fifth grade and I finished it when I was in the seventh grade and I started French in the ninth grade, so it's the newest one I learnt in school.
6. Well, English is, it's my twelfth year and German was only 1 year and Latin was 3 years, for French it's my fifth year. And I learnt all of them in high school with a foreign language teacher. English was like 4 classes each week, sometimes there were years when there were only 3 classes or there were 5 classes a week, it changed from year to year. French was the same. If I remember well, we had years when we learnt it only 4 classes a week, and then in the last one or two, I cannot really call it back, it was 5 classes per week. So it was the usual, I think.
7. I went to an international camp in 2011 in the U.S. The place was two hours from NY, it was an international girls' camp and it lasted for 2 months, which was real great because I met many, many other girls from different parts of the world. There were uh 60 of us, so it was a quite a crowded camp and there was even a boys' camp like 5 kms from us and there were uh 60 boys as well. So I had many, many friends who are native speakers of English, of German or French or Japanese or or Chinese. Oh my God, it's very complicated, many of them, even from South Africa, oh, God knows from where, I can't even memorize all these places because there's so many of them. But native teacher, I didn't have any of them. I learnt only from my friends, which was a very great help as the teacher who taught me English in high school was my class master and I didn't think she was very efficient....
8. Being a multilingual person is very great for me. I heard that the number of languages you speak is the number of personalities you have. Well, I believe I have much more personalities than the languages I speak, so I try to keep up with the number of languages. It's really useful when I am traveling because I've been abroad many times, and I really like to explore the world and when I was a very little girl, I, we had a family relative who traveled all around the world and I took her as a role model of mine and I really wanted to copy her and visit as many countries and places as I can, basically. So it's not only a help, but an inspiration for me, because I always learn if not full sentences but words that interest me like in Suahili from Lion King in different languages. Actually, not from Lion King, but I learnt it from a game. Language and words just stick to my mind, so I find myself really lucky.

9. In speaking and in thinking and in writing too because I like to use as many languages not just one. I don't know, in many ways.
10. As I mentioned, I have many, many friends from abroad and they are from different backgrounds, from different cultures. From India to Asia and so on, from Europe to the USA and so. I was to every continent, almost every continent except Australia maybe yes, for now. Well, I have friends who have relatives there. I don't know if that counts too. Never mind. I really like different cultures and I am interested in them too and I like to check these cultures look up them and see what kind of habits they have and celebrations and different, you know, how they live in their culture and how they keep it in these days, it's very hard because you are getting not only multicultural and if we keep multilingual cultures and creating new ones, I think because as we take on habits of other cultures such as Halloween from America, uh that came to Hungary too. We are not just melting them but making new ones and forgetting old traditions at Easter, so when it changes, we, girls don't really give only eggs, but instead of painted eggs, we give, we tend to give more pocket money to kids, I think, and like alcoholic drinks, which I think is not so good, because usually by the time it's warm outside and as they go around and sprinkle girls, you know, the more girls they sprinkle, the more alcohol they drink and it's really warm, so it's not good for their health and they can get pretty drunk by the end of the day or even by noon.
11. Well, I don't know. I don't really remember stages, I, like, started to be interested in Korean pop music when I was in my fifth or sixth grade, I don't know, and since then and I keep on learning and learning other languages but what's most interesting in that is that I don't know you are, languages at school but I tend to learn much more languages, expressions and so just languages at home in front of my computer, which I think is good, because I am motivated to learn and in school I can be hardly motivated, it's rather forced that when I, like, write homework, I don't know, I'm quite a lazy person. There are no stages, I think. It's just, it all crumbled on me. It just came, it's just so natural that it sticks to me and I really like it, so it's continuous.
12. Uh well, well, well. In fifth grade I took up two languages at the same time and the fifth grade I took a third one and I become multilingual without even noticing it. I haven't thought of it until this homework. Uh it feels a bit scary for me, so I realize it now. Oh, my goodness, I speak many, many language, and it's creepy.
13. It scared me, so uh the most important point for me I believe was when I started to speak too. I use to be very quiet in high school and then I went to this camp called Camp Rising Sun and I was very quiet for two weeks, for the first two weeks, I didn't dare to speak because I was very afraid of making mistakes, which I think is kind of fault of the education system here, because my teachers would like to teach us to speak and write and think very well, grammatically well and before you can achieve perfection, you are not really allowed or liked to be heard or be read uh like in another language, which makes learners kind of afraid to express themselves verbally or like in written texts. By when I went to this camp, on the second week one of my campmates asked me why I was so silent because she thought that I am a much different personal, I have a much different personality at home. So I told her that I was afraid to speak because I was afraid of making mistakes and that they wouldn't understand me and that they would think I'm stupid because I don't speak their language well. Because it was forced to speak only English because there were no

other people who could speak Hungarian, so I was forced to speak and it was really good for me because she said that you know we are not interested in how many mistakes you name, you shouldn't be ashamed of that because we all make mistakes, even the ones who speak English as their native language, so she embraced and gave me lots of courage to speak and to raise my voice and I became much more confident after that both in foreign languages and my mother language too. So it became much easier for me to speak. And this was basically the only stage I remember and the only stage that was important for me, because all the other things came naturally and continuously, I can't even tell apart these stages. One thing I really tried hard is that last spring some of us like uh high school students, friends uh went to uh Brussels to a uh youth conference and (pause) there was one of us so like, six people from Hungary went there and one of us was hired as a class speaker but she spoke only English and she was quite bad at that. So and since in the conference the only language was given as English. Since we were Brussels and many of talks were from Brussels and Bolonia and from France uh, the most spoken language was French, so it was me who had to translate from and to English, French and Hungarian. All three simultaneously, so it was really crazy and it was exhausting for me but I managed to do it. It was like 5 days or more, so I think it was enough for me for a while, but it was good adventure. And I don't know. It was, it was crazy to speak three languages at the very same time and six people asked me the same time and all different languages that what shall we do, what did they do and where they went and so and I just translated to languages. It was all a mess. Yeah, I think maybe I answered it. So it just sticks to me, I really like it and I also mentioned these stages, like the camp, the talk with my campmate and this multilingual experience in Brussels: English, French and Hungarian at the time. What I noticed is that it is really hard to use three languages at the very same time, but it was like if I do it like from 9 to 10, I speak English, from 10 to 11 I have a French class, I can switch much easier if I can uh tell these times in languages apart. Uh what I am proud of is that I can learn naturally and I'm motivated and inspired, so what I'm proud of is in my family, none of the members have a good sense for languages. Like they are much better in mathematics and other sciences. Like my mother is a math teacher and she also teaches informatics. And my father is an informatician too. And my sister wants to a logician, not logician, so kind of personal logistics, I don't know what she would be when she finished her studies. But she also thinks about becoming a kindergarten teacher. Uh and I'm really proud of that I can learn languages very easily and I like them. And what means a lot for me is that I have found something I am interested in and I'm good in and I would like to work with. And I also found the opportunity to study, to deal with work with the languages, so that's good, that's really good for me.

14. Perhaps I'll move to England or the States and what I would like to reach with it is to keep this love of the language and also the other languages and to be able to work with it and to, to earn a living and yes and it's kind of a dream... so it's only a my goal with the languages, but it's the goal of kind of my life too, so I consider myself a really lucky person for that.

STUDENT 4: SAMIR

1. I came from Libya and obviously I am a foreign student.
2. I am not Hungarian. In my family we speak two languages. Tamazight is our native language and Arabic.
3. As I mentioned, my parents are multilingual and they speak Tamazight and Arabic and obviously they are fluent in both.
4. I speak three languages. I am a native speaker of Tamazight, I am fluent in Arabic and proficient in English.
5. I acquired my first language at home, I started learning Arabic at school ,also English but at a later time.
6. I learnt Arabic for 15 years and studied English approximately for 3 years or 4 years maximum. English was a subject, we called it English language, basically, and they taught us the basics of English, actually.
7. Unfortunately, no, I didn't have any native speaker of any languages and no one taught me how to speak English, for example.
8. Being a multilingual speaker, it's an advantage. I'd love to be a multilingual because it gives me opportunity to speak differently with different people in different situation. Also, I think being multilingual make you somehow smarter or improve your cognitive system, I believe.
9. As I mentioned, I am multilingual because I speak more than 1 language, I write in three languages and read in three languages. Also, I watch movies, listen to music in different languages, so I do things in a different way with different languages.
10. I think I am multicultural because I can easily move around from being Tamazight native speaker to Arabic world, so I can see things in different way and be able to understand and analyze different issues, because I am aware of political and cultural differences.
11. I think the most important stage is schooling. So I can remember that they teach me Arabic grammar and how to write in Arabic. Also, I am member of some English classes, those classes unfortunately weren't good one, because for example, I said I have many problems with my spelling also in my English grammar, so in regard to English, the process of becoming a multilingual was not a sufficient one.

12. Well, I am not sure about the first part of the question, because it seems similar to the previous one but the second part, I realized that I am a bilingual very early age, because I mentioned I speak different language in school than the one that I use in my home with my family. So it was clear to me that there is something different in me and other students. I didn't know what it is at this age, but I felt that there is something different.

13. Well, for example, studying English was very difficult to me because Libyans, for example Libya, or let's say the previous regime banned teaching English for like 10 years, so English was banned in Libya, so you cannot study or teach English. The previous regime thought that English represents the empirical powers, enough to say, it was a political issue, and after they re-launched it, that's to say, after they approved teaching English in school again, it was really difficult to manage and re-establish the English system and the school. For instance, I studied English only in high school, it was very difficult to maintain a well-formed grammar, structures or even well understanding of spelling and different basics; however, this tuition now is changed and they started teaching English from earlier ages.

14. I would like to improve my academic writing skills because I think I don't have a big problem in listening and speaking. However, I need to work on my writing skills, especially using proper conjunctions and have a full understanding of sentence and paragraph because you don't have this in Arabic and Tamazight. And I learnt it, as I mentioned, seven years ago in high school, so I didn't have enough time even to practice writing. I am kind of lazy in English writing, however, I think I need to change this bad habit.

STUDENT 5: KIMBERLY

Good morning! Today I am going to talk to you about my experiences in connection with the using of foreign languages. My presentation will be in two parts. Firstly, I would like to tell you something about the connection between my family and foreign languages. Then I am going to take a look at how I became a multilingual person, how I developed my skills and my knowledge of foreign language. As I said at the beginning I am going to give some facts about my family. I would like to begin with the story of my first name. Well, around the time of my birth my parents were crazy over my name. Neither would give up on their idea to get their way. My brother was almost 8 years old at the time and one day he came home from a sport event where he met Kimberly X and he told my parents I should be named Kimberley. Our parents liked the name and that was the way my name was born. Being a 90s baby most people thing that I was named after Kimberly X and the fact is that they are right. Moreover, I think I had a lucky childhood because I hadn't got a nickname after ... Kimberly. Anyway, I really, really like my name, I think it was a good decision to give this name to me. Regarding the historical background of my first name, I made some research on the Internet and I got to know that it comes from Kimberly which is the Latin feminine form of X. As they say this was the name of an early possibly legend, a saint who was tormented by her father. Well, I think that's all I have to say about my first name. So the next area, I'd like to focus on what languages are used in my family. Well, we only use Hungarian as we are all Hungarian. However, my mother speaks a little Russian and my father is able to communicate in English and German like my brother. I myself speak English, moreover, a little German. Although my school was not a dual language school, I had language classes, that's why I started learning English when I was about 9 or 10 years old. And I have learnt German for two years in high school. I'd like now to discuss how I am a multilingual person. Honestly, I know some people who are considered native speakers but they never taught me. On the other hand, I feel that I have to clarify the fact that it was fantastic that I could chat with them, because multilingualism made it possible to open new doors into my life. And because of that I had the privilege to get to know different cultures and different persons too. So if I try to imagine a multilingual person that I could see a person who has the ability to use several languages. Well, in my opinion the reason why I am multilingual is that I can speak mostly fluently and I feel that gives me a great opportunity to express myself in several languages beside Hungarian. My multilingualism can be seen in my daily life, for instance when I meet and talk to people from different countries or cultures at the university and even at home, what is more, on the internet. To illustrate this point, I would like to share my first memory in connection with learning English. As I remember that, the beginning it was a very difficult process to learning English but as I got older, as grown up I learnt more about language and the culture as well. Furthermore, I believe that years by years I have become better at speaking, moreover, understanding the language thanks to my English teachers and many different medias which are including the Internet, television, books, magazines, stages of performance, so I started considering myself a multilingual person a few years ago. I just realized that how important is to be a multilingual person when I first started a conversation with foreign people. The realization that I was able to understand them felt not only amazing but it was also motivating. I felt I wanted to become even better at using their language not only for the sake of learning a language but to become even better at keeping touch or connecting with foreign persons and their cultures too. Beside the fact that my language skills have improved, I also noticed that thanks to multilingualism I gained my knowledge about topics I couldn't get in my mother tongue. For instance I have media courses where I must do reading in English or watch movies with English subtitle. However, I know I make a lot of grammar

mistakes, but I believe that my language usage has become more fluent and I feel like I can express my thoughts more accurately and more clearly, which make me proud. Well, at the end of my speech I would like to talk about my goals in connection with English. As I have already mentioned, I would like to be even better at using English, become more fluent so that my skills will be on the same level as a native speaker's skills. And to make my dream come true, I will use my knowledge and skills to teach other people. Thank you for your attention.

STUDENT 6: ZOE

Hello, my name is Zoe X. My first or surname, X means jackdaw in English. As far as I know, it has Turkish origins, so it's a pretty old name, family name. And my family well inside the family we only speak Hungarian and none other languages because none of my parents are foreigners, my father speaks Romanian fluently and he speaks English at a pretty good level, in my opinion, and my mother speaks no other languages. Although she was learning Russian, I think, in primary, but she remembers basically nothing, except for a few words. I speak English in a conversation level, I think. And I also speak basic French and German. I had to learn them at school. When I was 5, I was in a pre-school where we had to learn German words and stories and things like that. When I was 12, we moved to Ireland, and there I had to continue to learn German and I was learning French and English for the first time, as well. So altogether, I have been learning English for 8 years now and 7 or 8, yes, and I've stopped French because I really don't like it and stopped German after 11 years, because it's too harsh for me. I kinda, you know the feeling when you're just overreacting things. Well, I felt the same for the German words, as well. I was attending a bilingual school, high school where we had year 0 where we had twenty-one English classes a week and we continued some subjects in English like world history, IT, geography, biology and a few others, as well. We continued to learn English at a higher rate, so we had 3 or 4 English classes a week, and we could attend some other lectures as well, but it was or wasn't compulsory, never mind. My school always had a native speaker who was usually from the United States or Great Britain. For one and a half years we had Ryan Long. He was here with his wife and they moved back one and a half years because they were expecting their first child who was born in Hungary but they wanted to go home, naturally. For the remaining half year of the school came Andre Francesco who was well, strange, he was the exact opposite of Ryan because Ryan was really nice and creative and just being friendly with everybody while Francisco was so strict and he didn't even say hi when we met on the corridor. Then we had Matt Button for one whole year, he was a very, very fun person, he always joked around. We learnt how to play rugby with him. Then we had Julie Demerie, she was an older lady, she came here to visit Hungary and see everything, basically, she travelled... we had, live in Hungary, so it's funny. She had to go home because she was diagnosed with cancer, sadly. Then the following year we had Sarah and Eman at the same time. Sarah was a 20-year old student, but she had a degree in English literature and Eman was originally from India or yes India. And she was raised in Great Britain, so her English was excellent, as well. They were here at the same time, because both of them were really young compared to the others, so they could help each other. You know, they were on the same class at the same time, so altogether we had 6 native speakers. We really liked them, they taught world history and some English classes, as well. It was interesting, at the first times, we just couldn't really cope with it, like you know, you're a freshman, you say good morning to a teacher, who just doesn't reply, it's rude and then it turns out that the teacher doesn't even understand you. So it was funny, so at the first time strangely funny, then we began to like them, then love some love of them. We had some really good time together. Multilingual person, in my opinion, is somebody who is able to speak another language beside his or her mother tongue fluently, without having to think on the words, grammar and structure. So many people tend to be multilingual, only they don't realize it, I guess. I am I think that I am multilingual in based that I don't really have to think on words like multilingual, it just, you know, I know what it means and I can say that every time I want and well yeah, so I know I have no idea, basically. I am just multilingual. I have been told that I'm multilingual, my old teachers. I am multicultural in ways that my father's hometown is half Romanian and half Hungarian, so they have Easter in other date and things

like that. So I always hated Easter because I had basically two rounds of sprinkling and all that smell stuff on my hair. I really don't like it, these cultural differences and their, you know, they have a different mentality and I know that in some ways I am thinking differently as well, you know it's just from my father, I, that's way I inherited. I don't really remember any stages of becoming a multilingual person, because I think the only thing I recognized what I that I didn't fear to speak up, I wasn't afraid when I had to speak to even strangers, not only in school. So it was nice like you when you realize that okay I am confident in a language to speak to a total stranger, as well. The same goes for being multilingual, the part of becoming multilingual, I remember that once we were in Budapest and there was a group reading a map and they were speaking in English and I heard some of their speech. They were about to find a castle or something, I can't really remember maybe, I know, they were about to find something. And I knew that I could help them, I just went there and asked them 'is everything okay?' or "can I help you?". And they were really nice and they said that I have a very good English that they didn't have any trouble understanding me. They were a nice, elderly couple. And it was a kind of important step for me, you know, to help others, through my own knowledge and my multilingualism. Well, I think that it has grown, you know, language and speech and words, because back then, back in Ireland, I had a friend, Samantha Torley, who's still one of my very best friends and we keep in touch via Skype and Facebook and sometimes we just you know chat when we have time and now we're able to have proper conversation about basically everything like from everyone's love life to politics or to the weather. We can cover everything we should in our conversation without having to stop and she is having tojust ... (long pause) without her having to explain me things, sorry I was interrupted. I want to be an English teacher and sometimes I wanted to be a translator, as well. The translator of literary arts. I really like literature. My other pair is Hungarian, so basically, I have two language majors as I am in the undivided teacher program and I really love the feeling that when I read something in English then in Hungarian and I can sense the differences in style, in stylistics, in language, in, you know, the tiny little bits which makes a book good or it's own. So I think that it's really important to reach a level of English that I can read a Shakespearean play without any difficulties to simply understand it because it's not the easiest English, many people say. They're still understandable. It would be nice, if I reached a level of very high level of English and I don't know likes kind and if I have the chance and the money, then maybe I will go abroad and work a bit or just travel around the world, but I have to gain money for that first. So yeah, just I wanna be a teacher, I wanna be a teacher. And I think that I have covered all the questions, so that's all. Thank you.

STUDENT 7: LORI

Okay, so my name is Lori X, You are going to hear my home assignment for the recording 1.

Okay, so let's start at the beginning. My first name comes from my mother. She likes reading and she did it since she was a child. And one of her favorite book was And also, she wanted a girl after my brother and when she realized that I will be a girl, she was very excited and wanted to me a very special name. Because I was a long awaited daughter. And there is a funny story about my name. For a long time, a very long time until my 4th birthday, 4th birthday I didn't have name day, my family didn't take for me and the reason was quite simple. My parents and great and grandparents didn't know the day of my name day. And then my great grandmother send a letter to a newspaper called Szabadszolgálat and asked them to wrote down the exact day of my name day in their next newspaper. And suprisely, they did, they wrote it, and I know they did it, that cut-out page from the newspaper is still on my great-grandmother cupboard. Now to think about it, I am very thankful that my mother's favorite book was not the Vinettu, that would be much funnier to me. Yes. In my family we only speaks Hungarian, nobody comes from any other country, we are usual Hungarian family. Fortunately or unfortunately, but that's it. But my mother speaks English quite well, because she was an English teacher, that was her job before she became a headmaster. Uh, and she able to... to order coffee almost in every language, yes, she is a very multilingual person, I think. But my father speaks a little bit of German, but just a little bit, really. But fortunately, he very good at the non-verbal communication, yes. (laughter) I speak Hungarian, of course, and English in an intermediate level, I think, and a little bit of Italian, but unfortunately, I don't have the opportunity to use it in the university. I couldn't take any class for it. Uh, yes, the languages. I started to learn English when I was 9, yes, I was 9 years old and I started to learn Italian at the first class of the high school, I think I learnt English in a normal level, yes, because I had 3 class in a week and Italian was my second language in the high school and I had two class in a week. Usually, at the end of the day and it was not so good because we were tired and my teacher in my first two years in the high school, well, she... was uh ... she was not so good at teaching, unfortunately. Um, sadly, I am not familiar with any native speaker and I am sorry for it because I think it would be easier to learn English with her or him. Yes, it would be easier to practice with somebody who is a native speaker. Yes. Multilingual person. To be a multilingual person is mean to me very much, because I can communicate with people from other culture and I think it's a quite important, because I will be able to get some knowledge of their cultures and they way of life and and so on. Yes. Being a multilingual, well, in my opinion, I am a multilingual person, because beside my mother tongue I speak English quite well, yes. Of course, not as well as in Hungarian but I can be understandable for everyone who's speak in English. And what is more, I won't be in trouble if I have to go on a job interview and they ask me to speak English, so I think I am a lucky one for being a multilingual person. And I think everyone who is a multilingual is lucky ... for... being. Yes. Yes. To be honest, I didn't know exactly what multiculturalism means, so I searched it on the Internet and I found a definition that multiculturalism promotes the arrangement of cultural diversity and because I think that every human being has a right to live by their own culture, I think I can call myself a multicultural person. The process, yes. I remember one stage, or to be specific, two stages of the process of becoming a multilingual person. For two consecutive years my mother and I went to Italy. It was a bus trip. And firstly, we went when I finished high school and secondly when I finished my first year in the university. And at the first occasion my mom went out to the ladies' room in a restaurant and the waiter came to me to pick up the order. And I was shocked

and couldn't say anything until my mom's returned. And at the second occasion I had much more self-confidence because we wanted to buy some dried tomatoes in the market but mother smoked and she didn't want to come, came closer to the fruits so she sent me to buy it and I bought it successfully. I think the conclusion is that one year at the university was enough to take my confidence. And I think this story is a good example for an event of becoming a multilingual person and it was a big step to me, because previously I didn't dare to say a word for anyone who was not Hungarian and I was very proud myself for being able to do that dried tomatoes thing. So far I don't have any other things that I can recall but I think that as the time comes I will be able to do much more things like that, that market buying thing. Uh... yes. ... Uh, the last question, yes. I would like to reach a, a quite high level in English, as high as I can. because I would like to be an English teacher and I think being an English teacher is a good opportunity to pass the knowledge and joy of being a multilingual person and I hope my future students will enjoy classes taken by me and and... and I hope that I will be able to share the ... joy of, yes, of being a multilingual person. Yes. Yes. All right. That's it.

STUDENT 8: SARAH

1. First question was...The only thing that I know about my surname that it's a Hebrew name but I am not sure where my progenitors came from. Anyway, in my village there are several families called X, but as I know we aren't relatives and we don't even have any kind of relationship with them. Once when I was younger I was browsing through the Internet and found that in Colorado State the largest mountain top was our family's first name.

2. -3-4-5-6-7-8. My family is not bilingual or multilingual, we don't use any other languages besides Hungarian. My mother studied Russian when she attended primary school. It was an obligation at the time, as I remember. She could read in Russian well, I mean her utterance was really great, but when she was asked to translate the task she was reading, she didn't have an idea about the reading. And something about my dad, uh, he studied German also in primary and secondary school too, but he doesn't have any language license. That time I don't know how but he found a guy in Germany he could write letters to. It turned out to be a great way to practice language and as I recall, Russian was an obligatory language for him too, but he can't remember anything about, in connection with this language. I have the intermediate level oral exam in German and the advanced level in English. In the beginning, I started learning German when I was a third-grade primary school student in the village I grew up. I had a very kind and patient teacher who motivated us with little stickers. At this age we learnt all of this basic stuff but as I see, we succeed, because we were often sent to competitions and we always reached good results. Then I became older and started to attend secondary school at the age of 12. I attended the school for 6 years. My English education started there. I mean I attended a class was, attended a class specialized in English, which meant 5 English classes weekly. Our first teacher didn't want to say any words in Hungarian, so I almost failed the class. But after visiting a private teacher who told me the basic elements of English grammar and made my vocabulary wider, I started being successful in classes and became one of the best in our group. When I was 14 or 15 it was the coolest thing on Earth talking in English with a native speaker and there were some pages on the internet like chat roulette and things like this where you were randomly added to chat rooms with a stranger and you had the chance to start a conversation about anything. We did it for fun with my friends for a while, then I bound into a Dutch guy with whom we were chatting later on Facebook, then we started skypeing regularly. At first, I wasn't brave enough to talk, so he was talking and I was typing my answers but after some time we became friends and I became so brave that I could talk to him. The interesting thing is that we still have skype conversations at least once in a month.

8. Multilingual means to be able to speak and understand several languages, uh, as I see, it's a big miracle because for instance when I read something in English or in German, I don't have to search Hungarian translations, furthermore, some sources on the Internet are told to be more accurate this way.

9. I don't really know how to answer this question. Because I don't think that talking a bit of German and English would mean that I am multilingual. I just rather can speak one foreign language more and one less.

10. It means including several countries. Just think of Italian and Chinese restaurants and how much we prefer them, not to mention American holidays like Halloween what more and more youngsters celebrate every year.

11-12. I would rather say some stages of the process of learning English. At first I was so shy that I wasn't brave enough to write my opinion into a test because I was afraid of my mistakes that I would make, I would have made. Some years later I started writing better and better tests, but it still took a while to start talking. I mentioned earlier the Dutch guy with whom I was skypeing. The way I see it, he made me like English. My first exiting experience was that last year I had the opportunity to travel to London for a week. We were told to join a British family in couples. And I made a pair with a young teacher who didn't speak English or any other foreign languages at all and our host was seventy-year- old woman and it was a funny task to communicate with her and to translate conversations to Hungarian for the young teacher. And one evening we were sitting in front of the TV and the Big Band Theory was on and the host granny said that it was her favorite show and I was so surprised that I couldn't say a word.

13. At first, I was looking for native speakers to chat with. Then we started chatting in English with friends, then I met native speakers personally, but the first determining experience was the story that I shared with you recently.

14. I can only say some cliché things that I study English to get a better job or to be more successful with my job or to succeed easier abroad but it's not my major, so it means that it's not the English language that interests me more, I am rather keen on ways of communication, media and stuff which is my major. Still, I want to improve some of my English skills: as I said earlier, I am lack of speaking skills and my vocabulary is not wide enough yet, but I am working on to achieve better results, both in university in classes and in my future life too.

STUDENT 9: RACHEL

1. So my name is Rachel X, uh my name I don't know where it comes from. My father wanted to call me Rachel, so that why I have my first name, my mother want to give me Fanny maybe, but I don't like that.
2. Nothing. My mom's parents were Swabians, or I don't know how to say that, so they used that language but only when they speak to each other and when they spoke to my mom or her sister or brother, they spoke to them in Hungarian, so my mom doesn't speak their language.
3. They don't really speak any languages. Both of them tried to learn English and my mom studied and my father Russian but they don't speak any of that, uh.
4. I speak English I think pretty well and I studied German but I don't speak that, I don't really.
5. I started German at the age of 9 and I don't really know when I started English because I started to watch every TV show and movie and things like that in English maybe when I was 12 or 11, 12 maybe yeah and I think that's how I learnt English. In school I only started it at the age of 14 or 15.
6. I studied German in primary and high school for 11 years I think, yeah, yeah 11 years and English, well, I started it in the first year of high school I had 14 or 15 classes a week, English classes a week.
7. No, I didn't have, unfortunately.
8. It means that hopefully I will have more chance to get a better job or if I want to travel it will make it a lot easier because I can make myself understand anywhere in the world.
9. I don't know if I am (multilingual). I have a few friends, they are also Hungarian, we like to speak, chat in English, I don't know, it improves our vocabulary, maybe.
10. Uh. I don't really know if I am again. [multicultua] I know a lot about Canadian and Swedish culture but I don't know if I am multicultural.
11. I remember looking for every translation of every Hungarian translation of every lyrics because I didn't understand anything. Then after two or three years I didn't need these, of course, there were and there are things that I still don't understand, but the main part of it I understand.
12. -13. Uh, I think I answered that in the previous question, maybe but that was also good when I realized that I don't need to read Hungarian subtitle for a TV show or movie because I understood what they were saying. Now I don't need subtitles at all or if I use because I watch a TV show like Bones with lots of medical expressions and things like

that, then I, of course, use Hungarian subtitles because I don't understand that but when I watch a show like Supernatural or Arrow or I don't know, anything, then I don't need it because I understand, and that feels good, really good.

14. I am not sure yet, I know that I also want to study and speak Swedish and we have a few friends in Sweden and they said that it's a lot easier if you speak English because with Hungarian logic Swedish language is pretty hard and you have to think in English. I don't know where I would like to get in English. I know that I want to move away from Hungary. I am not sure if just a few years or for good but I wanna go away from here. And that's it, I think.

STUDENT 10: PATRICK

1. My first name... has a Greek origin, it comes from Greece and it means stone.
2. In our family we only use Hungarian, English and German.
3. My parents used to speak Russian and my mother used to speak Russian and German but nowadays they only speak Hungarian
4. I only speak Hungarian, my mother tongue, and English as a foreign language, and I think I speak it at an intermediate level, maybe.
5. I started to learn English in the first grade when I was 7 years old.
6. Well, I have been learning English for 13 years now and back in the secondary school I had English lessons every day of a week.
7. I never have any foreign teacher, but I had a teacher who traveled a lot and had a really great foreign-like accent.
8. It opens up more possibilities for us in life and in business too to have better jobs in the future.
9. In my opinion, a person is multilingual if he she can speaks a language in a way that others can easily understand. And if this person can express her or himself understandably.
10. In my opinion, a person is multicultural when he or she practices the traditions of another culture besides his or her own culture.
11. Well, the most important stage is the early age when the language you are learning is brand new, this period the most important, because this is the period when it is easier to learn these languages.
12. Well, I first encountered the English language through cartoon network, an English cartoon channel. And when I had any English lessons back in first grade, I always trying to use that knowledge that I learnt on that lesson to understand these cartoons.
13. Well, now I am have more words in my possession in my lexical knowledge and it is easier to express myself now. And which is more important it is easier to me to understand others and to make myself understandable for others.
14. My future dream was always to be a translator in English and to work as a translator and maybe to travel to other countries where in English I can easily work or even live and to live these possibilities which English opens up for me.

STUDENT 11: KEVIN

1. My surname came from my dad's family name, X. And my first name, Kevin, well, I don't have a clue, because it's not a really basic name. It's pretty unique. And I don't know the origin or the idea how this came to my parents' mind. But I have this name and I just live with it, I don't particularly like this name, but this is what I have, so it's okay, I think.
2. Well, in my family there's, I think, I am the only one who speaks another language. My little sister studies English in primary school but it's a really basic thing. And I think maybe my father-in-law has a little English speaking skill, I think, so only English, I think, is used in the family. And that's all.
3. So I mentioned that my father-in-law speaks English only and my sister, so my father-in-law I think, he has a mid-level English and my little sister only starting to learn it, so he has, she has a pretty low level of English speaking skill.
4. Well, I think I speak English and in a normal level, I am not a professor and... I don't think I have a high English skill or how do they say that. I think I have a normal English speaking level, I only hate grammar in English. But in time it will be better, I think.
5. Huh, I started learning English in primary school, I think, when I was just starting school, I was in my first class and the school had this English plus class and I started to go there and they teach me how to use English and what words mean and like dog, cat, red, blue, green and the English ABC, so it was a nice start for me in the ways of learning the English language as it is. So maybe I was 6 or 7 years old when I started learning English.
6. I learnt it in primary school, as I just I mentioned in middle school, or no middle school, high school, I mean. And I learn it now, but mainly I think I learnt it by films and English computer games. I think that's how I managed to learn the language.
7. Well, I have a, three African-American friends and they live at Dunaújváros, they are from French, I think. They speak French and English. I think that's all. And they from I don't know, I think, they came from a smaller city near Paris, I think, I just don't know really well about where they came from. It is a he, he doesn't really teach me, we just talk to each other and I try to help them to get to know with people and deal with everyday things, so it's not a teaching type of connection. So, I can't answer that question...
8. It's for me that I can talk to foreign people and that's all. I just like to get to know to other cultures and...
9. Well, I don't know if I am multicultural but I like other cultures and I like to study them for other people who are from another culture, how they do everyday things, how they see life as it is, and I think it's interesting and because I am a multilingual person, I think, that helps me to get to know these foreign cultures. So it helps me a lot and I am definitely happy about this.
10. I don't really know these stages. I don't want to skip this question, but I don't know the answer. I just do not have a clue how, what stages I were at. Maybe there was a stage

when I just did not want to say anything in English or talk about that I know English. But nowadays if I hear someone trying to get help in English, I go there and talk to them, because I, in my opinion, I know English pretty well to help them and they are happy about it because I help them, so...

11. I don't know the steps, I mean, this was the only thing I can remember.
12. Well, I think 4 or 5 years ago I thought that I am multilingual. I think it's when I started to speak English, oh so I should recall a situation. I think I was at Budapest and English people tried to find a way and started to question people and those persons cannot answer these questions and I thought they are desperate, they are in a desperate need of help, so I went there, talked to them, helped them and that was all. The Hungarian speaking person from Budapest, so she was a local and she wanted to know what they speak about what they want to know and I translated what those foreign people wanted to ask and the local person answered and I translated it, the answer back to English so they would know what to do about what they wanted to know, so I think that was the point that I thought of myself, wow, basically, I can talk in English and I can help people who do not know Hungarian language and it was a pretty good feeling.
13. I just try to help foreign people who do not know the ways to deal with Hungarian people, I mean, I was at a place near Széchenyi Square and there was a German guy who was furious about a Hungarian girl and I tried to help them but the Hungarian girl was, how to say that, she was a little...little... I don't know a synonym for that, she was not quite correct about the German person because the German person was a foreigner and she do not want to speak to foreigners because they just wrecking our country and etc. etc. so it was hilarious, in my opinion, but it was it was pretty lame about that I tried to help them in a pretty detoxicated way, so it was interesting. I just I can recall that I can speak better than like 5 years ago or 4 years ago. I just use English, I just get to talk much more over the time. How to say that I don't know. So I think my speaking skill improved. That's it.
14. I would like to get English as a mother tongue because I want to go abroad, I want to live in Australia or at America and try my best and that's why I need the English and I love English so much and I just want to get it as my mother tongue, I mean talk fluently, write very well in English and that is all my dreams about English. So those were the questions and these were answers. I am really sorry the late but I am not a very organized guy, so once again sorry for the late and that's all.

STUDENT 12: SEITH

1. This is the recording session for Listening and Speaking Skills.
In the family I have 4 sisters and I am the youngest, so when my mother got pregnant with me she hoped that I will be a boy. It was like the story in the Bible when Seith was born, his mother, Ana was praying for God to give her a son. It was almost the same like in our family, so my mother prayed for God for giving her a boy. He gave her, and it's me, so that's why my name is Seith.
2. Well, English is used, obviously, because we have a lot of English and American friends and cousins and relatives and one of my sister lives in the USA, in Carolina, so we usually speak English at home and in summertime we usually have a lot of American people, so we usually use English in our family. And beside English sometimes we use German 'cause our family's Sváb, so, yeah, we should speak German but only my father and grandparents can speak it, but now I've just started a German course in this semester, so I am developing my German knowledge and sometimes I speak French to my father and my mother because I can speak but they can't. If I am nervous or something, I just use French so they can't understand it.
3. My mother speaks English very good, she wrote a lot of subtitles for films, she read hundreds of books in English, so she's perfect in English. As I told, my father speaks German. Well, he is not so good at it but you can have a nice conversation with him, just average things.
4. Obviously, I speak Hungarian, perfect level. And I speak English. Well, I wouldn't say it's perfect, but I think my English is good. As I told, I mentioned, I speak French, I learning it for 3 years in high school. As I mentioned too, I speak a little German but I just started, so I can't even tell you... in German.
5. Well, I started learning English in primary school. I started learning French in high school and I started learning German in the university this semester.
6. Well, I started learning English in the primary school in the second class, I think. And high school I attend to a language specialized class, it means that we had the first, it's called a year zero, we had a lot of English lessons. So that's what I made. So it was really intensive and it was really good for my English. Well, I have been learning French for 3 years in high school but I didn't like it so much because my teacher was really creepy and I didn't like her. I should have learnt it better because it's a big advantage if you speak more languages.
7. Well, I think in high school I had a friend from, what was the country was that, from Ecuador, he came to the school, Erasmus or something like that stuff, and well, we speak, we could only speak in English, of course, because he didn't speak Hungarian, we have to discuss in English. So, yeah, it was good for my English, because there was no option to tell the words in Hungarian if I don't know it in English because he didn't know what does it mean, so I have to find out how to explain him things I want to tell him, so I think he was here for a yeah, yeah. I quite liked it because I was, I feel how my English improves and it would experience...
8. When I read this question first, I was just thinking what does this concretely mean because yeah I know the word multilingual but it's a good question, so ... multilingual, well... I think it's good for me, not just because I can talk to foreign people but as I am

learning another language, I also learn the culture of it. I think, if you want to be a smart and and cultured man, you have to know a lot of cultures, not just your own. I hope you can understand it. Yeah, I think being multilingual is very important in the 21st century.

9. Well, [very long pause] I think I'm multilingual the way that I can explain something in more languages, so that was a, I remember some event when I couldn't explain something in Hungarian but in English I could explain, so I think, what a question, yeah, the point what I wanted to say is I can explain something, everything in more language.
10. Well, I have a habits, not just Hungarian habits but maybe I can say English or American habits. I can tell you. I like drinking tea at 5 o'clock or like eating lot of food, big, big foods like Americans, I like big cars, so maybe it's not proper answer but I only tell you this.
11. Well, a big stage was high school when I started that zero class I mentioned. My English improved in that year really-really much because I had to deal with English every day, because I had 2 or 3 English lessons every day, so I was forced to do it. I think it's, it was a big stage. Because yeah, I said, I had to deal with English every day.
12. When I started really early, our family has a lot of American or foreign relations, from my childhood, we always had lot of English language guests, so I started really early, because they didn't speak Hungarian, and sometimes I had to tell them or translate them what my parents say, so I started it really early, and I think it was good but sometimes I could find myself in a very embarrassing situation when I didn't know how to say that or how to say yes, sometimes really embarrassing. Yeah, yeah I had a lot of positive experiences. When I was afraid that my English is not good, but then I understand everything that they, anyone told me. So it was a really good experience that my feeling was not true. Because my English was not as bad as I thought.
13. I noticed that sometimes when I don't know the word in Hungarian, it just pops up in my mind in English and I really realize it's really cool because my brain is working in English too. So it was a really good experience.
14. When I decided that I will attend to this university and this major, English and History, I, it was in my mind that I would like to know speak as my, as I speak Hungarian. So I know it's hardly... I'd like to be as good as I can and my biggest wish is to develop my vocabulary so not to have to use Google Translate or anything and to be able to watch films without subtitles and to understand almost everything, so that's what I would like to reach in English. Thank you.

STUDENT 13: DANA

1. My whole name is Dana X. Dana originates in Greek language, it's rather popular name, but I like it. It means God's gift. It's funny because I was almost born at Christmas. As for my surname, one of my sister's friend told me that X means property in Latin. I am not sure about it but it may be true.
2. In my family we always speak Hungarian; however, my sister can speak German and English too.
3. My mother doesn't speak any languages but my father can speak English at beginner level. He works as a bus driver and spends a lot of time abroad in the summer, so it is necessary to his job.
4. -5- 6. I can speak English and German beside Hungarian. I have language exam in these languages at intermediate level but unfortunately, I forgot a lot of German since I don't learn it. I started learning German in the primary school, I was about 11 years old. I didn't have other opportunity because German was compulsory in that school. And I started learning English in the secondary school. I was 15 years old. After the primary school, I had to choose a secondary school and I have chosen a class specialized in English in Zalaegerszeg. So English was taught more intensively but I could continue my German studies too. I didn't regret this decision over the years. I have learnt German for 9 years and English for 5 years.
7. I had a classmate in the secondary school from Sweden. Her name is Agnes and once we were in the theater together and we have seen a Hungarian play and sometimes I had to help her to understand the events. And my sister attends a bilingual school and she had a native speaker teacher, his name is John, and he is from Ireland. My sister told me that it was absolutely useful because they got to know a lot about culture and he helped to develop their pronunciation, and of course, they were forced to use English, because he couldn't speak Hungarian. He knew only some words such as *túró rudi*, because it was his favorite Hungarian food.
8. As a lot of people has mentioned on the forum that being a multilingual opens the world. I've read an article that those people who speak more than one language are better at multitasking, because they are able to switch between two or more different activities. To tell you the truth, I have some doubts that it benefits in each case, because I took part a course and we have read a task about multitasking and it has been said that multitasking can be harmful because these people can't focus on one thing properly. On the other hand, multilingual person has greater vocabulary, in my opinion.
9. As for me, being multilingual means that I am able to communicate with other people, I mean foreign people and I can better understand their thoughts and aspects and it offers more opportunities because language knowledge is a requirement at workplaces, so it increases job opportunities.
10. I'd like to get to know foreign and my own culture from a new perspective. It's generally believed that multilingual people have more personality because their personality is different when they speak another language. I think it is a really thought-provoking statement. As for multiculturalism, I don't really have experiences about it yet, but in my opinion, I'm open-minded enough and I entirely open to different cultures.

11. In the process of I'm becoming a multilingual person is definitely stage the primary school. I mentioned that yet it was compulsory to learn a language and I realized that I like learning languages and this is the reasons why I've chosen a class specialized in English but I could continue German too. The primary and secondary school contributed to the process.

12. Succeeding in my language exams was really important to me. I've attended an English course and a German course in the same summer. That summer was absolutely crowded and I was always busy. But taking everything into consideration, it was worthwhile. Moreover, I'm able to help others, for example, I can help my sister with her homework. And in my holiday I didn't feel that I am lost.

13. Growing as a multilingual person has just happened. The secondary itself and the English course are important in my own development and parents and my sister always supported me.

14. First of all, in the third semester I'd like to pass the proficiency exam and my long-range/age plan is to be at the level that I can teach English and impart my knowledge trustworthy. And I'd like to become an English teacher, an English teacher who can answer the children's questions and motivate them that learning languages is extremely useful.

STUDENT 14: KAELA

1. Actually, my surname, it's, I don't know, it's X, it's typical Hungarian. And my parents gave me Kaela to because X means Y in German and when I was born, A B was a celebrated model.
2. -3 German and Dutch. My grandmother's brother went to Germany in early beginning of the 20s century and we visited them and his family twice or three times maybe. And my father worked with him when he was younger, so he can speak very well German and my grandparents too. The other part, my mother's family is from Germany but in a long, they came to Hungary long time ago but her surname was X and before it was Y. When I talk to my parents, only English is used, only Hungarian. But my mother only speaks English. Her family left. My mother is Hungarian but her great-grandparents were German. But she can't speak German. I use Hungarian with my parents. They are native Hungarian. Father speaks 3 languages and my mother speaks English, I think she has an exam but I don't know which, maybe B and a little a bit Germany.
4. English and German. I think my English is not that bad but my German, I mean I learnt it for 5 years but I had a not so good teacher, she was really kind but I didn't learn anything. I can understand almost everything in German and I can speak and that's all, I am really bad at writing.
5. When I was 8 years old. I started to learn English in a primary school but when I started high school, I learnt only German for 2 years and when I started learn English again, I had a really bad teacher and she didn't teach anything to us. It was a, everybody was a beginner and we started again and never do anything almost.
6. 12 years. I was in a German class, and I had only 3 English lessons in a week.
7. We had an exchange student from Turkey. And she taught something to us but I forgot everything. I was an exchange student in German but it was only for a week. I lived with a German family. I really liked that but they spoke really with a very hard accent so that was horrible. It was in Stuttgart. It was really great because then I improved my German and now I know that I can understand native speakers too and find my way but it was terrifying a bit. I have been to England for 5 weeks because my uncle live in England. We were in London, Essex... Uh I used the underground every day and I really liked it because in Budapest the underground is really scary and hard to understand where you should go. But after that I was in London, I can use it. In London I was attend to an English school, but it was for adults but it was hard to understand because everything was about politics. I was 18 and I was the youngest. Sometimes it was scary because they asked my opinion and I had no because I have nothing to know about, even my country's politic and about others. English people were really polite. When I asked somebody to take a photo of me. They were always smiling, they said of course, Honey, just stand there and Darling and I will take a photo and they always called me nicknames. They weren't cold. I think they think straight and so if they have to go to the shop and buy milk and bread and they will only buy milk and bread, nothing else, I think. Because we had a roommate who was English, she said that she needs something and buy it and asked me to buy it in a shop. But only that and she gave me money but she counted and if she wanted me to buy a milk for 2 pounds and she said that she needs something and asked me to buy that, only that, she gave me 2 pounds and when there was only expensiver, more expensive milk, I had to pay with my own money and when I told her that it was not in that price she said no way, it's only 2

pounds. My uncle is working in a restaurant and she rents a room, hires a room and in the other rooms there was another student. So in the other room there lived a girl with her boyfriend I was staying there. We used Hungarian but we met other people. He started to work in the morning and came home in the evening. He left 5-6 years ago Hungary. He speaks good English. When he was 18 or 19 he went to a ship and he work as a waiter for 2 years, I think.

8. I think it's great to know languages because I can find my own way in other countries like we stayed in Tavarin. Because I traveled alone to Malta and London. And it was an adventure to do it alone. And I was almost never scared because I knew that I can ask anybody about directions or help because I can understand what they say and they can understand me. It wasn't scary but sometimes when I came out in the Indian district or the Chinese town. That was scary. English is really important for me. Because it's my father thinks that meeting new cultures and new people it is really important. So we travel every year to holiday somewhere sunny in the summer because we like to we always spoke with foreign people. When we were in France, we talked to France people and never Hungarian. My father can speak English in high level and German too and a little bit of Russian.
9. I don't think I am multilingualism, I think I can speak English a bit but I'm only speaks Hungarian well, so that's I don't think that I am multilingual. I know what's the different between bilingual and multilingual. Who are multilingual people if you are not. Who are at a very high level, a native like level. Because I have a friend who decide to learn German and he learnt every day a lot and now he is study in German, law and I think my English so far from his German so if I think that he is multilingualism, he is but I don't really. Then I think I would be a help to be a native speaker, then I would be bilingual. Because my aunt has a Dutch husband and they are living in Switzerland and her child, my cousin, he was born in August and my aunt speaks to her in Hungarian and her dad speaks to her in Dutch but in the kindergarten she has to speak German, yes. So she will be bilingual or more. I don't think I am. If I improve my English, I hope I will be bilingual or multilingual.
10. I think I'm not multicultural. I know few of other cultures but I use, do only one and if somebody has other celebrations or holidays, I can accept it, but I don't do it. I mean maybe other religions, I, I can accept but I won't change, I think.
- 11-12. The first was when I went to Malta, I think then I was better in German when I went there and it was really hard at the first 2 weeks, I think, because I had (pause) nothing to say almost. I always listened to the others and never speak, spoke, because I was afraid to say sg bad or wrong but now I don't care, I will say it. I'm more confident now. When I went to London. Because in Malta I was with a group but in London, I was alone, because of my uncle was working. He said that now here is a ticket for you and use a metro, underground and yes, that was all that he said. So that was the second. I saw the change in me. I think my pronunciation was changed because of the English people and I was more confident after that, yeah, that was all. Maybe this summer because I'm going to work in the USA.
13. I think I counted, so I grow up with Maltase trip, I think, because I was independent and alone and actually I lost my wallet and had to go to the police station and go there alone, so that's when I changed. And I start to use another language, so yes that was a good changing, trip, holiday.

14. In English as better I speak, as good as I can be. I want to teach, I think, and travel a lot when I can.

STUDENT 15: PAUL

1. My first name is from my mother, she was the one who wanted me to be Paul and I'm, uh, I'm actually satisfied with this name, it's a nice name, so yeah. And my surname is from my father, of course. And it's a, as far as I know it's a Serbian name or Slavic. Maybe it's kinda like that and it sounds like that too, so... It might just be Serbian.
2. -3. Uh, in my family there aren't any persons who know any languages. Well, unfortunately, except for me, and it sounded a bit cocky?... But my sister used to speak English in a decent level but she forgot an awful lot of things. Apart from her, no one really knows any languages. They wouldn't be able to communicate with people from abroad. Unfortunately, this is the case. I think my father used to speak Russian and my mother as well. My mother started an English course years ago but she didn't finish it., so she can't really speak English at all, unfortunately.
- 4- 5- 6-7. I speak English myself. I don't exactly know at what level. I think it's an intermediate level, I would say. I have an intermediate level exam, I passed it with a good grade, so I started learning English in like fourth grade, as far as I can remember, so I've been learning English for more than 10 years now. I started learning English in elementary school, as I mentioned, in fourth grade and in high school too for 4 years. I had a decent English teacher who discovered that I am far better than the others, so she actually gave me different exercises to improve my English and it worked that fortunately, because after the ninth grade I started to improve real fast and I became better and better. My vocabulary was much wider than before and (long pause) I learned English in high school, I don't know maybe like six or seven classes a week, I don't think it was a higher than that. So yeah and I usually did a much harder, much more difficult exercises and oral exercises than the others did, because I was getting ready for the advanced level Matura Exam in English. It was in the eleventh grade. I, unfortunately, didn't have anyone whose native language was a foreign language. But if I had, that would've been awesome because I just might be much better than I am now, so it would have been good.
8. Uh, multilingual person, I think I am not really a multilingual person because I can't really speak English as well as I should, I don't really know how to put it, because the point is I could be much better, I think. And for me it means that someone can speak a foreign language almost as good as his or her native language, so it's not really what I can do, because sometimes I can hardly express myself in English, unfortunately; but there are cases when I can't really find the Hungarian word for something and I have troubles searching for the words in my head. Oh my God, what could it be? And I can only find the English word for it, and it's weird sometimes.
9. I might be multilingual because of course, I don't really think that I am 100% , but I just might be, because I listen to music in English almost all the time and when I couldn't really understand what the song is all about, I opened a Google Translator or something similar like that and translated the words, the phrases and I got to know the lyrics and I put the words together and actually got the hang of it, got the meaning of the song, got the meaning of the movie when I was watching a movie and I watched it with subtitles.
10. Multicultural, well, I don't really think I got affected by other cultures too much. But of course, every family and every country and every nation, I don't know, has different cultures. I think I represent one and it's a, I was raised in it but I was molded by different cultures. But it's, it was from my friends, because they do things different than I do. And

I think it has something to do with culture, but I haven't really been affected by other countries' cultures or anything else, only just my friends and my family, so...I don't really know what else to say about this, but I have seen other countries' cultures a lot of times before. The USA, of course, Russia and yeah, the bigger and most influential countries, because I browse the Internet far too much and there is a website called 9gag, there are interesting posts in there and they also, they make posts almost all the time about the USA, the stuff going on in the USA and in Russia, for example. I don't know, about Putin, what they do, the crazy stuff.

11-12. I used to improve a lot in English back in the 8th grade or shortly after the 8th grade because in that summer before starting high school I somehow played much more than before or it was maybe at that time when I started actually trying to understand the meaning of the stories of games. Because back then I was a hardcore nerd, or I don't know how to say that. I used to play a lot and all the games were in English. It made everything easier for me and I started trying to understand the lyrics of songs and I found that I'm now much better than I was back in elementary school. And I was able to communicate with people from other countries through the Internet while playing online games. And I was kinda proud of it, because it felt good that I can speak with them and I can do stuff with them. Together doing quests or I don't know, so that helped me a lot becoming multilingual, because it was at that time when I found, I discovered that I can express myself in English as well and at a decent level, maybe, because I saw that people from other countries can understand me and they weren't (pause), so they didn't really see that I'm not English and I'm not from an English speaking country. There was a time when I told someone that I'm Hungarian and he told me that my English is actually pretty good and wouldn't have thought that I'm Hungarian and I've just started learning English like few years ago. So I just answered two questions. I just realize it right now.

13. -14. I would like to be able to go to the advanced level English exam because I already have the intermediate level and I don't think it's enough. I feel like I just might be able to reach that level and to pass the advanced level English exam with even good grades maybe. So that's my biggest goal in English maybe. And I don't know what the future might bring but there might be point when I decide to move to England once and start a new life there or just because I would like to earn more money or I don't know. I move to England and if I, if I, if at that point I would be able to speak English like it's almost my native language, it would be awesome because there are far more, there're far more opportunities for a person who speaks English well than for a person who does not. And I have experienced that in the past a couple of times. Because I had a few friends and some people were familiar to me going on to, going to England and some couldn't really stay there because they just didn't speak the language, some none at all, so they had to move back to Hungary and my friends who spoke English quite well, they could manage to stay there and earn money and buy new car and have a decent life, just in short. So this was my voice recording. I hope it is not terrible. I have a head ache, so this is my excuse if it's horrible, so yeah. Paul out.

STUDENT 16: AMANDA

1. Lots of people think that X is a double surname because of the two parts and the hyphen and they ask me if one of parents, one of the parts is mother's and the other is my father's surname, but no. My father is and my grandfather was X as well. My first name is Amanda because my name day and my father's birthday are on the same day, 18th April. Because that was the only name that wasn't the name of one of my mothers' girlfriend.
2. I would say that we only use Hungarian because it is our mother tongue but my sister learns English and German at school and it happens that we sometimes, we talk in English or in German just to practice. Maybe because of her language exam in English she took last week. Unfortunately, my parents don't speak any other languages. They used to speak Russian because they had to learn at school but now they only speak in Hungarian. Now it seems that my mother needs an intermediate language exam and she said that I should teach her uh in English but I don't think that it could be so easily uh to learn a totally new language. She is 50, so yeah.
3. As I have mentioned before, they all speak Hungarian, they speak it fluently because it is their mother tongue.
4. Firstly, Hungarian because it is mother tongue and of course, fluently. Secondly, German, I have started it in third class, as far as I see it, maybe I'm somewhere between the intermediate and the advanced level, so I'm and this is also my other major at university. And finally English, I've learnt it from the 7th grade and it is the same as with German. Maybe my vocabulary is better in English because of movies and series which, yes, I watch in English. I don't really watch movies in German because there aren't some many, so.
5. It seems like I should... before I answer the questions. So yes, as I have said before, I started learning German at the age 9 and English at the age of 13.
6. In elementary school I have only German, then I went to a secondary grammar school after the 4th grade where I have learnt German from the 5th grade till the 11 grade because I took the intermediate exam and I didn't have to attend German classes anymore, so last year. I've learnt English from the 7th grade until the last year, so the 12th grade. So German for 8 and English for 6 years. My school's an ordinary secondary school, I had extra lessons after school in both languages to prepare for the exams. And in the eleventh class I had three more English lessons, that was, that was a kind of faculty but it was terrible organized so I gave up that, gave that up at the end of the year. I was afraid before I came here to the university because there are so many people who spent a year abroad or attended bilingual school, or one of their parents is a foreigner. And now I am still a bit nervous because I don't feel that I will be as good as they ever.
7. At middle school I didn't have a native speaker, not as a teacher or neither as an exchange student. Now I have three native speakers at the university, so they are lecturer, they speak German and two of them come from Germany, and the third one is from Austria. Two of them are teaching me since September and the other one since February. It is exciting and also a good practice because they don't understand Hungarian, so we have to speak in German. In a way I really enjoy it but on the other hand it is hard and I often feel embarrassed because I can't express myself in a way that

I want to. It would be good if I could speak so fluently that they would not have a problem with my grammar or pronunciation etcetera.

8. Well, I am really proud of it and I enjoy it, uh I love that I can understand the lyrics of my favorite songs and I can watch series and movies in English because I understand them. I like listen to native speakers. I find the way of their speaking beautiful even if they have an accent. It still sounds better than my English. Yes.
9. I don't really understand the question but maybe, in that way that I can speak two other languages and not just speak but listen to, write and so on. And I am also interested about their culture, habits and food.
10. I don't know again. Almost everything I use, eat or see everyday are from another culture and because of this I am multicultural, maybe. I love Chinese food, I usually visit American pages on the Internet. I can find similarities between my habits and the habits from other cultures, yes.
11. Uh, first, I just learnt these languages, now I use them almost every day. The stages might be, first, grammar, then principles, vocabulary and always harder and harder topics. Now I use them for so much other things like entertainment in English not just doing homework and writing essay and yes tests.
12. Uh, wow, I have to think. Uh... I know that as I improved my speaking skills and I could express myself in an easier topic, I felt satisfied and maybe that was the moment, so when I realized I am multilingual was maybe when I ran into a foreign person, a tourist at the train station in Debrecen. And I, and she asked me where she should go and I tried to help her find her train. And it was, I don't know, it was so natural. And my mother was on the phone during this conversation and she heard, then she told me that how naturally I spoke to that girl. I didn't really realize it first. And by German maybe when I could speak with my native university lecture after class in personal, you know, not just answering his questions in the class, but in personal, so I felt really happy. I can't tell the steps because I don't know what they are. It was just a moment of satisfaction when I recognized that I am kind of multilingual person.
13. I haven't grown up as a multilingual person, or at least, I don't really realize, didn't really realize it, but so my parents have nothing to do with my development in foreign languages. They taught that I have to be hard-working and the other parts were my duties, so, yes. In my own development I would recall the stages, to begin with, words. We always got unknown words at school to practice vocabulary, then we had enough phrases to express ourselves in a given topics, so we could talk to each other, to the teacher as well. And after we learnt how to write a letter, an essay in Hungarian. We could use that knowledge in other languages. And what I really found important that we always checked up the correct answers after a test, and that time has passed it, we barely had mistakes. Huh, a friend of my boyfriend suggested a million times to go to America because this summer it will be the third occasion that he spends his summer in a camp with teenagers and younger ones. I tried to talk to my mom, uh, but she said that there is a big distance already between us, because, you know, I live in Kecskemét and it is 200 kms far from Pécs, and even if I go home every weekend, because I go home every weekend, but we can only spend one day together because I have to go back at Saturday because I have classes on Monday. On Saturday and on Monday, yes. She doesn't want

that an ocean takes us apart, and yes, for two and a half months. I understand her and I probably would really miss my family, yes, but this is a so big opportunity, I don't travel abroad often, mainly not to America, I haven't flown yet, so I hope but I don't think that she will change her mind.

14. I would like to reach an advanced level in English, I would like to speak fluently and hang out with foreign native speakers who understand my pronunciation, my language. And of course, I could only reach that aim when I, I don't know, I go abroad to learn Erasmus program or something, yes I would like to. And maybe that's all. Thank you.

STUDENT 17: HYUN

1. My great-grandfather named me similar to my elder brother's name and it is common in Korea.
2. Nothing, in Korea there many words from English and Chinese and some words from Japanese, we do not use the whole sentences in other languages.
3. They speak only Korean.
4. I use Korean of course and English. I speak in English as a native, not as a native speaker but I am at intermediate level.
5. I started learning English when I was a primary school student.
6. During all my school days I've learnt English in maybe about 12 years. Not only in the school but also in private academy I have learnt it. However, in Korea English education only focuses on grammar and such things like uh theoretical things.
7. In almost every school include my university there were English native teachers and they are uh from very diverse countries, for example USA, UK, Canada and Ireland. In primary school, high school they sometimes taught us useful information to make us understand their cultures, but usually they had to teach us something theoretical things, same as Korean English teachers. But in university they teach some speaking skills and we can socialize with them if we try to.
8. Multilingual person is who can speak more than two languages, I think. They can communicate with different cultural people freely and receive the materials which are written in different languages uh such as magazines, yes, or reports without translation.
9. I think all of the situations I have to communicate with foreigners made me multilingual. And also, now I'm in Hungary and using to talk to others, so I'm in, I'm multilingual now.
10. Nowadays many countries have diverse cultural things in their countries, for example there are lot of foods from other countries and also clothes, cosmetics and something like that. So I can eat and experience many cultures in everywhere in the world, so I am multicultural.
11. Theoretical studying has no impact on my memories but practical studying which I did with many English speakers is memorable process of becoming a multilingual person for me.
12. I always had to study English in Korea. First, I learnt the alphabet of English and memorized some words and then I put them in the sentences, learning the grammar and practice to use it naturally. When I can express my opinion on word or speaking, I realized that I'm a bilingual.
13. Whenever I go abroad for various reasons, I had to say something not Korean but English. For example, when I went Vietnam to volunteer for their poor minority races

last year, I had to explain what I want to say to them using English. I told the Vietnam university students with English and then they translated to the minority students. At that time using English was necessary for me and that practical stage of learning English is very memorable for me.

14. I don't want to pronounce English as a native speaker but I just want to express what I want to say immediately and understand any other person's talking. Because if there is something I cannot understand during my own studying, it would be possible to search it on the Internet, but I cannot do that during conversation with any other people.

STUDENT 18: ZARA

1. I know is that my father wanted to name me Iris and like when I was born, my mother was like no, she's not gonna named Iris, so she called me Zara. It doesn't really have a big story that, how it was? Well, my surname comes from, I'm not really sure about that, probably, it's something German, or something like that, I don't really know, I never really asked any, I didn't really looked into it.
2. That in the close Hungary, we only use Hungarian, but my elder sister got married to a British man, so whenever she comes home with her husband, we talk in English but there is nothing else really, I mean, we all are Hungarian, so we don't really use anything else.
3. What I know is that they used to learn how to speak Russian, because it was a must, so they can speak some Russian. And I know that my father can speak German, I mean, he used to learn it, he, he never really used it, though, he's not used to speaking in German, but I know that he understands a lot. And my mother used to learn how to speak in English but she is not brave enough to speak, but she understands a lot.
4. Okay. Well, I speak in English, I think, I speak it in, at quite a high level, I have a C1 language exam, so I think it's quite good. I used to learn how to speak Italian but all I can say is... which means I like pizza with ham. And that's basically everything that I remember and I just started learning how to speak Korean. I'm not as good as it I can speak better than Italian in Korean, I can speak better in Korean than in Italian but I'm really just at a beginner level.
5. Well, I studied how to speak, how to learn, how to speak in English at grade 2, so I was around 8 years old. And I think I was 16 when I started learning Italian and I was 19 when I started to learn how to speak Korean.
6. I learnt English and Italian in school because it was a must, and actually I never really wanted to speak Italian, I never really liked the language, but I had to choose a second language. And...uh... I don't know, I never liked German, so I still don't like it, I still don't want to learn how to speak German. And they said that Italian is a better choice than Spanish, because they said that the teacher is better, but actually she was not. And of course, I learnt English in school and Korean. That is quite a hard question because I learnt that, I teach myself how to speak Korean and I reached books and things like that but I'm not really getting further in it because I don't know, whenever I have time, I feel like, I just want to be lazy, I'm not really the type who says that 'okay, I'm gonna sit down and study an hour' or anything. So I'm not really good at that, so I'm not really getting any further with Korean. Of course, I am reading and trying and I watch films and things like that, so I'm really used to the way they speak, and there are quite a lot of phrases that I can understand already but there is actually no one to talk to, so I'm not getting any further with it.
7. Well, I'm a member of the Church of Jesus Christ ...? and because of that there are quite a lot of missionaries and they are mainly from America like I think there are a little more than a 100 missionaries in Hungary and like 95% of them are from America and there are some Hungarian or maybe some British person but they are mainly from America. They never really taught me how to speak, it's just mainly like, they just talked to me and I answered, they told me stories. Actually, there is a person I remember clearly

that he, he helped me a lot with English. And he always told me stories, like funny things that happened with him, or I don't know, family stories and things like that. And I always had to answer and always tell a story about myself when he told me a story like that, he really like that that. And it helped me a lot to, to be brave enough to talk. Because before that I remember I could understand a lot, like really a lot, but I never had the courage to talk to them. I always was like I understand you but I don't want to answer. And he was Utah, from Salt Lake City, I think, I'm not sure. And he wasn't here in Pécs for that long, I think he was here like for 3 months. But after that I kept talking to them and he gave me courage to talk. Yes. I think he was really great like he always corrected me but never made fun of me, so he was really nice and it was really great to learn from him.

8. Uh, (pause) it is quite a hard question uh but actually it means quite a lot because in my family as I said before, my elder sister lives in England and her husband is British so I was in England for 5 weeks, yeah, I was there for 5 weeks to help my sister with her wedding I could talk to the family in English because I stayed with them. And I really liked it, I really like speaking in English because. I don't know uh I find it easy, there are times when it's easier to speak in English than in Hungarian. I just find myself saying words in English and things like that. It just happened on Sunday that uh I was talking to one of my American friends and I was talking to him in Hungarian but I said, Tom, I said the half sentence in English, I wanted to say that my mom has some cakes in Hungarian and I said Anya has süti. And it's just really funny to me and to him as well. Uh yes, sometimes I mix English and Hungarian because I don't know that from my..? it's really hard to switch from Hungarian to English because in school I have only English lessons like the teachers always, most of the time speak in English and they give the lectures in English and I have to think in English to be able to take notes and everything, so it's really hard to switch back to Hungarian when I come home, especially because my parents work a lot and we hardly find any time to talk, so when I talk to them in Hungarian, there are times when I find it hard to speak in Hungarian.
9. Uh (pause). I think it's a little hard question as well, but I think, as I said, I talk in English a lot, like really, from 7 days I talk in English for 4 days like, just, not just in school, but just to my friends or when I'm talking to my brother-in-law or his family, I always speak in English.
10. Uh, I don't really think that I am multicultural. There are things that I like from other cultures but I don't really think that but I wouldn't say that I belong in any other culture like I think I am Hungarian and I am a typical Hungarian, so I don't really think that I'm multicultural.
11. As I said, I remember that before I was 15 I found it hard to speak in English. I remember the beginning like the fact that I had to learn a lot of vocabulary like practicing words and everything and I don't know. I Actually, I don't really remember the process, I remember just some stages like at the very beginning how it was and then I remember that I couldn't, I understood a lot but I wasn't brave enough to speak, I think after that I started to speak and I started to watch films in English, read in English, then it just became a lot easier.
12. Uh (pause), Well, I think the first step that I take was that I read in English, a lot, like I remember I had a teacher and she was a really great teacher and she told me that I had

to read at least three books a year in English to learn vocabulary, to practice grammar and things like that. And I think that was a huge step I made, it helped me a lot with everything. Then the fact that I started thinking in English. And when did I realize that I became multilingual? I think I think, I think it was around age 17 or something like that when I was in Germany and there was a youth camp or something like that I realized that from my group I'm one of, I'm the only one who could talk to the German people and who could talk to the, I don't know, there were Italian people and other people there in English. And I remember there were just, there were like, I think there were 10 kids in my group around my age at that time and it was me and another guy who were brave enough to talk to them in English. And I remember that it felt really good to be able to talk to people from another nation, to be able to talk to them and express myself. I think that was the time when I realized that I am capable of talking in English.

13. Uh, well, I started dreaming in English, I think that was one of the events that that stood out, like there were times when I watched a film in English and I went to bed and I dreamed about the film in English. I think it was really big event in my life when I first dreamed in English and I remember that I didn't understand everything, there were phrases and things like that that I heard before, I know that, I heard those before, but I just can't understand them like I had no idea what they meant, but it was really great, I think. And the funny thing is that I dreamed in Korean before as well after I think, it was during the summer that I watched a whole serie, series in Korean and I dreamed in Korean. It was really hilarious because I couldn't understand a word, like I know that, like I know it was only because the brain works amazing, that's the only reason I could dream in Korean.
14. Uh, I want to get better and better, I want to be able to express myself better and better and I want to be a translator or I want to try how it is to interpret. Actually, I did interpret before but I'm not sure if I want to do that as a profession but I think it would be great if I could be a translator. Actually, I'd love that if I was able to read books even before they were published and to be able to see my name end of book like translated by Zara X, I think it would be really amazing. Yes. And that is all.

STUDENT 19: ALICE

1. Hello, Adrienn. My name is Alice X. And it is my recording. I made a short sketch for myself because I can't remember for everything that is necessary to speak about. So my short sketch and your questions are in front of me. And I will read them maybe. My surname is X I got it from my father and I believe it is a Slavonic name, the wainwright or the wainwrighter.... I am sure what's the name of it. The wainwright who makes wheels to vehicles was called X in old times. It is possible, I think, so it comes from a profession. What is much more interesting is my mother's surname. She is Y, and we cannot find in Hungary any other person who lives with the same first name. It's maybe a bit mysterious. My lineage, so old members of my family were settled from Uplands, nowadays it is Slovakia, about 300 or 400 years ago. And this is the reason why my surname possible and my mother's surname also comes from Slavonic languages. On the other hand, one more thing, I just heard it some weeks ago that X is a typically Jewish name. It's absolutely new information for me, I have never heard it before but who knows, why not.
2. – 3 – 4 – 5 My family is a one-lingual family, if we use this word. My parents are speaking a bit Slovak and they can understand Russian and other Slavonic languages. My sisters, I have two sisters, they are speaking English, basic English and their husband also speaks, one of them is an engineer, so he speak English better and the other one, he was working for a short time in Germany, so he speaks German. And yes, about me. I speak English at an advanced level, I hope and it's my plan to make advanced level language exam in the near future from English. Moreover, I speak German at an intermediate level, but nowadays I don't use this language, so I don't speak it very well. I understand a lot but I don't use, so my grammar is terrible and I'm not able to speak very well. If I had to read in German, it's better, it's okay for me and and yes, I can understand it better. Furthermore, I studied Slovak for 8 years without any reason. It was a compulsory in my primary school and I was young and nobody said me that it will be one day a very useful language. Now I think it would be a great advantage to speak this language, so it's a bit sad, I think.
6. I started to study English at 11 at primary school and I'm studying still. And I studied German only for 4 years and I was 16 when I started to study it. I attended an English language and IT specialized class in the secondary grammar school. It was in Esztergom. In the first year I had almost English lessons and computer studies and only a few other subjects, so the first year was very intensive, it was like an intensive English course.
7. Yes, at the university I had some native speaker teachers, it was cool, I think, because they were trustworthy, but sometimes I cannot understand anything. For example when in the university Z K speaks about British history, oh my God, sometimes I have no idea what it is or where I am, unfortunately. In addition, when I studied in Vienna, I had some German speaker teachers. I wasn't on a very great level on German, so I don't understand a lot, but I liked their pronunciation. Yes, it was, it was good experience for me.
10. At first, maybe I would say no, I'm not multicultural but I would say it because I believe only that person could be a multilingual or multicultural person who speaks more languages or who has got mother tongues and whose family is also in the same situation. You had to, had to come from a multicultural family to be able to be multicultural but no, I don't think so. Is it possible nowadays not to be multicultural? I think it's

impossible. For me, it means I can make connection with the other people, I can travel, I go to another country, I can speak with other people, I can write in another language, I can study in another university and so on. And to be multicultural or multilingual uh (pause) is have to become open-minded, I think. Yes. On the other hand, I had to say, have to say I am multicultural because I accept and I tolerate any national and cultural diversity. Moreover, I'm interested in them and I would like to see a world where every ethnics and every nationality is can live next to each other. It would be great and that would be a positive world and a great multicultural world.

- 11-12. In my secondary school I had an Estonian classmate for one year and I believe it was determining for me, because just a funny story that I can remember on the first day one of our teacher said okay Maria, you will sit next to Alice because she is very great in English. No, I wasn't, so it was surprising me and it wasn't our choice, it was a compulsory, we had to speak in English because it was our only one way to communicate, so I had to speak with her in English and we became very good friends and even if my English wasn't so good, sometimes I had to translate on some lessons, so it was interesting for me and for uh the Estonian girl also. So maybe it was the first step to becoming multilingual. Yes and what else? Moreover, but I'm just thinking about now is my original or how to say, I mentioned before my village where I was born and where my parents are living and my settled, my settled lineages. So they were speaking an so called Tót language, it's a kind of dialect, a mixture of Hungarian and Slovak, so it's a typical language in that area of the country. It's a little village, it's near to the Slovak border, so we had a kind of special Slovak ethnic or nationality in this village. It's name is Piliccséb. And at the primary school and at the kindergarten also we had to study Slovak, so we have a lot of lessons in Slovak, but nobody speaks it in an advanced level. Even if elderly people, it's a very common thing that they are speaking Slovak or this Tót language and sorry I don't know it's English name, I don't think it has got an English name, so it's an average thing, nowadays also. Unfortunately, most of the people who were very great in this languages, they passed away and the young people don't use this language.
13. I'm just thinking about it that I was, I grow with this multiculturalism, it was a part of my life, it is actually, because nowadays when I go home, elder ladies are speaking in Tót on the street and in little shops also, soooo maybe I was grown as a multilingual or multicultural person. And it's important because it has a big role in my personality, it's a part of my mind. Yeah. It is. And last question.
14. I would like to be a teacher, I would like to become a Hungarian as a foreign teacher. It means I would like to teach my mother tongue and my own culture to other peoples, to other people, to foreign people and to be able to do this, I need a transmitting language I had to speak at least one or more languages at a higher level and use this language to transmit my language. It's a interesting, I would like to become, I would like to be able to use and learn this thing. So I hope I will use English and English will be a part of my life and a part of my profession. Okay. It is the end of my task and I hope it's a useful, or at least useable home assignment. Thank you. Bye.

STUDENT 20: SANDRA

1. Hi, this is gonna be my first English recording, so I'm a bit nervous, but I hope you will enjoy it. Let's start with the first question. It's about my first and my surname. Well, my surname is X, so I think there's nothing special about it. Approximately, half of the Hungarian population is called X. But my first name has a story. We had new neighbors and they had a three years old little girl and she was playing in the garden and my mother heard that her parents called her: "Sandy, Sandy, come!". And my mother just fell in love with that name. And when I was born, our neighbors came to us to see me and mother said that uh "We have Sandy too". And the neighbors asked "Who has Sandy too?". "Well, you." "No, we have Fanny." Well, if my mother understood well the little girl's name, I may be Fanny now. And I have a third name, which is Mary and it has a story too. Well, so my grandfather, so my, the father of my father died when he was just a toddler and his mother stayed alone with three children and she had to work and while she was working, my father's grandmother took care of the children and I got this third name to honor what she did. Well, she raised them. Yes.
2. The second question is about languages in my family. Well, in my family we speak only Hungarian, nothing else. Both of my parents are Hungarian, so it's not a question. But my brother works in Germany and when he comes home, we try to speak in German but I'm not very successful in that. Yes.
3. Third question is the languages that my family members speak. Well, my parents. To be honest, my mother speaks no foreign languages at all, just some words in English and German but nothing really exciting. And my father, well, he can form and understand some simple sentences in Russian and in German but that's all.
4. The next question is about my languages and the level. Well, from English I have C1 language exam but I think this is not totally the truth. But I'm trying to get better and better. And I have a German B2 language exam, but that's a lie. I can just form simple structures but nothing else. And I don't really understand what German people say, and to be honest, I don't really like that language at all.
5. So when did I start these languages? I started to learn German when I was 9 years old in primary school and started learning English when I was 15. So I started it in the grammar school.
6. -7 I learnt German for 10 years. Well, as I said I started it in primary school and I continued in the secondary school, so, so I spent 10 years with beautiful German language. And I've learnt English for 5 years, this is the 6th year and I started it in the grammar school which is called ELSB, so it's the dual language school in Balatonalmádi. And I really liked it, it was a good choice. And because it was a dual language school, we had native teachers. Yes. In my school in every year we had native teacher but after one year they had to go, so every year we had a new one. And in my zero year when I started learning English, we had Jenny from the USA. Well, for me it was impossible to understand her because I didn't really speak English that time. And next, we have Matt, he was different, his wife was a teacher in my secondary school too, so Matt was there for 3 years, and he was from England and he was easier to understand because he could speak some words in Hungarian, so if we couldn't understand something, he could tell it in Hungarian. And we have Monica too from California for one year. And it was quiet had to understand her, because she was a math

teacher and for her it was hard to explain the thing to us and for us was impossible to understand, because she didn't speak Hungarian at all.

- 8-9. Yes. The next question is about multilingual things. Well, I think multilingual means that someone speaks and understands more than one language. Uh, so more than his or her mother language. I think I'm multilingual because I speak 3 languages, the first one is my mother language and I speak German and English and I really want to learn 3 more languages because I love learning languages. And well, this is the only thing, well, I can do and I'm good at. I would like to learn Russian, French and Spanish. Well, I don't know when. I've decided to start learning Russian this year, but I realized that my English is not so good to start a next language, so I'm focused on my English this year.
10. Uh, well, I don't really know how am I multicultural, maybe because I deal with other cultures here in university. And yes, maybe because of this. And I think that everyone is multicultural for some reasons. For example, we borrow things and habits just like the Valentine's Day. So we are all multicultural, just we don't think about it.
- 11-12. Uh, so the steps how I became multilingual. Well, I've never liked German language, so I don't really want to talk about it, so let's focus on English. Uh, my first step in became, becoming multilingual was my first week in my dual language school. It was just three days but when I went there, for me, the verb 'to be' was a mystery and I didn't know what it is, how to use it. After three days that I spent there, I could tell approximately 20 sentences about myself, my parents, my school, things like that. I could also ask question and that was such a great success for me. I thought that I am multilingual but I wasn't. And the next step was my first year in my dual-language school, well, after one year from zero English knowledge, I reached B2 level and my teacher said that I should try the language exam but I was afraid so I've never tried. But after my zero year, my aunt and my cousin came from Australia, because they live there, and I could speak extremely well with my cousin who understands nothing in Hungarian. Yes. And the next step was learning subjects in English. In my second year we started to learn history in English, well that was hard as hell. But the next year we learnt biology in English and that was quite, that was quite good because I understood almost everything, for example how cells divide or how photosynthesis takes place. That was great. And the last step is this university. When I came here, I was really afraid of speaking in English, or, or I was afraid that my English is above/about level of the others. But I realized that I'm not so bad, so it's quite good. And I don't know how many years ago, three maybe, uh, uh, I, my best friend want to have a party and in a pub we met a black guy. I don't know exactly his nationality but he was a native speaker, uh, and he was an exchange student or I don't know this term, in the University of Veszprém. And I understood everything that he said and he understood me, so it was just a fairy tale. Yes.
- 13-14. And what I want from English. Of course, I would like to be an expert but I think all of us want to be. And my dream is to understand and to be able to say everything and understand everything. Well, it's a big deal and I have to work on it a lot. And I would like to be a teacher, hopefully, I will be one and I want to make children, I want to make children love or at least like English language because it's so beautiful and and it's, it's not so hard to study and not so hard to be an expert of it, so this is my dream.

STUDENT 21: ALISHA

1. My name is Alisha X and our task was to make a recording and during that we had to answer 14 in number questions. Let's move to the first one. The first question says that... Let's start with my first name which is Alisha and the only thing I know about it that it is originally comes from Greece, so it's a Greek name. And I know that it has a gentle sounding but its meaning is man-like or manhood. And uh this name is usually used in Italy for men and woman too. But it is more common to give it or use it for men. And let's tell something about my surname. It's quite rare, you know, because there are only two families I know who has that, have that surname, which is X. And my grandfather once told me that we are, uh, came from Perkáta which is near to Dunaújváros. I don't know if you know it or not. Now there are only a few X living in Tamási which is my hometown, in Dunaújváros and Perkáta. And one thing more, it's maybe a Yugoslavian name but I'm not sure in it. Uh, so yes. And it's also quite surprising that you asked that question from me because I have a course on Friday. And this course is about intercultural communication and our teacher is X Y, I am sure you know her. And she asked me last week about my surname. And I cannot really tell anything about her, about it for her, so in this weekend I asked my parents about it again to know that information. I think that's for the first question.
2. The second question is...Oh, nice question. My father can speak many languages because he is a professional hunter and he's job requires to know many languages, so he can speak Italian, German, English and little bit of Russian, but he only uses Italian and German most of the time. And uh, my mother, uh, uh, she cannot really speak any languages and she hate them because she hasn't got sense of learning languages but she can speak a bit of Russian because when he, when she was a child she had to learn it, you know. And I've got a sister and similar to me, he, she can speak German and English and she can speak them really well, both of them. And it is not part of her job, so she forgot many words but I'm sure if she had the chance to use it regularly or (pause) so kind of like this, I'm definitely sure she can really get the knowledge back. Yeah. I think I finished this one here.
3. And the third question is... As I said before my father can speak many language, but he only have, uh, one, uh, certificate, uh, I'm wrong, because he has four certificate and it's an English language exam certificate but it's only a B1, so an elementary level. He wanted to reach, he really wanted to reach the intermediate, B2 level, but only one or two points were missing, yeah, unfortunately, he only has that B1 certificate. And my sister have certificate, no, it's not a question, because it's only about my parents, so I finish here.
4. The fourth one is... So I speak a little German and I'm trying to practice it and it's not really easy for me right now, because I'm really into English and I only have a B2 certificate but I think my knowledge is between B2 and C1 level and I'm trying to reach the C1 level but it's not as easy as I expected before.
5. So the fifth one:... If I remember well, I started learning English when I was 10, so it was, uh, thousands of years ago and I started learning German when I was 15, so yes, yes, that's all.

6. The sixth questions is... So uh, too many questions here, but the answer is I learnt English for four years in elementary school and I continue it in the secondary school, which was five years more. And then I, beside English, I started German, and it was five or four years, I do not really know. My teacher asked us on the first occasion if we want to take the language exam in German, but nobody answered yes, so it was not strictly taught, something like this, we were just, uh, learnt about the basics and some expressions and you know, so I cannot really speak that German language. And if I remember well, one year when English, there were one year, there was one year when English was taught in a higher number and I loved it pretty much. It was I think 13 class per each week. Yeah, I think so. And we had many teachers and so on. So let's move to the seventh one, which is...
7. (Question read out here) At the secondary school there were no foreign language teacher, native speaker, sorry. Uh but at the university I met two of them at least two of them and they were both men and their names are X Y, I bet you know her. And B G and X is British and from Great Britain. And B was, I think, an American person. Yeah. So I, I, I, uh, I was kind of surprised how much I loved how X spoken to us, have spoken to us, because it was, it was really impressive for me because I, I, I love British accent and most of the actresses, singers I love is British ones, so, yes, yes, I became addicted to it. So let's move to the eighth questions.
8. Question eight about multilingual, which is... I think it means a lot, even if it's common thing in nowadays, because it's, English is most well-known language, it's a worldwide language and nearly every people understand it, speak it, use it and it's really means a lot to me that I have that B2 level certificate because I, one of my friends, I don't know, cannot really reach and cannot really get that language exam and yeah it's really bad in these days and I think being multilingual helps me to make new friends, for example, here at the university, ERASMUS friends, or if I travel to somewhere, I can easily contact with people and communicate with them maybe, it helps me to get a better job when I'm going to look for one, so and there was a story when someone asks me in English something I do not really remember, maybe she wanted to find Interspar or I don't remember well and I can help her where she can find it. So the next question is...
9. ... Uh, Let's think about it. I think I'm multilingual in several ways because there are several times when I mix English with Hungarian. I, for example, I speak to my mom, oh look at the window or something like this but the word window came into my mind in English, not in Hungarian, so yes, it's sometimes funny because I need to think about that Hungarian word and the English one came into my mind. Yeah, for example this one. And there are many times I help my father to translate emails what he got from that he gets from foreign people. And I write them back, so this is my task in the family to keep the contact with foreign people. And I write messages, I write emails, I translated them into Hungarian and so on. Because sometimes it, my father needs help. Uh and also we love travelling, both of my family members and once I had the chance to travel to South Africa. It was, it was awesome. I, I cannot really say how much it had good effect on me. So much beautiful memories. Here I can, I can really easily speak to their, these African people and you know, it's a good feel, it was a good feeling. And everyone who speaks English uh has the chance uh to to be a better person, I think. It's, it's, yeah, It's like too big words, I think so, but true. Because there are no words for this, so yeah. I think it's awesome to a multilingual person.

10. So the tenth question is... I mentioned before that Intercultural Communication course and we learn a lot about multicultural persons, multicultural work, environment and so on. So I'm, I'm trying to be a multicultural person, but I'm really Hungarian one, so it's not easy for me to understand other cultures and society and their etiquette and protocol. But if I want to travel a lot, and I want, I should bear it, I think, and maybe culture shock would be another thing to cope with, to deal with. So yes.
11. The eleventh question is... Uhum, I think there were not exactly stages but it was, it was a constant development for me, so I cannot really say that oh when I was eleven years old, I had that event and then it means a new stage for me, so it was, it was, it was really constant, I think.
12. -13. The number twelfth and the thirteenth question is quiet the same for me, so I thought I can answer them at the same time with one related answer. (questions read out) For example, when you're doing something, speaking to someone, succeeding in something important, meeting someone and the thirteen question is... Of course, getting a language exam certificate is a kind of uh, is a kind of uh important uh (long pause) step, which we did, so I really want to call memories maybe that is the most important one. And of course, so one minute, I need to think these questions over. (long pause) And as I said before, it, it always good impression if we can speak to someone who may be a forei, native speaker, with someone, who knows the language better than us. So when I started the university, it was really hard for me to speak with teachers because I was a bit nervous and I cannot really know how to speak with them, how can I use my words. Uh but years after years it can easily learnt uh to, to how to do it. And maybe uh another stage can be when I was much younger and at the age of, I think, 12 when I was the uh, was uh, uh, (pause) uh, take, took part the competition and our group won that competition. I don't know what was the exact name of it. I only know that it was an English, an English competition. And uh, and uh there were tasks, we, we had to read many uh stories like Aladdin and songs, so there were only this kind of hu child stories. So yeah there were not really stages. Uh for me it was really constant and like I know it's a bubble maybe which contains everything and yeah.
14. So the last question is... My biggest dream is to became an English journalist but at the time I'm uh existing right now, I do not really think that I have the abilities for that. But I'm trying hard to reach that level and maybe then I can became an English journalist. But it would be also awesome to work for a business house or any kind of firm as a translator. But I won't be unsatisfied if these dreams won't come true, because it means that I have to do other thing, other things, and, and I only know that I don't want to forget this language. Even if I use it as a hobby, even if I had native speakers or any friends who only can speak English, I am really want to, to keep that knowledge into my mind. I don't wanna forget it. So thanks for listening to me. And I hope you're better now and your illness disappeared. Best wishes. Bye.

STUDENT 22: EMMA

1. My father gave me the name, Emma. And Emma was the mother of one of seven the leader in the history. When the seven leader brought the people to the nowadays place where Hungary is. I don't know where my surname comes from. I heard that there are some, there is a place which is called X, but maybe that's place where my name origins.
2. Mainly English because my sister and I can speak English advanced level and a little bit of Romanian because my father had a job in Romanian embassy. Well, actually, it was the Hungarian embassy in Romania, so in 1998 he moved out to Romania and brought his family also. So my sister and I started primary school in Romania, thus we can speak Romanian also, Romanian language.
3. Well, they can speak Romanian in very basic level. My mother specially can, she used to know the words she needed for kitchen when she went to the market and buy vegetables and fruits. But she can understand more than what she can speak. My father, well, he knows Romanian in a basic level also, but he can speak, he can speak as much as he can understand. And they can't speak English, just a few words.
4. Well, I mentioned English and Romanian and I can speak them in advanced level and I'm learning Serbian and I speak a little bit of Japanese because of the anime I watched.
5. Well, I've been learning English since I was in kindergarten, so and I continued studying when we moved to Romania because there we learnt English from the first grade. And Serbian, I started to learn Serbian, well, I think two months ago or three maybe. And Japanese, well, I always watched animas or mangas. What I heard a lot of times or too many times, I just memorized and I can recall it any time.
6. Well, when we were living in Romania, we spent there five years and yeah, 5 years was enough, I mean, one and a half year was enough to acquire the Romanian basics and to be able to communicate with my, my schoolmates, because they were, it was a Hungarian school and my classmates were... We were a mixed class because there were some who had parents, both, whose parents were both Romanian, or both Hungarian or one parent was Hungarian and then the other was from Romania, so it was a really mixed class. Then yeah, I learnt Romanian language at those five years. Uh (pause) The subjects were taught in Hungarian but not, not all because we had a few lesson in Romanian, from Romanian grammar and that was taught in Romanian. And of course, the English classes were taught in English and when the teacher was explaining something, she used either Hungarian or Romanian.
7. Well, a few time, we had, we had a foreign language teacher in English in Romania, she was from (pause) America, I think. And she was there, I don't know, twice a year, I think. Those classes were really funny (pause), because we were very young, I mean, in primary school, and she was introducing the topic in a funny mood, and she could offer prizes to encourage us to give the right answers.
8. Well, for me, it means to be able to speak more than one languages, more than one language. And I think, it's really good to be able to speak more than one language because I can make myself to be understood for more people, I can express myself more ways, in more ways and I like it a lot and whenever I go abroad, I don't feel myself lost

because I can speak at least three languages and even when I have to use my finger to, to, to (pause) – how to say – explain where I want to go or what would I like to buy. I don't mind that. It's funny. I get used to it. Uh.

9. Well, (pause) yeah because of the same reason I just mentioned, I think. Because I didn't acquire the languages when I was born, because both of my parents are straight Hungarian. They couldn't, they can't speak English or Romanian when I was young, yeah they couldn't. So I learnt them in school. So that's why I think I am a multilingual person. Yeah, it's great.
10. (Pause), well, (pause) in my opinion, when I acquire a language, I get a little of bit information about the culture also. For example, I'm learning Serbian through my boyfriend and he has a totally different culture as a I have and I get to know the language, I get a little bit of insight vision of his culture also, so I think if you are learning a language, you are learning a new culture also.
11. (Pause) How do you mean what stages? (Long pause) Well, I don't know if this is a stage, but (pause)... It is a hard question. Well, I've been learning English from kindergarten and continued learning in primary school and in secondary school also. So it kept me helping to becoming a multilingual person. Also, when I am using a lot of English, I feel like it's my second, second mother tongue. Yeah, that's what I can, all I can answer for this question.
12. Uh, (long pause), uh (pause) I think I realized I'm multilingual when I had the first example I can understand another person and that person can understand my answer also or my question. Uh (pause), yeah, there were several examples when someone asked me, foreign (uh) instruction where to go, how to reach that sight, for example, or what is written here, because he was from Britain and of course, he couldn't speak enough Hungarian and well yeah. That's all.
13. Well, I did some kind of translating in last summer and that helped me improve my English skills a lot. There was a Korean site and it had the Korean language translated to English and I could translate the English to Hungarian, so others can watch the series also. Anyone can do this because it's a page where volunteers do the subtitle.
14. Well, I would like to become a translator or an interpreter, I haven't decided yet, maybe translator is better. But both is really interesting to me and I can't make up mind where to decide or which to decide to become. I would like to live in a foreign country. I'm not afraid to live in England or, or I don't know, anywhere else. Uh. Yeah, I would definitely like it, uh, if I would have the opportunity to live abroad for the rest of my life. Okay. Thank you.

STUDENT 23: ESTELA

1. Hello! I'd like begin with a little summary about my family and me. My name is X Estela I don't really know anything about the origin of my surname but it is very frequent in Hungary and Europe. My first name, Estela is also well-known in these countries. It means star in Persian. According to the Bible, Estela was a Jewish queen. And her story is told in the book of Estela which is the basic in the celebration off. My family is quite big, I have two brothers, but they have their own family with two kids. As you guess silence is an unknown concept in our home.
2. My father is 63 years old, my mother is 60, so they don't speak languages except Hungarian. They used to learn Russian, but they haven't used it for 30 years, so they remember only little basics. My brother and her wife work in Budapest as an engineer and a lawyer, so they are expected to speak English and German, even they didn't use it very often. And in order not to forget, we always meet on Friday evenings, we always talk about our week, friends, programs and so on, of course, in English.
3. Now let me talk about my language studies. I speak in English and Spanish besides Hungarian. I have been learning English for 8 years and Spanish for 3 years. I have an intermediate language exam in both. When I finished the primary school, I chose a secondary school which announced a class that is specialized in English. It meant that for one year we had 15 English lessons in a week and at end of the year we took our language exam. I wanted to continue my English studies until at least a C level, but as it is a Piarist school, we had to start to learn Latin, so I must choose between continue my English studies ad start Latin or I start to learn Latin and another language as well. I thought about it a lot and I decided next to Spanish and Latin. Of course, I would have had somebody to teach me English but I lived 40 kms from the school and I usually got home after 5 pm, so I think it would be over my capacity.
4. – 5- 6- 7- 8- 9. I love my high school, as we had many opportunities during the school years and summers. I participated in two exchange programs within one year. I was in Brussels, France and England. We spent 3 weeks abroad and everybody lived with different families. It was very exciting without my parents and the first when I had to prosper alone. It was very interesting that I lived with a native speaker family and they understand me, and moreover, I understand them, I realized that oh my god, I can speak English the way they know, although, I was afraid of it before the traveling. And I think it was the first time when I realized that I am a multilingual person. As I mentioned before I attended two trips. The second was in Spain and its conception was the same, and I lived with a Spanish family for two weeks and they show the sights of their country. It was funny because until this year I learnt Spanish for only one year. Can you imagine my fears? Spanish people speak so fast that I think a non-Indo-European native speaker hardly understand it, so I was very very afraid of it but they were very kind and uh tried to speak slowly so we understood each other more or less. And when it seemed impossible we changed in English. In my opinion, it was the second time when I realized that I would be able to live in another part of the world with my language knowledge. So from my point of view, being a multilingual person means something like this. I can solve my problems, no matter where I am, I can ask help, I can buy food, and if it was necessary I would be able to get a job, especially with the help of my English language. I think the ways that I am multilingual besides I could live abroad means that I can read in English or Spanish, I am able to order things and so on.

10. Multicultural, uh... So the way I see myself, I am a multicultural person because I am very open to others even if they are not Hungarians. I really enjoy listening to a foreign person while he speaks about his home and traditions. I really hate when others look down on gypsies or black people because I have some gypsy friends and I also know a black girl and I really like them, they just came from another culture another country. And I don't understand why it is such a problem for some people because I think instead of hurting we should help those who are needed no matter their social origin or background. Honestly, if I had an opportunity after I get my degree, I would go to Africa to teach their kids. This is one of my dreams, exactly.

11-12-13. As I said earlier, my stages of becoming a multilingual person were my trips, but I also would like to add one more occasion. My family is a member of an organization. Three years ago an Englishman came to our village and spoke about some national tenders and to make it more popular in Hungary and most of the members are over 45 years, they don't really speak foreign languages, so I was asked to translate, I had many doubts about my abilities and I wasn't so happy. Honestly, I just didn't believe that I am the right person for it but I managed to translate everything, and furthermore, six months later we won almost half a million forints thanks to that tender. No words can describe what I felt when I got to know it. Yes, I could just say, yes, yes. I was very very happy and I am really proud of it. And in my view, it was the biggest occasion when my language knowledge was useful. As I thought my steps over, it grows in my eyes even bigger. I mean let me explain it. First, I just helped others with orientation for example in Budapest. Then I had the two journeys that I mentioned where I developed and learnt a lot and three years after this I was part of, I was a member of a group which brought, who made that tender that brought us a lot of money. Okay, I was just a translator but without me it may not happen, so I am very very grateful to my teachers and to my school.

14. Last not least, in English I would like to get as high as my capacity and possibility are enough. It is obvious I need to achieve a little bit more than level C so it is the hardest task, and I don't really deal with the future. Obviously, I would like to utilize the opportunities throughout my life. I would like to teach as soon as I finish the university. If not in Africa in my secondary school or in one of the high schools near my village. I am really a fanatic that one day I would like to watch every series in English without any subtitles. And one more thing, within two years I need to prepare my boyfriend and my best friend to be able to pass a language exam in order to get their degrees so I am not going to have a lot of free time, I think. I think that's all. Thank you for your attention.

STUDENT 24: SOPHIA

1. Hi! My name is Sophia and I'm going to answer your questions. Answer is my first name come from my dad. Exactly there is nothing special with my first name, so I don't know what can I tell you.
2. The most used language in my family is English mostly, but some of my relatives can speak Polish and Russian.
3. My father can speak English on basic level but he use the English when he is on holiday, or sometimes when he buys something on the Internet, Ebay or something else. My mother could speak Russian but, but she didn't use it for many years, so now she remembers only a few words. And she can't speak any other languages.
4. I can speak English but in my opinion only on middle level, I have problems with speaking. It's hard to talk with somebody else because my mind blocked. I don't know why. I haven't found out the reason, so I prefer writing. Uh pause). I studied German language too in the secondary high school, but I didn't like it. I can order something in a restaurant and that's all that I can tell on German.
5. I was ten or eleven years old when I have started to learn English and I was 14, maybe yes, I was 14 when I started German. I finished German when I was 18. Maybe I will study German in the future. I don't know yet. I not really liked the language, so I hope I don't need to learn it again.
6. I've been studying English for 9, 9 maybe 10 years. I studies German for 4 years and I studied English more intensively in the high/secondary grammar school, because I was in a higher-level group. I had 5 or 6, 5 English lessons on a week.
7. I had a native speaker teacher. He came from England, but originally he is Greek. He taught me only a half year but uh I have known he since I was a baby because he is my, my father's friend. He really could speak on English because English is his native language but he couldn't teach us, I don't know why but. That was the fighting?
8. Honestly, I've never taught about myself as a multilingual person. Maybe it means that I'm a person who can speak more languages, or I don't know exactly what it mean, so sorry.
9. I just want to become a multilingual person in the future. As I see, I'm not a multilingual person now, maybe in the future I will be. I really hope.
10. I've been abroad a lot of times in many countries. I was in Croatia last summer for example, I was in Slovakia, Turkey, Austria, England and France. I learnt many things about these cultures and I really enjoyed it of course. If this means that I am a multicultural, I will be happy.
11. This is a difficult question, but (pause) sorry (pause). I don't know that I am multilingual person, but I said it before, so I don't know what is the right answer for this. So I go on.
12. Honestly, I, I haven't realized that I'm multilingual person, so I don't know how can I realize that. I hope you will answer me on the lesson or I don't know.

13. As I mentioned before, in my opinion, I'm not a multilingual person, so I don't know what the stages were. When I was in Turkey and Croatia, I used English but in the beginning I was so desperate because I always blocked and I, I, I couldn't tell anything for anyone or other things. But after when I used it every day, it became easier a little bit and I was happy about it because I could use the language anyway. But it was hard for me.
14. I want to learn English very well in the future. I just want to speak freely and I don't want to block when I'm speaking. I would be happy if I can learn every fields, areas of this language. I want to go abroad in the future and I will have more opportunities if I speak English in a right way, I think, so. I, I really hope that I will be a multilingual and multicultural person in the future, so thank you that you. Na sorry. So thank you for your attention. I hope you enjoyed the answers. So see you in a class. Bye.

STUDENT 25: LILI

My name is Lili G X. And my parents gave me these names because they wanted me to have Hungarian name. In my family there is another language besides Hungarian which is Romanian because my family were born in Transylvania except my brother who was born in Budapest. But I don't speak Romanian because I was 3 years old when we came to Hungary. But all of my grandparents, parents and other relatives speak Romanian. I think it's a pity that I couldn't learn it because it would be really useful. For example we go back there every year for a few weeks. And I just couldn't speak with local people. I can use English but it would be better to use Romanian there. My parents and grandparents used to speak Romanian at a very high level because they used to live there. At their time there was more Hungarian people there, at the school they had to speak Romanian to the teacher, but nowadays when they haven't used it frequently for ages, I guess they are not good, they are not as good in it as in the old times. Besides Hungarian and English, I do speak a little German, but I wouldn't say that I'm very good at it. I started learning it when I was eleven and I used to have three hours, three lessons per week but I didn't really like it because of the teacher and I don't like this language. But I liked English. I started learning it when I was in the 3rd grade, my other classmates started it when they started school, so at the 1st grade but I could catch up really fast because I had a very good teacher in primary school for two years. I think I got most of my knowledge from her because she was a really good teacher, but 4 years ago I spent 2 months in the United States with my aunt and it was a really good practice for me because I went to a summer camp there and I met a lot of people, although, my aunt and her family are Hungarian and they spoke Hungarian at home, I could speak English with them too. I have learnt English for 10 years and German for 8 years but as I said 8 years wasn't enough. I'm better in English. I didn't have any specialized class so I didn't take any subjects in foreign language, unfortunately, because I think that would have improved my language skills. When I went to the USA, I met some foreign speakers of American English. It was a short time when I could communicate with them. And although when my family friends came to us, who couldn't speak Hungarian only Romanian, but since I can't speak Romanian, I always had to ask one of my parents or grandparents to help me interpret. I have never wondered that what does it mean to me to be a multilingual person, but I think it feels really good to know another languages this well and sometimes I sometimes, something come to my mind in English first not in Hungarian. Or sometimes I think in English and I think it's really great. It's really great that I can watch movies without, mostly without subtitles and I can understand it. It's good because I don't have to wait for the Hungarian subtitle which is away a few days, in a good case a few days but sometimes a few weeks later than the actual movie. I really like it when I, when I'm walking on the street and a foreigner comes to me and asks something in English and I can help them. It happened to me a lot in the few months and I could actually help them, which was good, I wasn't expecting something like this but it wasn't a problem for me to, to, to talk to them in English. Becoming a multilingual person was a long process for me because first I didn't even like English but then when I started to learn more, when I got to that teacher I mentioned, I had to learn because she was really strict and those who didn't learn were afraid of her because she, she was strict to them too, so this was my inspiration and I finally managed to learn more English and that was the, the main event of me becoming a multilingual person, because without this teacher I don't know where would I be. Maybe I wouldn't even like English. But luckily I became a good in it. After my English improved so well, I started to watch movies in English and I started to read books in English and soon after that I, I

sometimes thought that it would be better to say something in English, of course, I didn't do it, for example when I was talking with my grandma, but I was happy, because I knew I could express myself even in English that I could say anything, I think, in English. Since I started the university, my English improved even more because now I finally use it every day and I have to, I have to speak on the seminars, I have to sometimes deliver speech and it was really useful for me, because now I am not afraid to start to talk in English because I have more confidence, my pronunciation got better, so even though it's been only half year, one semester, it was a really big development for my language. Although I think I am really good at English, I know that I'm far from my goals because dream is to be an author and I would like to write in English and I would like my English to be much better because, okay, I have more confidence now but I should be more better in grammar. I think studying here in this school will really help me to follow my dream, to reach my goals, to be an author and to even be as fluent as in Hungarian.

STUDENT 26: JANET

1. So my first name is Janet and it is from my mother, my mother wanted to name me Janet because she has a cousin named Janet and she just really liked the name. The name itself came from the French, the name Hannah, I think I actually looked up long time ago.
2. When we talk to each other, we don't use any other language but Hungarian, but both of my parents and my stepfather who speaks other languages. My mother and my father speaks German and my stepfather speaks Italian. They, my mother worked in Germany for a year and Austria for a year too, I think, so she had to learn it, but she, her grammar is not really good and she doesn't understand everything but I think she can talk to anybody in German not like a fluent, fluently but somehow. My father actually works, worked in Germany for 15 years now but he doesn't really speak it that much because he has to work with Hungarians. He is a butcher but like he has a basis, basic knowledge, because she, he has to go to the shop and buy food or something, but my stepfather, I think, he speaks Italian fluently because he, he worked in Italy too. But I don't really know how long or at what level he speaks it. But none my family speaks English.
3. I started learning English when I was 6 when I started primary school, so I have been learning it for 13 years now. And primary school in 5th grade that's when I got into specialized class when we had more classes like twice as much I think like the others but in high school I didn't have that. Our high school didn't offer the opportunity hogy to have specialized classes. Actually, I was the only one who did advanced level final exams when I leaves school. And they were pretty surprised but in the last year in high school we had an exchange student, he is from Thailand but he, he only speaked in English and Hungarian because he came here to learn Hungarian. I don't think it was his first choice. He doesn't want, he didn't want to travel here but Germany maybe but he was a really good like for he was with us for like a year, not a whole year but he was really good but he didn't, há well he tried to teach us sometimes some Thai but it is really hard.
4. What does it mean to be a multilingual person? Well, (pause) I think opportunity for something more like a jobs or anything else, travel and all the stuff, mostly in for English like, I think pretty much anywhere they can, not anywhere, but they can understand you.
5. In what ways I am multilingual. Well, I don't really know. I can, I start watch prefer English or Hungarian if I want to watch stuff with stuff, listen to something. That, that way maybe.
6. Multicultural, well, I don't think I am multicultural. I like the language and I don't have a problem with their culture or any other culture but I don't think I am multicultural.
7. Stages, well, I, I remember that I like I, I studied English for long but I remember it that for like two years maybe, two years ago was the point when I was like yes I know English. Before that I was like yes... in school and I can talk but I didn't understand everything or I had problems with grammar.
8. And I realized it when I was watching like YouTube videos and they were all speaking English and I remember that I, I understand it more and more and more. When they are just watch it all, and I and there wasn't one word that I didn't understand, but I think steps are like when I started to watch series, movies, YouTube videos, anything like that. That's a

huge step. You have to practice but that's help, helps a lot, I think. That was the most helpful thing I did to learn English.

9. And I noticed that when I watch movies without subtitles of series or something, I was like oh my God, that is so bad, like the translation is so bad and I noticed that I want to change it and and that I understand better than the one who did the translation and I were proud of that maybe.
- 10-11-12-13. I think the most important things in becoming multilingual to actually care about that language to want to look things vagy see things in English or movies or reading in English because sometimes you can translate an English book to Hungarian and be the same. It's the same with movies, like mostly comedy movies when they have like these word jokes, so how do I say and when they translate it to Hungarian, it's just bad, it's not the same thing, so if some, something is translated to Hungarian, it's, it's a whole different thing, not the original. And most of the time the original is better.
14. I would like to get in English to speak it like fluently and don't have problem with that, I don't know what I want to do with English. I came here thinking that I wanted to be a translator. I still think it would fun but I have other interests. English can help in them because I don't think in Hungary you can find really good jobs now but I don't know, if I want to use English as my job or just helping me getting my job. But I would like to reach high level. (Long pause.) I'm happy now for now with my English with my understanding of English, but of course I want more, I want to know more and I want to be better.

STUDENT 27: ERIN

1. I'm Erin and I would like to answer these questions below. My first name comes from my mother's name because my mother's name is Erin too and Erin means to be treasured. My surname means to be, my surname meaning coming from town X. X is a small township in Bihar County in Romania.
2. I'm afraid that my family doesn't use languages besides Hungarian but I have American relatives in Florida and when they come, come home, we have a talk with each other in American English. And uh my relatives are Hungarian people, just took out American papers.
3. My mother learnt Russian in primary school and this knowledge, this language knowledge is just at a conversational level but for that day forgot speaking Russian.
4. Uh, I have a medium language, medium-level language exam in English. Or other I would like to have advanced level, medium, advanced-level language exam in English too. I learnt German in secondary grammar school, but this language learning was just an experimental learning. As for three years so I could speak at just conversational level.
5. Uh, I started learning English in primary school when I was in my first year.
6. I answered this question at the previous point but my secondary school was a dual-language school and we learnt in a higher number a week than usual English and our class specialized in a foreign language.
7. In my opinion, I haven't any native speaker of any foreign language.
8. Uh, I speak two languages in my everyday life and I have a talk with foreigners on Facebook. One example of this is that our family made a trip and on this trip there were people from uh there were French and we could speak just in English with each other. Being a multilingual it means to me that (long pause) that (long pause) I would like to be a multilingual person who speaks not only one or two language just two or more languages, yes I would like to be a multilingual person who speaks minimum three languages perfectly. Uh, I think multilingualism is, is average social phenomena cultural, phenomenon because of culturally openness. Because of culturally openness between the countries and this phenomenon is similar to hybridity that international, the frequency of international contact has, have led to phenomenon, to hybridity, the mixture and the mixture of cultures so called mesztic of culture and the identities are much more permeable.
9. That I'm, I use English not just within the university but beyond the university. I have some correspondence with relatives in English with foreigners in English.
10. I think the whole world is now multicultural because the borders dimmed and traditions, cultures mixed. Uh, I eat the same (very long pause), meals, foods, I eat the same meal and food that people eat all over the world or I wear the same clothes that people wear all over the world. I think it is multilingualism and multiculturalism uh is connected with, is in connected with globalization, with the rapid social changes in the economy, and the communications, for example, we think of globalization in two senses: as a process and as an outcome. The outcome of globalization is that we live in a world crisscrossed by global processes where individuals have lost their significance and there is interdependency

culturally, so we are multicultural human beings, I think, because we know the traditions of the whole world and of we know the all cultures of the of all country, so I think it's a useful phenomenon.

11. Uh, when I realized I (pause) when I realized that (pause) I understand the English songs, uh, and in the secondary grammar school my uh (pause), so in the secondary grammar school the teachers forced English upon me, so every beginning is hard but this beginning was really hard for me. There were three teachers uh for us uh, either of them uh improved our verbal skills, we had a talk with each other in the lessons. Second teacher learnt us English literature and English history and the third one taught us how to repeat texts in English by heart. So (long pause) when I realized that I can express myself to the others, it was really suggestive for me.
12. Yes, when I realized that I can be humorous in other languages, not just in Hungarian, it, I gathered momentum and I was so proud of myself and I was aware of my skills so, I gathered momentum, it was so suggestive for me.
13. That is the last question. I would like to possess a advanced level language exam in English, that is my main dream at university. And I would like to understand every single people who speak me in English. It would be uh real dream for me, so I uh loved these questions and I thank you for this opportunity because I gathered momentum from these questions. I am very happy to about these questions. Thank you. Goodbye.

STUDENT 28: SAM

1. My name is Sam and here is my recording. My first name come from, uh the story is a little bit complicated because I have got older brother, his name is Ron and he thought his first name is little, little easy or simply and he want change in her childhood, his childhood. Uh and my parents said if they have got a new child who is me, they will get a special name, here is my name come from. And X is, I think, a German name, surname and my grandmother and my great grandmother is, was German, half German and Sam also a German name. There was an actor who is name was Sam X and mother think now also it is a kind name and I really liked this name because it very special. But I have got some occasion when nobody uh understand this name and everybody think it a nickname and a lot of people ask, okay, your name is Sam and what is your full name? And I said my full name is Sam and they don't understand it.
2. My parents and my brother lived in the Netherlands for 3 years and my brother was only 3 years old when they moved to the Netherlands, so he spoke uh Dutch like his mother tongue and mother and my father also speak well Dutch. But it was in the 1990, so they forget a lot but and phrases in Dutch but they want to learn them again because they loved the country and the language.
3. Uh well, my parents speak Dutch and my father speak little bit English but he use German usually because he is boss in German and they, they can speak only in German, so I think he speak well German.
4. Uh, I speak English and I also speak German and then I think I speak these language in the advanced level, but I want to develop uh for higher level.
5. I start learning English in the nursery school, I was 3 years old when I started, but speak only simple words. Uh, for example animals' names, numbers and letters. And I start uh learn German in the primary school when I was 9 years old.
6. – 7. I learnt English for 15 years uh and I learnt German uh 10 years. Uh, I uh had got a higher number week lesson uh in the primary school and in the secondary school in English. I had got five lessons and I think it was good because uh I, I learnt a lot there, there, I have a native speaker uh (pause) teacher in the university, he, he teach us British history but if I know well, he, he lives here in Hungary, but I really like uh his accent, because it's very good.
8. Uh, I think this means that you, you speak uh foreign languages, not in like your mother tongue, but you speak it. I think this, this mean multilingual.
9. Uh, I think I'm multilingual because I speak English and German not in like my mother but I could, I can understand everything and I can answer if somebody ask me.
10. Uh, well, in the beginning when I start learning languages, I saw films with Hungarian subtitles and after that I, I used only uh English subtitle and now I have, don't need the, any subtitles, I can understand when, when the actress and the actresses speak and I don't a need subtitle.
- 11-12. Well, when, when somebody uh came to me in the street and asked uh (pause) a question to where, where is she or he find this, a building or anything, I couldn't answer it because

I'm afraid they, they couldn't understand me, but now I, I, I think my, my knowledge is developed and I can answer it, so I think it's developed. And I sometimes I realize that I speak English to my parents and they, they, they tell me, hey stop it, we can't understand it, use Hungarian because it's your mother tongue.

13. Uh (pause) well, I think I learnt a lot to develop my, my knowledge. I, I used to go private English teacher who helped me a lot to develop my knowledge and I, I've wrote a lot letter and essay to, to develop because uh I thought that it was very poor uh and now I think that my listening is, is, is bad, so I now, I listen a lot uh inter, English interview to develop it.
14. Uh, I, I hope that uh to this university I, I can develop, my, my English knowledge and I and I don't want an advanced level exam, I want a higher one but now I will try the advanced level exam uh in the summer and I after that I don't know uh, maybe after the university I want to go abroad, to London or in the USA because I think I, I won't find a good job in Hungary. Uh, I think Hungary haven't got a future, so I think I, I should uh develop it because, because well and want to move to the USA. I hope I will do it after the university.

STUDENT 29: JENNIFER

1. Hi! My name is Jennifer. The first question:.. My first name Jennifer was heard by my dad in American movies and he thought it's a very special and rare name and his little special girl should have a name like this. It's an English name and it means the fair one. My middle name, Cindy was my dad's choice too. He thought it's elegant and he liked it because of Cindy Crawford who was a top model in the 1990s.. My surname X is a Hungarian name and it based on the social status, it meant that they were free farmer and not villain.
2. Uh, we don't use any other language beside Hungarian in my family.
3. My mom speaks German but just a little bit, she learnt it in the high school. My dad learnt Russian in the primary school, I guess, but I can't say that he speaks it. I think he speaks better in Italian because of job, he is a truck driver, so he often go to Italy where he has to communicate a little bit.
4. I speak English and French. In English I think I speak at medium level and in French maybe at the bottom of medium level.
5. At what age did you start learning these languages? I started to learn English when I was 9 years old and I was 14 years when I started to learn French.
6. I learnt English in the primary school for 6 years and in the high school for 4 years. None of them were kind of special school. In the primary I had three class per week and in the high school I had 5 class per week and of course now, I learn it every day. I learnt French in the high school for 4 years too. And I had three class per week. Unfortunately, it wasn't too much I would like to continue it but now I don't have time for this. I hope that in September I will find a good teacher here in Pécs and I can continue to learn French because I really like this language and I was pretty good in it.
7. Unfortunately, I never had a native speaker of any foreign language.
8. To be a multilingual person means to speak minimum one language beside your mother tongue. If you speak more language, it's a huge opportunity, for example you can easier get a job, travel abroad, make friends in other countries or know other cultures.
9. I think I am multilingual person because in the everyday life with my family and most of my friends I speak in Hungarian but in the school I speak in English but not just for one hour. I also have some friends who lives in abroad, in France, in Bulgaria, in Romania and if I want to communicate with them, I have to speak English or maybe French, but as I said before I'm not as good as I want to be in it. So because I can communicate in three languages, I'm a trilingual person.
10. Well, I can't decide that I'm multicultural person or not. I'm interested in different culture, for example in 2013 I was in France and I got to know a lot about French culture. It was very interesting, especially they eat the chocolate with bread.
11. When I've started to learn English, I was very proud of myself, I just knew about 50 words in English such as dog, cat, table, flower, book etcetera. I could introduce but spoke better in English than anybody else in my family. I guess it was the first step. And the even in the English class in the primary school, I was the best student. Then in the high school I

also was one of the best pupils. And in 2013 when I was in France with the exchange student program, I can communicate with foreign students. Maybe these were the second step. Uh, I might be on the third step now, I got into here, English Studies and stay in yet.

12. Well, I'm afraid I, I've told everything about it in my previous answer. Maybe when I was in Brussels, London and Paris in 2012 and we went to do shopping and we could communicate with the shop assistant or when we went to the Starbucks, we could tell what we would like to, and we didn't have to display it. It was a very good feeling and it was the first time when I had to speak with a native speaker.
13. About two years ago one of my friends said me that I should thinking in English. At the first time it was really hard for me, I mean, first, I was, was thinking about something or about everything in Hungarian, then I was trying to draw within English, then as the time passed, sometimes I've started to thinking in English. And for now usually I'm thinking in English.
14. First of all, I would like to speak like a native speaker and shouldn't be as shy as now if I had to speak. That's all. Thank you for your attention.

STUDENT 30: SHANE

1. Okay, let's do this. Well, my first name is Shane. And my surname, X is, well, it's a sort of German origin name, but I haven't found anything on what it means. There's like one guy with Romanian origin living in America called X. And yeah that's it. Every X on Facebook is pretty much my relative and they don't know it either.
2. Well, since we are Swabian, that's sort of a German origin. My grandparents speak German when relatives from Germany visit them, but we here in Hungary only speak Hungarian, so yeah.
3. My father speaks Hungarian obviously. Besides that, he speaks German a little bit and English at a very basic sort of way. My mother, she speaks English at a basic level and Hungarian, of course.
4. I speak Hungarian again, obviously and English. I speak English at C complex level. I completed it two years ago at 92%. I guess it's good, not quite on a Hungarian level, but getting up there, getting up there.
5. I started studying English in fourth grade, I think, but I had pretty weak, a pretty weak English teacher who also happened to carry on teaching us up until basically graduation from elementary and at that point I learnt most of the English I had from the Internet up to that point.
6. As I've said before, I started studying English in fourth grade and I've been studying it ever since and of course material outside of school like movies, the Internet and books also helped. But we didn't really study it intensively or anything, we had regular amount of classes.
7. No, I haven't, I've had a total of 3 English teachers until high school graduation and of course I had various English teachers here at the university which I haven't even counted yet. And neither was of different origin, they were all Hungarian and they were awesome, well, except for the elementary teacher, she was pretty bad.
8. Well, being multilingual pretty much only means that you speak at least one or preferably more languages outside of your mother tongue. And being multilingual also means to me that I live with said languages and use them in everyday life in everyday themes, which I do.
9. Well, obviously, I use English at the university, I speak to foreign people a lot through the Internet and I read stuff up also when watch movies and stuff like that. Of course, your options to express your multilingual self are pretty limited when you live in the country that you were born into but hopefully in the future I will get the opportunity to go abroad and practice English in everyday life a bit more than I had up until now.
10. I'm pretty multi-culti in every sense of the word. I admire Japanese culture and also British English culture. I listen to and watch and read and well basically I consume a lot of multicultural stuff, but of course again, being multicultural is relatively hard and restricted to passive or, or solo activities when you are living in your own country like Hungarians in Hungary etcetera, so everything that is multiculturally related is pretty much on the

Internet. Like that's where you can share and perceive other people's works from all around the globe.

11. Well, there was elementary where I didn't really learn English that much but towards the end thanks to the Internet and video games mainly I had a pretty nice basic knowledge of English, which later on helped to progress that during high school because I had a very awesome teacher there and she got me to the level of English where I am pretty much, while of course I still used the Internet a whole lot to practice and improve and, and, and improve on my vocabulary, which doesn't really show right now. I'm pretty tired and I have a lot of studying to do for history. So yeah, so elementary school of course was a big stage where I learnt the basics, then high school where I got up all the way to the second highest other than speaking it on a native level English and now at the university I hope that I can achieve close to native-speaking quality of English.
12. I was pretty confident in my English by the time I went to high school. Then it turned out that I wasn't that wrong, that much wrong but I was very far off, still. And I had some outstanding moments but nothing major that I can recall specifically, I mean during the high school years I noticed that I'm capable of chatting with foreigners on pretty high level, even argue. And of course, I completed B and C level English tests and (pause) and got my final exam at a very good percentage as well, somewhere in the 90, say, I don't even remember anymore. Not really important. So yeah I guess, you can say that, that, that all my success and big moments came on high school about multilingualism.
13. Well, I think I've talked about that already in question 11. But yeah let's revise that. Elementary was the first big step because it got me the basics, it shows me that I have a good sense for, a good affinity for studying languages, or at least English. I haven't yet tried any other languages, although, I would like in the future. and then high school where I got the perfect teacher who squeezed the potential and got me where I am, and now we are at the university where I only begin to notice my knowledge and developments of English during lessons where I usually manage to comment on everything, and of course, I don't, I haven't yet mentioned it, because I thought it was obvious that I understand pretty much everything unless it's spoken, spoken very weird accent. I would be very glad if I was able to express myself on the level of English that I'm able to understand when others speak it.
14. Well, I would like English first to, of course, land me a degree, a bachelor degree, which of course I will get by default because I am at the teacher's training program which will instantaneously, magically get me a masters by the end of it. But I would be just fine with a bachelors, because that's pretty much all you need to get around in Europe. Masters is an obscure thing that only really required when you are advancing in the ranks of whatever job or profession you have chosen. Uh so yeah, I would like English to land me degree and a job and possibly get me abroad, or live abroad, get a nice little job, stuff like that. Uh Well, I'd like to be a native speaker, of course, of course not literally but on the level of a native speaker and not much else, like I get the degree, I go abroad maybe, maybe not, maybe I get stuck here in Hungary teaching English to kids in which case I would be satisfied if I managed to get at least like let's say, what would be a good ratio, one tenth of my students on the level that my teacher managed to get me and a handful of other students. That, that would be great, because as I see things, Hungary is pretty under-developed in the foreign languages department. Hungarian students don't really like English or, or German or anything for that matter, any languages. Hell, we don't even really like, to study Hungarian grammar. Some don't even like literature, which I do but yeah I can see why

grammar of any native or foreign language isn't very appealing to students. Yeah, I want a bit of, of uh and as I see, time is up as well, so that was it. It's pretty weird talking by myself. Uh, I hope it's satisfactory and now I go and study for the exam I have tomorrow. Goodbye, I guess. Bye-bye.

STUDENT 31: DONNA

1. Hello, my name is Donna X. When my mother was pregnant with me, she noticed this name in a calendar and she fell in love with it immediately, so that's why I got this name. And when my family name was originally not X but Y but one of my relatives changed it to X about 80 years ago, I suppose.
2. Well, in my family we basically use Hungarian, of course, but I sometimes speak in English to my younger sisters but only when they need some practice to their lessons. And when my sister lives in London and she has a boyfriend and when we talk to them through Skype, we use English so that her boyfriend could understand us. Uh my parents speak uh just basic English and I think maybe some words in Russian.
- 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7. Uh well, I speak English in an advanced level and I also speak Italian at an intermediate level and I have some basic knowledge of German too. I started learning first English when I was 12, and then in my high school I started Italian, I was 16 back then. At BGF University I studied German for two years from 20 to 22 years. And well, I have been studying English for eleven years. I started it when I was 12. I had a private teacher and then I studied it also in elementary school and ever since I have been studying English. Well, then when I was 16 I attended high school and then I started learning Italian, I learnt it for 4 years, I guess. And then I attended university and there for 2 years I was studying German but it was mostly business language because I studied Business Management in foreign languages and I had high numbers of German classes. And in my high school when I was studying English, I had a native speaker teacher, his name was John, and I think he was British. He was teaching us for 6 months once a week. We learnt some British expression and some pronunciation stuffs. And we mostly played games. And it was really great to have the chance to hear a native speaker speaking English and to speak to a native speaker. Yeah, well it was really great and it was really motivating.
8. To be multilingual, well, it means for me that someone can communicate in foreign languages, also speak it and also understand foreigners.
9. Well, I think I'm multilingual because I can talk to English speaking people and also I can communicate in Italian and I can deal with German correspondence too.
10. And well, I think I am multicultural too because I have so many friends from abroad. For example I have a friend from Paraguay and he tells me a lot about his culture. And when he was here in Hungary I could experience some of the features of his cultures. And I have another friend from Venezuela and it's the same with him. And well, one of my sisters lives in London and it has some influence on me too.
11. Uh, well, the process of becoming multilingual. So I think the first step was when I was 12 because before that I couldn't speak any foreign languages only Hungarian and back then I started learning English and I think that was my first step. And the second stage I think when I got a teacher who spoke only in English and she didn't use any Hungarian words, just English and after that I took my language exam also in Italian and also in English at the

end of my high school studies. The final step was, I think, my final exam at university where I had to take my exam also in English and also in German language. And well, it was quite hard but I could manage it pretty well.

12. Well, a situation. For example about two years ago when I went into a photo developing salon, there was a German lady who wanted to develop some of her photos, but the employees couldn't speak German or English and I helped her to express herself and she talked to me also in German, also in English and I could translate it both languages to the employees. And I felt pretty good and I was pretty proud that I could help. And I think that it's worth learning and speaking several languages because it makes people able to help many others in the everyday lives.
13. My development as a multilingual person. Well, maybe I could talk about when two years ago I think I was teaching English to a girl, I think, she was 12 years old and she lagged behind in her class and I gave her, I think, 6 or 10 lessons and after that she became one of the best in her class and it was really good to see how she improved because of me and the other big step was when I had to order full caps from one Norwegian company and it was really good to see that I can manage these kinds of situations in real life too.
14. Well, in English I would like to be as confident in my English as I am in my Hungarian and I would like to be able to understand all kind of different languages, accents. Uh and I would like to have a strong, reliable knowledge and practice to become a great teacher one day and I would like to make the kids understand that speaking in English or speaking in any foreign languages feels great and it widens the world and it widens the opportunities also. So I think that's it. Thank you.

STUDENT 32: BRANDON

1. My name is Brandon Smith. I live in Pécs. I'm 20 years old. My first name is, I think, in Irish origin. Uh but I'm not quite sure. And also middle name is Josh which is also an Irish origin name. I don't have any Irish relatives nor did my ancestors, so it's kind of just a coincidence. I got the Josh name from my father whose first name is Josh. And I got my first name Brandon as just my parents just liked that name. As for Smith, it's a pretty common Hungarian surname, it basically means kovács.
2. Uh I was born in the USA, so we use English quite often in my family. We also use Hungarian though, considering that my, both of my parents are Hungarian, only I was born there. I mainly speak English with my dad and Hungarian with my mom. Also, sometimes I speak English with my brother too.
3. And as because my parents lived in the States, for, for a pretty long time, I think about 15-20 years, my dad even more, they speak a pretty high level English, so do I and my brother. We lived there for a long time, actually, my brother still lives there. I don't think they know any other language besides Hungarian and English but they speak those at a high level, very fluently and understandably.
4. I speak English and Hungarian at a C1 level. I also learnt Spanish in high school for about 4 years. Uh I didn't put too much energy into studying that language, although, it was or is one of my favorite foreign languages that I can speak. So I'm a bit bombed? That I didn't put enough energy into learning that. I would say that I'm a bit under a B1 level, maybe a B1. I speak these three languages.
5. As I said I was born in the USA. I've known English and Hungarian since I've known myself, basically, I can't really remember a time when I didn't speak either one of these languages. I've been speaking or not speaking or I just started learning Spanish when I was 15, 14, 5 or 6 years ago.
6. I learnt a language: Spanish for 4 years, basically only in high school. And here at university, unfortunately, I can't really study Spanish any more so I kind of left that thing. Uh, I wouldn't consider learning, consider saying that I learnt English and Hungarian. Both kind of are kind of my mother tongues, so I can't really define a time or a how long I've learnt those languages, because I kind of were, was born into knowing these.
7. Well, I did know a lot of native speakers. I also kind of am one. I've spoken to a lot of Americans, I've met a Canadian girl once. I haven't really spoken to English or British people. Somehow I've never went to Great Britain before and somehow I never had the chance to meet any of them.
8. – 9. Being multilingual person. Well, I guess it means that you can speak more than one language at basically all, at such a level that you don't really have to think about what you have to say, you can also think in that language, so you don't really have to think through what you wanna say, you kind of can, are able to just come out and say any language that you know. It also has a lot of advantages, especially English if you know English, you can practically talk to anyone in the world. Well, if they can speak English also, but it's pretty common. So I think if someone learns English, then if they put them out at any point on the Earth, then they'll be able to understand people. I'm multilingual because I have two

mother tongues, I guess. I can't really tell the difference which one I speak more, or which one I would consider my first language, they're kind of both my first and I can't remember any point in time when I wasn't able to speak either one of them. So it's kind of interesting thinking back how I grew up and I knew both languages.

10. Multicultural. Well, I lived in the USA for 10 years, I've been living here in Hungary for 10 years now. So it's exactly the half time of my life that I spent in the US and I spent here. I still kind of feel as the USA is partially my home, it's kind of in my blood, I guess the American culture and everything, if I see the American flag and hear the national anthem or anything that kind of reminds me of America, then it kind of has a good feeling in me, feeling of home. Also, I consider Hungary my home too. I've spent most of my life here that I know of. When I had my real thinking mind, I wasn't too little, when I can remember things. It feels like I've been living here more, although it's 10-10 years. I've also picking up a lot of Hungarian cultural things too, so I couldn't really say that either one of them is my home, I consider them both, both of them my home. And I kind of got used to both cultures. As I said I have no idea how I became a multilingual person because as far back as I can remember being a child I knew both of them. As for Spanish, well, I didn't really learn Spanish so I wouldn't say that I can't speak Spanish. The process of that was basically just going to class, studying little bit, looking over the words for tests and just trying to survive, I didn't really wanna do anything with Spanish, so I didn't really put so much energy into it.
- 11 – 12 – 13. I don't think I'm growing, I think I'm growing back. I don't speak English so much as I used to. It kind of feel like I'm forgetting a lot of words, especially words with sometimes I even mix up a little grammar, not the basic ones, but if it gets like a, some really hard sentence, for example these old books, I can't really read in English, only I really concentrate, because that's kind of weird for me. I was only 9 years old when I lived in the USA, so that's how I came back. I haven't really speaking too much English since then. I haven't really had the opportunity to improve my English. My English teacher because it's kind of just what they use on the street, which you need to basically survive, I guess life, not this academic English that they really want to hear here in Hungary. I've forgotten a lot of words, I realize that I think a lot about what I want to say before I say it and it's kind of irritating, I guess that you know what you wanna say, just can't remember what that word is, it's kind of a weird, weird situation. I couldn't really describe that.
14. You know what I'd like to get or reach in English. It's a good question, I've never thought about it. Uh I know that I'm really lazy. I'll probably never study for a word test in my life. Well, I'm always optimistic, I don't like reading right now. I always have a feeling that maybe if I get more mature, I get older I start reading books and stuff. So maybe that's how I can improve my English a little bit, have a broad, more broad vocabulary than I have now. Well, I don't think I'd like to reach anything in English. I just wanna become a teacher and help others learn this languages, I mean if, I guess if I was born lucky enough to speak it from the start I should use it and try to get it on to others. Well, I guess that's it. Thank you.

STUDENT 33: BELINDA

1. My surname is Smith. It refers to the origin. Probably my ancestors were Slovaks. Uh, the Hungarians call them with this denomination.
2. Uh, generally, in every family the members use their own mother tongue, for this reason, just Hungarian is used in my family. There are some exceptions when the family members communicate with each other in other languages. In these families usually the mother and the father don't speak the same language and in these cases the children usually be able to speak both languages.
3. Actually, my parents not really speak foreign languages, but my mother can speak German at elementary level; however, my father can't speak any foreign language. In spite of this he can communicate with every foreign people, because he's able to understand himself with others and he is able to understand others too. In my opinion, this ability worth that than speak a lot of languages.
4. Uh, well, I speak English at intermediate level and I also speak German at elementary level but I'd like to take an intermediate level language exam in German too, because I think it will be really useful in Hungarian. However, in the future I'd like to learn Spanish because it's one of my dreams, namely I love Spanish culture, people, language and football too. Because I am a really big football fan. And my favorite football team is Real Madrid which is a Spanish team.
5. I have been learning English since I was ten and started learning German when I was fifteen.
6. I've been learning English for 9 nine years and German for 4 years. Uh in the secondary school my class specialized, was specialized in English, so we learnt the language more intensively. And the first year we had, we had 14 English lessons in a week.
7. Yes, I have. I know Egyptian boys, they were, they have been being in the secondary school where I was attended for 6 weeks. They were in the Isaac Program and while they were in our country and our town, they make us introduce to their culture, their language. And they also taught us an Egyptian dance. I really liked them because they gave us interesting lessons and we became good friends as well. And in our free time we often went out with them and we were almost in the same age like them, and that's why we could understand each other pretty well and that's why we can became really good friends and nowadays I communicate with them too.
8. There is a saying that you are worth as many persons as many languages you speak. Yeah, I think it's really true. So if you are a multilingual person, you are able to use many languages at minimum elementary level.
9. I think being multilingual has a lot of ways. In my opinion, the first and the easiest way is when in your family there is a foreign person and if you want to communicate with him or her, you have to learn his or her language. There is another way, when you move to another country, a foreign country and you have to learn that language if you want to communicate with others and if you want to understand others, so these are the most important ways, I think.

10. As I see, you are multicultural when you live in very many foreign country for a long time. Uh it's not the same like multilingual because you are able to be multicultural, you have to know many cultures and you have to take over it from foreign people.
11. Well, I must say that there were many stages in the process of becoming multilingual. In the elementary school I learnt the basic things such as basic vocabulary and basic grammar. After that in the secondary school I was attending in a specialized class where we have lot of English lessons and in these years I learnt more grammar and I learnt how to talk in English and I could improve my writing, reading and listening skills too with some tasks.
12. Uh, well, the first situation when I had to use English language was when I was attending elementary school. So in that ages my English wasn't really good, I was walking to home, when a foreign couple asked me to help them with showing the right way to the castle of Sümeg – because I live in Sümeg. I used my English and after that I was really proud of myself to help that uh to help that persons and it was, it was a really fantastic and good feeling.
13. When I was a high school student, I had more and more opportunities to use English language. Uh day by day I met with foreign people and on the Internet or on the streets. Firstly, I was very shy to use English but I became braver and braver to communicate with others in English. And I watched films in English with Hungarian subtitles and I think it helped a lot in my own development.
14. Uh well, my dream is to became, to become an English and history teacher. I'd like to teach English in a high school - maybe. It will be the best job to me, I think, because I really like children and I'm really like to help people. Maybe I'd like to live in a foreign country such as England or the USA. England because that's my favorite country and Spanish too and Spain too. I have a lot of plans with English languages and I hope I can achieve them.

STUDENT 34: JOEY

1. Hello everyone, It's Joey here. Uh please forgive me for being late with this task. I actually I didn't notice there was a deadline for this. Yeah, I'll just make it work. I don't know if this recording is clear. But I'll just try to make it work as you know smooth and as you know clear as possible. So let us just begin. I have no, absolutely no idea where my first name comes from. Uh in fact, I do know where my surname comes from. It comes from the German name TANGL which is spelt T-A-N-G-L and this name was worn by my grandparents who once lived in Germany. And right after the Second World War, they moved back to Hungary and yeah this German name was translated then from German to Hungarian to its present form, X. So yeah that's all about my name.
2. – 3. Consequently, since we do have German, you know half-German people in my family, German is used quite often. I also do have lots of relatives in Germany, so yeah, German is like my second language, you know, besides Hungarian, so it's used quite frequently in my family. Uh every single you know member of my family speaks it quite well not because we were forced to speak it, but since we live right at the Austrian border, it's quite expected from us to speak German like an intermediate level. Uh it's quite obvious that since we do live on the border, my, we are forced to speak it and also my parents do speak it, uh, my dad has worked abroad, in Austria for like 20 years now and so has my mom, so they use it every single day. Uh they're forced use it on a daily basis and it's also prerequisite if you want to work abroad and if you want to live next to the border, I guess, it's quite beneficial there, so there is not a single one advantage, disadvantage I could mention right now which should come with speaking German, even though it's hard to learn and it's quite a difficult language to master. It definitely is worth learning that.
4. As for me, I do speak English, German and a tiny bit of Norwegian. For some reason, I started learning it, you know. I have no idea why uh but yeah.
5. Much to my sadness, I just couldn't quite make it to the bilingual, dual-language, uh yeah bilingual class, you know, in my secondary school where I studied for 4 years. Instead, I attended and I was a student at a special class, for those who were interested in chemistry and biology. That's actually, you know the main reason and the main point where my interests and this you know kind of appetite, let me just say this for this two particular you know fields of science comes from.
6. So yeah I wasn't taught any language quite intensively. In fact, I was taught Germany you know in primary school but that was a long time ago. Secondary no, none of the languages was taught intensively, we had like 3, yeah 3 English lessons a week uh also 2 German lessons a week. I actually attended private classes by friend of my mom. She was an extremely great teacher, yeah, she really helped me, you know become a fluent English speaker, she gave me the motivation and yeah, she was just quite brilliant figure, you know a really, really important role model in my life.

7. Uh much to my sadness, I have never in my life up to this very point had a native speaker, you know, I mean, a teacher of any native region. So yeah.
8. It feels quite good, honestly, to speak foreign languages, it means that you are just all rounded, it adds spice to your life you know speaking these languages. Also, there is only advantage to speaking those and you can only benefit from learning languages. Also, since English is spoken all around the world. All we have to do is to learn a tiny bit of it and then you know everything will you know will come with time. Since we are almost in the heart of the European Union, we are also expected to speak either German or French, you know, both official languages of the European Union. They're extremely useful also, if you speak one of these languages, you almost have a guaranteed place, you know, at a great company that offers you a relatively better salary than companies in Hungary. So it's, you know, learning languages equals full of opportunities. Once you speak a language, you know, countless opportunities present themselves and it is a brilliant, you know, chance if you know getting better and more colorful as a person, yeah that means multilingualism to me. Uh and yep, that's you know, those were the ways I am multilingual as well. I speak German, English and Norwegian and yeah I can make myself understood in almost every single country in the EU and in the world, I guess as well.
10. I yes, I won't probably be able to answer this question of yours, because I don't even know what multicultural means in this context, in this case. So yeah, I'd rather that we skip this question now and return to it you know during the seminar once you've recovered from your illness.
- 11 – 12. Uh, I do remember in the process of becoming a multilingual person when I first met, you know, the greatest friends of, greatest friend of my dad called Sebastian. He lives right at the Austrian border but in Austria not in Hungary and uh my father and this guy have been friends for like forever. And Sebastian visits me like three times a month. He is an extremely humble guy. He really is a brilliant person, you know, blessed with an amazing sense of humor and he is like you know a member of my family. And that was you know the very first step I made when I started learning German that I talked to her, even though I was only 6 or 7 years old. So yeah, interesting one but I definitely do remember that it was the very first, it was the very spark, you know, my career of learning languages which began 10, 10 years ago, 11 years ago, yeah 11 years ago. So I definitely do remember the moment when I first talked to that guy. And yeah uh also the one of these you know important events also include passing language exams. During my very first grade in secondary school I managed to pass an intermediate level German language exam, next year followed by an intermediate English language exam, which was later on followed by an advanced level language exam. So yeah I'm proud of these moments. And these moments actually reflected it definitely is worth learning languages once you have the time and of course you have the time.
13. The 13th question is quite good. Learning languages certainly has had an impact on my personality as well. And every single year, I mean year by year as I keep learning languages

and I keep you know trying to make these tiny you know mistakes and details smother and as I keep trying to become you know a perfect you know speaker who masters these two languages completely. I feel that I've become lot more fluent, my vocabulary has really bolstered and yep, I, I can't really think of any other ways I've grown or any other areas I've grown over the years. Maybe my communication skills yeah, I'd mentioned those ones, you know my communication skills. Uh thanks to listening to English video and such, we once we travel to England every single summer and visit a friend of my mom, I tend to become significantly more easy-going than here and uh I can actually carry out extremely great at conversations with people you know from any English nation from, you know, people who speak English as an, have English as a mother tongues. For some reasons, you know, it's an interesting phenomenon I know but yeah. But for some reason it always works for me that I can, I can speak with English people you know easier at some points than with German and Hungarian people.

14. So yeah, I'd really love to master English. I'd really love to speak it without mistakes, even though I know it's impossible, almost impossible, everyone makes mistakes, we know that. But yeah this would be a great goal of mine. You know to be able to speak English like a native speaker does and to be able to teach my language/culture in English abroad. Yeah uh, hopefully I've answered the questions. And should you have any, or should have more questions, feel free to ask. Thank you.

STUDENT 35: KAILEE

1. Actually, my name Kailee is come from Latin and my parents' first idea wasn't to give this name to me. First, they wanted to call me Lily. But my mother thought it's hard to pronounce this kind of name with my family name, so she said she was happy when she found my name and actually that's the story how I become Kailee. So she liked it and ...
2. – 3. – 4. – 5. – 6. – 7. Uh actually, my parents learnt German and Russian in I don't know in primary school maybe or secondary school but they don't really use it and I don't think they remember much of it. Uh so as me and my sister are able understand English, we often use it as a practice and it's fun because our parents are not really able to understand us. So only she and me use language, this language, I mean English. I think that's all, so we don't use any other language. As I said my mother learnt German and later Russian too if I remember well. And my father learnt German too but I don't think so, I also said that I don't think that they remember too much but maybe if they would practice, if they practiced, they would remember it, I think.
- 8.- 9. -10. Becoming multilingual – to be honest, I didn't deal with any other languages besides English until I finished primary school, even if I knew that languages are the things that I'm the most interested in. I won several competitions in English during primary school. And it gave me uh uh uh confidence uh because later on I wasn't nervous when I needed to use my language skills and speaking skills, especially for example uh during my language exam. Uh but Russian is another field because uh even if I've been good at it and I like it, I found it difficult to learn at first despite I was one of the best of my group. Maybe when I started to learn it more carefully, I realized I'm multilingual, which means a lot me because I know I should continue to learn Russian as knowing this and English would provide me great opportunities in the future, and I mentioned, because these languages are, can be regarded as as global languages and really lots of people are able to understand it, so I would like to continue learning it.
11. – 12. – 13. I must confess I rarely, rarely think about this kind of things. Of course there are moments I like remembering for example, when my teacher praised me. Uh I remember uh once uh one of my teachers said that I would be a good teacher and and encouraged me to be and I don't really know. They, they often praised me and it's, uh these things are really great memories and moments for me. But I can also mention that I realized the development during the high school because this was the period when I when I learnt the most important things, a lots of words, new grammars, grammar things that I, I haven't known before and, and these things are uh are useful to know uh so these were kind of more difficult things and I really enjoyed learning the so, so it provided my development, I think.
14. Basically, I don't really know what I would like to do in the future. Uh, (pause) I know that that I'm good at languages, so these are the things that I'm interested in as I mentioned before. I don't really want to be a teacher but my plans are to learn 3 or 4 maybe more other languages besides English and Russian and I would like to travel the world and uh uh explore cultures and maybe uh maybe uh I would like to be uh uh an interpreter. This is the thing that I, I, I'm interested in now.

STUDENT 36: RUTH

1. My first name is Smith which is a Hungarian name, probably refers to a worker with iron or miner of iron, but I'm not sure. I asked my parents but they had no idea.
2. – 3. My family doesn't really use any other languages than Hungarian. But there are exceptions, of course, like my mother's sister who lives in England and her husband is British, so she uses English every day and my father's sister speaks four languages because of her job. These are English, German, Spanish and Italian. And my sister speaks English and a little Chinese. I think she is very good at it but for the past 2 years she didn't really practice it. My mother started learning English 2 years ago but she is not so good at it and my father doesn't speak any other languages, just Hungarian.
4. I speak a little German, I don't really know at what level because I haven't (pause) been using it for, well, 3 years at least. And I speak English probably, I don't know probably between intermediate and advanced level but I'm not sure.
5. – 6. – 7. I started learning German when I was 6 or 7 when I started elementary school and English when I was 15 when I went to high school. Uh, I well, as I started learning German in elementary school and I continued it in high school, I learnt it for 10 years probably because I made the school-leaving exam earlier because I didn't like my teacher and she didn't like me, so I didn't want to go to classes and I started English in high school which was a technical school, so I've been learning that for almost 6 years now. Uh, well, we didn't have native speaker teachers but as my mother's sister's husband is British, we speak with them in English and their children speak English as well, we try to, well they are trying to teach them Hungarian but they don't really want to speak that language. They understand it but they don't want to speak in Hungarian
8. – 9. I think a multilingual person speaks more languages at a very high level and they use it, well, basically everywhere in their everyday life and as part of their job as well. Well, I don't think I am a multilingual person yet, I speak it quite often because of the school and sometimes we, we talk to international students. We have some friends actually, because in the previous semester we had to make an interview with an international student and still keep in touch. So I think (pause) those are my multilingual activities or something like that.
10. And I don't really think I'm multicultural as both of my parents are Hungarian and we have been living here well forever, so I don't think I'm multicultural.
11. My stages of becoming multilingual. Well, in German I think, well, (pause) I think I felt that I'm multilingual when we went to Vienna with the class in the 9th grade and I actually could talk to the people there and ask directions or when I, we wanted to buy something, we could ask and in English, well, I don't really know the stages. Uh (pause), well, I felt a little multilingual when we went to Greece with my father and as he doesn't speak any other languages, I was the one who had to talk and well me and my sister but she is very shy, even more than I am, so I did the talk most of the time. I think then I felt a bit multilingual but (pause) I don't think I am, I realized that I don't really speak English well, but I have to practice it more.
13. Well, I think I have grown as a multilingual person since I am here in Pécs because I have to use this language more often. Uh, (pause), so yeah.

14. Well, with English I want to work with English, I think. And I want to reach at least the advance level and I want to speak it very well, but I know I have to practice a lot and learn a lot until I get there. And well, I want to learn other languages as well and I, well, I think a lot of languages can be learnt only with English, not with Hungarian, so I want to learn more languages and probably these are what I want to do.

STUDENT 37: DOROTHY

1. My first name is Dorothy. My surname refers for a figure. And probably this name comes from Finno-Ugric.
2. In my family I used to speak just Hungarian with my parents but sometimes I used to speak, I used to say something in German or English and we discuss the meaning of words and uh different phrases together. And uh I have two cousins who speak English and German but they are rarely at home. And because of this we, we meet uh just sometimes and uh so we uh we can't practice languages together.
3. My parents learnt Russian in their youth but they didn't use it so they forgot it. And my mom doesn't speak languages but sometimes I used to teach her. But I few years earlier she tried to learn Italian but she had to work a lot and therefore she didn't have enough free time for it. And my dad worked in Germany about 20 years ago and there he had to learn technical terminology and besides this he has a, so therefore he has a basic German language skill.
4. Uh I speak German and English and now I'm on the teacher training program and I would like to be English and German teacher in the future. And I speak German on advanced level and I have an advanced level examination and graduation and my knowledge of English is intermediate or lower intermediate, so much less that German. And occasionally the communication presents difficulties for me.
5. I started to learn German at the age of 7 and English I started to learn at the age of 16.
6. So I have learnt German for 13 years and I started it in the elementary school where we, where the language was taught more intensively, which means that we had 6 German lessons in a week and in the secondary school uh, the first year I had uh 16 German lessons in a week. The learning of English, I started just in the high school, so I have learnt it just four years and because the German was my first language, I learnt English first in four lessons in a week and later it reduced to 3 classes. And moreover, my teacher was very bad and because of the final exam I had to take private lessons.
7. In the secondary school I had a native speaker teacher who was from Germany and she taught me four years. And at first we understood about nothing and it was really awful but she was really helpful and some time later we could understand her, and in my opinion, it was really useful and we could learn a lot from her. And here at the university there are some lecturers who teach me German and one of them is from Germany and the other one from Austria. And I like their course, because we can hear some kind of original German languages speeches. And in addition, we can practice the pronunciation too.
8. Uh, I don't, I'm sure that I understand this questions, but maybe it means that I can speak more languages in addition to my mother tongue.
9. I am multilingual because beside Hungarian I can speak two other languages and I use them in my everyday life.
10. I welcome foreign people with pleasure in Hungary and I like to visit their countries too. But I think everybody should live in their own country because I think that the different habits of nations and our traditions and different lifestyle could produce damages.

11. Uh I think I was always interested in different languages and I already knew in the elementary school that later I would like to deal with languages.
12. Uh, as I have already mentioned I started to take an interest in languages already in the elementary school. And I realized that I find the structure of languages interesting and when we travel, I remember when we traveled to abroad and I spoke in German first, there was a lady who told me that I speak really nicely and grammatically correct and it was very good feeling for me and it gave me self-confidence and thereupon I became more motivated.
13. As I remember, I began to learn more and more and I could develop a lot because of my German teacher who has taught me in the high school, for, for 5 years and she always gave us a lot of homework and, moreover, I read uh, uh German magazines and I watched films with German subtitle and when I felt that I can, I cannot continue to do this, she always encouraged us and this is really meaningful to me, and in my view, she is the best German teacher in the world and I consider her my idol and besides this I proud of my results which I have already achieved because I worked a lot for it.
14. Uh, I would like to reach an advanced level knowledge in English and I think that I already have to develop in English a lot and I hope that I, it will be successful. And besides this, I would like to teach it confidentially in a secondary school or in an elementary school.

STUDENT 38: ROSEMARY

1. Well it's a funny story. Until I was born the doctor said to my mother that I am going to be a boy, but it turned out I'm a girl. Yes, so. So nor my mother, neither my father had name options for a girl. They couldn't decide. My mom wanted to name me Dorothy, my father wanted Jennifer. But neither of them liked each other's idea, so my mom thought back of the moment when she first met dad and his name is Roosevelt, but he introduced himself as Rose, she's a nickname of Rosemary, so that's why, that's where my first name comes from. My surname, on my father's side the family is partly German, so it's a German name.
2. Yeah, on my father's side everyone speaks German. I had been learning German for 4 years, I'm not really good at it but during the summer I plan to take up a German course or start to study at home or go to a private teacher because I want a language exam in German, so I want to improve it.
3. My father can speak German, well, maybe intermediate, I am not sure, he recently took up, well, hired a private teacher for himself and he tries to improve it, so yeah, but I think he's still on, he's still on intermediate level. My mom's family is Croatian, so she speaks Croatian and she speaks, well, only little German, she recently started it. She speaks well Croatian, though, she is not that good in writing, because you know she just learn how to speak Croatian, so yeah, intermediate, I guess.
4. I have been learning English for 11 or 10 years. I am at upper intermediate level, I don't know, I don't want to say, I don't want to exaggerate, so upper-intermediate.
5. I was around 8 maybe but that wasn't serious back at that time, it was just afternoon uh, uh, extra class, I guess. And I started learning English more intensively at the age of, well, at the age of 15, I think, yeah, it was in the secondary school, so yeah, that's when it become more serious for me.
6. Other languages in the family apart from Hungarian? No. Because it's, in my father's side they speak German and I'm not that good at it and on my mother's side they speak in Croatian and I don't know anything in Croatian and I'm the only one who speaks English, so. I use Hungarian to communicate with my relatives on my parents' side.
7. I went to high school in my home town in Barcs. It was just the usual 8 year for us, we didn't have extra English classes, we just have 5 English class a week, so, it was all. No, unfortunately, though we had a guest teacher from Seattle and he visited us only twice a week maybe, so for half a year. There was an exchange program with another Hungarian teacher. He stayed with us, he had to visit other classes, not just us. I quite liked that, he was really nice and we kinda get the expe, opportunity to to meet with a native American, and we kinda get to know his attitude, yeah, it was very nice and and he taught a lot about his job in the US, how people live there, so it was quite interesting. He was really and I think he's a really good teacher and it was new because that was the first time when I read real poem and we started to analyze it and that was new to me as well, and I liked that and we had this creative writing sessions, which is I think now uh (pause), uh how to say that, it's not a wildly known thing in Hungary, but I've read books in English and and stories and Americans have quite a lot creative writing sessions, so we have, we could get an insight to it. And I think that was interesting, I think. So we learnt new methods as well, yeah. Their habit is kind of different, they are more open and fresh, if I can say that, and

yeah and they have different attitude towards things and yeah. Unfortunately I have not been to the U.S., but I'm planning to. First, of course to the UK, that's my biggest dream and the first thing on my bucket list and hopefully during the summer or autumn I'll have the chance to visit the UK. I've been to places but none of them was native-speaking, I mean English native-speaking countries. Last week I participated in a Campus Hungary Program and German students visited Pécs and we had to give them guided tours in museums and in sights and I talked to them in English and it was really good, I mean the fact that I could use English for the whole week and I miss that week because I just miss speaking in English. So yeah, I think I can make myself understandable and I think it's really good. I'm enjoying it. Uh it was a positive experience, I thought it would be worse than this. I knew that their English would be good because it's kinda, it's vital for them to know this language good, so it was easy to talk to them. I think they were really nice. They tried to help us, so it was a positive experience for me. I expected worse. I don't know, I thought they would criticizing us, or they would be disappointed, dissatisfied with our work in the project. Because I thought that they, well, they want to go more in detail and there are material of presentation, we would give the, so won't be enough for them. But yeah, yeah it was just nice and they were all nice and helpful. I asked them to to kind of introduce the German and uh they told us that they are kind of maximalist people. So they want to achieve... They're precise people. They said that they would complain a lot but I think it's true for Hungarians as well and yeah. That was the two main things that they mentioned: complaining and perfectionism. I've been to Austria in several times. I really enjoyed it, I think it's a beauty city. I've been to... Fest. That's a special festival around Xmas. I think it was really beautiful, the atmosphere was really special. I think everyone should visit it once.

8. My mother tongue is Hungarian and I use it every day and my foreign, my first foreign language is English and I use it quite often as well and I read in English, I read books in English and websites and magazines, online magazines and I watch series and films in English and uh yeah. So I think apart from Hungarian, the way I use English kinda makes me multilingual. Then I have friends, foreign friends and I communicate with them in English. So multilingual person is able to speak at least two foreign languages, or even more and use it in a daily basis, I think that's what makes multilingual.
9. Well, as I've mentioned, the reading books, the watching films, communicating my friends and using it at university makes me multilingual, I guess.
10. By the fact I know, knew, I know several other cultures than Hungarians like the British and part of British, part of American and the other countries like the German through English yeah, that's how I'm multicultural. Now my friends come from Germany and I have a friend from Belgium, she was an exchange student in my secondary school and she is a really nice girl, she is Belgian and I have one in Spain and I yeah, I think that's it. I got along with her well and she's, she was really smart and really cheerful, so yeah. She mentioned some things about her school, how old she usually do when she goes out with her friends. I haven't visited her, though. We are friends on Facebook, so everyone's know why we share messages, you know, send emails, so yeah.
11. I only can mention one, I think. The most important one was probably when I got praised for my English and it was two years ago when I foreign, a native speaker said that my English was good. I met a guy in Balatonmária, he was a Scottish guy and he said that my

English is quite fluent and he thinks it's good so that was a good, that was an important thing for me because I was just about to decide where to study and what to study and I wasn't sure about my English and the level on which it is and yeah that was important to me. I was quite unsure what to do still the end of the (pause) the uh you know the school-leaving year, we had to decide until 15th of February. I only gave in my application around 10th of February. Even I got to know that there is this teacher-training program in December, in December and I was even more uh puzzled you know because there is this teacher program and the other faculty, what to do, which is the better, other major.

12. Well, I don't know, I think that was the most important for me and that I can't remember any other. I can't recall that moment when I realized that I am multilingual, I don't remember when I started to read books and started to watch films in English.
13. First, I started to read blogs and kind of fictions written by normal people, not authors and publish, just teenagers, maybe. That's when I, and then I there was an improvement, I guess, and then I started to read websites in English, search websites and magazine articles online and then I started to watch films and series but with Hungarian subtitle, and then I switched to English subtitle, well, I still use it sometimes, but sometimes I watch it without subtitles.
14. Well, I want to be a teacher, I think it would be really good to be a teacher, I would also want to try to translate maybe. Yeah, but the number one on my list is to get my degree in English and then to start to teach in English. I would, I want to speak like a native speaker. It would be nice with a native-like accent, but I'm not sure if I can acquire it. I fancy British accent. I don't always speak with a British accent, I don't want to sound posh. I watch accent videos on YouTube, I think there are some very good accent videos on British accent. I try to pronounce it, the words the way they say it, I mean use it at home because I'm not sure about myself and maybe later. Maybe after I visited native-speak, the UK, maybe after I would be more confident about this but...

APPENDIX D

STRUCTURED WRITTEN TASK QUESTIONS

Dear Students,

We have so far talked about many things in connection with your multilingualism.

Further to our discussion, please answer the following three questions in as many words as you like. Having done so, please bring this sheet to next class or send it back to me via email. Your answers will be treated confidentially. Thank you!

Adrienn

4. Some people feel they are different persons when they use their various languages. Can you reflect on your experiences? How are you a different person using your various languages?
5. Please tell me about situations in which you felt more comfortable using your second or third language rather than your mother tongue. Explain why.
6. Will you please recall situations when you felt you could not fully express something in your second or third language as well as in your mother tongue? Why?

APPENDIX E

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE ON INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Dear Students,

Please answer the following questions in as many words as you like. You may send the filled in document back to me via email or bring it to next class. Thank you.

Do not worry, I will treat your answers confidentially. ☺

Adrienn

1. What is your favorite foreign language and why?
2. Do you like learning English? Please explain.
3. Do you like learning your other foreign languages? Please explain.
4. Which English speaking culture(s) do you prefer and why?
5. Would you like live in a native English speaking country? Where? Why? What would you like to do there?
6. Which customs of native English speakers do you prefer? Do you follow those traditions? Why do you (not) like/follow them?
7. In what ways do you seek the company of other English speakers?
8. What do you do to practice and improve your English?
9. Do you compare your English with others in class? Please explain.
10. How do you feel if others are better at English than you?
11. How important are your grades for you? Do you strive to get better grades than others?
12. Would you like to speak perfect English or making mistakes is no big deal for you as long as you are understood? Please explain.
13. Why would you/ would you not like to sound like a native English speaker? Please expand on it.
14. Would you like to pass for a British, American, Australian or New Zealand speaker? Or someone else? Why (not)?
15. Are you nervous when you speak in class? Why?
16. Do you seek out opportunities to talk in class? Please explain.
17. Are you nervous when you talk with your teachers at university? Why?
18. Are you nervous to talk with other non-native speakers of English? Why?
19. Are you nervous to talk with native English speakers? Please explain.
20. Do you learn English easily? Please explain.
21. Which English accent do you like most? Why?
22. Which English accent do you aim at when speaking English? Please explain.
23. Which English accent would you like to learn? Why?
24. What do you think about your own English accent?
25. How much do you prepare for your English courses? Is there anything you think you should change?

Doktori (Ph.D.) értekezés tézisei - Summary of Doctoral Dissertation

**EXPLORING ADVANCED ENGLISH
LEARNERS' MULTILINGUAL IDENTITY
CONSTRUCTION FROM MULTIPLE
PERSPECTIVES**

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Topic and Research Aims

Research into language learners' multilingual identity construction has enjoyed heightened interest since the turn of the millennium drawing on post-structuralist theories (Kristeva, 1980; Weedon, 1997) that allow researchers to take a more complex and holistic view of language learners and their second language (L2) learning experiences. This line of study does not separate learners from the learning processes they experience and looks at learners in their complexity and entirety (Kristeva, 1980; Kramsch, 2009). Studies (Kramsch, 2002, 2009; Norton, 2013) drawing on the post-structuralist or language ecological approach are usually case studies or interview studies and focus on the individual and their idiosyncratic experiences. By contrast, traditional SLA research into individual differences (IDs) investigates different aspects of L2 learning and L2 learners in isolation. Studies (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000) drawing on traditional SLA research mostly follow the psychometric tradition that employs statistical procedures to calculate averages and to make generalizations about the constructs under scrutiny. Consequently, this tradition does not focus on the individual but rather on large groups and investigates the relationship between the various factors involved in SLA. In my dissertation I explored how these two seemingly irreconcilable traditions can complement rather than exclude each other to study advanced English learners multilingual identity construction from multiple perspectives.

With regard to identity research, I drew on Kramsch's (2009) multidisciplinary approach of identity research. I adopted her concept of successful L2 learning that does not address L2 attainment or language proficiency level; instead, it refers to how transformative language learning is in learners' life and how meaningfully it is lived by them. Furthermore, imagination plays in a crucial role in creating learners' subjective associations, feelings, emotions, attitudes, beliefs, fears, anxieties, and thoughts about the L2, its culture, and the people speaking the

language. Learners' creative and subjective meaning-making practices and resonances about the new language are unconventional from the perspective of native speakers (NSs), which makes L2 learners multilingual subjects (MLSs) and L2 learning a symbolic activity (Kramersch, 2009). In the process of SLA learners create an inwardly generated identity based on their imagined and real-life experiences, which reflects their desire for self-fulfillment in an via the L2 (Kramersch, 2009; Kristeva, 1980). Kramersch (2009) proposes that some learners embrace the transformative potential of L2 learning, whereas others feel threatened by the magnitude of the threat that the L2 poses to the integrity of the learner's identity. Since language and culture are interwoven in L2 learning (Kramersch, 1998), SLA can shape not only learners' linguistic identity construction but also their cultural and social identity construction, because with the new language comes a new consciousness, as well (Lacan, 1977).

As for traditional SLA research into IDs, in my dissertation I also investigated the participants' individual differences such as their motivation, language anxiety (LA), willingness to communicate (WTC) in English, perfectionism, competitiveness, and their self-perception subsuming two dimensions: perceived English language proficiency and perceived language learning aptitude. To my knowledge, there are no other empirical studies that merge these two traditions to explore L2 learners' multilingual identity construction. Most inquiries draw on either the post-structuralist/ecological approach or traditional SLA research.

In addition to the aforementioned two research traditions, there were two additional theoretical frameworks that I utilized in my study. I analyzed the data and interpreted the findings from the perspective of English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Jenkins, 2007) and complex dynamic systems theory (CDST) (Larsen-Freeman, 2017). Due to the fact that non-native English speakers (NNESs) greatly outnumber native English speakers (NESs) (Crystal, 2003), traditional English as a foreign language (EFL) speakers are shifting to using the language as a lingua franca (LF) instead of a foreign language (FL) (Widdowson, 2012). This phenomenon

is also true for my research context, providing the rationale for including the ELF perspective in my inquiry. Furthermore, the study of ELF addresses how ELF speakers are exempted from having to conform to the native speaker norm (Medgyes, 2017) and how ELF speakers can gain ownership of English (Holliday, 2005; Widdowson, 2012) through successful language use even when their language proficiency level does not approximate that of NESs. Finally, ELF is also linked to international posture that refers to L2 speakers' predisposition to relate themselves to an international community in which English knowledge is valued rather than to a specific L2 community (Yashima, 2009, p. 145).

The fourth framework I drew on in my dissertation is CDST (Larsen-Freeman, 2017; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) that has gained momentum in social sciences and in language education alike. Since I take a complex and holistic view of identity construction, I look at language learners and their L2 learning experiences in their entirety and complexity, which calls for a more dynamic and complex framework afforded by CDST. Complexity theory in SLA sheds light on how language learners and their language learning process can be perceived as a complex dynamic system (CDS) in which various factors constantly interact with one another, constituting the lower levels of the system and shaping the system's behavior that also responds to stimuli coming from the environment in the form of interaction with other L2 speakers and contextual factors. In addition to the four theoretical frameworks I described above, my study also drew on the various perspectives of other disciplines such as cultural studies, literary and language theory, neurology, psychology, philosophy, narrative inquiry, and communication studies.

Although my inquiry focusing on multilingual identity construction is dominantly embedded in the qualitative research approach, the relatively high number of participants (N=42) allowed me to present and discuss some numerical data on trends and frequencies, thus making the dissertation a mixed methods study. The use of mixed methods is beneficial, as it

combines the strength of quantitative and qualitative research while neutralizing their weaknesses by providing insights where one research method cannot (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 45). Furthermore, my study is also classroom research and action research (Nunan & Bailey, 2009), because my research was conducted in the classroom, and the teacher and the person carrying out the research were one and the same person (Nunan & Bailey, 2009, p. 226). In action research, the teacher-researcher seeks to better her teaching practice by conducting classroom research with the intention to also publish her findings.

To explore advanced English learners' multilingual identity construction from various perspectives, I sought to answer the following research questions (Table 1).

Table 1

Research Questions, Instruments, Employed Methods of Analysis, and the Numbers of Students

Research questions	Instruments	Method of analysis	Number of participants
1. What characterizes the participants' multilingualism?	Structured speaking task	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	38
2. What characterizes the participants' multiculturalism?	Structured speaking task	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	38
3. What characterizes the participants' identity construction in their various languages?	Structured writing task	Qualitative content analysis	31
4. What characterizes the participants' self-perception, competitiveness, perfectionism, motivation, language anxiety, and willingness to communicate in English?	Open-ended questionnaire on IDs	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	30
5. In what ways do the above individual differences shape the participants' identity construction in and via English?	Open-ended questionnaire on IDs	Qualitative content analysis Descriptive statistics	30

The participants in the study constituting my dissertation were 42 English majors who attended three Listening and Speaking Skills II (LSS II) courses that I taught in the spring semester of the academic year 2014/2015 at the University of Pécs (UP) in Hungary. I employed convenience sampling (Dörnyei, 2007) to recruit participants. To gather data for my inquiry, I designed three instruments that served two purposes: they served as data sources in my study, whereas they also served as meaningful home assignments for the students participating in the research. The three instruments included (1) a structured speaking task (a structured interview recorded by students) exploring the participants' multilingualism and multiculturalism, (2) a structured written task mapping their multilingual identity construction, and (3) a questionnaire on IDs comprising open-ended questions. The datasets of oral and written texts allowed the triangulation of data. To analyze the data I gathered, I performed qualitative content analysis to detect emerging themes, which was an iterative process characteristic of exploratory qualitative research (Dörnyei, 2007). Having detected emerging themes, I counted frequencies to complement and support the qualitative results and to achieve the triangulation of data.

In summary, the aim of the doctoral dissertation was to explore advanced English learners' multilingual identity construction from various theoretical and research approaches and perspectives, which made my research an exploratory study. The multiple perspectives that I adopted allowed for a more complex and holistic view of L2 learners and their multilingual identity construction. In my dissertation I advocated the synthesis of identity research and traditional SLA research into IDs, since they are interconnected and thus provide insights where one approach cannot.

The Structure of the Doctoral Dissertation

The doctoral dissertation is divided into two parts comprising three and five chapters, respectively (see Table 2 at the end of this section). The first part gives an overview of the literature and the second part presents and discusses the findings of the empirical study included in the dissertation. In Chapter 1 I elaborate on the literature of identity research that I draw on in the empirical study and I discuss ELF and CDST perspectives on identity research. First, I expand on how the Self is perceived in various disciplines such as philosophy, neurobiology, psychology, SLA, and CDST. Then I move on to elaborating on the multidisciplinary approach of identity research that I utilize in my dissertation which was inspired by Kramsch's (2009) similar approach of identity research that looks at L2 learners as MLSs and L2 learning as symbolic language use. I also elaborate on Kristeva's (1980) concept of desire for self-fulfillment in and via the L2. Furthermore, I discuss blended space theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), linguistic relativity (Carroll, 1956), Bourdieu's (1997) concept of habitus along with the concept of language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2017), and enculturation (Sussman, 2002) to explore the unconventional and hybrid meanings that L2 learners create drawing on their various languages that influence their ways of thinking and behaving in the L2. Afterwards, I discuss the rationale for adopting Sussman's (2002) cultural identity model of the sojourn in the context of SLA and I elaborate on the study of learner narratives in constructing L2 learners' narrative identity (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). In Chapter 2 I provide an overview of the literature on L2 learners' individual differences including motivation, language anxiety, willingness to communicate, self-perception, competitiveness, and perfectionism. As for L2 motivational constructs, I expand on Gardner's (1985) integrative motive, Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory, Dörnyei's (2005) L2 motivational self-system, and Yashima's (2009) concept of international posture. In Chapter 3 I present the findings of empirical studies on L2 learners' multilingual identity construction and IDs. As for studies on

linguistic identity construction, I present inquiries that follow the post-structuralist approach of identity research as well as studies that address identity from the perspective of ELF. With regard to inquiries on IDs, I review studies that either drew on the CDST approach or were conducted in the Hungarian context, thus providing comparable results for my study. In Chapter 4, which is the first chapter of the empirical part of the dissertation, I detail the empirical study I conducted constituting the dissertation. I discuss the research context, the research questions, participants, instruments, procedures, and methods of analysis. In Chapter 5 I present the findings on the participants' reflections on their multilingualism and multiculturalism based on the data gathered with the help of the structured speaking task. The findings led me to reinterpreting international posture from the perspective of identity research by adding the dimension of ownership of English, multilingualism, affect, and identity to the construct. In the same chapter I present a case study on the different language socialization and enculturation experiences of learners who learnt their L2 in a native environment and those who learnt EFL in Hungary. In Chapter 6 I detail the findings on the participants' identity construction in their various languages with regard to how they became MLSs in the process of SLA, their L2 learning as an embodied experience, and linguistic relativity. The data that I analyzed here were gathered by means of the structured writing task. In Chapter 7 I scrutinize what characterized the participants' individual differences including their motivation, LA, WTC, competitiveness, perfectionism, and self-perception on the basis of the data I collected using an open-ended questionnaire. Afterwards, I discuss how these IDs constructed and shaped the students' linguistic identity construction. In Chapter 8 I draw the main conclusions of my study, discuss pedagogical implications, and delineate limitations and future directions for research.

Table 2
The Structure of the Doctoral Dissertation

<p>Introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research aims • Context of research • Research questions • The structure of the dissertation
<p>PART 1</p> <p>Chapter 1: An overview of literature on research into multilingual identity construction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defining key concepts in the dissertation with regard to identity research • Elaborating on a multidisciplinary approach of L2 learners' multilingual identity construction <p>Chapter 2: An overview of literature on research into L2 learners' individual differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expanding on literature on relevant motivational constructs, language anxiety, willingness to communicate in English, perfectionism, competitiveness, and self-perception <p>Chapter 3: An overview of empirical studies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussing the findings of relevant empirical studies on L2 learners' linguistic identity construction drawing on the post-structuralist tradition • Elaborating on the findings of empirical studies on L2 learners' IDs drawing on CDST as well as of relevant studies conducted in the Hungarian context
<p>PART 2</p> <p>Chapter 4: Elaborating on the empirical study included in the dissertation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussing the research context, research questions, participants, instruments, procedures, and methods of analysis <p>Chapter 5: The participants' identity construction through language and culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revisiting international posture from the perspective of identity research • Presenting a case study on the participants' different language socialization and enculturation experiences <p>Chapter 6: The participants' identity construction in their various languages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Becoming a multilingual subject in the process of SLA • Language learning as an embodied experience • Exploring linguistic relativity in the study <p>Chapter 7: The participants' individual differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploring the participants' motivation, language anxiety, willingness to communicate in English, competitiveness, perfectionism, and self-perception • Exploring how these IDs construct and shape the participants' multilingual identity construction
<p>Final conclusions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main conclusions of the study • Pedagogical implications • Limitations and future directions for research

The Findings of the Study on Advanced English Learners' Multilingual Identity Construction from Multiple Perspectives

The first two research questions tackled the participants' multilingualism and multiculturalism. The findings shed light on how the participants are shifting to using English as a lingua franca, which shapes their identity construction as language learners and language speakers. The themes in connection with ELF that emerged in the datasets led me to reinterpreting international posture from the perspective of identity research. I added the concept of multilingualism, ownership of English, affect, and identity to the construct. Affect is inherently implicated in international posture, as using ELF is an embodied experience, triggering emotional responses in learners. With regard to multilingualism, ownership of English, and identity construction, those students who recognized in what ways they are using English successfully were aware of their ownership of the language, which constituted their self-perception as multilingual speakers. Students who sought to approximate NESs followed the native speaker model in their language learning despite the fact that they may still have resorted to ELF use. These students fell short of the native speaker norm, which shaped their self-perception in a way that they did not consider themselves multilingual. Furthermore, in a case study I pinpointed the differences between the multilingual and multicultural experiences of learners coming from different language learning backgrounds, casting light on the participants' different language socialization and enculturation processes. Students who had learnt their L2 in a native environment focused on how naturally and effortlessly they could use the L2, whereas students who had learnt their L2 in a non-native environment in Hungary stressed what they could do in the L2 and at what level.

The data gathered with the help of the structured writing task that explored the participants' identity construction in their various languages revealed overlaps between my findings and Kramsch's (2009) study. The findings of my inquiry confirmed that language learners respond to L2 learning emotionally by engaging their brain, their mind, and their body

in the process of SLA, which pinpoints the embodied nature of L2 learning. Furthermore, the data pointed out that the participants use their L2 for much more than mere information exchange, they use their L2 to construct a new identity for themselves and to rid themselves of the constraints of their L1 language and its culture. Some students pursue language learning to become like other L2 speakers (mostly native English speakers) or another L2 speaking version of themselves and they embrace the transformation afforded by the L2, whereas others prefer identifying with their familiar L1 to avoid the transformative potential of L2 learning that could shape their linguistic and cultural identity. Some of the participants became tricksters of language; thus, they could act upon and change their own and their interactants' psychological and social reality using their L2. The students experienced language learning mostly meaningfully, which was irrespective of their command of the L2, but it was linked to the intrinsic and extrinsic dimension of their motivation to learn English. The participants' narratives were characterized by self-centeredness and self-enhancement as well as by the desire for self-fulfillment in and via the L2 and a strong identification with NESs.

Based on the findings I coined the term imagined L2 habitus that language learners may adopt in interactions when using their L2. It derives from the learner's borrowing of NES and ELF speakers' habitus to replace their L1 habitus in L2 interactions. When doing so, learners speak, act, and think differently from how they would do in their L1 that is linked to their L1 habitus (Bourdieu, 1997). Acting upon their imagined L2 habitus, learners tend to rely on their imagination because the other speaker whose habitus they borrow is unknown to them; the person's image or representation is only created in the learner's imagination. Finally, aspects of linguistic relativity were pointed out by the data.

As for the participants' individual differences, the majority of the students' self-perceived English language proficiency is at B2 level, while their reported language aptitude is high. They are highly competitive with peers resulting in heightened emotional responses such as anger,

frustration, or shame. Their competitive behavior is linked to perfectionism and language anxiety, resulting in a cyclic relationship. They display a highly positive attitude towards English and English learning; however, they are mostly extrinsically motivated to learn English in their studies. By contrast, they exhibit intrinsic motivation to learn English incidentally in their pastime activities drawing on authentic language use which oftentimes involves the use of ELF. The respondents are characterized by a high level of integrative motivation to become indistinguishable from NESs in terms of speaking as well as by a desire to live in an English speaking country at some point in their life. With the exception of talking with NNESs, they perceive in-class discussions as well as conversations with English teachers and NESs as anxiety producing situations. Nevertheless, they do show some WTC in in-class discussions, whereas outside the classroom they exhibit a very high level of WTC in English in their leisure time activities which involve different modes of WTC such as speaking, reading, writing, and listening. The findings reveal that the participants experience English learning very differently in and outside the classroom. While in the classroom their self-concept is laden with negative factors such as anxiety, competition, the lack of intrinsic motivation, low perceived L2 proficiency and limited WTC, their identity construction outside the classroom is more positive including successful English use and high levels of WTC in their spare time activities coupled with intrinsic and integrative motivation. In these activities they use English to pursue non-linguistic goals, resulting in incidental language learning thus high perceived language aptitude, because language learning seems effortless to them.

Main Conclusions

The main findings of my inquiry on the participants' multilingual identity construction were in keeping with Kramsch's (2009) study of a similar kind. The data in my study revealed how the participants became MLS in the process of SLA by creating their subjective and creative meaning-making practices about their L2. The majority used the new language to identify with either NESs or a desired future version of themselves and they embraced the transformative potential of L2 learning. Only a few students resorted to their familiar L1 and its culture due to the threat that the L2 posed to the integrity of their identity. Exploring the identity construction of the participants led me to coining the concept of imagined L2 habitus that language learners may adopt and which refers to the learner's different ways of behaving and thinking enabled by the new language. By learning an L2, learners compare and contrast the differences between the ways of behaving and thinking of L1 and L2 speakers. Since language learners stand no chance of getting to know all speakers of the L2, they use their imagination to envisage how native and non-native L2 speakers may think and behave. Consequently, in L2 interactions language learners may adopt an imagined L2 habitus that they think approximates the habitus of L2 speakers or a hybrid L1 and L2 habitus relying on the real and imagined ways of behaving and thinking in both the L1 and the L2. Hence, language learners can construct and negotiate their identities in interactions with other L2 speakers relying on their imagined L2 habitus.

Drawing on Sussman's (2002) cultural identity model of the sojourn, I adopted her model in the context of SLA and labeled it the cultural identity model of language learning. Sussman focuses on changes in cultural identity construction during and after the sojourn referring to the sojourner's identity responses to culture shock and repatriation shock. However, findings in the present study showed that her cultural identity model works in the context of L2 learning, as well. Language learners often experience a disturbance or a crisis in their linguistic and cultural

identity while learning an L2. Since culture is interwoven in language learning (Kramsch, 1998), even EFL learners, who have never been exposed to an English speaking environment, but have incorporated in themselves aspects of the new culture and the new consciousness that comes with the new language (Lacan, 1997), can experience a disturbance in their identity using their imagination. They may no longer know who they are and in what ways they belong to the L1 and the L2 culture. When seeing the differences between the L1 and L2 culture in terms of ways of thinking and behaving, they may experience an additive, subtractive, or an affirmative identity response to the linguistic and cultural stimuli of L2 learning.

Many participants' ideal selves aimed to achieve native-like proficiency, which created a substantial gap between their ideal self and actual self. The magnitude of self-discrepancy should provide sufficient incentive for them to reduce this gap and attain their ideal self; however, the participants' successful language use outside the classroom that gave them a feeling of being in control and empowerment could offset the incentive afforded by the discrepancy between their actual and ideal self. Consequently, I detected substantial differences between the participants' language learning experiences in the classroom and outside the classroom. The participants' self-concept was more positive outside the classroom, whereas their in-class experiences were laden with more negative feelings resulting in the construction of a less positive linguistic identity.

Concerning the relationship between traditional motivational constructs and identity construction, I found that intrinsic and integrative motivation facilitate the transformative power of language learning and make learners MLSs by allowing them to create their own subjective associations about the L2, whereas extrinsic motivation makes language learning a less meaningful and less transformative experience. More meaningfully lived language learning experiences and the creation of creative and subjective meaning-making processes in and

through the L2 are also conducive to creating a more powerful and vivid image of the learner's ideal self, which promotes the learner's motivation to learn the L2.

The findings on the participants' IDs confirmed that IDs interact with one another in dynamic and complex ways. Similarly to Bailey's (1983) study, I found that self-perception with respect to perceived language proficiency level and perceived aptitude, perfectionism, and competitiveness form a cyclic relationship, feeding into one another at one level within the learner. Changes at this level then feed into the learner's language anxiety at the next level up, which affects their motivation to learn the language at the next level, which, then, shapes the learner's WTC in English. I envisage these IDs as vertically and horizontally interacting levels of a CDS which construct and shape the learner's identity as system-level behavior. There is a bi-directional link between the system and its levels, because the system responds to changes at the lower levels of the system as well as to stimuli coming from the environment in the form of interactions with other L2 speakers and in the form of contextual factors such as the school environment, curriculum, and the socio-cultural context of L2 learning. Therefore, I call for an understanding of identity construction as a complex dynamic system in which individual learner characteristics constitute the levels of the system that horizontally and vertically shape the system's behavior, that is, the identity construction of learners through and in the L2 they learn. Figure 1 shows a visual representation of Identity Construction as a Complex Dynamic System of Individual Differences.



Figure 1. Identity Construction as a Complex Dynamic System of Individual Differences

The intermittent lines stand for potential trajectories of the levels and the system, and these potential trajectories of IDs are idiosyncratic and subject to change over time. Despite the versatility of such a complex system, patterns of system behavior may be detected, making the system stable and changeable at the same time.

I did not include affect as a separate factor or level in the figure, as language learning is an embodied experience and emotional responses are implicated at each level of the system. Other self-related concepts such as self-confidence, self-worth, self-efficacy, or learner-beliefs are inherently part of the learner's identity construction. I did not include age in this

representation, because the system temporally evolves and age is not a stable factor in this conceptualization. The system emerges from past and present experiences and the future projections of the learner; thus, the learner's age-related experiences are inherently part of the system. Finally, I did not include another key construct, aptitude in this system, as studies (MacIntyre, Noels & Clément, 1997; Tóth, 2007) have pointed out that L2 learners' self-perception about their language aptitude is more influential than their actual aptitude. I believe that the success of language learning is not determined by the learner's innate abilities that in language learning are often associated with language aptitude. Instead, I argue in line with Kramersch (2009), that language learning can be more or less meaningfully lived and can be more or less transformative for the learner, which may be a life-changing experience irrespective of proficiency level or language learning aptitude. Language learners use their imagination to create their subjective experiences of success, failure, and transformation. The subjective, non-conventional, and creative use of the L2 denoting the second type of symbolic language use by learners (Kramersch, 2009) constitutes and shapes learners' learning behavior as well as their attitudes, thoughts, ideas, beliefs, feelings, and emotions about the L2, its culture and the people speaking the language as well as about learning the L2.

The complex system I described above is a chaotic system that moves like a double pendula, because it is a highly idiosyncratic system: some of the IDs can move up and down between levels and can interact with one another at random. The system can change smoothly and gradually or suddenly and drastically. Initial conditions are crucial in determining the system's behavior at a later time. Furthermore, this complex and dynamic framework of both individual differences and identity construction can explain why experiencing the same conditions in language learning may result in differences in IDs and identity construction and why different learning conditions and experiences may converge to a certain pattern of IDs or

identity construction. Despite the idiosyncratic experiences of the participants in my study, I detected patterns of behavior and experiences in the datasets.

Pedagogical Implications

The findings of this study entail several pedagogical implications. Since it was based on classroom research, the topics raised in the study were awareness-raising for the predominantly first-year students. Furthermore, exploring the identity construction of learners that we teach is also beneficial, as it casts light on other aspects of learners such as their motivation, LA, WTC, perfectionism, or competitiveness. Similarly, the study of IDs should also focus on learners' identity construction, as the two are interrelated. The findings of such an inquiry can help teachers to better their teaching practice by meeting the specific needs of their learners. Teachers have a key role in creating a favorable atmosphere in the classroom that facilitates learning; therefore, nurturing learners' positive identity construction by paying attention to their needs promotes L2 learning. Teachers can also benefit a lot from exploring their learners' identity, as such an endeavor requires self-reflection by them as L2 learners, L2 speakers, and L2 teachers. By establishing a relaxed atmosphere in which the voices of students can be heard, teachers and learners can feel more motivated to participate in the language learning process.

Furthermore, nurturing L2 learners' positive self-image is of high importance, as it can trigger the transformative potential of L2 learning and a desire for self-fulfillment through the L2. This claim is corroborated by my findings that intrinsic and integrative motivation are linked to experiencing L2 learning more meaningfully and in a more transformative way. These two motivational orientations are more effective in motivating learners in the long-run to learn the L2 and to develop their language proficiency. Moreover, I found that the participants held a more favorable self-image outside the classroom than in the classroom due to their involvement in authentic and engaging out-of-class activities using English. Therefore, it is beneficial for teachers to incorporate activities in their teaching practice that draw on authentic

language use, since these activities better engage learners. By doing so, learners' imagined communities can be acknowledged and nurtured, which may provide further incentive for them to participate in L2 learning. Learners' investment in L2 learning is also an investment in their linguistic and cultural identity, for they wish to gain various resources such as a better job, a higher salary, international friendship, or English speaking entertainment or hobbies and so forth in return for their investment in L2 learning.

Finally, teachers and learners should be aware of the benefits of using and teaching English as a lingua franca in and beyond the classroom to better conform to the reality of English use in the world nowadays. To avoid the split or the struggle between learners' identity construction in the classroom and outside the classroom, teachers can highlight the potential of using ELF in the classroom. If English learners feel empowered by their ability to use English successfully instead of feeling inferior to NESs, they can generate a more favorable English identity for themselves and can rid themselves of the pressure of having to conform to the native speaker norm. If learners can accept the local diversity involved in ELF use, they can avoid passing negative or derogatory judgments on themselves and other NNEs, thus avoiding the further spread of prejudice about the language skills and the competence of NNEs.

Limitations and Future Directions for Research

Despite the multidisciplinary approach used in the dissertation and the careful design of instruments, the present study is limited in many ways. First of all, the rich textual data I gathered with the help of the structured speaking task would have allowed for an even more comprehensive analysis of the data with regard to the participants' linguistic profile and their parents' language learning background. However, adding another chapter would have exceeded the recommended length of a doctoral dissertation; therefore, I only discussed the participants' language learning background in relation to the constructs included in my research questions. Furthermore, based on the vast data elicited by the three instruments I could have discussed the

participants' motivational self-system in much greater depth; however, the research questions did not focus on the ideal self or the ought-to self; therefore, I only addressed these self-constructs at the intersection of the various approaches I synthesized. Moreover, the rich textual data provided insights into the participants' cultural identity construction which I discussed in relation to their linguistic identity construction in the process of SLA, since my research questions only addressed the students' multilingual identity construction.

Second, despite the numerical data that I presented and discussed and thus I labelled my study a mixed methods inquiry, the quantitative part of the dissertation is limited. The number of the participants (N=42) is small to make generalizations about the findings. At a later time, a larger-scale quantitative survey investigating the participants' individual differences and linguistic identity construction would be useful to compare the findings.

Third, despite the fact that I drew on CDST and that I envisage IDs and identity construction as a complex dynamic system, I did not investigate the constructs under study from a CDST approach. Since my study was not longitudinal, it did not allow me to detect temporal changes in the system, which is an important property of CDSs. Nevertheless, I was able to explore in the data the interconnected, complex, and dynamic nature of IDs and identity construction that also responded to other systems (i.e. other L2 learners/speakers) in the environment as well as contextual factors. To make this inquiry longitudinal, the study could be replicated in the near future involving participants enrolled at UP to explore the quantity, quality, and the intensity of the changes the participants have experienced in the past three years. It would not be possible to involve all respondents of the present study in this future project, as some of the students have graduated or dropped out. However, the majority of the participants are fourth-year students in the five- or six-year teacher education program; therefore, I meet them in other courses that I teach. This second-phase of the present study would involve fewer participants and would focus on changes in the constructs I explored now.

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The candidate's own publications in the field of identity research and individual differences research

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The candidate's conference presentations in the field of identity research and individual differences research

- Fekete, A. (2013, November) Two Hungarian EFL teachers' reflections on multilingualism, multiculturalism and identity construction, Szentágotthai János Transdisciplinary Conference and Student Competition, Pécs, Hungary. I was awarded an 'Outstanding Presentation' certificate.
- Fekete, A. (2014, May). Hungarian high school students' attitudes towards native and non-native English varieties in listening comprehension tests. University of Zagreb Round Table Conference 2014: Empirical Studies in English Applied Linguistics, Zagreb, Croatia.
- Fekete, A. (2015, June). ELF teachers and learners' reflections on their multilingualism and identity construction. University of Pécs Round Table Conference 2015: Empirical studies in English applied linguistics, Pécs, Hungary.
- Fekete, A. (2015, July). "I prefer speaking English as I feel limited using my mother tongue". Cutting Edges: Languages, Standards and Politics Conference, Canterbury, UK.
- Fekete, A. (2017, June). Individual differences in linguistic identity construction in a Hungarian Context. University of Pécs Round Table Conference 2017: Empirical studies in English applied linguistics. Pécs, Hungary.
- Fekete, A. (2018, June). Exploring Hungarian English majors' identity construction. University of Zagreb Round Table Conference 2014: Empirical Studies in English Applied Linguistics, Zagreb, Croatia.